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FOREWORD

This issue of *Romano-Arabica* contains the proceedings of the International Colloquium *Islamic Space: Linguistic and Cultural Diversity*, organized by the *Center for Arab Studies* of the University of Bucharest, which was held in Bucharest, on May 21th, 2011.

Finally, we, as organisers, would liketo thank each and every participant for making the International Colloquium *Islamic Space: Linguistic and Cultural Diversity* an extremely enjoyable and worthwhile event.

The Colloquium Organisers

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DIACHRONIC TRANSFORMATION IN PERSIAN LANGUAGE BASED ON SYNTAGMATIC & PARADIGMATIC RELATIONS

Mohammad Sadegh Basiri
"Shahid Bahonar" University of Kerman

Abstract

The present research takes a linguistic approach to historical changes of the Persian language and considers the transformations of the Persian language in syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations from the 5th century up to now, selecting at random ten classical texts and seven contemporary texts of standard Persian language.

The texts are selected from Persian prose works. The research method emphasizes statistics to achieve its goals and the study involves the following parts: introduction, definitions, evidence, profile of language changes and transformations in frame of tables and graphs, data analysis and results.

Findings demonstrate that the diachronic transformation of the Persian language occurs in syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations with different rates. The decrease or increase process in the Persian language syntagmatic relation depends on the text; on the other hand, its domain depends on diachronic transformation. The word substitution process in the language's paradigmatic relation is based on diachronic transformation in descending order.

Keywords: Persian prose, linguistics, diachronic transformation, syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations

Introduction

There is something fascinating about the humans' ability to continuously adjust and develop the performance of language as a message-transmitting tool. Therefore, recent decades have seen even more focus on linguistic transformation from specialists in the humanities. Key research in the field of linguistics has coagulated around concepts such as synchronic and diachronic linguistics, syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations, double articulation, phonological processes.

As is to be expected for a language with such a long history, Persian has undergone dramatic changes. However, due perhaps to speakers holding their language in high esteem and perceiving it as a valuable sign of identity, Persian still maintains its long-lasting particulars. The complexities of language transformation in general are well beyond the scope of this paper, and as such the aim of researcher in this paper is to answer solely one question: what is the transformation course of the contemporary Persian language (Dari) regarding syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations? What process and in what rate does it include? In the beginning of the research, the hypothesis was that the Persian language has become more simple and constricted based on the linguistic

economy rule and word constriction during the time. But the ratios and amounts were not obvious. On the other hand, differences between the written and the spoken language and verse and prose, the arrival of language in domain of literature and effect of literature on language have made the subject more complex. Equally importantly, the broadness and variety of works in the area of the Persian language and literature, have made it more difficult for research to choose the most representative. The solution was to choose those texts close to spoken language as far as possible and use the experience of researchers and scientists of the Persian language and literature for selection. Therefore, as Persian prose is closer to spoken language and more typical than verse, we decided to investigate prose and to rely upon the selection of Dr. Gholamhossein Yousefi in his two-volume work entitled *Meeting with Writers*. Due to the variety of most of classical texts, 10 texts of the classical era and 7 texts of the contemporary era were selected. Fortunately, during the research, we came to the conclusion that it was a suitable selection which identified transformation ratios and amounts in syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations.

Definitions:
1. Synchronic & Diachronic Linguistics:
"Diachronic linguistics discusses how a language transforms to get its current shape, while, synchronic linguistics considers and describes the current shape of language regardless of its historical record and transformation." (Bateni 1991:78)

2. Syntagmatic & Paradigmatic Relation:
General linguistics was first proposed by Ferdinand de Saussure at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. Saussure divided structural relations of language into two types named syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations. Syntagmatic relation is established between units which exist directly in one structure, but paradigmatic relation is established between units present in one structure, on the one hand, and those not present in that structure, on the other (Ali Mohammad Haghshenas 1991:222).

"Syntagmatic relation demonstrates the relations of elements of speech chain, while, paradigmatic relation indicates the relation between the elements appear actually in one point of speech chain and those can be present in that place." (Bateni 1991:80)
3. Transformation (Deep Structure, Surface Structure and Transformational Rules):
Transformational grammar was first suggested by Noam Chomsky in the book *Syntactic Structures* in 1957. According to Chomsky, if grammar is supposed to manage to describe lingual facts and justify the relations between sentences, it is not

sufficient to only consider objective signs and relations; rather, it should discover the relations hidden in substructure of objective sentences. Hence, there are two structures for each sentence: deep structure which actually identifies semantic and logic relations of elements (constituent) and surface structure which shows the objective aspect of sentences and is not necessarily the same as deep structure. Moreover, he believes that deep structure is changed into surface structure through some limited rules called transformational rules. Transformational rules change deep structures to surface structures through deletion (decrease), substitution, addition (increase) and movement (Bateni 1991:114).

Evidences of Persian Prose:
In this section, Persian texts are first narrated and then rewritten diachronically and their transformations are shown.

1. *Tārix-e Bayhaqi*
Introduction:
Tārix-e Bayhaqi, or *Tārix-e Masoudi*, is a book written by Abolfazl Bayhaqi, a writer and historiographer of the 5th century A.H., whose main subject of interest is the rule of Masoud Ghaznavi. It can be inferred from the text that Bayhaqi has started the narration from 409 A.H. till some time before his death (470 A.H.) (*Tārix-e Bayhaqi*1996: 15).

M.Text
Amir goft: Ān molattafehā-ye xord ke Bunasr-e Moškān to rā dād va goft ān rā saxt puāide bāyad dāsht tā rasānide āyad kojāst? Goft: Man dāram va zin forugereft va miān-e namad bāz kard va molattafeha dar mum gerefte birun kard va pas ān rā az miān-e mum birun gereft. (*Tarix-e Bayhaqi* 1954:27)

Rewriting:
Amir goft: Nāmehā-ye kuchak rā ke Bunasr-e Moškan be to dād va goft bāyad ānhā rā panhani berasāni kojāst? Goft: Dast-e man ast va ziin rā bardāsht va nāmeha rā ke dar mum baste šode budand birun āvard va az mum xareğ kard.

Changes profile:
- Syntagmatic Relation: 50 words are decreased to 40 words.
- Paradigmatic Relation: 9 words are substituted.

2. *Safarnāme-ye Nāser Xosrow*
Introduction*:*
Safarnāme-ye Nāser Xosrow is a book written by Aboumoin Naser-ebn Xosrow-ebn Hares Ghobadiani Balxi, a writer, philosopher and poet of the 5th century A.H. It is a report of a seven-year journey and one of the important literary and historic geography references (*Safarnāme-ye Naser Xosrow* 1984:Introduction).

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M.Text:

Dar vaqti ke man be šahr-e Asvan budam dusti dāštam u rā Abuabdollah Mohammad EbneFalij migoftand, čun az ānja be Izāb hami āmadam name nevešte bud be dusti ya vakili ke u rā be šar-e Izāb bud ke ānče Naser xāhad be vey dahad va xatti bestanad tā vey rā mahsub bašad (*Safarnāme-ye Naser Xosrow* 1984: 84).

Rewriting:

Vaqti ke man dar šahr-e Asvan budam dusti dāštam be nam-e Abuabdollah Mohammad EbneFalij, vaqti ke be šahr-e Izāb miāmadam nāmeyi be yeki az dustān-e xod dar šahr-e Izāb nevešte bud ke ānče man mixāham be man bedahad va rasid begirad.

Changes profile:

- Syntagmatic Relation: 54 words are decreased to 42 words.
- Paradigmatic Relation: 7 words are substituted.

3. *Qabous-nāme*

Introduction*:*

Qabous-nāme is an ethical book compiled by Onsorolmāli Keikavous-ebn Eskandar-ebn Qabous-ebn Vašmgir-ebn Ziyar, in 475 A.H. (*Dehkhoda Lexicon*).

M.Text:

Har soāli ke az to porsand, ān rā ke dāni javāb deh va ān rā ke nadāni beguyi ke čonin masale na sar-e korsi rā bovad be xāne āy tā be xāne javāb daham ke xod kasi be xāne nayāyad bedān sabab va agar ta'ammod konand va besyār nevisand, roqe rā bedar va beguyi ke iin masale-ye molhedān ast va zendiqan ast, sāele iin masala zendiq ast. Hame beguyand ke: Lanat bar molhedān bād va zendiqan; ke digar ān masala az to kas nayārad porsidan (*Qabous-nāme* 1966:160).

Rewriting:

Agar az to čizi beporsand, har če rā midāni javāb bedeh va darbare-ye ānče nemidāni begu ke inja nemitavānam javāb daham. Be xāne-ye man biya tā ānjā javāb-e to rā bedaham. Kasi be xāne-ye to nemiāyad amma agar pāfešari konand va nāme benevisand nāme-ye ānhā rā pare kon va begu ke kaferān čonin porsešhayi mikonand va xoda kaferān rā lanat konad. Be hamin dalil, digar kasi be xod eğaze nemidahad ān masala rā beporsad.

Changes profile:

- Syntagmatic Relation: 82 words are decreased to 76 words.
- Paradigmatic Relation: 21 words are substituted.

4. *Siyāsat-nāme*
Introduction*:*

Siyāsat-nāme is a prose work of the 5th century complied by Xağeh Nezamolmolk, minister of Malek Shah Saljoughi about governorship rules along with historical materials including stories of prophets and kings (Jafar Shoar 1998: Introduction).

M.Text:

Rasul bāyad xedmat-e padshāhān karde bāshad va dar soxan goftan dalir bovad va soxan besyār naguyad va safar besyār karde bāšad va az har daneš bahrei dārad va hāfez va pišbin bovad va qad va manzar niiku dārad (Siāsat-nāme 1961: 120).

Rewriting:

Ferestāde bāyad sābeqe-ye xedmat dar hokumat dāšte bāšad va betavānad be xubi harf bezanad amma porharf nabašad va mosāferat ziad rafte bāšad va az 'olum moxtalef čizi bedānad va hāfeze-ye xubi dašte bāšad tā āyande rā pišbini konad va hamčonin qiafe-ye xubi ham dāšte bāšad.

Changes profile:
- Syntagmatic Relation: 36 words are increased into 47 words.
- Paradigmatic Relation: 12 words are substituted.

5. *Kalile va Demne*
Introduction:

Kalile va Demne is a book translated from Indian language to Middle Persian language in Sassanian era. It is a cautionary work in which different stories are mostly narrated by animals. Ebn Maghfa translated it into Arabic after Islam and in the 6th century, Nasrollah Monši (secretary of King Bahram Ghaznavi) translated it into Persian language (Kalile va Demne 1964: Introduction).

M.Text:

Ātash bā qovvat va heddat-e u agar dar deraxti oftad ānqadr tavānad suxt ke bar ruye zamin bāshad va āb bā lotf va narmi-ye xiš har deraxt rā az ān bozorg tar nabāshad az bix bar andāzad ke biš qarār nagirad (Kalile va Demne 1964: 233).

Rewriting:

Ātash bā ān ke qavi va sarkeš ast agar be deraxti beresad hamān andāze ke ru-ye zamin bāšad misuzānad amma āb ke besyār narm va latif ast ān qadr qodrat dārad ke deraxtane besyār bozorg rā az ğā darāvarad.

Changes profile:
- Syntagmatic Relation: 41 words are decreased into 39 words.
- Paradigmatic Relation: 6 words are substituted.

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6. *Asrar-al-towhid*

Introduction*:*

Asrar-al-towhid is a book written after 130 years of the death of Abousaeid Abolkheir by one of his grandsons, Mohammad-ebn Monavar in 570 A.H. (Zabihollah Safa 1963: 448).

M.Text:

Ruzi … dar miāne soxan goft az sar-e xaneqah tā be bon-e xaneqah hame gohar ast rixte, čera bar načinid? Xalq bāz negaristand, pendāštand gohar ast tā bargirand. Čun nadidand goftand: Ey Šeix mā gohar nemibinim. Šeix goft: Xedmat! Xedmat! (*Asrar-al-towhid* 1953: 226)

Rewriting:

[Abusaiid] Ruzi dar miān-e soxanānaš goft sarāsare xaneqah por az javāherāt ast. Čera barnemyi dārid? Mardom negāh kardand tā javāherāt rā bebinand amma čizi nadidand. Be šeix goftand: Ma čizi nemibinim. U goft: Manzure man az javāherāt, xedmat be xoda ast.

Changes profile:

- Syntagmatic Relation: 40 words are increased into 41 words.
- Paradigmatic Relation: 7 words are substituted.

7. *Samak-e ayyar*

Introduction*:*

Samak-e ayyar is one of the oldest samples of story writing in Persian literature written in the 6th century A.H. and compiled by Faramarz-ebn Xodadad-ebn Kateb Arjani (Mohammad Moein, *Persian Lexicon* 1996: Alam).

M.Text:

Javānmardi az ān-e javānmardān ast va agar zani javānmardi konad, mard ān ast. Samak porsid ke: az javānmardi kodām šoqqe dari? Ruhafzā goft: Az javānmardi, amānatdāri be kamāl dāram ke agar kasi rā kāri oftad va be mani haǧat ārad, man jān piš-e u separ konam va mennat bar ǧān dāram va bedu yār bāšam va agar kasi dar zinhāre man āyad be ǧān az dast nadaham tā jānam bāšad (*Samak-e ayyar* 1947: 47).

Rewriting:

Javānmardi sefat-e javānmardān ast va rabti be zan yā mard budan nadārad. Samak porsid az javānmardi če nešāneye xubi dari? pasox dād: Amānat dari rā kamelan dar xod dāram be tori ke agar kasi be man niāz peydā konad bā ǧān va del be u komak mikonam va agar be man panāh biāvarad tā jān dar badan dāram be u panāh midaham.

Changes profile:

- Syntagmatic Relation: 70 words are decreased into 62 words.

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- Paradigmatic Relation: 10 words are substituted.

8. *Golestan-e Sādi*
Introduction*:*

Golestan-e Sādi is a book written by the Iranian famous poet and writer, Sādi Shirazi, written in the 7th century, year 656 A.H.; it contains an introduction and eight chapters in rhyming prose. This book mostly contains cautionary short stories.

M.Text:

Har ke bā badān nešinad, agar niz tabiy'ate išān dar u asar nakonad, be fele išān mottaham gardad tā agar be xarābāti ravad be namāz kardan, mansub šavad be xamr xordan (Sādi, *Golestan* 1998: 185).

Rewriting:

Har kas bā adamhā-ye bad raft va āmad konad hatta agar mesle ānhā našavad dar bein-e mardom mottaham mišavad ke mānande ānhā ast be tori ke agar be gušeyi barā-ye namāz xāndan beravad, miguyand rafte ast šarāb bexorad.

Changes profile:
- Syntagmatic Relation: 30 words are increased into 35 words.
- Paradigmatic Relation: 8 words are substituted.

9. *Axlaq-al-ashraf*
Introduction*:*

Axlaq-al-ašraf is a satiric monograph by Obayd Zakani, writer and poet of the 8th century A.H. (date of death: 772 A.H.), criticizing the social conditions of the time.

M.Text:

Az bozorgi ravāyat konand ke čun nān dar khāne-ye u pazand, yek yek nān be dast-e namobārak dar barābar-e čašm-e xod dārad va beguyad: Hargez xalali be ruzgārat marasād va be xāzen sepārad (Obayd Zakani 1957: 215).

Rewriting:

Dar bāre-ye yeki az bozorgān gofteand ke vaqti dar xāneaš nān mipāzand, [Az fart-e xasis budan] nānhā rā nemixorad va dar moqabel-e čašmaš migirad va miguyad: Xoda konad sālem bemānid va dastur midahad ānhā rā dar jayi mahfuz negāh dārand.

Changes profile:
- Syntagmatic Relation: 30 words are increased into 35 words.
- Paradigmatic Relation: 4 words are substituted.

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10. *Lataef-al-tavaef*
Introduction:

Lataef-al-tavaef is one of the most important Persian satires compiled by Molana Fakhraddin Alisafi in the 10th century A.H. This book is a collection of epigrams narrated in different ways among epigramists many centuries ago.

M.Text:

Hakimi bād az kadxodai (dāmād šodan) goft: Ta mā moǧarrad budim, kadxodayan gong budand, yāni mā rā be nasihat mane' nakardand, aknun ke kadxoda šodim, mojarradān kār gašteand, yāni nasihate mā nemišenavand (Lataef-al-tavaef 1957:197).

Rewriting:

Dānešmandi bād az ān ke ezdevāǧ kard goft: Ta ezdevāǧ nakarde budim kasi mā rā nasihat nemikard ke ezdevāǧ nakonim; mesle inke hame lāl šode budand. Amma halā ke ezdevāǧ kardeim hame kār šodeand va be harf-e mā guš nemikonand.

Changes profile:

- Syntagmatic Relation: 30 words are increased into 44 words.
- Paradigmatic Relation: 8 words are substituted.

11. *Dāstan-e Amir Arsalan*
Introduction:

Dāstan-e Amir Arsalan is a story in Persian language written by Mirza Mohammadali Naghibolmamalek, storyteller of Naseraddin Ghajar. Amir Arsalan is one of the most famous Persian colloquial stories.

M.Text:

Laškariān-e farangi ke moddat-e hiǧdah sāl dar rum xorde va xābide, xodešān tanbal va aslahe az kār oftāde, yeki šamširaš dar dokkan-e halvāi geroe halvaǧozi, yeki xanǧaraš šekaste, yeki asbaš morde, yeki zin va barg-e asbaš rā foruxte; Amirāne farangi dar kamāl-e dastpāčegi va taǧil, čonin sepāhi ra jam'e kardand (Amir Arsalan 1961: 28).

Rewriting:

Sarbāzān-e xāreǧi ke moddat-e heǧdah sāl dar rum xorde va xābide budand, tanbal šode va qodrate xod rā az dast dāde budand; be tori ke šamšir va xanǧarešān dar geroe xord o xorākešān bud; va vasāyel-e ǧangi rā niz az dast dāde budand va farmāndehān bā aǧale tavānestand in sepah-e parākande rā jam'e va ǧur konand.

Changes profile:

- Syntagmatic Relation: 52 words are increased into 54 words.
- Paradigmatic Relation: 8 words are substituted.

12. *Masir-e Talebi*

Introduction*:*

Masir-e Talebi, is a well-known travel journal written by Aboutaleb-ebn-Mohammad Esfahani (of Iranian origin, but grown up in India), who wrote his journey notes after returning from England to India in 1219 A.H.

M.Text:

Ghoraba (faqirān) az in qarye bedān qarye va az qora be šahrha āmad va raft karde, moāmelāt namāyand. Šanide šod ke dar molk-e Valandiz, mardom manāzel bedin raveš qat karde, sadha miil rāh ravand va pirzanān sabad-e toxm-e morgh bar sar va bače dar baghal gerefte, dar yek sa'at az bist miil be bāzār-e šahr āyand va b'ad-e foruš, šam našode, be hamān vatir-e be xāne-ye xod bargardand (Masir-e Talebi 1973: 86).

Rewriting:

Mardom-e faqir az in deh be ān deh va az dehāt be šahrhā raft va āmad mikardand tā čizi beforušand. Šanideam ke dar mantaqe-ye Valandiz mardom kilometrha rāh miravand, hatta pirzanān sabad-e toxm-e morgh bar sar migozārand va bače dar baghal migirand va dar yek ruz in rahhā-ye tulani rā barāye residan be shahr va forukhtane ajnāse khod tay mikonand va šab be hamin surat be xane barmigardand.

Changes profile:

- Syntagmatic Relation: 71 words are increased into 73 words.
- Paradigmatic Relation: 8 words are substituted.

13. *Siyahat-nāme-ye Ebrahim Bayg*

Introduction*:*

Siyahat-nāme-ye Ebrahim Bayg is written by Zeinolabedin Maraghei (1255-1328 A.H.), one of the liberals of Iran parliamentary period. This book played an important role to warn people of that era.

M.Text:

Har gāh to šā'eri va az hekmate š'er xabar dāri, sargozašt-e emruzi-ye mā rā nazm karde, dar šahr samar kon va hamvatanānat rā az hoquqe bašariie-ye xodešān biāgāhān. (*Siyahat-name-ye Ebrahim Bayg* 1325A.H.:124)

Rewriting:

Agar to šā'er hasti va midāni š'er che arzeši dārad, bāyad sargozašt-e emruz-e mā rā be š'er dar āvari va bar sar-e zabānha biandāzi va mardom rā az hoquq-e xodešān agāh koni.

Changes profile:

- Syntagmatic Relation: 26 words are increased into 32 words.
- Paradigmatic Relation: 6 words are substituted.

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14. *Čarand-o parand*

Introduction*:*

Čarand-o parand is considered as one of the most important political satires, written after the establishment of the parliamentary system in Iran by Aliakbar Dehkhoda under the pseudonym "Dekho" and published in Sour Esrafil Journal.

M.Text:

Inhā rā mardom halā tāze mifahmand; amma man az qadim mifahmidam; barā-ye inke man geryehā-ye mādaram rā dide budam, barā-ye inke man midānestam esm-e vakil, halā halā xasiat-e xodaš rā dar Iran xahad baxšid, barā-ye inke man čašmha-ye mesl-e azragh-e šami-e bābām hanuz yādam bud (Gholamhossein Yousofi 1997: 173).

Rewriting:

Inhā rā taze mardom halā mifahmand, amma man az qadim mifahmidam; barā-ye inke man geryehā-ye mādaram rā dide budam; barā-ye inke man midanestam ke esm-e namāyande halā halā dar Iran asar xahad dašt; barā-ye inke man čašmha-ye xire-ye bābām yādam bud.

 Changes profile:

- Syntagmatic Relation: 50 words are decreased into 45 words.
- Paradigmatic Relation: 3 words are substituted.

15. *Šams va Toghra*

Introduction*:*

The historic novel of *Šams va Toghra,* written by Mirza Bagher Xosravi (1285) during the parliamentary system is focused on the role of women.

M.Text:

Avām čandān mārefat va dāneši nadārand ke be ma'yeb va zarar-e har kār fekr konand. Hamin qadr ke bahāne be dast āvarde be hayağān āmadand digar na molaheze az bāzxaste soltān va na az qatl va ghārat dārand. Dar ān moghe na digar faryād-e oghalā va na nasāyeh va mavāeze olamā va dānešmandān samari be hāl-e ānh-ā namibaxšad va taskin-e ānhā ğoz be dam-e šamšir va qatl-e hezārān nafar moškel ast (*Šams va Toghra* 1951: 219).

Rewriting:

Mardome 'ādi ānqadr fekr namikonand ke kārhā če nafe' va zarari bara-ye ānhā dārad. Hamin andāze ke tahrik šavand be hayağān miāyand va dast be kāri mizanand ke kasi digar namitavānad ğelŏ-e ānhā rā begirad va hokumat mağbur mišavad bā qodrat va zur bā ānhā barxord konad.

 Changes profile:

- Syntagmatic Relation: 71 words are decreased into 50 words.
- Paradigmatic Relation: 6 words are substituted.

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16. *Yeki boud yeki naboud*
Introduction*:*

Seyed Mohammadali Jamalzadeh, Iranian contemporary writer and translator, died in 1997. He published the first collection of Iranian short stories entitled *Yeki boud yeki naboud* in 1921. His stories demonstrate criticism of the political and social situation at that time, in a simple and satiric language full of proverbs and colloquial expressions.

M.Text:

Mahtāb sartāsar-e ālam rā gerefte bud va divārhā va pošt-e bāmhā mesl-e inke noqre gerefte bašand, mesl-e šir sefid budand va gonbad-e mased-e Šāh az dur hālate yek toxm-e morgh-e 'azimi rā dāšt va manāreha ham mesl-e do angušti budand ke ān toxm-e morgh rā dar miān gerefte bāšand. Az ān durdastha gāhgāhi moğe nasiim sedā-ye āvāz-e širini rā be guš miresand (*Yeki boud yeki naboud* 1922: 83)

Rewriting:

Mahtāb hame jā rā gerefte bud va divārha va pošte bāmhā mesl-e noqre va šir sefid šode budand va gonbad-e masğed-e Šāh az dur mesl-e toxm-e morgh-e bozorgi bud ke do manāre mesl-e do angušt ān rā dar miān gerefte budand va gāhi sedā-ye zibāyi az dur be guš miresid.

Changes profile:
- Syntagmatic Relation: 63 words are decreased into 50 words.
- Paradigmatic Relation: 4 words are substituted.

17. *Jāfar-xan az farang āmade*
Introduction*:*

Hassan Moghadam is one of the first Iranian dramatists. He started writing plays and artistic and literary articles after finishing his studies in Europe and returning to Iran in 1918. One of his famous plays is *Jāfar-xan az farang āmade,* fully written in spoken language.

M.Text:

Inhā ke … nistand, mesl-e ādam araq az angur yā az kešmeš begirand. Šomā Āqāğun halā ke be salāmati umadid mamlekat-e xodetun, bāyad be rosum-e Iruni 'ādat konid (Gholamhossein Yousofi 1997: 301).

Rewriting:

Inhā kasi nistand, mesl-e ādam araq az angur yā az kešmeš begirand. Šomā Āqāğun halā ke be salāmati umadid mamlekat-e xodetun, bāyad be rosum-e Iruni 'ādat konid.

Changes profile:
- Syntagmatic Relation: 27 words are increased into 29 words.
- Paradigmatic Relation: no word is substitute.

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(Table 1)

Transformation in the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations in old Persian texts

No	Title	Synt. Trans.	Parad. Trans.
1	Tarix-e Bayhaqi	20% decrease	18%
2	Safarname-ye Naser Xosrow	22% decrease	13%
3	Qabous-name	7.25% decrease	25.50%
4	Siasat-name	30.50% increase	33.25%
5	Kalile va Demne	7.25% decrease	14.50%
6	Asrar-al-towhid	2.50% increase	17.50%
7	Samak-e ayyar	11.25% decrease	14.25%
8	Golestan-e Saadi	16.50% increase	26.50%
9	Axlaq-al-ashraf	16.50% increase	13.25%
10	Lataef-al-tavaef	46.50% increase	26.50%

(Table 2)

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Transfprmation in the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations in contemporay Persian texts

No	Title	Synt. Trans.	Parad. Trans.
1	Dastan-e Amir Arsalan	3.50% increase	15.25%
2	Masir-e Talebi	2.50% increase	11.25%
3	Siahat-name-ye Ebrahim Bayg	23% increase	23%
4	Charand-o parand	10% decrease	6%
5	Shams va Toghra	29.50% decrease	8.25%
6	Yeki boud yeki naboud	20.50% decrease	6.25%
7	Jaafar-xan az farang amade	7.25% increase	0%

(Table 3)

Contrastive average of transformation in syntagmatic relations

(Table 4)

Contrastive average of transformation in paradigmatic relations
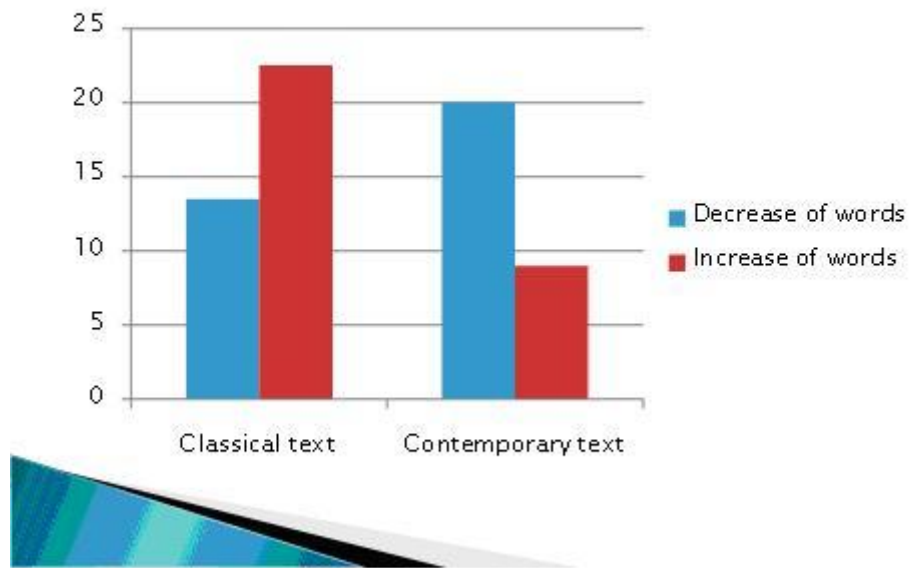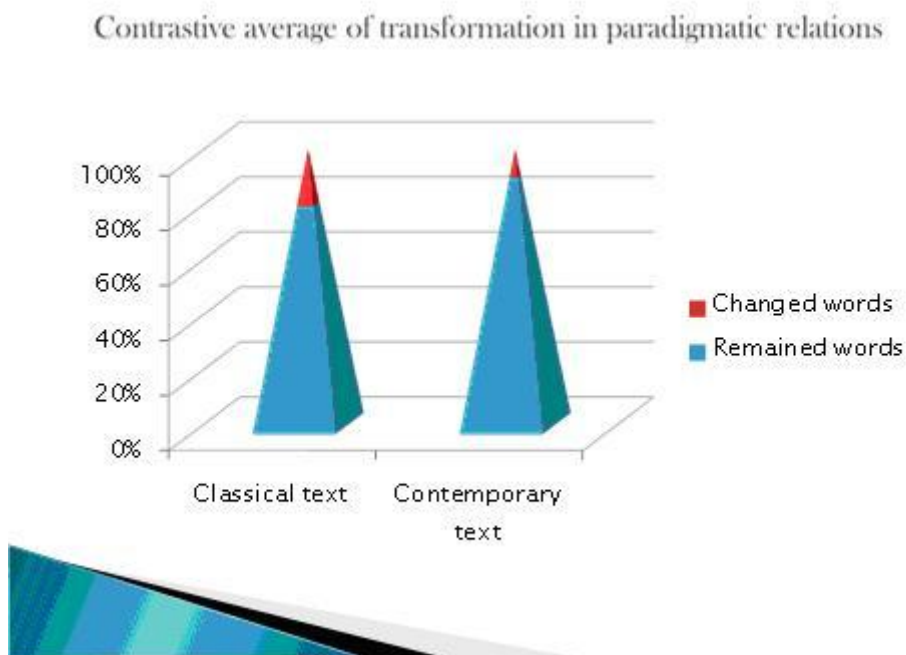
Analysis & Conclusion:

A) Statistical Analysis
1. Percent of transformation in syntagmatic relations is as follow in ascending order:
1.1. Classical texts:
1.1.1. Decrease of words
 Safarname-ye Naser Xosrow (22%)- *Tarix-e Bayhaqi* (20%)- *Samak-e ayyar* (11.25%)- *Kalile va Demne* and *Qabous-name* (7.25%)
1.1.2. Increase of words
Lataef-al-tavaef (46.5%)- *Siyasat-name* (30.5%)- *Golestan-e Sādi* and *Axlaq-al-ashraf* (16.5%)- *Asrar-al-towhid* (2.5%)
1.2. Contemporary texts:
1.2.1. Decrease of words

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Shams va Toghra (29.5%)- *Yeki boud yeki naboud* (20.5%)- *Charand-o parand* (10%)

1.2.2. Increase of words

Siyahat-name-ye Ebrahim Bayg (23%)- *Jāfar-xan az farang amade* (7.25%)- *Dastan-e Amir Arsalan* (3.5%)- *Masir-e Talebi* (2.5%)

2. *Percent of transformation in paradigmatic relations is as follow in ascending order:*

2.1. Classical texts:

Siyasat-name (33.25%)- *Golestan-e Sādi* and *Lataef-al-tavaef* (26.5%)- *Qabous-name* (25.5%)- *Tarix-e Bayhaqi* (18%)- *Asrar-al-towhid* (17.5%)- *Kalile va Demne* (14.5%)- *Samak-e ayyar* (14.25%)- *Axlaq-al-ashraf* (13.25%)- *Safarname-ye Naser Xosrow* (13%)

2.2. Contemporary texts:

Siyahat-name-ye Ebrahim Bayg (23%)-*Dastan-e Amir Arsalan* (15.25%)- *Masir-e Talebi* (11.25%)-*Shams va Toghra* (8.25%)- *Yeki boud yeki naboud* (6.25%)- *Charand-o parand* (6%)- *Jāfar-xan az farang amade* (0%)

3. *Contrastive average of transformation in syntagmatic relations is as follows:*

3.1. Classical texts:

3.1.1. Decrease of words in classical texts: 13.5%

3.1.2. Increase of words in classical texts: 22.5%

3.2. Contemporary texts:

3.2.1. Decrease of words in contemporary texts: 20%

3.2.2. Increase of words in contemporary texts: 9%

4. *Contrastive average of transformation in paradigmatic relations is as follows:*

4.1. Changed words in classical texts: 20.25%

4.2. Changed words in contemporary texts: 10%

B) Research Findings

Findings demonstrate that:

1. The diachronic transformation of the Persian language occurs in two syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes with different rates.

2. On the syntagmatic axis, transformations involve increase and decrease processes.

3. The words increasing or decreasing in syntagmatic axis is completely dependent on the type of text, not on the diachronic transformation.

4. Words increase and decrease domain in syntagmatic axis depends on diachronic transformation if words decrease in contemporary texts is more than classical texts and words increase in contemporary texts is less than classical texts.

5. In paradigmatic axes, words substitution depends on diachronic transformation if paradigmatic transformation of contemporary era is in descending order compared with classical era.

6. Words substitution in each text is determined by the type of that text although it shows diachronic descending order.

7. This research smoothes the way for the next researches to study the relation of Persian language texts with language transformation.

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THE MORPHO-SYNTAX OF THE NUMERAL IN THE SPOKEN ARABIC OF TUNIS

Gabriel Bițună
University of Bucharest

1. Introduction

In this study, I set myself to analyze the numeral in the Spoken Arabic of Tunis (subsequently called SAT). SAT belongs to the Maghrebi dialectal group, which extends from Libya to Mauritania, a group that shares a series of particularities like: the /*n-*/ prefix at the prefixal conjugation (first person of the singular); the lack of the glottal stop attained through the switch of the /*q*/ consonant, which stays as such or switches to /*g*/ (just as it occurs in the **gələt** Mesopotamian dialectal group, situated at the other end, the Eastern one); the quasi-disappearance of the inherited glottal stop; the existence of the negation circumfix; all these dialects are built on a Berber sublayer and, also, on a neo-Latin (French, Italian, Spanish) superlayer, etc.

The spoken Arabic of Tunis, a city with a population of over one million inhabitants, is rather heterogeneous, due to the continuous migration of the labor force from the provincial areas towards the capital city, and each of those people bring along their maternal sub-dialect. Under these conditions, it is hard, especially to the outside researcher, to establish the variations of SAT, which do not contain influences of other dialectal areas. In order to further limit the possibility of encountering such interferences, I have chosen a relatively homogeneous group of informants. Therefore, the recording corpus on which the entire study is based has been extracted from live and direct conversations with three informants, with ages that range between 25 and 30 years. On top of that, I have also recorded a series of conversations held between the inhabitants, on site, in the public space. I have spent a month in the company of the three main informants, all of them being college graduates. I have to mention that their families come from different areas of the country, but they were born and raised in Tunis, where they have been living all their life, SAT being the linguistic system that they think in. I have eliminated all the incomplete or elliptical fragments from the corpus, to avoid further interpretation mistakes.

2. General observations regarding the numeral

The numerals in SAT can be divided into 3 sub-classes, which differentiate themselves, from a syntactical and semantical point of view: the cardinal numerals, the ordinal numerals and the fractional numerals.

As a general observation, the numerals in SAT have, from a morphological and syntactical point of view, the greater Tunisian Arabic as a basis, which, in comparison to the literary (classical, standard) Arabic (subsequently called CA), carries forth a myriad of simplifications, as well as some innovations, some of them being easy to notice at the level of the entire Maghrebi dialectal group, while others being entirely particular to this dialect.

One other noticeable fact would be that, during the speech of more educated persons, there have been sightings of interferences between the system of the numeral in SAT and the one in CA, either on a phonetical level, or on a semantical one.

3. The cardinal numeral

3.1. The units in SAT, meaning the series from *wāḥəd* (one) to *ᶜašra* (ten), is as follows:

wāḥəd / wāḥda	one (masc.)/ one (fem.)
ⁱtnīn / zūz	two (masc.)/ two (fem.)
tlēta	three
arbaᶜa	four
ḫamsa	five
sətta	six
sabᶜa	seven
ⁱtmēnya	eight
təsᶜa	nine
ᶜašra	ten

3.1. **The system of the units** presents a single innovation, at the lexical level: the utterance *zūz* (two), that replaced the inherited form *iṯnīn* , in the counting of the objects in all the Maghrebi dialects (with the variations of *zōz, žūž, žōž*), just as all those who studied this dialect, have previously stated, among which there is also Mejri: "the dual form [of the substantive] is replaced by the numeral *zūz* [followed by a plural substantive], a deformation of the utterance *zawž* (pair)" (2000: 57).

3.2. *iṯnīn*, is used "when it is not required to be followed by a substantive or when it is expressed along with *tens*" (Jourdan, 1929:86). To summarize up, one can state that *zūz* is compatible with the quantification, through the *status constructus*, while *iṯnīn* is the only one that adds up to the *tens,* to express the numerals constituted of *tens* and *units*.

> *is-sūm mtāᶜhā-s-sirwāl iṯnīn w ṯlāṯīn dīnār*
> the price of those pants is 32 dinars
> *il-ambūba bə-ṯnīn w ᶜašrīn dīnār*
> the light bulb costs 22 dinars

3.3. For the quantification of two entities, SAT knows another way: the use of a specific dual morpheme. The dual takes shape through the affixation of the substantive with the *īn*, a specific ending, noted also by Melki: "The dual is expressed in two ways: *zūz* + the plural of the substantive or by adding the dual terminations *-īn* or *-tīn* (for the feminine) to the singular substantives" (1988:143).

From a phonetic point of view, /i/ from *-īn* is the result of the transformation of /ay/ diphthong, at an earlier stage into /ē/, just as it occurs in many other Arabic, then, on a later stage, its' transformation in /ī/, as it occurs with *iṯnīn.*

The dual, in SAT, has a limited area of usage:
 – with the units for measuring:
a) the time:

> *ᶜām - ᶜamīn* / one year – two years
>
> *sāᶜa - saᶜatīn* / one hour – two hours
> Examples:

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koll ʿamīn nemšī l-jandūba w nəṣṭād ḫaywenēt məl-ġāba

every two years, I go to Jandouba and I hunt animals in the forest.

b) the quantity:

ḫobza – ḫobəztīn / one loaf of bread – two loafs of bread

 ītra – ītərtīn / one liter – two liters

c) the space, etc.:

   mitər – mitərīn / one meter – two meters

− at the paired parts of the body:

yed – yidīn / one hand – two hands

 ʿīn – ʿnīn / one eye – two eyes

Examples:

mšā ʿalā sāqi�basᵗʰ mən sīdi bū saʿīd ḫattā tūnəs.

He went on foot, from Sidi Bou Said all the way to Tunis.

4. **Numerals from two to ten** have a unique form.

4.1. What is noticeable is that, the signifiers of the *units* that contain the interdental /ṯ/ în CA, in SAT, that consonant will often alternate with its' dental correspondent /t/. The functioning of this consonant, as of the other interdentals, proves a high instability, sometimes even at the same speaker, which makes us wonder if we can consider it as an independent phoneme or just an allophone of the correspondent occlusive or vice-versa. Therefore, there is an alternation: ⁱṯnīn

− ⁱtnīn (two), *ṯlēṯa – tlēṯa – tlēta* (three)*, ṯmēnya – tmēnya* (eight).

Also, the vowel /a/ undergoes the phenomenon of *imāla*, that is its' switch to [ē], when it is /a/ long vowel, or in a *schwa* [ə], when it is a short vowel: *ṯlēṯa, ṯmēnya,* respectively *sətta* and *təsʿa.*

All the signifiers of the numerals from three to ten, end in *a,* which is formally, a feminine mark, but it no longer contrasts an eventual masculine mark. This unique form is used both at the quantification, and also at the abstract usage of the numeral.

arbaʿmīye w ḫamsa

four hundred five

mīye w ṯlēṯa w ḫamsīn

one hundred thirty five

4.2. From the available corpus, the rule that the quantified substantives follow is: the positioning after the numeral, at the plural number. In CA, the rule is a bit stricter: "The cardinal numbers from three to ten are always substantives. They […] [precede the substantives, that designate an object] […]; in which case, the numeral governs the other substantive in the genitive of the plural […]" (Wright, 1966:255). Moreover, in the suite of *ṯlēṯa-ʿašra* comes *zūz* along, fact noted also by J. Jourdan: "The substantive that follows a number between two and ten, switches to plural" (1929: 86). Due to the continuous simplification of the language, the declination of the substantives is no longer present in SAT.

  Thus, among the noticeable facts, is only the utilization of the plural of the substantives standing along the numerals in this category.

4.3. The numerals in this series **can be utilized isolated**, with the meaning of the substantives that they quantify. This application has persisted also in SAT, its' origin going back to CA: "The rule […] applies also when the number in use is isolated, referring to a substantive that has been previously mentioned or that is already understood in context" (Beckley, 2004: 921).

  yuskun maʿ ṯlēṯa wallā arbʿa yeẖdəmū maʿaʰ

  he lives with three or four that work with him

  iz-zūz yaqraw fī fard jemʿa

  the two of them study in some university

4.4. From the available corpus, I mention a few examples that better reflect the application of the counting rule of the series *zūz - ʿašra:*

  šuft zūz ṣḥābī l-bēreẖ

  yesterday I saw two of my friends

  ir-rājəl ʿanduʰ zūz wulād w ṯlēṯa bnāt.

  the man has two boys and three girls

  mšīnā nṣṭādū w ẖarrajnā ʿarbaʿa ẖūtēt tōn w sabʿa drāš məl ẖūt lēẖər

  we went fishing and we caught four tuna fish and seven of the other types of fish

  konnā jīn fīṯ-ṯniyya maʿ zūz ṣḥābī w rīnā ẖamsa krāhab quddēma dār

  we were walking along the street with two of my friends and we saw five cars in front of a house

  fī ṛ-ṛaẖba ṯamma sətta mʿiz kaẖla w ṯmēniya ʿlēləš mārōn

  on the field, there are six black goats and eight brown lambs

I point out the exception of this rule that I noticed in many circumstances. The utterance *dīnār,* although it has a plural form (*danānīr* sau *dīnārāt*), stays as such, in the singular form, no matter what the preceding number would be.

5. **The numeral "one"** has two forms, one for the masculine (*wāḥəd*), and another one for the feminine (*wāḥda*). The signifier of the numeral "one", from SAT, underwent a series of phonetic switches, in comparison with the form used in CA. From *wāḥid,* followed by an *imāla* (a bending) – that is the phonetic phenomenon through which the /a/ vowel posteriorizes – the long vowel /ā/ switched to [ē], and the *i* vowel, found between the occlusive /d/ and the posterior /ḥ/, posteriorized also, switching to [ə]. The result: *wāḥəd*. Its' feminine counterpart, *wāḥda,* having *wāḥida* as its' CA correspondent, switched also, undergoing the *imāla* phenomenon, at the level of the long vowel *ā,* while the other two syllables of the CA pertaining substantive, contracted themselves, eliminating the /i/ vowel.

The numeral *wāḥəd / wāḥda,* with an adjectival value, is always postpositioned to the substantive, having a *singulative* value "one and only one", therefore an emphasis occurs, having seen that, in order to express the singular, the substantive as such suffices. Malki notes the same fact: "The number [*wāḥəd*] is generally used as an adjective, when it is desired to highlight the existence of one of those substantives that designate objects" (1988:11).

> *qaddēš mən kelb hnā? mā ṭamma kēn kelb wāḥəd*
> how many dogs are here? there is only one dog
> *ṭamma wlayyəd wāḥəd fī l-qəsm*
> there is only one little boy in the classroom
> *ṭamma kēn ṭāwla wāḥda fī l-bīt*
> there is only one table in the room

5.1. Remark: *wāḥəd,* with its' allomorph *ḥadd,* can be utilized as an undefined pronoun, especially in negative or restrictive constructions, formed with the *ḥatta* (*ḥattā*) conjunction:

> *ena ma naʿrefš ḥatta wāḥəd*
> I do not know anyone

mšīt li l-qahwā w ma lqītš ḥatta ḥadd

I went to the coffee house and I have not met anyone

5.2. I have also noticed another use of the numeral *wāḥəd* in the construction *wāḥəd mən* (one of), with a partitive meaning:

wāḥəd mənkom dḫal il-ḫānūt

one of you entered the shop

5.3. The numeral, in an isolated form, can be used directly, with a pronominal function, replacing the noun or the pronoun:

wāḥəd walla zūz rawnī w ena nsūq fī l-bisklēt

one or two saw me riding the bicycle

5.4. The utterance *waḥd* needs to be signaled, being an utterance which Jourdan calls the attention on: "do not mistake the substantive *waḥd* with the numeral with adjectival value *wāḥəd*; the first of the tow having the meaning <*unit*>[...]" (1929: 86-87). *Waḥd,* sufixated with a personal pronoun has the value of an intensifier:

ᶜalī fṭar il- kəskəsī waḥdu^h

Ali ate the *kuskus* alone

ḫallītu^h fid-dār waḥdu^h

I left him alone (by himself) in the house

5.5. The feminine form of this numeral, *wāḥda*, is often mistaken for *waḥda* "unit" or "piece". For disambiguation, a substitute of it starts to appear on a more and more general level in SAT, *kaᶜba* (a piece), with the plural *kaᶜbēt*:

ᶜandikš tfāḥ? aᶜṭīnī ᶜašrīn kaᶜba

do you have apples? give me twenty pieces

6. The *tens* in SAT

The signifiers of the tens from eleven to nineteen consist of the signifier of the unit and the signifier of the numeral *ᶜašra* (ten):

ḥdāš	eleven
ⁱṯnāš	twelve
ṯlaṭṭāš	thirteen
arbaʿaṭṭāš	fourteen
ḫomstāš	fifteen
səṭṭāš	sixteen
sabʿaṭṭāš	seventeen
ṯmāntāš	eighteen
tsaʿaṭṭāš	nineteen

6.1.   A first observation is required here, regarding the disappearance of the pharyngeal /ʿ/ from the composition of the *ten*. This phenomenon is signaled by Abderrahim Youssi (1992: 170) for some variations of the spoken Arabic of the Southern Morocco; also, the phenomenon is encountered in other Arabic dialects, much more remote. If, in the case of the two numerals in the suite *ḥdāš* (eleven) and

ⁱṯnāš (twelve), the pharyngeal from the signifier "ten (teen)" disappeared without leaving any trace, from thirteen to nineteen, although the way of forming it is the same (that is the feminine signifier of the unity ended in -*at* + the *ten*), the pharyngeal disappears without trace in two situations: *ḫomstāš* and *ṯmāntāš,* but in the other occurrences it is totally assimilated to the /t/, and causes it to emphasize itself, being also a posterior consonant: *ṯlaṭṭāš*, *arbaʿaṭṭāš*, *səṭṭāš*, *sabʿaṭṭāš* and *tsaʿaṭṭāš.*

6.2.   From a syntactic point of view, the simplification of the language has eliminated the declination of the noun, so that, in SAT, "from *ḥdāš* to *tsaʿaṭṭāš*, one uses the numeral, followed up by an *n,* followed by the singular substantive" (Melki, 1988: 11). Jourdan mentions that "from ten and above, the counted substantives remain at the singular number" (1929: 107). I confirm the existence of the /n/ in my recorded corpus:

> *il-ʿām ʿanduʰ ⁱṯnāš-ən šaʰr*
>
> the year has twelve months

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ṯamma ḫdāš-n kursī fī ṯ-ṯāwla amma eḥna ṯnāš

there are elven chairs at the table, but we are twelve

il-yūm, rīt ḫomstāš-ən kar^haba mtāᶜ-l-būlīsiyya

today, I saw fifteen police cars

7.   The *tens* from twenty to ninety nine.

ᶜašrīn	twenty
ṯlēṯīn	thirty
arbaᶜīn	forty
ḫamsīn	fifty
sittīn	sixty
sabᶜīn	seventy
ṯmēnīn	eighty
təsᶜīn	ninety

7.1.   The signifiers of the *tens* from twenty to ninety, take shape, just as in all the other known variations of dialectal Arabic, through the suffixation of the *units,* which lost its' ending /*a/,* with ordinary masculine plural morpheme -*īn* (Jourdan, 1929:108). The exception of the rule is *ᶜašrīn*, which is derived from *ᶜašra* (ten), but in this situation, the ending -*īn* doesn't seem to be the plural one, but the dual ending that is often mistaken in other Maghrebi dialects (Youssi, 1992: 170). The explanation is tempting but, in this case, how could the *ᶜišrūn-išrīn* from CA be explained, where there is clearly the occurrence of the plural morpheme with both its' casual variations.

7.2.   **The topic** of these numerals, when they combine themselves with the *units*, is: the *unit*, followed by the signifier of the *tens,* the two being coordinated by the conjuction *w* (and).

sətta w ṯlēṯīn

thirty (and) six

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7.3.   From a **syntactic** point of view, the tens, in SAT, follow a simple rule: the quantificators are always at the singular number, and the *unit* from the composition of the *tens* stays invariable, disregarding the gender of the substantive that the quantificator is expressed through:

šrīnā ḫamsīn dabbūza būgā w sabʿīn ītrā mē li s-sahreya

(we) bought fifty bottles of Buga and seventy liters of water for the *soiree*

ḫoḏtiš ʿašrīn təḏkira li l-mahrejēn?

did you take twenty tickets for the festival?

iš-ša^hr mtāʿ wūt ʿandu^h wāḥəd w ṯlēṯīn nhār

the month of August has thirty one days

8.   The hundreds

mīya / mīye	one hundred
mītīn	two hundred
ṯlēṯamīye	three hundred
arbʿamīye	four hundred
ḫamsamīye	five hundred
səttamīye	six hundred
sabʿamīye	seven hundred
ṯmēnyamīye	eight hundred
təsʿamīye	nine hundred

8.1.   The signifiers of the hundreds take shape through a combination, having the monem *mīya (mīye)* as a main element, where the disappearance of the glottal stop is visible (see CA: *miʾa*), that is being assimilated by the vowel /i/, which becomes a long vowel.

Mīya is preceded by the *units*, with only one exception, that being the signifier for "two hundred", where the dual form is used, with the ending -*īn* and some other internal switches: *mītīn*.

The numeral *mīya* has a form for the abstract counting and for the quantification of the objects (where a variation exists – a longer form, with /t/, when the numeral precedes a substantive that ends in a vowel).

The multiples of the *hundreds* result from the annexation of the *units* in front of the signifier *mīya* (*mīye*).

In the compositions with *hundreds*, the order: the *hundred* and the block formed by *unit-ten*.

arbaᶜmīye w ḫamsa

four hundred five

mīye w ṯlēṯa w ḫamsīṇ

one hundred fifty three

mītīn w sətta w təsᶜīn

two hundred ninety six

šuft mīyat afīš mtāᶜ kōnsērt šēgī

I saw a hundred posters with Shaggy's concert

8.2. From a syntactic point of view, the quantified object sits after *mīya / mīye* and is always at the singular number:

id-dabbūza b-itertīn b-sabᶜamīye w ḫamsīn frank

The two liter bottle costs seven hundred fifty milims

b-qaddēš bākū lejēr? alfīn w mīye w ḫamsīn. w malbūrū lāyt? arbᶜā ᵃlēf w

ḫamsamīye

how much for the pack of Legere? Two thousand (two dinars) and one hundred fifty. And the pack of Marlboro Lights? Four thousand and five hundred

il-mālek ᶜaṭā sətta mīyet warda li l-amīra

the king gave the princess six hundred roses

mīye [d]žēža

one hundred chickens

9. **The *thousands***

alf/ elf	one thousand
alfīn	two thousand

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tlētā ᵃlēf	three thousand
arbʿā ᵃlēf	four thousand
ḥamsā ᵃlēf	five thousand
səttā ᵃlēf	six thousand
sabʿā ᵃlēf	seven thousand
tmēnyā ᵃlēf	eight thousand
təsʿā ᵃlēf	nine thousand
ʿašrā ᵃlēf	ten thousand
arbaʿīn alf	forty thousand
mīyet alf	one hundred thousand
sabʿamīyet alf	seven hundred thousand
təsʿamīyet alf	nine hundred thousand

The signifier _alf,_ with the variation _elf_, where /a/ underwent an _imāla_, acts like any other substantive in relation to the cardinal numeral, that is it switches to the plural _alēf_, from three to ten; but it remains at the singular from eleven and above.

9.1. **In the compounds** with _thousands,_ the topic is: _thousand_, _hundred_, the block consisting of the _unit-ten_.

sabʿa ᵃlēf w arbaʿmiye w səttīn

seven thousand four hundred sixty

mīya w ʿarbaʿīn alf

one hundred and forty thousand

alfīn w mītīn w tnīn w ʿašrīn

two thousand two hundred and twenty two

ḥamsamīyet alf tlētamīya w wāḥəd w səttīn

five hundred thousand three hundred sixty one

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9.2. **The signifier** of the quantified object is always in the **singular**:

ʿašrā ᵃlēf bākīta

ten thousand twigs

10. **The million and the billion**

11.

malyūn	million
mleyēn	millions
milyār	billion
məlyārēt	billions

Both *malyūn* (million), and *milyār* (billion) are loans from CA, therefore their forms are very close, if not identical to their literary counterparts. Their plurals, *mleyēn,* respectively *məlyārēt*, underwent slight phonetic switches, thus being integrated in the SAT system.

11.1. Both *malyūn,* and *milyār* act like regular nouns, following the rules imposed by the numeral that precedes them.

At the compounds with *millions,* the order will be: *million*, *thousand*, *hundred*, *unit*, *ten* and at the compounds with billions the new order will be: *billion*, *million*, *thousand*, *hundred*, *unit*, *ten*.

12. **The ordinal numeral**

il-uwwəl	the first (m.)
it̲-t̲ēnī	the second (m.)
it̲-t̲ēlət̲	the third (m.)
ir-rābəᶜ	the forth (m.)
il-ḫāməs	the fifth (m.)
is-sēdəs	the sixth (m.)
is-sēbəᶜ	the seventh (m.)
it̲-t̲ēmən	the eighth (m.)

it-tēsəᶜ	the ninth (m.)
il-ᶜāšər	the tenth (m.)

il-wūlā	the first (f.)
it̲-t̲ēnya	the second (f.)
it̲-t̲elt̲a	the third (f.)
ir-rābᶜa	the forth (f.)
il-ḫāmsa	the fifth (f.)
is-sēdsa	the sixth (f.)
is-sēbᶜa	the seventh (f.)
it̲-t̲ēmna	the eighth (f.)
it-tēsᶜa	the ninth (f.)
il-ᶜēšra	the tenth (f.)

The forming of the ordinal numeral is done through the realignment of the consonants of the cardinal *unit,* on the stem $C_1ēC_2əC_3$ of CA. At the feminine, the vowel ə, that follows the second consonant, has disappeared.

All the other ordinal numbers take shape by adding the definite article *il* to the cardinal numeral. Also, there is no gender difference, the way the numerals from the suite of *il-uwwəl – il-ᶜāšər* do.

12.1.   At a phonetic level, the ordinal numeral *il- uwwəl,* with its' feminine *il-wūlā* (and the plural *uwwəlīn)* undergoes a strong posteriorization (closing in) at the first syllable and an *imāla* in the following (*uwwəl,* in comparison to the CA *awwal*). From *t̲ēni* to *ᶜēšər,* the same tendency is noticeable, to posteriorize the both component vowels of the said numerals.

12.2. The ordinal numeral *il-uwwəl,* with its' feminine *il-wūlā,* are the only ones that know also a **plural** form (*uwwəlīn),* according to the recorded corpus.

12.3. I have not noticed **occurrences** of the ordinal numeral in SAT, with few exceptions, these being represented by *it-tēnī* (the second) and *ət-tēlət* (the third), on top of *il- uwwəl* and *il-wūlā.*

> *fī n-nhār il-uwwəl fī tūnəs t ͨebt yēsər*
>
> during my first day spent in Tunis I got tired enough
>
> *ḫabbītek mən uwwəl ḏaḫka, mən uwwəl ġazra, mən uwwəl šaṭḥa*
>
> I loved you from the first laugh, from the first glance, from the first dance
>
> *il-ḥṣān mtē ͨya kammel l-uwwəl w l-ḥṣān mtē ͨak ḫəllas ͥ t-tēnī*
>
> my horse finished first and your horse came second

12.4. I have noticed that the use of the definite articles added to the cardinal numerals is preferred, in order to express the idea of succession. In its' stead, from ten and above, only the cardinal numerals will be used, with their isolated form or with an article.

> *ir-rājəl l-ˀḥdāš lī dḫal əl-ḫānūt ksab ṭajīn maġrībī*
>
> the eleventh man who entered the stall, won a Moroccan plate
>
> *ͨām alfīn dḫalna fī l-qarn il-wāḥəd w ͨašrīn*
>
> in the year 2000 we entered the twenty first century

13. The partitive numerals

13.1. The partitive numerals in SAT vary from forms resembling the ones of CA, like *nəṣf* (with the dialectal variation *nəṣṣ*) (half), *ṭəlt* (a third) and *rbu ͨ* (a quarter) to modified nouns particular to this dialect. The first category is used when the nouns indicate prices, quantity or time. Its' syntax suggests an annexation with the signifier of the partitive numeral.

> *šrīna l-jakēt bir-rbu ͨ-l-ḫaqq w s-sərwēl bi ṭ-ṭəlt-l-ḫaqq*
>
> (we) bought the jacket at a quarter of the price and the pants at a third of the price
>
> *qarrabət təs ͨa w nəṣṣ w mā zēlū mā jāwīš*
>
> It was almost nine thirty and they still hadn't come

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13.2. **The other category** is represented by utterance like: *štaṛ* – "half" (which comes from the CA *ši ṭr*^{um}), *ṭəzzīna* – "a dozen" (which is a European loan), *ḫāra* – "four, a forth" (it is used especially when counting eggs and it might have a berber origin), *nəṣṣ ṭəzzīna* – "six" (composed by *ness* - "half", coming from the CA *niṣf*, and *təzzīna*), *ḫartīn* (here the dual of *ḫāra* is noticeable, meaning eight), *derj* (five, used with minutes and could also have a berber origin)*, frānk* (meaning "100 milimi", is a French loan) or *durū* (used to say "5 milims").

  nḥibb nəšri ḫāra ʿḍām, mən faḍlek
  I would like to buy four eggs, please

14. The distributive numeral

  The distribution or the numerical grouping of objects will occur in two ways: either through the repletion of the cardinal numerals, or through the insertion of some particles (*bi*, with the allomorphs *əb* or *ab,* and *wərā*) between the cardinal numerals:

  lēzəm nuḫrujū mən il-maktaba zūz ^eb zūz
  we must exit the school two by two
  il-bnēt daḫlū wāḥda wərā wāḥda fī l-mōnōprī
  the girls entered Monoprix (supermarket) one by one

15. The collective numeral

  The collective numeral, which describes a set or an idea of a group, indicating the number of entities that compose a collective, takes shape through a cardinal numeral to which *il-kull* (all) is added. This type of numeral is usually situated, as an apposition, after the substantive.

  wlēdī, il-ḫams il-kull, yəḫdəmū fī bənyān ij-jāmə^c
  all my five boys are working at the construction of the mosque.

16. Conclusions

  Based on the analysis I have undertaken, I have noticed that the variation of Arabic spoken in Tunis has a few particularities.

  At the cardinal numeral, there is o noticeable presence of a particular form (*zūz*), to express the numeral "two". This form has replaced the variation *ⁱṯnīn* (of classical origin) in almost all the circumstances. Also, the shaping of the numerals

in the suite *eleven-nineteen,* present very big differences, in comparison to their classical correspondents. Another observation regards the agreement of the cardinal numerals with the quantified substantives. The agreement suffers great simplifications in SAT, due to the fact that the declination and the polarity particular to CA have been eliminated (the only rules that remained are: the switching of the substantives at the plural number, in the presence of the series three-ten and the maintaining at the singular number, when the substantives are counted from ten and above).

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SEMANTIC SOURCES OF THE INCHOATIVE ASPECTUALIZERS IN PERSIAN

Cristina Ciovârnache
University of Bucharest

The present paper analyzes the Persian aspectualizers which encode the inchoative value, focusing on their semantic sources and the evolution of their primary meanings from concrete, basic significations towards grammatical information related to the category of aspect. The inventory of verbs discussed here was constructed based on the suggestions offered by works on aspectual verbs, mainly A. Freed, *The Semantics of English Aspectual Complementation* (1979) and the model for analysis of this type of verbs in Arabic, provided by N. Anghelescu in *L'expression de l'inchoativité en arabe* (1991) and *Limba arabă în perspectivă tipologică* (2000). Based on the observations made by these authors, I have identified in Persian a series of verbs which I consider to form a distinct category of inchoative aspectualizers, based on their shared properties. Firstly, all of them are verbs that take a complement, usually denoting an event, and modify the aspectual reading of the sentence they occur in, by producing the temporal segmentation of the event and isolating the inceptive stage, or by introducing the meaning of change-of-state. Secondly, alongside their use as aspectualizers, all of these verbs also function as full verbs, usually with a concrete primary semantics. The inventory thus formed includes verbs that have been occasionally described as aspectual verbs or auxiliaries in different works concerned with the aspectual system in Persian, as well as some verbs that I have not seen classified as such, even though they display the semantic and functional criteria necessary for their inclusion in the category of inchoative aspectualizers. As mentioned, the primary meaning of these verbs is of particular interest in this paper; the cognitive processes involved in the evolution of certain semantic sources from lexical elements towards aspectual operators will be discussed in reference to works that approach the means of expression of aspectual values within the framework of grammaticalization theories (such as Heine 1993, Bybee et al. 1994, Anderson 2006).

1. **Inchoative as an aspectual category**

My analysis has as a starting point the treatment of inchoative as an aspectual category that includes three closely connected values - inceptive, change-of-state and imminence. A discussion about the means of expressions of inchoativity is therefore placed within the larger framework of theories on aspect and temporality in language, and particularly theories on the temporal segmentation of events. The diversity of opinions on aspect does not allow for the provision of a detailed presentation of inchoativity as an aspectual category; only some approaches that are essential to my perspective on the Persian inchoative aspectualizers shall be briefly mentioned.

Most theories on aspect emphasize the fact that languages posses multiple and diverse devices for the expression of aspectual and temporal features and distinctions, and that all these different devices are connected in a complex relationship. Implicitly, the same variety of means of expression is found in the linguistic manifestation of inchoativity; thus, this category may be considered in relation to the grammatical aspect (perfective tenses), aspectual verb-types (*achievements*), *Aktionsarten*, internal temporal segmentation of events, aspectual operators etc. Regardless of the specific issue taken into consideration (in this case, inchoative aspectualizers), the permanent interaction of these devices cannot be ignored.

1.1. **Lexical aspect**

The widely accepted point of view is that aspect represents the internal temporal structure expressed by the verb, as defined in Comrie's frequently quoted statement that aspect represents "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie 1976:3). A first categorization of aspect-related phenomena was made between grammatical aspect (associated with tenses) and lexical aspect. Grammatical aspect is defined by Binnick (1991:170) as "a fully grammaticized, obligatory, systematic category of languages, operating with general oppositions such as that of perfective and non-perfective." Lexical aspect is concerned with the temporal and aspectual features that are independent of the grammatical form of the verbs.

Discussions on lexical aspect are focused mainly on two concepts, aspectual classes and *Aktionsarten* (action-types). The theory of aspectual classes, originally proposed by Vendler (1957) and then further developed by others, is centered on the classification of verbs according to the aspectual features encoded in their

inherent lexical content. Vendler thus distinguishes four verb-types, *states*, *activities, achievements, accomplishments*; the classification was later extended and other categories have been added, such as *sharp achievements* and *gradual achievements*, *series* (Freed, 1979). Dowty's (1979) theory on lexical decomposition represents a different approach on verb classes. He suggests that each verb expressing a non-state can be viewed as a structure involving a state verb and an abstract operator; thus, *achievements* are associated with the operator *become* or *come about*, *accomplishments* include the operator *cause* and activities the operator *do*.

Regarding the concept of *Aktionsarten,* Binnick (1991) emphasizes the necessity to distinguish it from aspectual classes, even though they share some essential characteristics: both are purely lexical, non grammatical, and unsystematic. However, as Binnick points out, while aspectual classes represent an obligatory categorization of all verbs, the *Aktionsarten* are an optional category (Binnick 1991:170). In discussing the *Aktionsarten*, he emphasizes as a defining characteristic their connection to the internal temporal segmentation of events: "We view the *Aktionsarten* indeed as involving reference to parts of events - to phases or strings of phases" (Binnick 1991:209). He explains that *Aktionsarten*, regardless of their means of expression (morphological or using aspectual verbs) indicate "phases, subphases or sequences of subphases" which, in their turn, can have their own internal structure (Binnick 1991:207). Thus, the most important difference between aspectual classes and *Aktionsarten* is that the former is a classification of verbs according to their inherent aspectual nature, while the second expresses a particular phase of an event, process or state. The inchoative category is, from this point of view, a type of *Aktionsarten*, alongside aspectual categories such as continuative, durative, iterative, terminative etc.

1.2. The internal temporal segmentation of events and the role of aspectualizers

As shown above, the internal sequences of events is an essential element taken to consideration when discussing both grammatical and lexical aspect. Some definitions of aspect are focused on this, for example Freed (1979:10) states that "aspect describes the temporal quality or condition of an event with respect to itself, in terms of such things as inception, repetition, completion, duration, punctuality etc." Binnick considers that some difficulties related to the categorization of aspect and aspectual categories may be solved by starting off with the premise that "every type of verb-centered linguistic expression assigns a phasic structure" (Binnick 1991:192), suggesting that in the absence of a clearly

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defined concept of phase and phasal analyses, it is not possible to develop a thorough theory of *Aktionsarten.*

Alice Freed proposes an insightful analysis of the internal temporal segmentation of events in *The Semantics of English Aspectual Complementation* (1979); she distinguishes three successive phases of events, namely *onset, nucleus* and *coda*. The *onset* segment is of particular importance, as it refers to the moment immediately preceding the actual unfolding of the event and therefore is inextricably connected to the inchoative value. Freed defines this segment as "(...) a temporal segment which takes place PRIOR to the initial temporal part of the nucleus of that event. It is a preparatory stage necessary before the nuclear activity of the event (or action) is actually initiated. It is not an optional segment of the event in that it cannot be passed over or skipped in the temporally ordered sequence of time intervals that make up an event" (Freed 1979:31)

Freed's work is focused on the aspectual auxiliary verbs (aspectualizers) that induce the internal segmentation of events; she defines these aspectualizers as "a group of verbs which operate on other verbs, sentences, or nouns (i.e. as two place predicates) and which have a consistent semantic effect of a temporal nature on these forms" (Freed 1979:29). She identifies twelve verbs that she considers to form a coherent syntactic and semantic class: *begin, start, continue, keep, stop, quit, cease, finish, end, complete, repeat, resume*, divided in four aspectual groups: inchoative, durative, terminal, repetitive (Freed 1979:67).

2. Aspectualizers – grammaticalization processes

Aspectualizers represent one of the most frequent devices for the expression of temporal distinctions in the unfolding of events in different languages. Many researchers (Lichtenberk 1991, Heine 1993, Bybee et al. 1994, etc.) have shown that abstract grammatical meanings are conveyed in many languages by verbs with another primary meaning that are more or less grammaticalized, and that the semantic extensions that occur in these processes are not arbitrary. As Anderson (2006:338) phrases it, "certain kinds of content semantics lend themselves more readily to certain kinds of functional semantic reinterpretation." This phenomenon may be explained as a cognitive strategy through which complex, abstract notions are given linguistic expression by resorting to elements that are part of the basic, concrete human experience. This is based on the perceived correlation between the two senses (concrete and abstract), which motivates the metaphorical shift of meaning. In Givón's (1991:122) words, "*cognitively*, grammaticalization is not a gradual process, but rather an *instantaneous* one. It involves the mental act of the

mind *recognizing a similarity relation* and thereby exploiting it, putting an erstwhile lexical item into grammatical use in a novel context."

It has also been noticed that languages display significant similarity regarding the type of lexical elements that evolve in functional elements and that there is a close relation between the primary meanings and the grammatical values they come to express in different languages. Based on an analysis of seventy-six languages, Bybee et al. (1994) demonstrate that the types of lexical meanings evolving towards grammatical categories are similar in different, unrelated languages, concluding that there are universal paths of semantic change and grammaticalization.

Also, starting off with the premise that the semantics of the verbs entering grammaticalization processes is related to a limited number of basic notions, Kuteva (1991), cited in Heine (1993:29), studied 117 auxiliary constructions in eleven Indo-European, Finno-Ugric and Sino-Tibetan languages, noting that there were only twenty lexical verb sources for all the auxiliary constructions collected from these languages.

B. Heine highlights in his work, *Auxiliaries. Cognitive Forces and Grammaticalization* (1993), the existence of a limited set of general notions (location, motion, activity, desire, posture, relation, possession), that serve as a source for the formation of a considerable variety of abstract linguistic notions. Based on these concrete notions, he identifies a set of nine event schemas, arguing that in most languages auxiliary constructions can be traced back to one of these event schemas. The main event schemas proposed by Heine and the most common grammatical functions derived from them are: location (progressive, ingressive, continuous), motion (ingressive, future, perfect, past), action (progressive, continuous, ingressive, completive, perfect), volition (ingressive, future), change-of-state (ingressive, future), equation (resultative, progressive, perfect, future), accompaniment (progressive), possession (resultative, perfect, future), manner (progressive) (Heine 1993:47). This approach was adopted by others, for example, Anderson (2006) takes a similar perspective in his analysis of the auxiliary verb constructions in Altai-Sayan Turkic languages, and his findings regarding the most common semantic developments of aspectual and modal auxiliaries in these languages are consistent to the event schemas proposed by Heine.

The evolutions related to these event schemas, from lexical elements towards auxiliaries, is a long process with intermediary phases that sometimes

overlap. Heine (1993) distinguishes seven stages (grammaticalization chains) which he classifies from A to G. Some of the most important features of the verbs in each stage are as follows: at stage A, the verb maintains its full lexical meaning and its complement usually refers to a concrete object; at stage B the grammaticalization process begins and the complement (a nominal form or a non-finite verb) tends to refer to dynamic situations; at stage C, the combinational restrictions tend to be eliminated, the complement is usually a non-finite verb, subject identity between verb and complement is required, the verb has now a functional role and has the ability (even though reduced) to express notions related to time, aspect or modality; stage D and E include verbs usually classified as "defectives" or "auxiliaries", and stages F and G include auxiliaries and affixes and, respectively, affixes and inflections (Heine 1993:59-65).

Anderson (2006:334) presents the same stages of development in a simplified manner: lexical verb > auxiliary verb > affix > Ø. He also emphasizes the existence of stages when the lexical forms and the forms beginning their development towards grammatical elements are found in an "ambiguous coexistence", exemplifying with the verb "to go" in English, in three stages: at first, it functions as a lexical verb ("going to town"), in the second there are ambiguous situations ("going to work") and in the last it becomes a grammatical element ("going to stay here").

Heine's classification of auxiliary verbs is based on this perspective of different stages of grammaticalization; he also points out that there is no distinct boundary separating auxiliaries and main verbs: "The two are said to form a continuum or gradient" (Heine 1993:9). This also makes it difficult sometimes to place them in a distinct category and may create controversies regarding the extent to which they can be classified as auxiliaries. Bollinger's (1980) statement, as cited by Heine (1993:27), is worth noting in this respect: "The moment a verb is given an infinitive complement, that verb starts down the road of auxiliariness."

According to Heine's classification, the aspectual verbs of interest here are usually found in the stage C of grammaticalization, where Heine places the "quasi-auxiliaries", "verbs that in most respects behave like full verbs but, when governing nonfinite (participial, gerundival, infinitival etc.) verbs, tend to assume grammatical or 'formulaic' functions" (Heine 1993:15). As he further points out, this category includes the verbs analyzed by Freed (1979) as aspectualizers. In reference to this type of verbs, other authors have used terms such as semi-auxiliaries, catenatives, or temporal-aspectual verbs.

3. Inchoative aspectualizers in Persian

In *Persian Grammar: History and State of Its Study* (1979), G. Windfuhr notices that the aspectual auxiliaries represent one of the least researched parts of Persian grammar; he further explains that this statement applies especially to those "marginal" verbs such as *gereftan,* or the inchoative use of *xāstan* ("want"). In reference to some auxiliaries which he classifies as inchoatives, such as *nešastan* ("sit") or *istādan* ("stand"), he says: "The inchoativness of these verbs has never been recognized as such, although they are cited as deviant." (1979:103). More recent works refer to the properties of these verbs, but without devoting them any substantive analysis. For example Windfuhr and Perry (2009) mention to the use of aspectual verbs (*raftan* "go", "leave", *gereftan* "take", *xāstan* "want") when discussing *Aktionsarten* in Persian; Zahra Abolhasan-Chimeh (2004) provides a list and a brief description of aspectual verbs in Persian.

Adopting Freed's (1979) definition of aspectualizers and following the model of analysis provided for this type of verbs in Arabic in Anghelescu 1991 and 2003, we compiled an inventory of Persian inchoative aspectualizers, categorized in three groups according to the specific value that they encode (inceptives, change-of-state and imminence). Functionally, they correspond to the category of verbs defined as "aspectualizers" by Freed (1979) and "semi-auxiliaries" by Heine (1993). The list includes verbs that have previously been categorized as aspectual auxiliaries by different authors, alongside verbs that, to my knowledge, have not been analyzed as such but, in my opinion, share the semantic and functional features of the inchoative aspectual verbs. The inventory is given below, together with the lexical meaning of the verbs:

1. Inceptives:
šoru' kardan/šodan "to begin", "to start"
āqāzidan/ āqāz kardan "to begin", "to start"
eqdām kardan "to begin", "to start"
gereftan "to take", "to seize", "to catch"
dast zadan "to touch"
oftādan "to fall"
nešastan "to sit", "to sit down"

istādan "to stand", "to stand up"
bar xāstan "to raise", "to stand up"
pā šodan "to stand up"
āmadan "to come"
banā kardan/gozastan "to build"
 mobāderat kardan "to hurry"

2. Change-of-state
šodan "to become"
gaštan "to turn"
gardidan "to turn"
oftādan "to fall"
gereftan "to take", "to seize", "to catch"
āmadan "to come"
raftan "to go", "to leave"
istādan "to stand", "to stand up"
nešastan "to sit", "to sit down"

3. Imminence
xāstan "to want"
nazdik budan /šodan "to be close"/"to get close"

Some verbs, as listed above, fall into both categories of inceptives and change-of-state verbs, which is another indication of the inseparable connection between the values circumscribed in the definition of the term inchoative.

Of these, only the verbs that function as inchoative aspectualizers but are also used in Persian as main verbs with another primary meaning shall be considered. Thus, verbs like *šoru' kardan/šodan* "to begin", "to start", *eqdām kardan* "to begin", *šodan* "to become" shall not be discussed. It is worth noting however that the verb *šodan* has undergone a process of grammaticalization - in Middle Persian, its meaning was "to come", a sense no longer perceived in Modern Persian.

For the analysis, the common use of these verbs in both literary and colloquial Persian was considered, alongside the consultation of some of the most important Persian monolingual dictionaries: *Loghatname-ye Dehkhoda (Dehkhoda's Dictionary)*, which uses mostly classical Persian literature as a source of information, *Farhang-e Bozorg-e Sokhan* (*Sokhan Comprehensive*

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Dictionary of Persian), widely considered the best Persian dictionary at present, and *Farhang-e Farsi-e Amiyane* (*A Dictionary of Colloquial Persian*).

4. Types of lexical meanings of the inchoative aspectualizers in Persian

The verbs listed above shall be classified in this section according to their source meaning, discussing the correlations between their primary semantics and the aspectual values that they convey as inchoative aspectualizers, as well as their methaporical development.

4.1. Deictic verbs of motion – *āmadan* "to come", *raftan* "to go", "to leave"

This pair of verbs indicates the spatial movement between "here" and "there". Both can convey the inceptive or the change-of-state meaning, depending on the nature of the complement or the aspectual class of the verb that they modify (activity, respectively state or achievement).

Through his primary meaning, *āmadan* indicates the relation with the arrival point, implying the acquisition of a quality, usually as a result of a process, or completion of a process, also implying a certain duration that led to the transition from one temporal segment to another or from one state to another. This characteristic illustrates a common tendency shared by aspectual auxiliaries developed from this lexical source, as observed by Lichtenberk (1991:488): "Ingressive COME forms are not normally used to encode sudden changes of states. Just as reaching a place typically takes some time, so also the change of states signaled by COME forms are typically the culmination of gradual processes". For example, when modifying an *achievement* verb, *āmadan* imposes its interpretation as a *gradual achievement*, introducing the idea of duration:

(1)   *Tā āmadam   befahmam   če ettefaqi oftāde, dir šode bud.*
       Until come-PAST-1sg. SUBJ-understand-1sg. what happen-PF-3sg. late become-PAST PF-1 sg.
       When I came to understand what happened, it was too late.

Another reflection of the primary meaning can be noted in the fact that *āmadan*, referring to the point of reference "here", coming from "there", implies the end-point of the movement, the moment when the transition is complete; thus, it can be interpreted as resultative in certain contexts.

As inceptive, *āmadan* sometimes have a neutre meaning, with no necessary implication of gradual unfolding of temporal segments. Dehkhoda's dictionary provides the following example for the use of *āmadan* as a synonym of *āqāzidan* "to begin":

(2)   *Be šarāb xordan   āmad.* (Dehkhoda, vol. 2, p. 176).
       To wine drink-INF come PAST-3.sg.
       He started to drink wine.

The counterpart of *āmadan,* the verb *raftan* "to go", "to leave" indicates the motion from "here" to "there", the departure from the point of reference. Like *āmadan,* it also displays a tendency to express slow, gradual transitions and processes, as illustrated by the example (3) provided by Windfuhr and Perry (2009:452) for the use of *raftan* followed by subjunctive:

(3)   *Miravam   yavaš yavaš be in natiğe beresam ke...*
       IMPF-go-1 sg. slow slow at this result SBJ-arrive-1 sg. that..
       I am slowly beginning to understand that…"

As a change-of-state verb, *raftan* has a more limited use in modern Persian than in classical Persian. The example offered in Dehkhoda's dictionary (vol. 26, p.540) illustrating the use of *raftan* as a synonym of *šodan* "to become" is a quote from the poet Ferdousi (10th century):

(4)   *Beraft   āftāb az   ğahān nāpadid.*
       PAST-go-3sg sun from world invisible.
       The sun became invisible to the world.

However, this use of *raftan* is still frequent in the Persian spoken in the Khorassan province, as noted both in the quoted dictionary and by Estaji and Bubenik (2007:47); they show that in this variety of Persian, *raftan* replaces the verb *šodan* as a prototypical verb expressing change-of-state:

(5)   *Hava   sard   raft.*
       Weather cold   go-PAST-3.sg
       The weather became cold.

The two verbs discussed here, *āmadan* and *raftan*, provide a clear example of the metaphor of Time as Space, illustrating the conceptualization of abstract temporal processes and transitions in terms of notions related to the movement in space.

The initial temporal segments, the moment when the process or activity begins to unfold is represented either as a point of departure, for transitions or processes that are not yet complete, or a point of arrival, for the onset of events that followed a longer process, or complete transitions.

4.2. Dynamic postural verbs: "to stand up" - *istādan, barxāstan, pā šodan* , "to sit down" - *nešastan*

A first observation to make here is the considerable productivity of the verbs meaning "stand up" for the expression of inchoativity in Persian – three inchoative aspectualizers evolved from this primary meaning. The verb *qiyām šodan*, also meaning "to stand up" (formed with the Arabic loan *qiyām* "rising", "standing") can also be mentioned here, even though its use as inchoative is archaic and is no longer found in modern Persian. Another observation is related to a particular feature of the verbs *nešastan* "to sit (down)" and *istādan* "to stand (up)": when used in imperfective forms, they are static, position verbs ("to stand", respectively "to sit"), while in perfective forms they become dynamic, indicating the change of body position ("to sit down", respectively "to stand up"). When they function as inchoatives (both inceptive and change-of-state), they are used in the dynamic sense. The verbs *barxāstan* and *pā šodan* maintain a dynamic meaning both in perfective and imperfective forms ("to stand up")

The structures containing the aspectualizer *istādan* have significantly long history, dating from Early New Persian. The examples provided in Dehkhoda's dictionary are taken from history treaties form the 10th and 11th centuries, and illustrate the use of *istādan* both as inceptive and change-of-state aspectualizer:

(6)   *Šotori   be 'alaf   khordan   istād.* (Dehkhoda, vol.8, p 571).
        A camel to grass eat-INF   stand up-PAST 3 sg.
        A camel started to graze grass.

(7)   *Čon [...] havā-ye Balkh   garm istād amir az Balkh harekat kard.*
(Dehkhoda, vol. 8, p. 570)
        Because […] weather-IZ Balkh warm stand up-PAST 3sg. emir from Balkh
leave-PAST 3sg.
        Because the weather in Balkh became hot, the *emir* left Balkh.

The use of *istādan* as inchoative aspectualizer is maintained in modern Persian, both literary and colloquial, but only as inceptive; usually, its complement is an action noun or the infinitive of an activity verb. The *Dictionary*

of Colloquial Persian (p. 102) provides a separate entry for *istādan* (*be*) as a synonym of š*oru' kardan (be)* "to begin", "to start", illustrating this use with examples in which *istādan* is followed by an infinitive (8) or an action noun (9):

(8)   *U   istād   be   dar zadan.*
      He stand up-PAST-3sg. to   knock-INF.
      He started to knock on the door.

(9)   *Istād   be   namāz.*
      Stand up-PAST-3sg. to prayer
      He started to pray.

The verb *barxāstan* "to stand up", "to rise", functions only as inceptive. Its use is similar to *istādan*, but the level of abstractization reached by the two verbs is different, in the sense that unlike *istādan*, which has become completely abstract when used as aspectualizer and lacks selectional restrictions, as seen especially in example (7), the use of *barxāstan* as inceptive is limited to human subjects and voluntary actions expressed by the complement. However, in some contexts, an advanced stage of semantic bleaching is noticed:

(10)   *Be šarāb xordan barxāst.*
      To wine drink-INF stand up-PAST 3. sg.
      He started to drink wine.

A tendency displayed by these verbs to express the onset of sudden, often violent movements – for example, *be ğang barxāstan*, or the more archaic *be harb istādan* (Dehkhoda, vol. 8 p. 571), both meaning "to rise to war" – may be explained as a reflection of their primary meaning.

As for the verb *pā šodan* "to stand up" (formed with the noun *pā* "leg", "foot" and the verb *šodan* "to become"), it has not been previously included in the category of aspectualizers. I have not found any mention of the inchoativity of this verb in the works concerned with the means of expression of aspectual values in Persian. However, my observations show that the use of this verb in certain contexts displays the necessary semantic and functional characteristics that justify its inclusion here.

The idea to consider *pā šodan* as a potential aspectualizer resulted from the empirical observation of the frequent use of this verb in combination with movement or activity, especially in the colloquial language, while there is no

parallel use of other common verbs with the same meaning (such as *boland šodan* "to stand up") in similar contexts. Most often, *pā šodan* is followed by another juxtaposed verb or a subjunctive:

(11) *Pā bešim   otāq-ro   tamiz konim.*
      Stand up-SUBJ 1 pl. room-DIR.OBJ. clean-SUBJ-1pl.
      Let's get up to clean up the room/Let's start cleaning the room.

(12) *Nemidānest   ke   pā šavad   če   kār konad.*
      NEG-IMPF-know-PAST-3sg.   that stand up-SUBJ-3sg. what do-SUBJ-3sg.
      He did not know what to start doing.

As seen in the examples above, the contexts illustrating this use of *pā šodan* present a certain ambiguity and the two verbs can also be interpreted as expressing a succession of two events. At the same time, in both examples (11) and (12) it is not necessarily implied that the subject was sitting down in the first phase, and then stood up in order to perform the action expressed by the second verb. I believe that the use of *pā šodan* in this type of constructions induces the idea of a sudden transition from one situation to another, indicating the onset of the activity or event expressed by the main verb. It seems that this verb is at an incipient stage of grammaticalization, characterized by a strong overlap between the two uses (as lexical and aspectual verb) merged in the "ambiguous coexistence" mentioned by Anderson (2006:334).

The verb *nešastan* "to sit", "to sit down" usually combines with infinite verbs of activity (*be xordan nešastan* "to start eating"). The *Comprehensive Sokhan Dictionary* (pp. 7832-7833) mentions the use of *nešastan* for expressing the beginning of an activity, and provides the following example:

(13) *Nešastim   be sigār kešidan tā nôbat-e-mān beresad.*
      Sit down-PAST-2 pl. at smoke-INF   until our turn   SUBJ-arrive-3sg,
      We started to smoke, until our turn would come.

All verbs in this group (with the meanings "to stand up" and, respectively, "to sit down") illustrate the expression of inchoative values starting from concrete source-notions related to the movement of the human body and the change of posture. In some cases, they became purely functional elements (as in *havā garm istād* "the weather became hot"), in other situations their primary lexical meaning is partially preserved in their use as aspectualizers. For example, with the verb *nešastan*, as inceptive aspectualizer, there is an obvious preference to express the

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onset of activities which sometimes imply sitting down (*be goftogu nešastan* "to start talking" *be xordan nešastan* "to start eating"), while the verbs *istadān* and *barxāstan* often suggest a sudden, impetuous movement; the case of *pā šodan* is somehow different, as shown above, as its primary meaning is maintained to such an extent as the two forms often overlap.

5.3. Verbs expressing a grasping motion: *gereftan* "to take", "to catch", "to seize"

The verb *gereftan* is one of the most frequently used inchoative aspectualizers in Persian. It is also one of the verbs that are most often mentioned as aspectual verbs in works concerned with lexical aspect Persian, a fact that may be explained by its long history - Windfuhr (1979:103) states that the structures with *gereftan* as aspectual verb followed by a subjunctive verb were formed in Middle Persian. Discussing the expression of *Aktionsarten* in Persian and Tadjik, Windfuhr and Perry (2009) note the inceptive interpretation of structures formed with the aspectual verb *gereftan* "to take" followed by an infinitive, past or imperative. These are their examples for Persian (Windfuhr and Perry 2009:494):

(14) *Asb   davidan   gereft.*
      Horse run-INF   take-PAST-3sg.
      The horse began to gallop.

(15) *Gereftand   xābidand.*
      Take-PAST-3pl. sleep PAST-3pl.
      They took to sleeping/ fell asleep.

The verb *dast zadan* "to touch" (formed with the noun *dast* "hand" and the light verb *zadan* "to hit") can also be included here, having a similar meaning, even though more concrete than *gereftan*, expressing the physical movement of putting one's hand on something. It is frequently used as inceptive, both in literary and colloquial language, and its synonymy with *šoru' kardan/šodan* "to begin", "to start" is noted in dictionaries; however I have not found it described as an aspectualizer. It usually combines with action nouns or activity verbs, implying the intentional, voluntarily beginning of the activity expressed by the complement, performed by a human subject. This selectional restriction may be explained by the direct reference to a part of the human body (the hand) of this complex predicate; however, in some cases the primary concrete meaning of the verb is significantly lost when it is used as inceptive:

(16)   *Be ta'rif-e   dāstān dast   zad.*
       To telling-ɪᴢ   story   hand put-ᴘᴀꜱᴛ-3 sg.
       He started to tell the story.

The primary meanings of these verbs (*gereftan* and *dast zadan*) also illustrate the analogy made between the unfolding of events and concrete situations; in this case, the onset of the activity is represented by correlation to the actual grasping or touching. They are both punctual verbs, therefore they usually indicate that the onset occurred suddenly, or at least without any implication of duration. These two source-notions are included by Heine (1993) and Anderson (2006) in the *action event schema*.

5.4. Non-deictic movement from up to down "to fall"

The verb *oftādan* "to fall" is used both as inceptive and change-of-state verb, depending on the nature of its complement (activity, event, state).

(17)   *Delam   be   tapidan oftad.*
       My heart to   beat-ɪɴꜰ fall-ᴘᴀꜱᴛ-3sg.
       My heart started beating.

As reflections of the primary meaning of the verb, the contexts in which it appears usually maintain either the idea of a sudden transition or occurrence. Another connotation sometimes conveyed by *oftādan* as an aspectualizer, which is reminiscent of its meaning as a full verb, is related to the speakers' perception towards this type of spatial relations. More precisely, it is the same metaphorization process described by Lakoff (1980), who referred to the fact that notions connected to deictic relations such as "up" and "down" tend to be used metaphorically to express positive or, respectively, negative meanings. As the direction implied by *oftādan* is "down", it tends to be employed with negative connotations, for expressing evolutions towards a worse state than before is obvious. Even though sometimes *oftādan* may imply a neutral situation, not necessary a negative one, it never refers to positive evolutions.

5.5. Cyclic movement: *gaštan* and *gardidan* "to turn"

I will only briefly mention this verbs, as they convey the change-of-state meaning in complex predicates, as light verbs, not aspectualizers (similar to the eng. "to turn white"). Their primary meaning illustrates a tendency found in many other languages to express transformation through verbs of cyclic movement; the

point where the cycle becomes complete is seen as the moment when a new state begins.

5.6. Volitional verbs: x*āstan* "to want"

Volition is one of the most productive source-notion for temporal and aspectual values (future, ingressive) in many different languages. In Persian, the verb *xāstan* "want" is the source of the future tense auxiliary and for a fully grammaticized inchoative aspectualizer expressing imminence. It is one the Persian aspectual verbs that has been long recognized as such. Windfuhr and Perry (2009) mention the verb *xāstan* as one of the most frequent devices for the periphrastic expression of inchoativity. More precisely, it indicates the preparatory stage of the unfolding of the event that is about to happen (even though it may not occur). Having reached a very advanced level of grammaticalization, it has transformed into a functional element whose primary meaning is completely bleached and seems to have lost its combinatory restrictions, being compatible with animate and inanimate subjects, voluntary and involuntary actions or events, as illustrated by examples (18) and (19).

(18) *Bačče mixāhad   geryie konad.*
      Child IMPF-want-3sg. cry-SUBJ-3sg.
      The child is about to cry.

(19) *Ān divār mixāhad   biyoftad.*
      That wall IMPF-want-3sg. SUBJ-fall-3 sg.
      That wall is about to fall.

In (19) the transformation into a completely abstract functional element is more obvious, given the incompatibility between the lexical meanings of the aspectualizer and the complement.

5.7. Spatial proximity: *nazdik budan/šodan* "to be close", "to get closer"

A less frequent verb for the expression of inchoativity is *nazdik budan/šodan* "to be close", "to get closer", which conveys the aspectual meaning of imminence through concrete spatial relations: an event about to occur is represented as something that is either located in the proximity of the point of reference (*nazdik budan* "to be close") or advances towards the point of reference (*nazdik šodan* "to get closer", "to come nearer").

(20) *Nazdik bud   biyoftam.*
   Be near-PAST-3sg. SUBJ-fall-1sg.
   I was about to fall.

   In case of *nazdik budan* ("to be close"), a state verb, the source-notion is one of location, while *nazdik šodan* ("to get closer") is a motion verb; both correlate the proximity in time with proximity in space. Both verbs have not reached an advanced stage of grammaticalization, one indication being the lack of subject identity between the verb and its complement, as seen in (20).

5.8. Verbs expressing manner of movement: *mobāderat kardan* "to hurry"

   The noun *mobāderat* ("hurry", "haste"), in combination with the light verb *kardan* ("do") forms a complex predicate with the primary meaning "to hurry", or "to embark". As inceptive, its use is quite limited, usually with nominal forms.

5.9. Other meanings: *banā kardan* "to build"

   The complex predicate *banā kardan*, formed with the noun *banā* "building" and the light verb *kardan* "do" is frequently used as inceptive in the literary language, usually in combination with activity verbs or action nouns. Its primary meaning is completely bleached.

(21) *Banā kard   be xāndan-e   matn.*
   Build-PAST-3 sg. to reading -IZ text
   He started to read the text.

   It is worth noting that *banā kardan* is the only complex predicate (except *šoru' kardan* "to start", "to begin") that is frequently used as aspectualizer and has reached an advanced stage of grammaticalization. The use of the inchoative aspectualizers in Persian shows that simple verbs are more productive than complex predicates in conveying grammatical information. This can be explained by the fact that simple verbs usually express more basic meanings and have a much longer history in language, while most of the complex predicates were formed in New Persian and tend to express more complex meanings.

Conclusion

   The primary semantics of the inchoative aspectualizers in Persian shows that most of them develop from the same source-notions common to many other

languages and enter similar processes which correspond to the evolutions discussed by authors such as Bybee (1994), Heine (1993) or Anderson (2006). In Persian, inchoativity is conceptualized through concrete meanings related to spatial movement, either deictic ("come", "go") or non-deictic ("fall", "turn"), the movement of the human body ("stand up", "sit down") or parts of the human body ("touch"), concrete actions ("take", "build"), the manner of movement ("hurry"), volition verbs ("want"). According to the stage of grammaticalization they have attained, which is very advanced in some cases (*xāstan*, *gereftan*, *istādan*) or only incipient in other cases (*pā šodan*), the primary meanings influence more or less the aspectual information encoded by these aspectualizers, and can suggest additional information, such as the manner in which the onset or transition occurs, duration, the attitude towards the event or state they refer to.

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BEGINNINGS OF EMIRATI THEATRICAL MOVEMENT

Sebastian Gadomski
Department of Arabic Studies, Institute of Oriental Studies,
Jagiellonian University in Cracow

As little as sixty years ago, the region encompassing today's United Arab Emirates was considered to be one of the least developed regions in the world. Today, it stands alongside the biggest world economies. The Emirates, in contrast to the most of the richest countries on earth, has not seen all the successive stages of development. This economy has never experienced the long-term process of capital accumulation necessary for progressing economically. It is its natural wealth, especially oil reserves that helped Emirates to become one of the largest world's mass consumption centres.

In the period preceding the discovery and exploitation of oil deposits, the area of today's Emirates was economically and culturally isolated. In rough climate characterised by limited husbandry and farming possibilities, the Persian Gulf was virtually the only income yielding place. However, fishing was not a source of affluence, but merely a measure of survival. As far as pearls and related profit is concerned, this branch of economy lost its importance when the pearl market crashed in the 1940s after the artificial pearl cultivation method was developed.

For these reasons, also education, that in each and every society stimulates variety of cultural activities, existed in vestigial form. For a long time, on the area of today's Emirates, one could find only Islamic schools. It was only at the beginning of the last century when first private centres educating on the primary level started emerging on the initiative of wealthy merchants. Their curricula consisted mainly of reading, writing, maths, history as well as religion. Probably, a merchant known as ʿAlī al-Maḥmūd founded in Sharjah first school in the area of today's United Arab Emirates in 1907. It was called Al-Madrasa at-Taymiyya al-Maḥmūdiyya. Tuition was offered free of charge and what is more the school provided students with textbooks, notebooks and uniforms. Similar institutions were gradually founded in other cities: Dubai – Al-Madrasa al-Aḥmadiyya (1912) and in Abu Dhabi – Madrasat ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAtība (1930). Apart from ʿAlī al-Maḥmūd, other renowned education pioneers included Aḥmad Ibn Dalmūk and

Muḥammad ʿAlī Zaynal.[1] In 1953 under the auspices and with financial support of Sharjah authorities, especially Sulṭān Ibn Ṣaqr al-Qāsimī, first primary school called Madrasat al-ʾIṣlāḥ al-Qāsimiyya was founded. It was the first school in the area of today's United Arab Emirates offering integrated curriculum. With the gradual emergence of new educational institutions, Emirates saw the influx of professional teachers from Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon.

As in case of other Arabic countries in the Persian Gulf such as Kuwait or Bahrain, it was the teachers who became theatre pioneers. The first performance as part of school cultural activity took place in Bahrain at Madrasat al-Hidāya al-Ḥalīfiyya school in Al-Muharraq in 1925[2]. While in Kuwait theatre movement started in a school called Al-Madrasa al-Mubārakiyya at the end of the 1930s.[3] What is worth pointing out, the teachers promoting this new art form were not professional directors or actors. They were transplanting art phenomena encountered in their respective countries in a form that was understood by them. Many of them treated performances as a mere novelty that made lessons more attractive and diversified curricula. Others, on the other hand, were showing artistic aspirations, which they wanted to develop in a new environment with the help of local youth.

Until today, it is difficult to establish where the first Emirati theatrical performance has taken place. ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Qādir in his work entitled *Al-Masraḥ fī al-Imārāt* (*Theatre in the United Arab Emirates,* 2004) claims that according to one of theatre pioneers ʿUbayd Ibn Ṣandal a performance entitled *Ṭawwil ʿumrak wa-šbaʿ ṭamāša* (*Live Long and Have Fun,* 1958), which was staged in Sharjah in Omani Club – An-Nādī al-ʿUmānī in 1958, was the first play in the Emirates.[4] ʿAbd al-Qādir also states that he encountered an opinion that Sulṭān Ibn Muḥammad al-Qāsimī performance entitled *Nihāyat Ṣahyūn* (*The End of Zion,* 1958-1959) was the first Emirati play.[5] On the other hand ʿAbd Allāh aṭ-Ṭābūr, the author of the book entitled *Al-Masraḥ fī al-Imārāt: an-našāʾa wa-at-taṭwīr* (*Theatre in the United Arab Emirates: the Birth and Development,* 1998) believes that the first play staged in Emirates is *Ğābir ʿAṯarāt al-Kirām* (proper name), which made its debut in Sharjah at the mentioned-above Al-Madrasa al-Qāsimiyya school in 1957. The same information can be found in Yūsuf ʿĪdābī's

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[1] See ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Qādir. 2004. *Al-Masraḥ fī al-Imārāt.* aš-Šāriqa. p. 73, and also ʿAbd Allāh aṭ-Ṭābūr. *Taʾrīḥ at-taʿlīm.* http://www.moe.gov.ae/Arabic/Pages/UaeEdu.aspx. 23.09.2010.

[2] See Muḥammad al-Ḥizāʿī. 2000. *Tağārib masraḥiyya min al-Baḥrayn.* Bayrūt. p. 5.

[3] See Yūsuf ʿĪdābī (ed.) 2003. *Al-Masraḥ fī al-ḥalīğ.* aš-Šāriqa. p. 23.

[4] The same opinion expressed ʿAbd Allāh al-Manāʿī in the interview entitled *Ğuhūduna arsat qawāʿid matīna li-t-taʿāmul maʿ an-nuṣūṣ al-masraḥiyya al-mubdiʿa,* see http://www.albayan.co.ae/albayan/culture/2000/issue45/haywar/1.htm, 19.11.2000.

[5] See ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Qādir. op. cit. p. 16.

work entitled *An-Naṣṣ al-masraḥī fī al-Imārāt* (*Theatre Text in the United Arab Emirates,* 2003).[6] This issue has been also addressed by Sulṭān Ibn Muḥammad al-Qāsimī in his article *Ayād baydā' fī masīrat al-binā' al-masraḥī* (*Those Who Help to Build the Theatre*), which was printed in the "Kawālīs" magazine. The author of the work is of the opinion that the first play in Emirates was Maḥmūd Ġanīm's *Al-Murū'a al-muqni'a* (*Convincing Chivalry*) staged as part of school theatre in 1955. This drama is also known under another name of mentioned *Ğābir 'Aṯarāt al-Kirām.* To prove the reliability of this information, Sulṭān Ibn Muḥammad al-Qāsimī presented pictures taken during this performance. They depict himself as the title hero, Ğābir, and a few other people acting, who later on became involved in theatrical activities. These include, inter alia, Taryam 'Umrān Taryam and Muḥammad Ḥammad aš-Šāmsī[7]. Basing our assumptions on material proofs, in this case pictures, and assuming that they were adequately dated, we can conclude, despite contradicting opinions, that in fact it is 1955 that marks the beginning of real theatrical activity in the area of today's United Arab Emirates.

Other schools followed in the wake of the Al-Madrasa al-Qāsimiyya Sharjah School. Within its modest possibilities, students led by teachers were preparing simple performances, which in many cases, had been written by themselves. At their own expense, they were acquiring material needed to stage these self-written plays. Under the supervision of teachers such as: Ḫalīl Ḥağar, Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Fāris or Muḥammad Diyāb al-Mūsā of the Sharjah school students were unravelling the secrets of the new art, which was at the same time an unknown method of expressing emotions and describing the world surrounding them.[8] Through the medium of school theatre, the most important issues regarding both social life and politics were addressed. The theme and content of the plays can be only discovered from spectators' or participants' account due to the fact that not many manuscripts from that period have survived. Furthermore, these texts could not be called dramatic in the strict meaning of this word. They were merely a record of simple skits as well as verbal and musical montages in a local dialect. This is why it is extremely difficult to assess them from the artistic point of view.[9]

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[6] See Yūsuf 'Īdābī (ed.) 2003. *An-Naṣṣ al-masraḥī fī al-Imārāt.* aš-Šāriqa. p. 55.

[7] See Sulṭān Ibn Muḥammad al-Qāsimī. 2004. Ayād[in] baydā' fī masīrat al-binā' al-masraḥī. *Kawālīs* 11. p. 9.

[8] See 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Qādir. 1985. Madḫal li-dirāsat ta'rīḫ al-ḥaraka al-masraḥiyya fī dawlat al-Imārāt. *Ar-Rūla* 2. p. 49.

[9] See 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Qādir. 2004. *Al-Masraḥ fī...* p. 24.

Among different plays staged in the 1950s as part of school theatre, the above-mentioned poetic drama *Al-Murū'a al-muqni'* (Convincing Chivalry) by Maḥmūd Ġanīm has won the greatest popularity. This religious play was performed then by many groups in the entire Emirates under a changed title - *Ğābir 'Aṯarāt al-Kirām* (proper name). Unfortunately, despite being the first play staged in the Emirates, not much information on this topic has survived. Contemporary Emirati theatre critics do not give much mention to this play in their studies either. These days, apart from the information on authorship and the subject of the drama one can only get to know that is was performed under the supervision of Fāyz Abū an-Nu'āğ, one of the teachers in the Al-Madrasa al-Qāsimiyya Sharjah School[10].

School theatre in the Emirates provided an impetus for further research and studies for those who found interest in this form of artistic expression. For the first time theatre emerged in Emirati schools and what is important despite modest conditions, it was enthusiastically acclaimed by local youth. It was the same generation that gave birth to future promoters, actors, directors and playwrights.

At the same time from the beginning of the mid 1950s scouting movement started to emerge as part of school activities. Soon enough, it took a great part in the promotion of amateur school theatre. As early as during the first scouting camps, short skits and scenes were performed[11]. They were aimed to provide entertainment as well as education. At the same time, in spite of being remarkably limited they provided young people with an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the sheer phenomena of theatrical staging and active participation.

Very quickly the theatrical movement started functioning as part of many youth centres with cultural departments. One of first such centres in the Emirates was the Omani Club – An-Nādī al-'Umānī located in Sharjah. In 1958, a play entitled *Ṭawwil 'umrak wa-šba' ṭamāša* (*Live Long and Have Fun,* 1958) was staged. The scenario was written jointly by the members of an amateur theatrical group including: 'Abd Allāh 'Īlān, Muḥammad Rāšid al-Ġirwān, Sulṭān al-'Awīs and 'Ubayd Ibn Ṣandū[12]. The group had no professional supervision and combined their individual efforts to direct their plays. Unfortunately, it is difficult to find more information on this subject apart from the fact that the topics raised by them oscillated around social issues. The drama script has not survived to these days and its actual content is not known. It is also the case with many other plays that were written and staged in the 1950s, 60s, 70s and even 80s.

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[10] See Muḥammad Diyāb al-Mūsà. 2004. Bidāyāt wā'ida wa-ntilāqāt rāsiḫa. *Al-Masraḥ* 3. p. 6.
[11] See Yūsuf 'Īdābī (ed.) 2006. *As-sīra al-masraḥiyya.* aš-Šāriqa. p. 17.
[12] See 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Qādir. 1985. Madḫal li... p. 50.

In 1959, Sulṭān Ibn Muḥammad al-Qāsimī's drama entitled *Nihāyat Ṣahyūn* (*The End of Zion*, 1958-1959) was staged in the Sharjah People Club – Nādi aš-Ša'b. The play was known under a slightly modified title – *Wukalā' Ṣahyūn* (*The Agents of Zion*). The existence of the two titles relating to the same work could sometimes result in confusion among those interested in theatre history. For these reasons in February 2002 during the 12th edition of the Sharjah Theatre Days (Ayyām aš-Šāriqa al-Masraḥiyya), the author of the drama officially corrected the widespread myth restoring the original wording of the title. The scenario itself, however, survived only as a manuscript. Nevertheless, its meaning is particularly important for the history of Emirati scene and dramatic writing in this country. *Nihāyat Ṣahyūn* (*The End of Zion*) was created between 1958 and 1959 and it is considered to be the first original and independently written Emirati drama. [13] Characterised by political nature, it is a fierce criticism of British authorities controlling the area of today's Emirates. The play triggered a wave of protests against the British. The audience left the venue applauding and shouting. As a result of these actions, the head of British authorities called for the cancellation of the performance[14].

In the same year in the Dubai Youth Centre – Nādī aš-Šabāb, a play entitled *Al-'Islām wa-t-ta'āwun* (*Islam and Cooperation*, 1959) written and directed by Ǧuma'a Ġarīb was staged. This political performance sparked another wave of protests against the British. The theatre group that was formed at the Youth Centre in Dubai included inter alia: Ġānim Ġubāš, Baṭṭī Ibn Bašar, Ǧuma'a Ġarīb, and Ibrāhīm Ǧuma'a. In the period from the end of the 1950s to the beginning of the 80s those young theatre enthusiasts organised many performances, of which the most famous written and directed by Ǧuma'a Ġarīb include: *Lu'bat aṭ-ṭalāq* (*The Game of Divorce*) and *Ġalā' al-muhūr dahwara al-'umūr* (*High Dowry Made It All Complicated,* 1970).

In Sharjah apart from the aforementioned artistic group there was also a theatre at the Arab People Club – Nādī aš-Ša'b wa-al-'Urūba. The group was founded by 'Abd Allāh 'Umrān Taryam and Aḥmad an-Nawmān. Both of them were witting scenarios, directing and selecting actors. The most important plays staged by the group include: *Ta'addud az-zawǧāt* (*Polygamy*), *Fidyat al-waṭan* (*Ransom for the Fatherland*) and *Al-ġawwās wa-n-nūḫiḏa* (*The Diver and the Captain*).

[13] See 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Qādir. 2004. *Al-Masraḥ fī...* p. 16, and also Yūsuf 'Īdābī (ed.) 2003. *An-Naṣṣ al-masraḥī...*p. 55.
[14] See 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Qādir. op. cit. p. 24.

Other centres followed in the wake of Sharjah and Dubai. In Ras al-Khaimah in the Oman Club – Nādī 'Umān short satiric performances were staged. The most important ones include: *Ar-Raġba* (*Desire,* 1971) and *Tītī tītī miṯl mā ruḫtī ǧī'tī* (*Titi, titi, As You Went, So You Came Back*) by Sa'īd Abū Miyān.

In Ajman at the Victory Club – Nādī an-Naṣr another theatre group was founded. Its members and founders included inter alia: 'Īd al-Faraǧ, Sulṭān aš-Šā'ir and Aḥmad Yūsuf al-'Aǧmānī. At the beginning of the 1960s the group has prepared a play entitled *Al-Ḥallāq wa-l-badawī* (*The Barber and the Bedouin*).[15]

Meanwhile in Abu Dhabi one more theatre group was founded at the Police Club – Nādī aš-Šurṭa. The group was mostly performing elaborate satiric sketches. There was another artistic group at the National Sport Club in Abu Dhabi – An-Nādī al-Ahlī ar-Riyāḍī. It was founded by Muḥammad al-Ǧināḥī in 1967 and performed also satiric and comedy skits.[16]

The sense of shared responsibility for the undertaken ventures was a characteristic feature of youth theatre movement. Often plays, or rather elaborate skits or verbal and music montages, were created jointly. The subjects of plays were devised during theatre group meetings. Then dialogs were composed, roles assigned and in this simple amateurish way the repertoire of performances was built. It was actors' responsibility to prepare the stage, decorations, costumes and music background. Often they had to do it at their own expense being led by personal taste and modest financial possibilities. Performances took place during holidays or artistic evenings.

In the era when only a few could afford a radio and later on a TV, clubs fulfilled a crucial role in social life. They were used as places for exchanging opinions, to hold meetings and to provide entertainment, which was represented among others by theatre performances. Theatres operating at social clubs became venues where one could raise issues important for Emirati society. Spontaneous reactions of the audience after performances *Nihāyat Ṣahyūn* (*The End of Zion,* 1958 – 1959) and *Al-'Islām wa-t-ta'āwun* (*Islam and Cooperation,* 1959) has shown how great influence they had.

Being moved from schools into clubs the theatre got strengthened. Being supervised and corrected by teaching staff school theatre was at the same limited in terms of repertoire. Not every subject could be raised as part of school activities. The performances were treated as didactic and moralizing tools. This is why performances selected or written for school theatre where mostly politically neutral. At the same time it is important to remember that their strength is derived from the fact that they are traditional dramatic texts and constitute a certain kind

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[15] See 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Qādir. 1985. Madḫal li...p. 51.
[16] Ibidem. p. 48.

of a genre model. However, the fact that actors were recruited only among the students of a given school, often limited staging possibilities. This is why the emergence of theatre groups in clubs resulted in increased independence and freedom. However, young charisma and artistic aspirations were not enough to achieve a satisfactory level of staged plays. Soon enough, it proved that the Emirates were missing professional actors, directors and especially qualified instructors who could lead this young and somehow enthusiastic theatre movement into one direction.

On April 22th 1963, an Iraqi, Wāṯiq as-Sāmarrā'ī, arrived to Dubai. In Baghdad, he used to be a member of a theatre group, where he met an Egyptian artist called 'Aṭiyya. In the 1940s this man arrived to Iraq with many years' experience in various theatres with artists such as Salāma Ḥiğāzī. 'Aṭiyyą gave young Iraqis an opportunity to found a theatre group that could perform in other Arabic countries of the Persian Gulf. Apart from performing the group was supposed to promote theatre movement through workshops and meetings with the youth. Wāṯiq as-Sāmarrā'ī got interested in this idea and not waiting for the decision of his friends he decided to travel to the Emirates on his own.[17] Having arrived in Dubai, he was meeting the local youth in cafes to explain the purpose of his mission. Realising that he would not get there a worm reception he decided to travel to Sharjah. When he arrived on May 11, he rented a flat with an intention to organise rehearsals of his future team. Soon enough, he met some young people interested in his goal. They included among others: Muḥammad Ṣafar and his brother 'Abd ar-Raḥman. The first meetings were organised in a cafe, where the artist gave lectures on theatre and its history in Europe and Arabic countries. Soon after, a meeting in the People's Club – Nādī aš-Ša'b was held, where the possibilities of creating an artistic group and even building a theatre were discussed. Sheikh Ṣaqr al-Qāsimī who was Sulṭān al-Qāsimī's cousin present at the meeting, seeing the interest of the young people, got personally involved in the project, offering financial assistance. The idea of building the first theatre in the Emirates turned into reality when construction works started in 1963. In the meantime as-Sāmarrā'ī along with his team was preparing a play that was going to be staged to celebrate the opening of the theatre. The artist was fully aware how important the audience's reception of this first performance was. For this reason, he decided to write a simple and easy to understand play entitled *Min ağli waladī* (*For My Son's Case,* 1963). Apart from acting responsibilities the cast was also faced with other duties. Each of them was assigned to individual groups responsible for the preparation of decorations, costumes and the venue. On

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[17] See Yūsuf 'Īdābī (ed.) 2003. *An-Naṣṣ al-masraḥī…*p. 72.

August 1963, the Sharjah theatre was officially opened. The opening ceremony was attended by many including Sulṭān al-Qāsimī. Before the play, he delivered a speech thanking the youth for being engaged in cultural activities and stressed the importance of art and theatre in social life. The performance was warmly welcomed and in September of the same year the group staged another drama entitled *Al-'Adāla* (*Justice,* 1963). This play also enjoyed great interest. As-Sāmarrā's success led to an offer by a shaikh, al-Maktūm Ibn Rāšid, who wanted him to organise a theatre group at the Youth Club – Nādī aš-Šabāb in Dubai. The team among others consisted of: Aḥmad Sāliḥ al-Ḥaṭīb, Ǧuma'a Ġarīb, 'Abd Allāh Bilḥayr, Aḥmad al-'Asīmī, 'Abd ar-Raḥman al-Fāris, Rabī' Ḥalīfa, Baṭṭī Ibn Bašar and Sālim Aḥmad. The première of a play entitled *Sāmaḥīnī* (*Forgive Me,* 1963) by Wāṯiq as-Sāmarrā'ī took place in Dubai on December 13.[18] This performance was highly successful and support, which the group received from the local authorities, greatly strengthened the local theatre movement. A few months later the actor group along with an extensive music section consisted of seventy people. After Wāṯiq as-Sāmarrā'ī's short stay in Qatar, preparations were undertaken to stage a new play. This time it was planed to be a historical drama entitled *Ḫālid Ibn al-Walīd* (proper name). For this purpose, the roof of the Dubai Šaṭṭ al-'Arab hotel was rented serving as a venue for rehearsals and performances. Soon after the premier the group staged the same play in Ras al-Khaimah. Among the audience was also the emir of Ras al-Khaimah, sheikh Ṣaqr.

In 1969 an Abu Dhabi theatre group held at the Farmer Sport Club – Nādī al-Fallāḥ ar-Riyāḍī started preparation works for staging *Ṭabīb fī al-qarn al-'ašrīn* (*The Doctor in 20th Century,* 1969). The drama was written by Wāṯiq as-Sāmarrā'ī and it was also he who, at the instigation of Ǧum'a al-'Alāwī, decided to direct the work of the team. The première took place during celebrations held at the end of Ramadan - 'Īd al-Fiṭr. It was attended by the emir of Abu Dhabi Sheikh Zayd and many other invited guests. At the request of the audience after two months the play was staged again. Soon the actors rented their own venue, founding in this way an independent group called Abu-Dhabi Folklore and Theatre Group – Firqat Abū /abī li-t-tamṯīl wa-l-funūn aš-ša'biyya. Their first performance was a drama written in a dialect entitled *Muṭṭawwi' ḫamīs* (*Marabou,* 1969). In 1969 for the first time in the Emirate's history the performance was covered by local TV.[19] Then the group performed two radio plays written by Wāṯiq as-Sāmarrā'ī. Unfortunately, shortly thereafter the group had to suspend activity mainly due to financial difficulties. Also as-Sāmarrā'ī,

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[18] Ibidem. p. 78.
[19] Ibidem. p. 80.

feeling that he had fulfilled his mission, quit theatre and devoted himself to running his own company.

The role played by Wāṯiq as-Sāmarrā'ī in Emirati theatre history could not be overestimated. First of all, he was well-educated and had substantial knowledge in the area of theatre plus a great deal of theatrical experience. Moreover, he was led by a strong desire to promote this kind of art. This is what contributed to his success. There are people claiming that Emirati theatre came only into existence with the appearance of Wāṯiq as-Sāmarrā'ī. While this belief unfairly diminishes the achievements of the school theatre and theatre groups running at youth centres, at the same time it shows how great his influence was on shaping the Emirati theatre.

As-Sāmarrā'ī introduced the spirit of professionalism into Emirati amateurish and spontaneous movement. It was all about improving acting skills and thorough preparation of plays. It was not just the text, acting and characterisation that were important. One could not forget about lighting, music background and appropriate distribution of seats. As a result, truly multi-layered message with real influence strength was created. New, more fulfilled theatre quality proposed and delivered by as-Sāmarrā'ī contributed to the popularisation of this art. From the very beginning the artist was fully aware of how important repertoire selection performed by his group was. Hence the idea to write simple texts, that were topically linked to the social and political reality in the Emirates. In many cases, he was also referring to the events from the Islamic world's history affirming traditional Muslim values. It was certainly true in case of a play entitled *Ḫālid Ibn al-Walīd* (proper name). As-Sāmarrā'ī did not shunned from politics. The Palestinian subject was raised in a drama, *Al-Qaḍīyya al-filasṭīniyya* (*Palestinian Case*). Unfortunately, none of his plays has been published. Their contents can be only discovered based on spectators' or the collaborators' account.

Apart from the artistic breakthrough that Wāṯiq as-Sāmarrā'ī initiated in the Emirati theatre, his surname opens a long list of Arabic actors and directors that in various periods came to support Emirati theatre. In 1971, an independent state known as the United Arab Emirates was found. Soon enough, the newly formed Ministry of Culture and Information took the theatre movement under its wings. The ambition of activists and officials working there was to form stable organisational structures that could cover the entire country. Most importantly, the theatre has been chosen as one of the main culture media, thereby gaining the favour of the authorities and freedom of operation.

Despite the help of the country, serious personnel shortages could not be compensated by the enthusiasm and aspirations of theatre activists. Soon it

became apparent that the best solution would be to get assistance of experienced Arabic directors and organizers.

In 1972 at the invitation of the Ministry of Culture and Information an Egyptian, Zakī Ṭulaymāt, arrived in the Emirates. His task was to familiarize himself with the situation of the Emirati theatre and then to develop a comprehensive, multilateral programme on its development directions. In his report, which was submitted to the Ministry, apart from making ambitious plans for the evolution of the theatre, much of the program was devoted to administrative structures that would deal with organisational, legal and financial issues necessary for the proper functioning of this art in the future. Ṭulaymāt's project anticipated extreme changes in then amateurish movement, requiring significant staff, administrative and financial commitment.

Ṭulaymāt's report covered four dimensions of theatre movement. The first one was the artist who is professionally trained and aware of his role in the rapidly developing country, where social and cultural changes happen at a breakneck pace. The second dimension of theatrical reality was efficient administration with well-equipped venues and theatre halls. The next dimension without of which the theatre could not exist is the audience. Ṭulaymāt called for gradual education of the audience through the simplification of the staged plays starting from light-hearted comedy and farce through social and political plays to performances of philosophical character performed as part of the theatre of the absurd. The last dimension mentioned in the report was work with the youth. Ṭulaymāt regarded school theatre as a base and object of special attention for authorities. Theatrical education of the youngest was supposed to bring results in form of a society that is not only close to the theatre but it is also a place for open debate, in which participation can be chosen consciously[20].

In reality, a young country that was facing numerous problems, mostly financial and organisational, could not afford to bring Ṭulaymāt's programme into existence.

Since the 1970s many Arab directors came to the Emirates either at the invitation of the Ministry of Culture or individually to cooperate with theatre groups. It would be extremely difficult to name all of those who over the last thirty years have visited the Emirates. However there are a few of them that left such a visible mark on Emirati theatre history that they presence could not be omitted. Undoubtedly Ṣaqr ar-Rašūd's arrival in Sharjah at the invitation of the Ministry of Culture in 1978 was the most important event since the artistic activity of Wāṯiq as-Sāmarrā'ī. This already well-known actor, playwright and above all a director was entrusted with a mission to organise professional structure of Emirati theatre. At the same time ar-Rašūd was supposed to manage

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[20] See 'Ādil Ḥizām. 2003. *As-Sitāra wa-aqni'a.* aš-Šāriqa. p. 15.

development directions of the local theatre and its artistic level. Unfortunately, after eight months of hard work ar-Rašūd's mission was tragically interrupted. The artist died in an accident on December 4, 1978. Despite his short stay in Sharjah he managed to establish direct contact with a large group of youth – members of amateur groups – who made up Emirati theatre. This interpersonal contact resulted in unexpectedly good results. Ar-Rašūd's artistic personality left a strong mark on the work and achievements of many prominent future Emirati directors and actors.

His activity covered a few dimensions. Firstly, he was holding meetings with the youth, organising lectures and talks on the theatre. He collaborated with theatre groups helping to direct performances. At the same time he was trying to create the administrative structures of the theatre as part of one joint artistic project covering the whole country. Ar-Rašūd was fully aware that even the most exuberant and ambitious art movement in the long run could not exist without adequate financial resources. This is why he called the government for allocating an annual budget for purposes related solely to the theatre and the operation of theatre groups. He believed that the creation of uniform politics or development strategies of Emirati theatre could be carried out through balancing administrative and artistic elements. Having gained experience in Kuwait, ar-Rašūd knew well that professional theatre could not exist in today's world without two reliably working elements: great theatre group and competent administration. The first element of this structure is solely associated with artistic activity, while the other addresses a broad range of loosely defined organisational issues especially financial matters. To carry out his mission ar-Rašūd also involved an Iraqi artist, Ibrāhīm Ğalāl, who after his death stayed for some time in the Emirates, devoting most of his energy to school theatre. One of the founders of the Sharjah National Theatre, actor, playwright and director, 'Abd Allāh al-Manā'ī during an interview for the "Al-Bayān" newspaper, said a few words about the Kuwaiti artist: *I could not forget of what I owe to the late ar-Rašūd, who guided me opening the way of opportunities to gain new experience. He was a theatre school himself. He helped us to see our progress and create the theatre of the future. (…) He was unusually organized and worked in a methodical way. He had a great influence on me and through him I discovered things the existence of which I was not aware*[21].

A Kuwaiti director, Fu'ād aš-Šaṭṭī was ar-Rašūd's and Ğalāl's follower in the subsequent years. The artist undertaken the work discontinued by his predecessors basing his efforts on strictly scientific foundations. His conception of the theatre went far beyond the Arab world. Aš-Šaṭṭī made use of the

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[21] 'Abd Allāh al-Manā'ī. op. cit.

achievements of world theatre and put forward an ambitious plan to create theatre based on strong theoretical foundations. Having returned to his home country, the artist kept in touch with the representatives of Emirati theatre offering help and advice.

A Tunisian director, al-Munṣif as-Suwaysī, was a very important figure that had a significant impact on the form of Emirati theatre. His presence in the Emirates is mostly related to the period of numerous and intense artistic workshops organized throughout the country with the financial support of the Ministry of Culture. As part of theoretical and practical courses that was held at the beginning of 1980s, as-Suwaysī was supported by a large group of Arab directors. These included among others: Yaḥyā al-Ḥāǧǧ, Fārūq Awḥān, Muḥsin Muḥammad, Fatḥī Diyāb and 'Abd al-Karīm 'Awd. The goal of as-Suwaysī, who coordinated all of these projects, was to educate the elite of Emirati youth, who were active in local theatre groups. It would be they who having gained practical skills supported with theoretical knowledge, would shape the theatre in their own country in the future.

An Iraqi director, Ǧawād al-Asadī, was as-Suwaysī's successor. He also believed that the best way to develop theatrical ambitions and aspirations of young Emirati people was to organise workshops and courses run by professionals. Apart from that, al-Asadī himself got engaged in directing, establishing close cooperation with many groups, especially the National Sharjah Theatre. The artist stressed the necessity of listening to what the Emirati society lives with. In his opinion the voice of the theatre must be primarily well-understood. On the other hand, the director is a man who can establish a real dialogue with the audience through the staged scenario[22].

The Emirates has continually seen new artists supporting local theatre movement. They include, among others: 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Qādir, al-Munǧī Ibn Ibrāhīm, Ḫalīfa al-'Arīfī, Ḥusayn Muslim, Maḥmūd Abū al-'Abbās, Qāsim Muḥammad and many others.
Some of them became permanently involved with the local theatre. Showing variable degrees of involvement also many others committed themselves to new Emirati art projects.

With time Emirati theatre became more and more independent relaying on the local artists such as Māǧid Abū Šalībī, Aḥmad Rāšid Ṯānī, Mar'ī al-'Alyān, Sālim al-Ḥatāwī, Nāǧī al-Ḥay, Ǧamāl Sālim, Ḥabīb Ġalūm, 'Umar Ġubāš, Ṣāliḥ Karāma, Ismā'īl 'Abd Allāh, 'Abd Allāl al-Manā'ī, Ǧamāl Maṭṭar and many others. Soon they set original trends in Emirati drama. They also started creating a new shape of their own theatre.

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[22] Ibidem

REWRITING ISLAMIC HISTORY IN CONTEMPORARY ARABIC POETRY

Saddik M.Gohar
The United Arab Emirates University

Abstract

This paper explores the integration of ancient Islamic heritage In the literature of the United Arab Emirates, particularly the history of the rise and fall of the Muslim Empire in Andalusia, in an attempt to confront regional challenges and international transformations in the current era. Navigating the dialectics of tradition and identity, Saleha Ghabesh, the female Emirati poet, attempts to incorporate the ancient Islamic heritage in Andalusia as a dynamics of liberation in order to articulate domestic issues integral to the geopolitics of the United Arab Emirates and the Arab region in the age of globalization. Transforming the mythic history of Andalusia into a narrative of disclosure, the poet encounters a web of traditions and policies responsible for significant ramifications in the UAE and the Arab world. In a related context, the paper points out that the technique of adaptation, used by Ghabesh, which includes recollection rephrasing and re-writing of ancient heritage and Andalusian legacies to fulfill contemporary purposes, is part of the issue of hybridity and interculturation characterizing the contemporary experience of political and cultural globalization. By assimilating heritage and historical traditions into contemporary Emirati literature, Ghabesh aims to link the past with the present reconstructing ancient narratives which shaped the cultural mythology of the Arab people.

Introduction

Capturing the catastrophic history of the Arab world at present, Ghabesh[1] reconstructs episodes from the history of Islamic Andalusia engaging into inter-textual dialogues with ancient Andalusian poetry in which narratives of exile, defeat and subordination occupy the foreground. As a whole, Ghabesh's poetry examines reconsiderations of contemporary problems of domination and hegemony playing a conspicuously prominent role in the formation and dissemination of notions of reform, on the political and social paradigms. Serving

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[1] Saleha Obeid Ghabesh is one of the most promising young poets and writers in the United Arab Emirates. As a poet and short story writer, she published several poetic anthologies and collections of short stories. Though she is not yet a popular poet in the sense that great numbers of people, in the Arab World, are familiar with her works, one could praise the poetry of Ghabesh for its thematic diversity, brilliant use of language, structural inventiveness and subtle depiction of Arab dreams and frustrations as well as its exploration of revolutionary feminist issues. In addition to its feminist perspective, the poetry of the female Emirati poet is imbued with lyricism and textual complexity that resist generic categorization. Besides an engagement with social and political issues, Ghabesh's poetry is characterized by its existential concerns and universal motifs which make it appealing to those interested in promulgating historical and universal pursuits.

as a potential signpost in Emirati cultural criticism, and incorporating socio-political issues rooted in the collective consciousness of the Arab people, Ghabesh attempts to locate contemporary Emirati poetry in the context of current transformations in global relationships, linking local cultural discourses with the intellectual concerns and orientations originating at the central sites of western literary canons.

On this basis, one of the central traits of Ghabesh's poetry is an extensive use of myth and legend, adapted and recycled to incorporate themes of contemporary significance in a modern Arab context. In the preface to her anthology, *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin? / Who will Secure a Safe Haven for Buthayn?,* she establishes an analogy between herself and Buthayn or Buthayna bint al-Mu'tamed Bin Abbad, the central female voice in the anthology. The links between the poet and her female persona are subtle and intricate to the extent that "they become one personality, one woman" (Ghabesh 2002: 5). Apparently, the Emirati poet is interested in the eventful life of her predecessor, Buthayna, because "the biography of this historical figure includes myth and tradition" according to Ghabesh. The life story of Buthayna, the Andalusian princess and the daughter of al-Mu'tamed b. Abbad[2], the king of Seville (a city located in Southwestern Spain) is the central inspiration for the Emirati poet, who enthusiastically engages the historical narrative of her female predecessor in the poetic canvas of *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin*?

In *A Map of Misreading,* Harold Bloom considers the attempt to evade earlier writing produced by an author's predecessors as a basic motivation in literary production. In this context, Bloom illustrates that in order "to live the poet must misinterpret the father by the crucial act of misprision, which is the rewriting

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[2] During the Muslim occupation of Southern Spain (Andalusia) which lasted more than seven hundred years (755-1492), Arabo-Muslim rulers established several kingdoms which were subsequently dismantled after the restoration or the re-conquest of Spain. In the aftermath of the defeat of the Muslim armies and the loss of Andalusia, Buthayna's parents were exiled to Morocco, but the princess and the harem in her father's palace were sold out in slavery. Unaware of Buthayna's royal origin, a slave merchant from Seville gave her as a gift to his son, but she rejects to surrender her body to him. After the revelation of her identity and noble descent, Buthayna gained the admiration of her captor who, due to her beauty and virtues, proposes to her. Falling in love with him because of his kindness and respect for her, Buthayna accepts the engagement but refuses to consummate their marriage until she gets the consent of her father, the exiled king. But since Buthayna's decision to marry the young Spaniard is considered as an enormous transgression, which goes counter to the dictates of a patriarchal Muslim society, she decides to negotiate with her domineering father rather than to clash with him. Using her feminine powers of negotiation, she is able to gain the sympathy of her father who inevitably accepts her marriage from someone who belongs to the camp of the enemies.

of the father" (Bloom 1975: 19). Unlike male Arab poets who reconstruct the texts of their forebears in order to dismantle them, Ghabesh rewrites her female predecessor integrating her poetic narrative into the contemporary literary canon. Ignoring Bloom's call for contemporary poets to "differentiate themselves into strength by trooping or turning from the presence of other poets" (Bloom 1975: 80), Ghabesh reveals no sign of anxiety toward her Andalusian forebear violating Bloom's paradigm of literary influence. In addition to her adaptation of the Andalusian narrative, to explore contemporary socio-political issues, the Emirati poet does not perform a textual dismemberment of her female Andalusian predecessor. Instead, she allows Buthayna to recur in the new contextual corpus. In other words, Ghabesh does not imply a privileged position for her own poetic discourse simply because Buthayna, the Andalusian princess or the dead narrator, reads Ghabesh as much as Ghabesh reads her.

Apparently, the major inspiration and the guiding light which came to the Emirati poet, from the history of Andalusia in general and from the story of Butayna in particular, shapes the infra poetic structure for her anthology linking the fall of Seville and Grenada with contemporary collapses and catastrophes on different fronts in the Arab world. The Emirati poet partly associates the loss of Arab glory in ancient Spain and in contemporary history to the domination of decadent patriarchal traditions, which subjugate Arab women, as well as other reasons. Searching for a savior-hero and struggling to save an entire history from oblivion, Ghabesh resurrects Andalusian mythology connecting the miserable end of al-Mu'tamed (king of Seville) with the potential destiny of contemporary Arab rulers engaged in Arab-Arab conflicts and guided by a masculine mentality, which breeds policies of oppression and leads to recurrent defeats. In other words, the young Emirati poet courageously interrupts contemporary patriarchal practices which confiscate female freedom disseminating her attitudes toward current issues of great importance in the social and political arenas.

Due to a deep concern with Andalusian history, Ghabesh's poetry borders on exploiting or colonizing Buthayna's narrative to fulfill ideological purposes. In this sense, Ghabesh's modern alternative discourse becomes a story within a story, and a new text is created and perpetuated, as the Emirati poet deploys her artistic vision using another woman's narrative. Through her engagement with Buthayna's legend, a woman's voice came to the Emirati poet from remote destination giving her poetry renewed vigor and sparking in the readers an interest in Andalusian history. Entering the text of the Emirati poet in several guises, Buthayna and her story are transformed into significant indicators and signifiers at the disposal of Ghabesh's poetic neologism and creativity. Functioning ultimately as a guarantee of Ghabesh's own voice, the story of Buthayna is reproduced in intellectual and political terms to deal with local and contemporary matters. Thus,

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Ghabesh's experience of reading Andalusian literature becomes "a catalyst", to use T.S. Eliot's term, prompting the Emirati poet to compose her own anthology in all its revolutionary and feminist implications and in its provocative and subversive treatment of a male-oriented tradition. In order to awaken the Arab people from "the long sleep of history", to use the words of the Syrian poet, Ali Ahmad Said (Adonis), she created an anguished portrayal of a nation on the verge of catastrophe. In this context, *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin*? becomes an appeal or a call for social and political reform in an era of desolation and collapse.

The Use of Myth in *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin*?

In his seminal study of the development of the mythic consciousness, Richard Slotkin describes mythology as follows:

A complex of narrives that dramatizes the world vision and historical sense of people or culture reducing centuries of experience into a constellation of compelling metaphors. Myth provides a scenario or prescription for action defining and limiting the possibilities for human response to the universe (Slotkin1973: 7).

Slotkin equally argues that myth is the intelligible mask of that enigma called the national character. Slotkin also observes that throughout myths "the psychology and world view of our cultural ancestors are transmitted to modern descendants" (Slotkin1973:3). Further, Roland Barthes argues that "myth has the task of giving historical intentions a natural justification and making contingency appear eternal" (Barthes 1972: 142). Explicitly, in modernist western tradition, the poet's artistic point of view is often formed by what is called "the mythic perspective". This mythic consciousness, according to Audrey Rodgers "conceives the world as unified, invisible and self-centered despite apparent contradictions in both the universe and the human affairs[3]" (cited in Gohar 1996: 41).

Moreover, the use of myth as a technique is central to advocates of modernism. For example, myth is incorporated in Eliot's poetic canon to fulfill different aesthetic purposes. Apparently, T.S. Eliot introduces "the mythic method[4]" as an alternative to nineteenth-century poetic forms because of his

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[3] For more details, see Audrey Rodgers "He Do the Police in Different Voices: The Design of the Waste Land" in T.S. Eliot's An Anthology of Recent Critics, ed. Tapan Kumar Basu. Delhi: Pencroft International, 1993.

[4] Arab poets take several modernist devices from Eliot's poetic canon particularly the mythic structure, the use of irony, free verse forms, the use of quotations, allusions to classical works and the use of citations from slogans, folklore and popular lyrics.

awareness that "the inherited modes of ordering a coherent and a stable socio-political order world can not accord with the great panorama of pessimism, futility and anarchy which is contemporary history" (cited in Gohar 1996: 28). For example, in "The Waste Land", a poem which profoundly influenced Arabic poetry, Eliot engages the mythical method instead of the narrative method in order to give coherence to the poem. Harry Levin argues that Eliot's use of myth is not confined to the premise of "juxtaposing past and present for comparative purposes" (Levin 1966: 290) but it aims to cut down unnecessary details integral to traditional poetic discourse. In other words, the incorporation of myth in modernist poetry is similar to the use of "images" for Imagists because in both cases the narrative structure is condensed and redundant details are eliminated.

In a related context, Derek Traversi illustrates that the mythic method is "a new way of structuring experience or projecting emotional material, by definition fragmented, with obvious connection of a casual kind, onto a containing framework" (Traversi 1976: 11). In the same context, Peter Faulkner admits that "the use of myth is one way in which the modernist writer has felt able to give coherence to his work. The myths often being of the most general kind, concerned with death, regeneration, the cycle of nature, the order of seasons" (Faulkner 1985: 18). Further, in postmodern criticism, myths are tales used to reinforce a master narrative by providing it with a veneer of "eternal truthfulness" which aims to overshadow the conflicts, contradictions and differences lying beneath the surface. Jean-Francois Lyotard categorizes these differences as "legitimating narratives" (Lyotard 1991: 19).

Nevertheless, the myths used in Ghabesh's poetry are sophisticated, in the sense that they are not concerned with what Peter Faulkner calls "the cycle of nature", but they deal with the cycle of history. The Emirati poet's analogical use of myth is a way of approximating the relationship between past and present. Myth is used in an innovative manner, in her poetry, to engage contemporary politics and patriarchal traditions. In this context, it is noteworthy to point out that the use of myth in literary texts is originally a modernist phenomenon, borrowed by Arab writers from western literature particularly the literary heritage of T.S. Eliot, to penetrate into the heart of contemporary reality. As a promising poet, Ghabesh is able to appropriate myth redefining and extending it to include more cultural spaces. Further, the use of myth in her poetry has an ontological function that transcends poetic language.

In her famous anthology *Who Will Secure a Safe Haven for Buthayn[5]?/ Beman Ya Buthayan Taluthin?*, Ghabesh reconstructs Andalusian mythology as a

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[5] In *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin?*, the medieval narrative of Buthayn or Buthayna, the Andalusian princess and her eventful life story constitute the cultural / mythic background of the anthology in

metaphor for contemporary reality in the Arab world calling for revolution and reform. Adapting the Andalusian legend to serve current issues, she reveals a growing consciousness of herself as a female subaltern and a rebel. This notion manifests itself as an undercurrent of opposition to contemporary Arab politics and traditions. Though her poetry is rooted in Andalusian myth, it has its own flavor and every poem speaks for itself:

To read a poem is not to read not yet another poem, it is not even to enter, via this poem, into the essence of poetry. The reading of the poem is the poem itself, affirming itself in the reading as a work. It is the giving birth, in the space held open by the reader, to the reading that welcomes it (Blanchot 1982: 198).

In *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin?,* Saleha Ghabesh started her journey toward a politico-feminist committed poetry. Her radical critique of modern Arab politics acquires sharp focus particularly in her poem "Those Who Entered / *al-Dakhelun* ", dedicated to, Abdul-Rahman al-Dakhel (known as Saqr Quraish[6]). Obviously, the current political situation in the Arab world enhanced the poet's awareness of the negative role of Arab politicians. In its candid denunciation of hegemonic politics Ghabesh's poetry may seem at odds with and contradictory to conservative patriarchal traditions, however, it remains a valid focus for contemporary cultural and critical practices. Incorporating western aesthetic strategies, the poet's narratives do not appear in chronological sequences but in fragmented structures, a reflection of modernist techniques characterizing Eliot's poetry. Moreover, in *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin?,* Andalusian traditions are transformed into a narrative of confrontation and protest challenging the

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addition to the life-history of the Umayyad prince Abdul-Rahman al-Dakhel (known as Saqr Quraish or The Hawk of Quraish). The links between the poet and her female persona (Buthayn) are subtle and intricate to the extent that "they become one personality, one woman". See the poet's preface to *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin*? pp. 5-9.

[6] His name is Abdul-Rahman b. Mua'wiyya b. Hisham b. Abdul-Malek, known as Saqr Quraish (The Hawk of Quraish) – Quraish is a famous Arab tribe in Mecca. He escaped from the Abbasid persecution of the Umayyad family in Damascus and was able to establish an Islamic dynasty in Andalusia (756-788). After the fall of the Umayyad Empire, the Abbasid army slaughtered all the members of the Umayyad royal family but Abdul-Rahman was able to hide in a Syrian village, near the Euphrates river. In the beginning of his escape adventure, he went to al-Qairawan city – in North Africa - when he was nineteen years old. But he failed to stay there because the enemies of the Umayyads (the Kharijites / al-Khawarej) attempted to assassinate him, therefore he went to Libya and stayed there for four years. In 755, he led an army crossing the Atlantic and invading Seville. After the invasion of Seville, he conquered Cordoba and declared himself Caliph of the Muslim nation in Andalusia at the age of 26. Abdul-Rahman, supported by the Berbers in Andalusia, was engaged into wars and armed struggle with other Muslim factions in an attempt to dominate the Spanish South.

obliteration of the feminized memory in the labyrinth of patriarchal culture. Fueled primarily by the agitation resulting from disappointing confrontations with a hegemonic tradition, Ghabesh expresses support for the advocates of progress against the forces of bigotry and aggression.

Recalling the history of Arabic-Muslim dynasties in Andalusia and establishing links with a heroic historical tradition, Ghabesh breaks new territory searching for a mythic figure able to liberate the Arab consciousness from the chains of ignorance and superstitions. She draws from the generative mythic history of Abdul Rahman al-Dakhel (the Hawk of Quraish). Historically, the Arab / Andalusian prince, was able to survive the Abbasid genocide of his kinsmen (the Umayyad family) after the collapse of their dynasty in Damascus in the eighth century. Escaping from the Abbasid holocaust, Abdul-Rahman crossed the Atlantic to southern Spain where he put the foundations of a great empire which lasted for more than seven centuries (755-1492). In her magnificent poem, "Those Who Entered / *al-Dakhelun*", Ghabesh laments the loss of Andalusia (the re-conquest of Spain) in the fifteenth-century alluding to the potential loss of more Arab empires and countries in modern history:

> The pioneers came back
> with their sorrows and dreams.
> like strangers, they walk barefooted
> escaping toward unknown lands (Ghabesh 2002: 23[7]).

In her anguish, the poet addresses the Hawk of Quraish capturing the wounds of a nation crippled by recurrent humiliations and defeats. The poet searches for a modern Arab Prometheus who, despite being burnt to ashes, will rise again like a phoenix bringing rebirth to the entire Arab nation. The burning process, in mythical terms, is a purifying ritual crucial to the process of resurrection and salvation. Within the symbolic structure of the poem, a modern Arab savior is expected to sweep away a withered and decayed tradition paving the way for salvation and redemption:

> Will you come late? or arrive on time
> to climb the vertical horse
> and open the windows for sunshine.
> the sun has been waiting for you.
> the sun gracefully runs toward the west
> hiding herself behind the horizon

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[7] All translations from Arabic sources including *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin?* is done by the author of the article. Further, all the initiating and pioneering critical studies on the anthology *(Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin?)* - in both English and Arabic languages - are so far the contributions of the author.

like a girl repeatedly conceals
her story by the end of the day.
the sun piously prays in her altar
for the sake of the Hawk
in order to awaken him
from the rebellious absurdity
of his dreams (Ghabesh 2002: 24).

Falling in love with the Hawk of Quraish and equating the heroic sacrifices of the Andalusian prince with the selfishness and opportunism of contemporary Arab politicians and rulers, Ghabesh's female persona searches for him everywhere:

The girl will trace your track,
will recognize you,
a veiled warrior behind the dust,
on the back of a horse
infiltrating through the barriers of mirage.
how can she meet you
after her dressmakers throw away
her royal gown and escape?
how can she meet you
after the death of her hairdresser?
how can she meet you
while autumn is penetrating
 the locks of her hair?
will you come late or arrive on time? (Ghabesh 2002: 24).

In her attempt to revitalize a decadent tradition and build a new Andalusia, Ghabesh denounces contemporary Arab politics which leads to catastrophes and misery. Drawing inspiration from the lessons of the past and filling the earth "with the screams of new things", to use the words of Adonis, the great Syrian poet, she challenges the corruption of the present. In an Eliotic manner, Ghabesh juxtaposes the heroic history of the Hawk to the clandestine and shameful policies of defeated Arab rulers:

Do not be like them.
bring me a dowry of dignity.
I have been waiting for you
for fifty years.
my dowry is lost
under heaps of defeats.
bring back my dowry
through a victory over

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the carriers of scriptures and lies
using a sword that sheds its dust
and a roaring speech,
a declaration of the holy war.
rise up, do not be like them
and bring my dowry,
my beloved Jerusalem
and say to me:
darling, we become victorious.
does your Arab heart stay in peace now? (Ghabesh 2002: 25).

To Eliot, a poet can be evaluated only in connection with his / her involvement in tradition and through his / her relationship with the great literary ancestors and forebears: "His [her] appreciation is the appreciation of his [her] relation to the dead poets and artists" (Eliot 1972: 72). Harold Bloom argues, in *A Map of Misreading*, that poets "differentiate themselves into strength by trapping or turning from the presence of other poets" (Bloom 1975: 80). By integrating the poetic traditions of western poets like Eliot and Pound, Ghabesh shows no signs of anxiety toward her western forebears violating Bloom's paradigm of literary influence.

In "Those Who Departed in their Darkness / *al-Rahelun fi Atamatehem*", she identifies herself with Buthayna, the Andalusian princess and the beloved daughter of the defeated and exiled king of Seville: "both of us appear in an unfamiliar and warm identity / hostile to collective conscience / thus, innocence is transformed into sharp blades mutilating the moment of appearance" (Ghabesh 2002: 21). Furthermore, Ghabesh speaks about a world where nothing exists except the ghosts of inevitable defeats and "where we become again a comedy for our dreams" (Ghabesh 2002: 22).

In "She Ran Away / *Fa Kharajat Harebah*", Ghabesh visualizes an encounter between Buthayna, the poet's female persona and the Hawk of Quraish. The female persona longs for a savior to emerge and set things in order but nothing happens. When she becomes on the verge of disappointment and collapse,
you (the hawk) appear
to wash the face of Buthayna
and remove the dust of waiting
from her face.
you appear
to break the clock of pain
hanging on her walls.
you appear
to mingle your voice with hers

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spreading your cloak
over my letters
exposed to the intruding eyes
at the moment of collapse (Ghabesh 2002: 32-33).

Apostrophizing the Hawk (Abdul-Rahman al-Dakhel), the female speaker continues her one-sided dialogue with him:

carrying your sadness,
I will travel toward
villages where girls are
dancing in their feasts.
they turn their sorrows
into black hair plaits
as dark as the night (Ghabesh 2002: 34).

At the end of her passionate address to the Hawk, Ghabesh utilizes subtle and suggestive utterances reflecting her talent as a promising young poet:

Have you ever known
that you are the essence
of my lost things?
I appear in your utterances
on your lips and in your words
when invited by my silence (Ghabesh 2002: 35).

In "Thus, time Passed Away / *Wa Hakatha al-Zaman Ya`ul*", Ghabesh engages current geopolitics evoking contemporary conditions in the Arab world and calling for an abandonment "of our weakness / and our hollow speech" (Ghabesh 2002: 28). "Searching for olives and orange trees, in the Arab world", the poet dreams of a better future where she can fly like "a sparrow at the break of the dawn" to enjoy "the taste of freedom" (Ghabesh 2002: 29). In her poem, "Weep Like Women / *Ebki Kannesa'a*", addressed to al-Mu'tamed bin Abbad, king of Seville during the medieval era, the Emirati poet says:

Shuddering under the windows
of a palace visited by the fever of defeat
since you were under siege
surrounded by the spears of your hands.
give me the key of your palace
before the arrival of its guards,
before the arrival of the carriers of bells
who may bring with them
some peace and warmth
brought from my homeland in the East (Ghabesh 2002: 49).

Lamenting the defeat of the Arabs in Spain and the collapse of their Islamic empire including the kingdom of al-Mu'tamed, the poet addresses the exiled king in poetic lines[8] saying:

All the kings burst into tears,
and you were the last one to weep
bowing your head,
shedding your tears
and the jewels of your crown
on the floor of the miserable palace
which turns upside down
due to our death,
appealing to the royal partners
in your Kingdom to be united
even in memories and tears,
but all of them deserted you
leaving you alone, the remains of a king.
do not weep like women
it is your destiny to confront
a woman killed by inherited sins
wrapped in dusty boxes (Ghabesh 2002: 50).

The poem ends with a note of grief and lamentation over a lost paradise and a glorious past that can never be regained:

I love you Andalusia.
your love is the story of the people.
I am their daughter.
one night, they abandoned you,
but your broken and exhausted name remains
embroidered with your running blood (Ghabesh 2002: 51).

Explicitly, Ghabesh's poetry, in *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin*?, fits into Roland Barthes' view of the literary text as a network composed of "multiple writings" which come from a variety of sources and discourses already in circulation in some form or other. Nevertheless, Barthes' perspective of the author / poet, as a synthesizer who deliberately reworks and echoes other texts, does not literally apply to Ghabesh's poetry because the Emirati poet transforms ancient

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[8] King al-Muʿtamed himself was interested in poetry and he was an eloquent poet. He partly fell in love with Buthayna's mother (Eʿtemad al-Rumaykiyya) who was originally a slave girl because she wrote wonderful poetry.

history to fit contemporary purposes. By drawing on medieval Andalusian sources, Ghabesh incorporates ancient narratives and myths which keep recurring in her poetry in their original shape and in modified forms. The use of the myth of the Hawk of Quraish is an indication of this trend as variants of it keep appearing in Ghabesh's poetry. The use of Andalusian historical narratives in *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin?* also reveals trajectories of deeply rooted traditions integral to contemporary Emirati poetry. On this basis, it is significant to argue that Ghabesh's anthology, like any other poetic text, "is a new tissue of past citations" (Barthes 1972: 97). Nevertheless, *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin?* could be seen as a kind of discursive recycling where the new relations – which come to exist between the discourses – appropriated and incorporated into her poetry emphasizing that literary writing is never the same. In Ghabesh's poetry, there are sets of cross-references and allusions which provide a richer reading experience or to use modern critical jargon: the signifiers in the text evoke more complex signification. In this sense, Ghabesh attempts to orchestrate Andalusian symbols and myths in a way that suits her contemporary context. Further, her poetry becomes an illustration of a self conscious recognition of the lessons drawn from the history of the Muslim Empire in Andalusia. Consequently, Ghabesh's poetic text is transformed into a self-consciously re-construction of Andalusian discourses incorporated in a different cultural environment and located in a different frame of reference and myth.

Traditionally, myth has been utilized as a medium to deploy ideas or attitudes and thematize issues of enormous significance. Incorporating the first grains of human rationality, which provides a systematic model of logic capable of over-coming contradiction, myth is extensively engaged in modernist literature. Therefore, Ghabesh deals with myth as an archetype and a mask to navigate current issues. Utilizing myth as an archetype, rooted in human heritage and as an imaginative space of comprehension, she allegorizes its content to serve serious poetic purposes. Moreover, the Emirati poet utilizes myth as a mask to probe deeply into Arabic-Islamic history confronting contemporary challenges and transcending potential obstacles. In "The Threads of the Spinning Mills / *Khuyut al-Maghazel*", Ghabesh invokes Buthayna from her Andalusian refuge juxtaposing the present to the past weaving a poetics of nostalgia and pain:

Oh, Buthayna
who will secure a safe haven for you?
the night is a long spear,
and Jamil, your lover, is drunk
dragging his feet on the roof
unable to reach you.
when he arrives, he will be

followed by a thousand stories (Ghabesh 2002: 40).

Apparently, the reference to Jamil recalls the pre-medieval Arabian folklore narrative about the historical love story of Jamil, a Bedouin warrior / poet and Buthayna, a beautiful girl, from Arabia. The triangular relationship, between Buthayna (the Andalusian princess) and the Buthayna of Arabia (the beloved of Jamil) as well as Saleha Ghabesh (the modern Emirati Buthayna) provides more insight into the feminist and historical nature of the poem. The miserable depiction of Jamil, as a drunk and hopeless lover who drags "his feet on the roof unable to reach you", is an indication of the loss of manhood and the dominance of impotency in a world on the verge of moral collapse. The reference to the historical figure of Jamil – who in reality was ready to sacrifice himself for the sake of his mistress – aims to foreground the impotency of contemporary Arab males unable to restore the dignity of their beloved Palestine, conquered by invaders. Moreover, the link between the fall of Andalusia and the occupation of Palestine and the connection between Andalusian history and Arabian folklore heritage enriched the text of the poem integrating it into the great tradition of Arabic poetry:

> since twenty years,
> the pigeons have been lying
> in my notebook,
> when I started to read
> my flaming words
> under the light of legitimate letters
> but the pigeons flied away.
> Like other girls, she dreams of
> the rainbow and how it changes
> its colors after the departure of rain (Ghabesh 2002: 41).

Obviously, the history of the Islamic Empire in Andalusia had a tremendous impact on the Emirati poet, who attempts to grasp the new transformation in the Arab world during an era of catastrophes and global ramifications. Seeking solace in Andalusian narratives, Ghabesh attempts to redefine the Arabic cultural tradition by persuading Arab rulers to draw lessons from ancient history. Responding to the intellectual and political challenges of a new era, she depicts a society moving toward enormous transformation brought about by a developing economy and a modernizing cultural apparatus. Assuming that the new developments in her local society, and the Arabian Gulf region, would lead to either rebirth or disaster, the Emirati poet captures Andalusian history which provides her with a new vision through a related concern with narratives of defeat and victory, death and rebirth. The ties between the discourse

deployed in *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin?* and the traditions rooted in ancient Islamic history in Spain, is significant due to their involvement in cultural rather than personal rejuvenation.

In a poem titled "the Perfume of al-Rumaykiyyah / *Mesk al-Rumaykiyyah*", addressed to Buthayna's mother (E'etemad al-Rumaykiyyah) and the beloved wife of the exiled king of Seville (al-Mutamed), Ghabesh states:

> she sees herself as a hostage of a dream
> and a differed song, adjourned
> until the pigeons are awaken,
> broken by long waiting,
> and driven by sorrows during the journeys
> of those who departed,
> but her pen is not broken,
> and its warm words entered into
> a dialogue with the perfumed roads,
> here, your dream boy will arrive
> to give you, his promised legacy,
> a rose perfuming the palm of your hand (Ghabesh 2002: 53).

In a romantic and nostalgic manner, the poet continues her narrative searching for an Arab savior, a modern Hawk, who

> will give you
> the perfume of al-Rumaykiyyah
> a hostage in the mud of exiles.
> he will set fire in words
> and your poem comes to an end
> when you write his name
> and a dedication of your soul
> to him (Ghabesh 2002: 54).

There is no doubt that Ghabash's sense of tradition and her interest in the richness of ancient Islamic history found expression in the profusion of echoes from Andalusian poetry. The tradition of acquiring the work of other writers, reworking, mixing and merging narratives from other cultures liberated Ghabesh's poetry from the worn-out forms of classical Arabic poetry. Due to her innovations in creating new musical resonances and echoes, she is able to open new horizons for the Arabic poem in the United Arab Emirates pushing her poetry further than her consciousness could follow.

Furthermore, Ghabesh's use of the mythical method directly involves, through brief allusions, historical narratives avoiding lengthy recitals of events in the previous poem. Her use of myth is not confined to the premise of "juxtaposing past and present for comparative purposes" (Levin 1966: 290), but it aims to cut

down unnecessary details integral to traditional poetic discourse. Ghabesh's poetry is characterized by an increasing use of tradition and myth. Besides, allusions to historical personae, such as Saqr Quraish and Buthayna bent al-Mu'tamed, are incorporated in her poetry and other cultural symbols and legends are reshaped to engage themes of contemporary significance. In other words, the life history of ancient Islamic figures are used as objective correlatives to depersonalize the poetic discourse of *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin*? In her attempt to hybridize modern Emirati literature, isolated in a cultural limbo between tradition and modernity since the 1970's, Ghabesh recalls episodes from the ancient Islamic history in Andalusia. On this basis, her poetic text, to use Michael Foucault's words, "is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences" (cited in Gohar 1996: 38).

In a poem titled, "Oriental Woman / *Sharqiyyah*", the Emirati poet underlines her dedication to the East regardless of the degrading status of women in this part of the world. Throughout the words of her persona, she urges oriental women to rebel against oppressive patriarchal traditions and hostile masculine practices because they are "the pearls and the dreams of the East":

> you refuse to be an oriental woman,
> but you are the sea, the coast,
> the pearls and the dream of the East
> in the eyes of the passersby
> standing at the crossroads
> of the ruined cities.
> your voice is the remedy
> for their desolation and loneliness (Ghabesh 2002: 43).

Regardless of the pessimism and disappointing atmosphere of her poetry, Ghabesh ends her poem, cited above, with a note of hope. She encourages every Buthayna, every girl of her generation, to help her Jamil overcome his impotency and lack of manhood: "Somewhere in the East, you call him: Jamil, Jamil / the honey-like beauty of your Buthayna / is created by the bees of your desolate separation / Jamil, come back before / the season of salt sets up the traps for your ghosts" (Ghabesh 2002:49).

Conclusion

Ghabesh's poetic discourse, in *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin*, illustrates the frustration of the poet and her isolation in the labyrinth of a defeated patriarchal

world. Several poems, in the anthology, deal with the theme of frustration and failed relationships. Moreover, the figures that appeared in the poems are utilized as objective correlatives reflecting, in unbiased manner, the emotions the poet wants to express. Though Ghabesh's poems are replete with human figures, they are empty of human life. In this sense, they become an expression of the isolation of a single soul turning away from life and driven on its own quest. Agitated by policies of corruption and marginalization, deeply at odds with the modern concept of equality, freedom and democracy, Ghabesh considers the current situation in the Arab region as an epitome of the negligence of dictatorial regimes. Her deliberate reworking of Andalusian history aims to criticize regimes notorious for autocratic, irresponsible and unaccountable behavior toward their citizens. Castigating forces that defend corrupt regimes while leaving the civil society vulnerable in confrontation with militant / religious organizations, Ghabesh confronts forces of bigotry and aggression while supporting the pioneers of progress and enlightenment.

Since texts resist simple clear-cut interpretations, Ghabesh's poetic discourse in *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin?*, is revelation of intersections of motifs, narratives and myths integral to the Islamic literary tradition in Andulasia (ancient Spain). In her anthology, Ghabesh aesthetically transforms Andalusian history into a contemporary poetic construct incorporating Andalusian literature as inter-text, to explore political and social issues of great significance. A scrutinized reading of Ghabesh's poetry provides an entry into her appropriation of Andalusian cultural heritage as a vehicle to express the dilemma of contemporary Arab history. Reflecting a range of trans-textual relationships with Andalusian culture, and highlighting significant thematic parallels, which link the past with the present, Ghabesh creates a hybridized poetics deeply rooted in classical traditions. Reshaping Andalusian historical narratives into a revolutionary dynamics, the Emirati poet attempts to develop a counter feminized mechanism to subvert a decadent patriarchal culture which drags the Arab world backward toward the Stone Age. Further, in her poetry, Ghabesh attributes contemporary deterioration and recurrent political defeats, integral to modern Arab history, to the same hegemonic system which gives birth to the Arab patriarchal tradition.

Moreover, the female speaker, in *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin?*, typifies the spirit of frustration and nostalgia associated with Arab intellectuals at times of crisis and decadence. Disappointed by the current condition of backwardness dominating the Arab world, the speaker expresses a deep sense of nostalgia for a glorious past that is lost forever. This spirit is triggered by painful cultural and political developments provoking an awareness of death and chaos rooted in contemporary Arab civilization. The central female speaker in the anthology – who represents the consciousness of the Emirati poet – is cut off from the ethics

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of a society torn to pieces due to international hegemony and local disintegration. Her Arabic culture, shaken by colonization, warfare, corruption and the dissolution of old ideals, does not protect her from isolation or the constant awareness of frustration.

Living in this cultural limbo, Ghabesh's female speaker is suspended between past and present, between pain and the desire for consolation. Turning her back on the defeats and catastrophes of contemporary Arab history, the speaker voluntarily starts an imaginary journey into the glories of Islamic Andalusia for spiritual and aesthetic purposes recalling the mythic history of Saqr Quraish. In this sense, Ghabesh's anthology presents the consciousness of one who yearns for an ideal world that is contradicted with contemporary reality. Thus, the Emirati poet attempts to inspire her readers to see the wide distinctions between the glories of the past and the disappointments of the present revealing an immense ability to bring together complex and desperate elements subordinating them to achieve her aesthetic purposes. Preoccupied with tradition and convinced that poets are the interpreters of history, Ghabesh incorporates in *Beman Ya Buthayn Taluthin?* echoes of the great poetry of other cultures and times.

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LE SYSTÈME CONSONANTIQUE DE L'ARABE PARLÉ À KHORRAMSHAHR (IRAN)

George Grigore
Université de Bucarest

Résumé

Parmi les traits distinguant l'arabe parlé à Khorramshahr des dialectes arabes contemporains, la préservation des interdentales /ṯ/, /ḏ/ et /ḏ̣/ ; la disparition de la glottale /ʾ/ ; l'acquisition de nouvelles consonnes /p/, /č/, /g/ et (les deux premières introduites exclusivement par le lexique massivement emprunté aux langues voisines) ; la transformation de l'ancien /q/ en /g/.

Mots-clés: arabe parlé ; dialectologie arabe ; Iran

I. Introduction

Dans ce travail, je propose une description de l'arabe parlé à Khorramshahr. **Khorramshahr** est une ville portuaire iranienne de la province du Khuzestan. Elle est située à environ 10 km au nord d'Abadan, du côté iranien de la frontière avec l'Irak. La ville s'étend sur la rive orientale de la rivière Shatt al-'Arab (en persane: Arvand Rud) à son confluence avec la rivière Karun. Khorramshahr a porté le nom arabe de Muḥammarah jusqu'en 1925.

L'arabe parlé à Khorramshahr (désormais, APK) appartient à la branche de l'arabe mésopotamien de type *gǝlǝt* (Jastrow 1994 : 121) qui se caractérise – par rapport à l'autre type, *qǝltu* – entre autres, par la réalisation de l'ancienne consonne /q/ comme /g/ (Blanc 1964 : 5-11 et 160-171 ; Jastrow 1978). Du point de vue géographique, l'arabe parlé à Khorramshahr fait partie des soi-disant dialectes périphériques, vu qu'il est parlé au-delà des frontières officielles du monde arabe, dans un espace persane.

Cette recherche sur l'arabe parlé à Khorramshahr continue celles que j'ai entreprises sur d'autres variétés d'arabe mésopotamien, celles de Bagdad, Siirt et, particulièrement, de Mardin (voir Grigore 2007).

II. La description du système consonantique

Par rapport à l'arabe ancien, le APK présente un nombre accru de consonnes. Les deux biais principaux par lesquels le APK acquiert des phonèmes consonantiques nouveaux sont : l'emprunt (pour la plupart des consonnes) et le développement interne. Leurs traits seront précisés plus bas lors de la présentation du système consonantique de l'APK que nous proposons.

Les consonnes de l'*APK*

	Bilabiales	Labio-dentales	Dentales	Apicales	Palatales	Vélaires	Uvulaires	Pharyngales	Glottales
Occlusives sourdes	p		t ṭ			k	q		
Occlusives sonores	b		d			g			ʾ
Affriquées sourdes					č				
Affriquées sonores					ğ				
Fricatives sourdes		f		s ṣ	š	ḫ		ḥ	h
Fricatives sonores		v ʋ		z	ž	ġ		ʿ	
Nasales	m			n					
Latérales				l					
Vibrantes				r ṛ					
Constrictives	w				Y				

1. Occlusives
Bilabiales /b/ et /p/

La bilabiale /b/, héritée de l'ancien arabe, prouve une grande stabilité : *bināya* « construction » ; *nabāt* « plantes », *naṣīb* « part ».

L'occlusive bilabiale sourde /p/ est un phonème nouveau, en *APK*, acquis par l'emprunt aux langues voisines, et il forme un binôme avec la bilabiale sonore dépareillée /b/, renforçant la position de celle-ci :

> *pahrīz* « diète », du persane *pahrīz* « diète » ;
> *padegan* « camp », du persane *padegan* « camp » ;
> *panğare* « fenêtre », du persane *panğare* « fenêtre ».

Les deux occlusives bilabiales se retrouvent dans des paires minimales, basées sur l'opposition sourde /p/ – sonore /b/ :

> *pōl* « pont » – *bōl* « urine ».

1.2. Dentales

Toutes les trois dentales /t/, /d/ et /ṭ/ sont héritées de l'ancien fonds arabe :

/d/ : *daftar* « cahier », « bureau » ; **/t/ :** *trāb* « terre », « poussière » ; **/ṭ/ :** *ṭalāq* « divorce ».

Les dentales /t/ et /d/ se retrouvent dans des paires minimales, basées sur l'opposition sourde /t/ – sonore /d/ :

tīn « figue » – *dīn* « religion ».

Les dentales /t/ et /ṭ/ se retrouvent dans des paires minimales, basées sur l'opposition non-emphatique /t/ – emphatique /ṭ/:

tīn « figue » – *ṭīn* « boue ».

1.3. Vélaires /k/ et /g/

L'occlusive vélaire sourde /k/ provient de l'ancien fonds arabe : *karāma* « honneur », *keslān* « fatigué » (voir AC, *kaslān* « paresseux », « négligent »).

Le /k/ provient, dans une moindre mesure, de l'évolution interne de /q/ en certaines positions :

wakit « temps », cf. AC *waqt* « temps » ;

wakih « insolent », cf. AC *waqih* « insolent », « impudent ».

Le /g/ provient, d'une part, de l'évolution interne de /q/ en certaines positions :

galub « cœur », cf. AC *qalb* « cœur » ;

gaṣṣ-yguṣṣ « couper », cf. AC *qaṣṣ-yaquṣṣu* « couper » ;

gumar « lune », cf. AC *qamar* « lune » ;

marag « bouillon » (ex. *marag šabzi* « potage fait de légumes »), cf. AC *maraq* « bouillon ».

'agrūga « grenouille ».

et, d'autre part, des emprunts :

gūši « récepteur » du persane *guši* « récepteur » ;

gōzarēš « rapport », du persane *gozareš* « rapport » ;

zeng « cloche », du persane *zeng* « cloche ».

Les deux vélaires se retrouvent dans des paires minimales, basées sur l'opposition sourde /k/ – sonore /g/ :

krāye « prix de la location » – *grāye* (réalisée parfois *qrāye*) « réunion de deuil où on lit *al-Fātiḥa* » ;

kubba « boulette de viande » – *gubba* « chambre ».

1.4. Uvulaire

L'APK connaît une seule uvulaire, l'occlusive sourde /q/, héritée de l'ancien fonds arabe : *qadar* « destin » ; *funduq* « hôtel », *'aqrab* « scorpion ».

L'ancienne consonne /q/ est réalisée, en général, comme une occlusive vélaire [g], mais elle est préservée telle quelle dans quelques mots. Dans le langage des jeunes, /q/ se confonds avec /ġ/, sous l'influence de la langue persane où l'occlusive uvulaire /q/ est réalisée, elle aussi, comme une fricative vélaire /ġ/.

Par exemple, deux mots presque antonymes *qarīb* « proche » et *ġarīb* « étrange » sont prononcés identiquement : *ġarīb*.

1.5. Glottale /ʼ/

L'occlusive glottale sonore /ʼ/ a disparu de toutes ses positions :

- initiale : *kala* (*kleyt* « j'ai mangé ») – *yākel* « manger » (cf. AC *ʼakala* – *yaʼkulu*) ou *ḫada* (*ḫdeyt* « j'ai pris ») – *yāḫed* (cf. AC *ʼaḫada* – *yaʼḫudu*) Parmi les conséquences de ce phénomène compte la disparition de la quatrième forme verbale dérivée, dont le préfixe est /ʼa/;

- médiane : *rās* « tête » (cf. AC *raʼs*) ;

- finale : *qāri* « élève » (cf. AC *qāriʼ*).

La chute de la glottale /ʼ/ entraîne quelques changements phonétiques :

- la voyelle courte qui la précédait devient longue (cela peut être observé dans la position médiane, parce que dans les positions initiale et finale la longueur vocalique est neutralisée) : *yāḫed* « il prend » (cf. AC *yaʼḫudu*) ;

Dans les travaux consultés, on ne signale la présence de la glottale /ʼ/ en position médiane que dans quelques mots : *siʼal* – *yisʼil* « demander ». Dans de tels cas, la glottale n'est pas réalisée telle quelle, mais elle est légèrement marquée (sans la réalisation du coup de glotte), dans un sorte de prononciation résiduelle, par une petite pause entre la voyelle précédente et la consonne suivante : *ᵢtʼaḫḫar* → *ᵢt-aḫḫar* « être en retard ».

2. Affriquées
2.1 Palatales

Les affriquées palatales /č/ et /ǧ/ sont d'origine différente.

La sonore /ǧ/ est :

- soit héritée de l'ancien fonds arabe: *zawāǧ* « mariage », *ǧummār* « moelle du palmier », *ǧāmūs* « buffle » ; *ǧrēdi* « loir » (voir la racine *ǧrd*) ; *mǧarraš* « cristallisé » (dans l'expression *dibis mǧarraš* « mêlasse cristallisée » (voir la racine *ǧrš*), *ǧurʻa* « gorgée ».

- soit provient de la transformation de /q/ :

    ʻatīǧ « vieux », cf. AC *ʻatīq* « vieux » ;

    šarǧi « oriental », « d'Est », cf. AC *šarqī* « oriental », « d'Est » ;

    ǧidir « marmite », « casserole », cf. AC *qidr* « casserole ».

- soit provient des emprunts (particulièrement au persane) :

    ǧawān « jeune » (aussi *ǧawāniyye* « jeunesse », « jeunes »), du persane *žawan* « jeune » ;

    ǧām « vitre », du persane/turc *ǧam* « vitre » ;

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ğōk « blague » (pl. : *ağwāk*)*,* de l'anglais *joke* « blague » ;

ğaʿfari « persil », du persane *ğaʿfari* « persil ».

La sourde /č/ provient :

- soit des emprunts (particulièrement au persane) :

čārak « quart », du persane *čarak* « quart » ;

čāle « puit », du persane *čale* « puit » ;

čakme « pied », du persane *čakme* « pied » ;

čarčūb « cadre », du persane *čarčub* « cadre » ;

čangal « fourchette », du persane *čangal* « fourchette » ;

yaḫčāl « réfrigérateur », du persane *yaḫčal* « réfrigérateur ».

- soit de la transformation de l'occlusive vélaire sourde /k/ :

čān « être » mais a la conjugaison préfixale *ykūn*) ; cf. AC *kāna – yakūnu* « être » ;

bača – yibči « pleurer », cf. AC *baka – yabki* « pleurer » ;

hača – yihči « parler » , cf. AC *ḥaka – yaḥki* « raconter », « relater » ;

čibid « foie », cf. AC *kibd* or *kabid* « foie ».

Les deux palatales se retrouvent dans des paires minimales, basées sur l'opposition sourde /č/ – sonore /ğ/ :

čenne « bru » – *ğenne* « paradis » ;

čāra « remède », « solution » – *ğāra* « voisine ».

3. Fricatives
3.1 Labiodentales : /f/, /v/

La labiodentale sourde /f/ peut provenir de l'ancien arabe, étant héritée telle quelle (ex. : *farq* « différence », *frūḫ* « enfants », « petits ») et de l'emprunt aux langues voisines (ex. : *farfūri* « porcelaine », du persan *farfūri*).

Dans certains mots, la labiodentale /f/ est interchangeable avec l'interdentale /t̠/ : *mafrūm = mat̠rūm* « haché » :

La labiodentale /v/ se retrouve dans les mots empruntés au persan.

3.2 Interdentales

Les fricatives interdentales /t̠/, /d̠/, / et /d̠/ qui sont considérées par Haim Blanc (1964 : 6) comme emblématiques pour les dialectes mésopotamiens, sont préservées en APK aussi :

/t̠/

t̠eliğ « neige » (cf. AC *t̠alğ*) ;

t̠igīl « lourd » (cf. AC *taqil*) ;

ṯūm « ail » (cf. AC *ṯūm*) ;

ṯulma « assiette ébréchée », « vase en terre ébréché », « brèche » (cf.AC *ṯulma*).

Parfois, le /*ṯ*/ étymologique est réalisé par deux variantes : [*ṯ*] et [f] (voir aussi & 3.1). Cette variation est aléatoire chez les mêmes sujets parlants :

ṯūm = fūm « ail ».

/ḏ/:

ḏahab « or » (cf. AC *ḏahab*);

ḏīb « loup » (cf. AC *ḏi'b*) ;

čiḏab – yičḏib « mentir » (cf. AC *kaḏaba*).

/ḏ̣/

Dans les dialectes mésopotamiens, l'interdentale emphatique /ḏ̣/ recouvre deux anciennes consonnes, la fricative emphatique /ḏ̣/ et l'occlusive emphatique /ḍ/, à la fois :

ḏ̣urab – yiḏ̣rub « frapper » (cf. AC *ḍaraba*) ;

ḏ̣a'fān « maigre » (cf. AC *ḍa'fān*) ;

ḏ̣all – yḏ̣ill « rester » (cf. AC *ḏ̣all*) ;

ḏ̣ilam – yiḏ̣lum « être injuste » (cf. AC. *ḏ̣alam*).

3.2. Apicales

Toutes les trois apicales /s/, /ṣ/ et /z/ sont héritées de l'ancien fonds arabe :

/s/ : *sa'le* « toux » ; **/ṣ/ :** *ṣarṣōṛ* « grillon », « cigale » ; /z/ : *zār – yzūr* « visiter ».

Les deux apicales /s/ et /z/ entrent dans une opposition de sonorité, sourde /s/ – sonore /z/ :

saman « graisse », « suif » – *zaman* « temps ».

Les deux apicales sourdes /s/ et /ṣ/ entrent dans une opposition non-emphatique – emphatique :

mas[s] « toucher » – *maṣ*[ṣ] « téter » ;

3.3. Palatale : /š/

La palatale sourde /š/ provient de l'ancien fonds arabe : *šāl –yšīl* « enlever », « ôter » ; *šāf – yšūf* « voir » (voir la racine *šwf*) etc.

3.4.Vélaires : /ḫ/ et /ġ/

Les fricatives vélaires /ḫ/ et /ġ/ sont héritées de l'ancien fonds arabe : *ḫasse* « laitue » ; *ġaname* « mouton ».

Les deux fricatives vélaires entrent dans une opposition de sonorité, sourde /ḫ/ – sonore /ġ/ :

ḫayme « tente » – *ġayme* « nouage ».

Parfois, le /ġ/ étymologique est réalisé par deux variantes : [ġ] et [ḫ]. Cette variation est aléatoire chez les mêmes sujets parlants et se fait toujours dans le sens du remplacement du /ġ/ étymologique par le /ḫ/:

ġasal – ḫasal « laver ».

3.5. Pharyngales /ʿ/ et /ḥ/

Les deux pharyngales /ʿ/ et /ḥ/ sont héritées de l'ancien fonds arabe : *ʿaqrabe* « scorpion » ; *ḥunṭa* « blé ».

Les deux pharyngales entrent dans une opposition de sonorité, sourde /ḥ/ – sonore /ʿ/ :

ḥilim « rêve » – *ʿilim* « connaissance », « science ».
ḥatt « mettre » – *ʿatt* « répandre »

3.6. Glottale : /h/

La fricative glottale sourde /h/ est héritée de l'ancien fonds arabe: *hawa* « air ».

Elle se retrouve dans quelques mots spécifiques aux dialectes mésopotamiens :

ham « aussi », du persane *ham* « aussi » ;
hwāya « beaucoup » ;
hdūm « vêtements ».

Le /h/ a une position faible en *APK*. Après une autre consonne, le /h/ initial des pronoms affixés – est systématiquement éliminé :

galb-a « son cœur à lui » ;

qalb-a « son cœur à elle ».

4. Nasales
4.1 Bilabiale /m/

La bilabiale /m/ est héritée de l'ancien fonds arabe : *mrāya* (pl. : *mirāyāt*, *muri*) « miroir ». Elle est très stable.

mēwa « fruit », du persane *meve* « fruit » ;

timmān « riz ».

4.2. Apicale /n/

L'apicale /n/ est héritée de l'ancien fonds arabe: **/n/ :** *nār* « feu ».

La nasale apico-alvéolaire sonore /n/ se transforme dans la nasale bilabiale sonore [m] devant la bilabiale /b/ ; cela veut dire qu'elle change son point articulatoire devenant, comme celles-ci, une bilabiale :

mb ← nb :

zambōr ← *zanbūr* « taon », « guêpe » ;

qumbura ← *qunbura* « aluette » ;

qumbula ← *qunbula* « bombe ».

La transformation du /n/ sous l'influence de ces consonnes est conditionnée par leur contact direct. Si elles sont séparées par une voyelle, alors /n/ reste tel quel :

zambōr, mais au pluriel *zanābir* ; *qumbura*, mais au pluriel *qanābir* etc.

5. Latérale apicale /l/

L'apicale latérale /l/ est héritée de l'ancien fonds arabe : *laḥme* « viande ».

En arabe classique, l'affriquée /ğ/ est classifiée comme *qamariyya* « lunaire » ; en *APK*, au contraire, elle est placée dans la catégorie des « solaires », comme dans tous les dialectes mésopotamiens (McCarthy / Raffouli 1964 : 33) : *ğār→ iğ-ğār* (voisin – le voisin), ainsi que dans d'autres dialectes arabes. Vu que les membres d'un binôme sourde-sonore sont, les deux à la fois, soit « solaires », soit « lunaires », l'affriquée /č/, la correspondante sourde de /ğ/, est aussi « solaire » : *čamadan – ič-čamadan* « valise » – « la valise ».

6. Vibrante apicale /r/

La vibrante apicale /r/ est héritée de l'ancien fonds arabe : *rīḥa* « odeur ».

7. Constrictives (semi-consonnes)

7.1. Bilabiale : /w/

La bilabiale /w/ est héritée de l'ancien fonds arabe : *wičč* « face » (cf. AC : *waǧh* « face »).

7.1. Palatale : /y/

La palatale /y/ provient :

a) de l'ancien fonds arabe :

ḥayye « serpent », cf. AC *ḥayya* « serpent » ;

b) de l'évolution interne de /ǧ/ en certaines positions :

yibel (pl. *yibāl*) « mountain », cf. AC *ǧabal (pl. ǧibāl)* « mountain » ;

dayāya « poule », cf. AC *daǧāǧa* « poule » ;

ʻayūza « vieille femme », cf. AC *ʻaǧūz* « vieille femme » » ;

wuyaʻ – yiwyaʻ « avoir mal », cf AC *waǧiʻa – yaǧiʻu* « avoir mal », « se plaindre d'un mal » ;

daḥrūya (pl. *daḥāri*) « oeuf », cf. AC *daḥrūǧa* (pl. *daḥāriǧ*) « boule », « boule de fiente que le scarabée noir roule devant lui » (Kasimirski) ;

b) empruntés :

yadegari « souvenir », du persane *yadegari* « souvenir », « commémoration » ;

meywe « fruit », du persane *meywe* « fruit » ;

dastšūy « cuvette », du persane *dastšui* « cuvette ».

8. Observation sur les emphatiques

Beaucoup de consonnes assimilent le trait d'emphase dans un contexte emphatique. Surtout les consonnes /p/, /b/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /z/ sont susceptibles de recevoir le trait d'emphase. L'opposition entre ces consonnes emphatisées et leurs correspondantes non-emphatisées, par des paires minimales, est assez rare, ce qui fait qu'elles se placent à la limite entre un statut phonologique et un statut phonétique, celui de simples allophones.

III. Conclusions

On peut conclure par la présentation d'un petit inventaire des caractéristiques du système consonantique de l'arabe parlé à Khorramshahr :

-   la préservation des interdentales /t̲/, /d̲/ et /ḏ/
-   la disparition de la glottale /'/ ;
-   le /h/ est en voie de disparition ;

- l'acquisition de nouvelles consonnes /p/, /v/, /č/, /g/, (les deux premières introduites exclusivement par le lexique massivement emprunté aux langues voisines) ;
- la transformation de l'ancien /q/ en /g/.

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WOMEN IN THE NAMES OF ISTANBUL MOSQUES

Julia Anna Krajcarz
Institute of Oriental Studies
Jagiellonian University in Krakow

Temple names in the range of onomastic researches

Hitherto within the onomastic researches of temple names only the names of Christian temples, to be precise the Roman-Catholic, were analysed. As yet no names of Muslim temples (places of oration) were collected, researched and analysed. Presented informations have therefore a pioneering quality. It is no a presentation of wide spectred conclusions but, because of of focusing on the small, selected group of whole fund of Musluman temple names, this article could be considered as first and pioneering drawed observations in this branch of onomastic researches. Hopefully, these observations would be a cause for future, deepend researches.

Patronyms and chrematonyms in the range of onomastics

In the field of Christain tempel names there was worked out the term of patrocinium. The patrocinium is a name called a dedication of a religion foudation (for example church, chapel, hospital, altar, fraternity) which is connected with worshiping at the stated time and circumstances a person or idea expressed by this name, called dedication. In the Catholic tradition of name formation the names are created to worship saints, Mother of God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Trinity or events of the history of salvation. Catalogue of religion dedications is determinated by prescriptive documents of church administration. In a case of Muslim temple names the formation of names was an accidental, no restricly organised process of commemoration. The names were not from the one, determinated and formalized catalogue but had an individual and in a way inimitable quality. It could be rationale to put the mosque name formation into the group of chrematonyms because of the fact that it is "a branch of onomastics devoted to names of buildings, firms, bands (...), products, objects" (Breza 1998). It could be also questionable if the subgroup of ideonyms (names of buildings connected with culture) or ergonyms (names of institutions) would be suitable. But it also could not be false to put it into the group of toponyms, exactly mikrotoponyms or urbonyms. The discussion is still open.

Names of the Turkish mosques

In a case of history of Turkish mosque name formation the landmark could be precisely pointed out. This was in 1924 when the Presidency of Religious Affairs (today *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*) was created. Within the competence of this institution was an administration and so the formation of names of Turkish mosques. In the days of Ottoman Empire *şeyhülislam* (a superior of religious affairs) was responsible for mosques' administration. At that time the foundation of mosques was a service of a person or family but not the state institution. So previously the name giving was motivated by a real cause connected with a donator, a dedication to a person or idea, character of building of mosque or surrounding etc. After 1924 the mosque name formation has expressed and still expresses in a great majority a tribute to historical figures.

Istanbul mosques

The subject of presented paper are the names of Istanbul mosques which conclude personal and descriptive names of women. The analysed mosques are monuments of Ottoman Empire, so were built after 1453, the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul and before 1923, the date of creation of Republic of Turkey. The mosques built between these dates but no survived to nowadays are excluded from the analysis. The analysed mosques exist into the borders of today Istanbul. Only the mosques which still are places of Muslim worship were put to analysis, even if during the history few mosques could change or temporarily loose this function.

Taking into consideration above-mentioned reservations there are 579 mosques of Istanbul and 1581 their names. The multitude of the names goes from the fact that to one mosque few names were invented and used because of the various events during the history of (almost) every mosque, expressed by the another names. These events could be such as foundation, renovation, foundation of *vakf* (religious endowment for charitable purposes), foundation of *minber* (pulpit). These events were caused by the different persons which names were incorporated into the mosque names. The distinctive feature of the mosque building, such as a type of minaret, material of walls, outer and inner decoration, could be also the motivation for new name formation. Also the mosque surrounding, for example neighbouring workshops, *hamam* (bath houses), water intakes etc. could provoke the creation of name as the unrepeatable distinction from the other mosques.

It should be mentioned that in English one word 'mosque' describing every kind of Muslim place of oration is used. In the Turkish language culture space the English word 'mosque' describes three types of place of oration: *cami*, *mescit* and

namazgah. *Cami* is a central place of oration for a local community, running by a clergyman *imam*. To be the *cami* mosque has to possess a pulpit called *minber* where a preacher gives a sermon to the community every Friday service. Usually but not always the *cami* bulding has one or more minarets. *Mescit* does not possess the pulpit and is an ordinary place of oration, presented also at universities, firms, airports etc. *Namazgah* is a unroofed place of oration, situated usually next to the roads.

Mosques could be distinguished not only by type but also by the form of building. They could be free-standing buildings or parts of complexes called *külliye* containing also different types of school, canteens, hospitals, bath-houses, inns, shops etc. The mosque could also be a part of *tekke*, a kind of Musluman monastery.

Women and Istanbul mosques

Mosques with the names containing the personal or descriptive names of different women are the part of Ottoman mosques choosed by the above-mentioned criteria of time, place of building and the condition of existence and religious function. Of course there are known examples of women foundations which did not survive to nowadays, for example the complex called *Yedi Sofralı Sakine Hatun Camisi*, translated as 'Mosque of Seven Tables of Lady Sakine' which was pulled down in 1965. During the 400 years of his history in the mosque canteens soups were served for poor and needful seven times every day. Because of lack of certainity of finding all informations just only the still existing building are included into the analysis.

Of course among the Ottoman mosques in Istanbul are few ones founded, renovated or fitted by women but without any women names, personal or descriptive, guarded in the mosque names. The example could be *Çinili Cami*, known only under this name, founded by Mahpeyker Kösem Valide Sultan, the mother of sultans Murat the IV and İbrahim, in 1640 on the Asian shore of Bosphorus. The names goes from *çini*, the tiles covered the inner walls of mosque.

The question of women foundations were discussed many times by the historians and sociologists of Ottoman Empire. The Islam regulations restricted the presence of women in the public sphere. But the women coming from or introduced to the sultan and aristocratic families, dute to use of wealth and property, could marked their presence and influence on the public sphere by foundation, for example mosques as just the centre of not only religious but also artistic, scientic, educational and charitable life. Because of that a lot of women-foundators are commemorated by mosque names containing the names of their feminine benefactors (Özgüven 2000).

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The relation between the woman and the mosque (*cami*, *mescit* or *namazgah*) which name contains the woman personal or descriptive name would be triple:

–woman as foundator of mosque,

–woman as founder of completing or restorer of mosque,

–woman as one whom the mosque was dedicated.

Only in two cases (e.g. *Hatice Sultan Camisi*) it may be assume that the woman mentioned in the mosque name was the founder of pulpit which fact raised the status of mosque from *mescit* to *cami*. There are two noted examples of use the names of streets, containing the women names, in the indication of mosque. At these examples the names of streets where the mosques are located were transfered to the buildings. The content of names, containing the women names, was accidental.

The analysis of the social status of the women which names appeared in the mosque names indicate that the majority of them were the members of the sultan family or members of the sultan court. They were daughters, mothers, spouses, concubines, ladies-in-waiting, mistresses of sultans or nursemaids and wet nurses of sultan children. Biographies of these women are known from the historical sources. Another group was stated by the women (also daughters, mothers, spouses) connected with aristocracy and dignitaries.

In days of Ottoman Empire women could not hold offices except for a superintendent of harem (Özgüven 2000). One of the superintendents of harem in days of sultan Ahmet I was Canfeda Saliha Hatun. The was not only rich but also generous and sponsored religious and secular foundations in Istanbul and the other places.

But at many cases it is impossible to establish the identity of women which names appeared in Istanbul mosque names. One of them is an example of Hacı Hesna Hatun, a founder of a mosque in the Üsküdar district. It could be only deduced that she was rich and brave because she realized the pilgrimage to Mecca and obtained the title *hacı*. Brought up to live within four walls she encouraged to go out and set off on dangerous journey (Goodwin 2008).

At a few cases there are known semi-verifiable tales about the mosques and their founders. It is told that the two huge foundations of Mihrimah Sultan, a daughter of sultan Süleyman I, were a kind of self realization after a unhappy marriage with grand vizier, Rüstem Paşa. Another tale about Gülfem Hatun tells that her foundation was an expression of her piety but as a result of misunderstandings the enterprise had a tragic final for her.

The women not only founded new mosques but also paid for renovations the old ones. It is known a intriguing tale not about a mosque but a woman-restorer, Nakşidil Valide Sultan. It is suspected that she was a cousin of Joséphine

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Bonaparte, a wife of Napoleon Bonaparte, captured as a teenager by Ottoman pirates and sold to the harem.

List of women which personal and descriptive names apear in the Istanbul mosques' names

In bracket the number (or numbers) of an indicated mosques from a list of mosques presented below is written. There is a relation between the woman and the indicated mosque.

Adilşah Kadın – (?-1804); she was one of the spouses (*kadınefendisi*) of the sultan Mustafa III. Adilşah was a mother of the sultans' two daughters: Hatice Sultan and Beyhan Sultan. She was buried in the open tomb (*açık türbe*), next to the tomb of the sultan Mustafa III, in the Laleli Cami Complex in Istanbul. [30]

Ayniye Hatun – nothing obscure could be determined about this person. Probably, she was a benefactor of the mosque. [17]

Aynul Hayat Hatun – she was a *haseki* (favourite mistress) of the sultan Mustafa III and the mother of his daughter, Mihrimah Sultan. Aynul Hayat founded a mosque in the neighbourhood of Kadırga around the 1750. She was buried in the baroque tomb of hasekis, next to the tomb of the sultan Mustafa III in the Laleli Cami Complex in Istanbul. [34]

Bezmialem Valide Sultan – (1807-1852/3), she was the spouse (*kadınefendi*) of the sultan Mahmut II and the mother of the sultan Abdülmecit I; of the Georgian or Georgian Jew origin. Bezmialem founded a lot of palaces, schools, hospitals and mosques. She died shortly after starting the building of the mosque next to the palace Dolmabahçe. The building was finished by her son and dedicated to her. She was buried in the tomb of the sultan Mahmut II, located at the Divan Yolu street. [4,19]

Canfeda Saliha Hatun – (?-1600); she was the most favourite lady-in-waiting of Nurbanu Sultan, the mother of the sultan Murat III. After the Nurbanu's death she became a chief (*kadın kethüdası*, *harem kethüdası*) of the Harem and held this office during the reigns of three next sultans: Murat III, Mehmet III, Ahmet I. In 1584 she founded a mosque and school (*mektep*) in the neighbourhood of Karagümrük (Fatih district), a *mescit* and a bath (*hamam*) in the Beykoz district, the bridge called Kız Köprüsü in Izmit and others. She was buried into the Eyüp Sultan Camisi complex. [1,35]

Cevri Kalfa – known also as Çevri Usta; she was a slave working in the bath house in the palace and saved the future sultan, Mahmut II by throwing the ashes on the faces of assassins intenting to kill Mahmut. Probably mosques in the Eyüp and Üsküdar district were dedicated to her. [10,54]

Daya Hatun – according to the one version, Hant Hatun was a wet nurse (*daya*) of the sultan Mehmet II Fatih, and founded a mosque around 1485 in the

Fatih district, not far from the Grand Bazaar. According to the other version the wet nurse was called Ümmügülsüm and founded the mosque with her daughter Hant Hatun. There is a tomb of Ümmügülsüm next to this mosque. [41]

Dayahatun – she was a wet nurse (*daya*) of prince Mehmet (1521-1543), a son of the sultan Süleyman I and his spouse, Hürrem Sultan. She founded a *mescit*, a bath and a school (*mektep*) in the Kağıthane district in 1533. Her full name is still unknown. [48]

Esma Sultan – (1726-1788); she was a daughter of the sultan Ahmet III. Married to Muhsinzade Mehmet Paşa, early widowed. Esma was famous by her cruelty (with 'collecting' in her palace Greek boys and then putting them to death). In 1781 she founded a fountain (*çeşme*) and *namazgah* in the Kadırga neighbourhood. As opposed to her niece known as Küçük Esma Sultan (the Little), she was called Büyük Esma Sultan (the Big). [32]

Fatma Sultan – she was the youngest daughter of the sultan Selim I. Fatma was a spouse of the grand vizier, Kara Ahmet Paşa. Propably the mosque of her foundation next to the gate Topkapı was built around 1571-1575. She was buried in the Kara Ahmet Paşa Camisi Complex. [25]

Fatma Şepsefa Hatun – she was one of the spouses (*dördüncü kadın efendi*) of the sultan Abdülhamit I. Around 1787 she found a complex with a baroque mosque and two schools (*mektep*) to commemorated her son, Mehmet, Fatma was buried next to her foundation. [40]

Fevziye Hatun – there was no woman called Feyziye Hatun, related with the history of a mosque (founded by Yusuf Efendi) known as 'Feyziye Hatun Camisi', in the Üsküdar district and Bülbülderesi neighbourhood. The nearby school was called 'Mekteb-i Feyziye' (School of Progress). The word Feyziye is also the female name. In the course of time the part of the school's name was accidentally transferred to the mosque and enriched with the attribute *Hatun* (Lady). [52]

Gülfem Hatun – she was a mistress of the sultan Süleyman I and the mother of his son, Murat. Gülfem was of Italian descent and her really name was Rosalina. She founded a mosque and a school in the Üsküdar district around 1540 or 1560. According to the legend she was very pious and wanted to express it by the religious foundation. After starting the building of the mosque she realized the lack of the financial assets. The another mistress proposed her the lacking amount in exchange for the night with the sultan. Süleyman learnt about the exchange but without knowing the real cause of it. Feeling offended he ordered to slay Gülfem.

Then he learnt about the causes of the exchange and touched by the Gülfem's determination founded the completion of the mosque. [56]

Gülnüş Emetullah Sultan – (1642-1715); she was a spouse of the sultan Mehmet IV and a mother of two sultans: Mustafa II and Ahmet III. Gülnüş was of Italian or Greek descent (from Crete) and as a child was captured and sold to the sultan harem. She was known for her strong personality and influences on political decision of her sons. Around 1708 she founded a mosque complex called Yeni Valide Camisi in the Üsküdar district. She was buried next to her foundation. [5, 53]

Hacı Fatma Hatun – the only unquestionable information is that Fatma Hanım was a daughter of a administrator of shipyard (*Tersane Emini*) called Hüseyin Paşa. Around 1705 she founded a mosque in the Beyoğlu district and also probably another one called Fatma Hatun Mescidi in the Üsküdar district. [3, 55]

Hacı Hatice Hesna Hatun – she was a nanny of princess Mihrimah, a daughter of the sultan Süleyman I and Hürrem Sultan. Supposedly, little Mihrimah was weak and Hatice Hesna took her outside the city center where after years she founded a mosque. It is known that Hatice Hesna was called *hacı* (pilgrim to Mecca). [57]

Hacı Kadın – she was a founder of a *hamam* (bath house) next to a mosque founded by *Kadı* (judge) Hızır Bey in the Unkapanı neighbourhood. In the course of time the name of *hamam* was transfered on the nearby mosque though Hacı Kadın had no link with that mosque. According to another source the founder of the mosque had a daughter called Sultan Hatun and possibly she had some connection with that building. [26]

Hant (Hand) Hatun – according to some documents she was a co-founder of a mosque in the Fatih district, near from the Grand Bazaar, together with her mother called Ümmügülsüm. [41]

Hatice Sultan – she was a daughter of the sultan Mehmet IV (1642-1693). Probably she accomplished a mosque in the Eyüp district and founded a pulpit to it in 1738. [12]

Hatice Sultan – (1766-1821); she was a daughter of the sultan Mustafa III and Adilşah Kadın and a spouse of a military man, Esat Ahmet Paşa. In 1805 she founded a mosque next to the gate Edirnekapı, dedicating it to her mother. She was buried in the Eyüp Sultan Camisi Complex. [30]

Hatice Turhan Valide Sultan – (1627-1683); she was a spouse of the sultan İbrahim II and a mother of the sultan Mehmet IV. She was of Ruthenian descent, as a child was captured by Crimean Tatars and sold to the sultan harem. She maintained a long and deep conflict with ealier *Valide Sultan* (mother of her spouse) Mahpeyker Kösem. She accomplished a mosque called *Yeni (*new),

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started by Safiye Sultan, a spouse of the sultan Murat III. She was buried next to that mosque. [45,51]

Hibetullah Hatun – she realized a pilgrimage to Mecca and obtained a title *Hacı*. Nothing obscured could be determined about her and her foundation but surely she founded a mosque in the Eyüp district before the beginning of 18th century. [8]

Hüma Sultan – according one source he was a daughter of the sultan Beyazid II and a spouse of Bali Paşa with who she founded a mosque in the Fatih district in 1504. According another source she was a daughter of the grand vizier (of the sultan Beyazid II) İskender Paşa and she accomplished a mosque after the death of her husband, Bali Paşa. [18]

Hürrem Sultan – (1510-1558); known as Haseki Sultan or Roxelana; she was a spouse of the sultan Süleyman I and a mother of the sultan Selim II. Hürrem was of Polish or Ucrainian descent and was called Alexandra or Anastasia Lisovska. She was captured by Crimean Tatars and sold to the sultan harem. She was known by her strong character and influences on her husband political decisions. She founded numerous religious and secural building in Mecca, Jerusalem and in Istanbul the complex called Haseki Camisi. Hürrem was buried in the Süleymaniye Complex. In 2007 a mosque dedicated to her was opened in Mariupol in Ucraine. [28]

Kamer Hatun – she was a wet nurse of sultan Selim I (according to another sources sultan Selim III). In 1514 she founded a mosque in the Beyoğlu district next to that was buried. [7]

Keçi Hatun – she was a quack and founded a mosque on herself in 1485. [36]

Kerime Hatun – she was a mother of Kapıağası Ahmet Ağa. After her death her son dedicated to her a mosque built around 1754 in the Üsküdar district. [58]

Maypeyker Kösem Valide Sultan – (1589-1651); she was a concubine of the sultan Ahmet I and a mother of the sultans Murat IV and İbrahim I. She was of Greek origin, as a child was captured by Ottoman pirates and sold to the sultan harem. She was a formal regent of her sons and ruled the Ottoman Empire officially and alone during years. There was a long conflict between Mahpeyker and the next *Valide Sultan*, Hatice Turhan, mother of the sultan Mehmet IV. She founded several religious buildings. She was buried in the Sultan Ahmet Camisi Complex. [44]

Melek Hatun – nothing obscure could be determined about this person. She founded a mosque in the Fatih district before 1496. [29,33]

Mihrimah Sultan – (1522-1578); she was a daughter of the sultan Süleyman I and Hürrem Sultan and a spouse of the grand vizier Rüstem Paşa. It is

said that because of her unhappy marriage she realized herself by grand religious foundations: next to the gate Edirnekapı and the Üsküdar district. She was buried next to her father in the Süleymaniye Camisi Complex. [24,59]

Mihrişah Hacı Kadın – (also known as Hatice) she was a daughter of the grand vizier İskender Paşa and lived in the first decades of 16th century. She was a founder of a mosque in the Cerrahpaşa neighbourhood in 1527. She was buried next to her foundation. [27]

Mihrişah Valide Sultan – (1745-1805); she was one of the spouses of the sultan Mustafa III and a mother of the sultan Selim III. Mihrişah was of Italian descent (from Genoa). She influenced on the political decisions of her son and was deeply interested in reforms of Ottoman state. Mihrişah belonged to the Mevlevi Tariqah. She was a founder of several religious buildings: in the Eyüp, Sarıyer and Beykoz district, in the Humbarcıyan barraks in Beyoğlu district. She was buried next to her Eyüp foundation. [2,49]

Muhsine Hatun – she was a spouse of the grand vizier called Pargalı (also Frenk, Makbul, Damat) İbrahim Paşa. In 1532 her husband, on her request, founded a mosque in the Fatih district. According another source she founded that mosque dedicating it to her husband. [31]

Nakşidil Valide Sultan – (1776-1817); she was a spouse of the sultan Abdülhamit I and a foster mother of the sultan Mahmut II. Nakşidil was of French descent, captured as a teenager by Ottoman pirates and probably she was Aimee du Buc de Rivery, a cousin of Joséphine Bonaparte, a wife of Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1812 she restored a mosque of Ebuzer Gıffari. To the end of life she was in secret a Catholic and before her death her son let a Catholic priest enter for the first time into the sultan palace and give an extreme unction to Nakşidil. She was buried in the Eyüp Sultan Camisi Complex. [23]

Nazperver Hatun – she was a lady-in-waiting in the court of the sultan Murat III (1546-1595). Probably she founded a mosque in the Eyüp district in the end of 16th . [9]

Neslişah Sultan – she was granddaughter of the sultan Beyazid II. She founded a mosque next to the gate Edirnekapı in 1522 and in the Sarıyer district in 1540. She died in 1579 and with her spouse İskender Bey was buried in the Defterdar neighbourhood. [37,50]

Nurbanu Valide Sultan – (1525-1583); she was a spouse of the sultan Selim II and a mother of the sultan Murat III. Nurbanu was of Italian descent (Venetian) and as a child was captured by pirates and sold to the sultan harem. It was Hürrem Sultan, a mother of the future sultan who arranged the marriage between her son and her favourite lady-in-waiting. The married couple was very happy. After a death of Selim II, Nurbanu became the first *Valide Sultan* in the history of Ottoman state. At the end on the life she founded a mosque complex in

the Üsküdar district, called after years Atik Valide Camisi. Nurbanu was buried in the tomb next to the Ayasofya Camisi complex. [61]

Pertevniyal Valide Sultan – (1812-1883); she was a spouse of the sultan Mahmut II and a mother of a sultan Abdülaziz. Pertevniyal was of Caucasian or Romanian descent. She almost provoked an international incident when her son, sultan Abdülaziz, after visited Germany, United Kingdom and France, invited Empress Eugénie (a wife of Emperor Napoleon III) to Dolmabahçe Palace where the harem of Pertevniyal was located. Pertevniyal outraged by the presence of the foreign woman, slaped the Empress in the face. She founded a neo-gothic styled mosque in the Fatih district next to it was buried. [43]

Safiye Sultan – (1550-1605); she was a spouse of the sultan Murat III and a mother of the sultan Mehmet III. Safiye was of Italian descent (she was called Sofia Baffo) and as a child was captured by pirates and sold to the sultan harem. She was known by her strong character. She corresponded with the British queen Elizabeth I. In 1598 she started a building of mosque called *Yeni* (new). Safiye was buried next to her spouse in the Ayasofya Camisi complex. [45]

Selçuk Hatun – (?-1485); she was a daughter of sultan Mehmeta I Çelebi. She was buried in Bursa in *Yeşil Türbe* next to her father. She founded a mosque in Istanbul and secular buildings in other places. [16]

Selime Hatun – she was a spouse of the grand vizier and admiral Kılıç Ali Paşa. They were a childless marriage but were remembered by posterity as very generous for the poor. Selime founded a mosque in the Beyoğlu district, probably at the turn of 16th and 17th century. [6]

Serçe Hatun – the documents give inconsistent information about a founder of one mosque in the Üsküdar district: it could be a woman, Serçe Hatun, or a man, Serçe Hoca Mehmet Efendi. There is no information about the date of building and what is more no grave of the founder survived to nowadays. [60]

Sitti Hatun – (1514?-1583); she was a daughter of *şeyhülislam* known as Zenbilli Ali Efendi. Her foundation included a mosque and a *medrese* which the first teological high school founded by a woman in Istanbul. [38]

Suat Hanım – she was an early died spouse of Reşat Paşa, the finance minister (*Maliye Nazırı*) of the sultan Abdülhamit II. Mosque dedicated to her was built in 1907 in the Kadıköy district. [47]

Sururi Daye Hatun – she was a wet nurse of sultan Süleyman I. She founded a mosque near the Grand Bazaar around 1530. [22]

Şah Sultan – she was a daughter of sultan Selim I and a wife of the grand vizier Damat Çelebi Lütfi Paşa. She founded two mosques: in the Cerrahpaşa (1528) and Eyüp (1556) neighbourhoods. She was buried next to her second foundation. [13,39]

Şah Sultan – she was a daughter of the sultan Selim II and a spouse of the grand vizier Zal Mahmut Paşa. Around 1577 Şah and Mahmut founded a mosque in the complex in the Eyüp district where were buried. [14]

Ümmihani Hatun – she was a daughter of a secretary called Hacı Hüsrev. Probably she accomplished around 1690 a mosque started by her father. [11]

Ümmügülsüm Hatun – she was a daughter of *şeyhülislam* Çivizade Hacı Mehmet Efendi. She founded a mosque in the end of 16th in Zeyrek neighbourhood and donated other mosques. [20,21]

Zeynep Asime Sultan – she was a daughter of the sultan Ahmet III. She founded a byzantine-baroque styled mosque next to the Gülhane Parkı around 1769. She and her husband, a grand vizier Melek Mehmet Paşa, were buried next to the mosque. [46]

Zeynep Hatun – she was a spouse of the politician İdris-i Bitlisi (?-1520). Zeynep founded a mosque in the Eyüp district to commemorate her husband who was also buried in the nearby tomb. Zeynep herself was also buried there. [15]

List of analysed mosques' names

Below the list of mosques and their names containing the women names is presented. The mosques are presented by alphabetical list of eight *müftülük*, units of religious administration. There are listed also the other names possessed by these mosques to be realized how many different names could describe one mosque. The translation of mosque names with women names is in parenthesis and the names no containing the women names are put in bracket without translation. All the mosque names are written in italics.

Beykoz
1. *Akbaba Canfeda Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Akbaba & Lady Canfeda), *Canfeda Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Lady Canfeda); [*Akbaba Mescidi*]
2. *Mihrişah Valide Sultan Namazgahı* (Mosque of Queen Mother Mihrişah); (*Küçüksu Meydan Namazgahı*)

Beyoğlu
3. *Fatma Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Fatma), *Fatma Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Lady Fatma), *Hacı Fatma Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of *Hacı* Lady Fatma); [*Bağodaları Mescidi*]
4. *Bezm-i Alem Valide Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Queen Mother Bezm-i Alem), *Bezmi-Alem Valide Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Queen Mother Bezmi-Alem), *Bezmialem Valide Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Queen Mother Bezmialem); [*Dolmabahçe Camisi*]
5. *Valide Camisi* (Mosque of Mother); [*Galata Yeni Camisi*, *Bereketzade Camisi*]

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6. *Selime Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Selime); [*Ayaspaşa Mescidi*, *Kadı Mescidi*, *Kutup İbrahim Efendi Mescidi*]

7. *Kamer Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Kamer), *Kamerhatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Kamer)

Eyüp

8. *Hibetullah Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Lady Hibetullah); [*Alibey Karyesi Mescidi*, *Alibeyköy Mescidi*]

9. *Nazperver Camisi* (Mosque of Nazperver); [*Dede Camisi*]

10. *Çevri Kalfa Camisi* (Mosque of Master Çevri), *Çevri Usta Camisi* (Mosque of Master Çevri); [*Büyük İskele Camisi*, *Büyük İskele Mescidi*, *Hacı Mahmut Camisi*, *Kapdan Paşa Camisi*]

11. *Ümmihani Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Lady Ümmihani); [*Emanî Mescidi*, *Hacı Hüsrev Mescidi*]

12. *Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Princess), *Hatice Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Princess Hatice); [*Abdülvedut Camisi*, *Şeyh Abdülvedud Camisi*, *Vedud Camisi*, *Vedut Camisi*, *Yavedut Camisi*]

13. *Şah Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Princess Şah), *Şah Sultan Tekkesi Camisi* (Mosque of Monastery of Princess Şah), *Şahsultan Camisi* (Mosque of Princess Şah)

14. *Şah Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Princess Şah); [*Zal Mahmut Paşa Camisi*, *Zal Mahmud Paşa Camisi*]

15. *Zeynep Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Zeynep), *Zeyneb Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Lady Zeyneb)

Fatih

16. *Selçuk Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Selçuk), *Selçuk Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Princess Selçuk); [*Abbas Ağa Camisi*, *Tahtaminare Camisi*)

17. *Ayniye Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Ayniye); [*Ahmet Çavuş Camisi*]

18. *Hüma Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Princess Hüma); [*Bali Paşa Camisi*]

19. *Bezmiâlem Valde Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Queen Mother Bezmiâlem), *Bezm-i Alem Valide Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Queen Mother Bezm-i Alem), *Bezmialem Valide Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Queen Mother Bezmialem), *Valde Camisi* (Mosque of Mother); [*Guraba Hastanesi Camisi*]

20. *Ümmügülsün Mescidi* (Mosque of Ümmügülsün); [*Çavuşzade Camisi*, *Çivizade Mescidi*, *Mustafa Çavuş Camisi*]

21. *Çivizade Kerimesi Mescidi* (Mosque of Daughter of Çivizade); [*Çivizade Mescidi*]

22. *Daya Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Wet Nurse), *Sururi Daye Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Princess Wet Nurse Sururi), *Süruri Camisi* (Mosque of Sururi)

23. *Nakşidil Valide Sultan Mescidi* (Mosque of Queen Mother Nakşidil) ; [*Çınarlı Çeşme Mescidi*, *Ebu-Zeri Gaffari Mescidi*, *Ebuzer Gıffari Camisi*]

24. *Mihrimah Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Princess Mihrimah); [*Edirnekapı Camisi*]

25. *Fatma Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Princess Fatma)

26. *Hacıkadın Camisi* (Mosque of *Hacı* Lady), *Hacı Kadın Camisi* (Mosque of *Hacı* Lady); [*Hızır Bey Camisi*, *Hızırbey Camisi*]

27. *Hacıkadın Camisi* (Mosque of *Hacı* Lady), *Mihrişah Hacı Kadın Camisi* (Mosque of *Hacı* Lady Mihrişah); [*Hazır Bey Mescidi*, *Hızır Bey Mescidi*]

28. *Haseki Camisi* (Mosque of Favourite Mistress), *Haseki Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Favourite Mistress)

29. *Hasırcı Melek Camisi* (Mosque of Wickerworker Melek); [*Hasırcı Mescidi*, *Katip Murat Mescidi*]

30. *Hatice Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Princess Hatice), *Adilşah Camisi* (Mosque of Adilşah), *Adilşah Kadın Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Adilşah); [*Şişehane Mescidi*]

31. *Çifte Gelinler Camisi* (Mosque of Two Brides), *Muhsine Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Muhsine); [*İbrahim Paşa Camisi*, *Paşa Camisi*]

32. *Esma Sultan Namazgahı* (Mosque of Princess Esma); [*Kadırga Namazgahı*]

33. *Melek Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Melek); [*Karaağaç Mescidi*]

34. *Aynihayat Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Lady Aynihayat), *Aynul Hayat Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Aynul Hayat); [*Katırcı Hanı Mescidi*]

35. *Canfeda Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Canfeda), *Canfeda Kadın Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Canfeda), *Kethûda Kadın Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Superintendent of Harem)

36. *Keçi Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Lady Keçi), *Keyçi Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Lady Quack), *Kiçi Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Lady Kiçi), *Kiyçi Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Lady Kiyçi), *Küçük Hanım Mescidi* (Mosque of Little Lady)

37. *Neslişah Camisi* (Mosque of Neslişah), *Neslişah Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Princess Neslişah)

38. *Sitti Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Lady Sitti), *Sitte-i Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Sitte)

39. *Şah Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Princess Şah)

40. *Şepsafa Camisi* (Mosque of Şepsafa), *Şebsefa Camisi* (Mosque of Şebsefa), *Şepsefa Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Şepsefa), *Şepsefa Kadın Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Şepsefa)

41. *Daya Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Wet Nurse), *Daye Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Wet Nurse), *Hand Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Lady Hand); [*Tarakçılar Camisi*]

42. *Ümmügülsüm Camisi* (Mosque of Ümmügülsüm)

43. *Pertevniyal Valde Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Queen Mother Pertevniyal), *Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Queen Mother Pertevniyal), *Valide*

Camisi (Mosque of Mother), *Valide Pertevniyal Camisi* (Mosque of Mother Pertevniyal), *Valde Camisi* (Mosque of Mother)

44. *Valde Hanı Mescidi* (Mosque of Covered Market of Mother), *Valde Sultan Mescidi* (Mosque of Queen Mother); [*İranlılar Camisi*]

45. *Turhan Hatice Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Duchess Turhan Hatice), *Valide Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Queen Mother), *Yeni Valde Camisi* (Mosque of New Mother); [*Yeni Cami*]

46. *Zeynep Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Princess Zeynep)

Kadıköy

47. *Suadiye Camisi* (Mosque of Suat)

Kağıthane

48. *Dayahatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Wet Nurse), *Daye Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Wet Nurse); [*Kağıthane Karyesi Mescidi*, *Kağıthane Köyü Mescidi*]

Sarıyer

49. *Mihrişah Camisi* (Mosque of Mihrişah); [*Baltalimanı Camisi*]

50. *Neslişah Mescidi* (Mosque of Neslişah), *İstinye Neslişah Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Princess Neslişah in İstinye)

51. *Valide Camisi* (Mosque of Mother); [*Kale Camisi*, *Rumeli Kavağı Yusuf Ağa Camisi*, *Rumelikavağı Camisi*, *Yusuf Ağa Camisi*]

Üsküdar

52. *Feyziye Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Feyziye); [*Bülbülderesi Mescidi*, *Feyziye Mescidi*]

53. *Cedit Valide Camisi* (Mosque of New Mother), *Valide-i Cedid Camisi* (Mosque of New Mother), *Yeni Valide Camisi* (Mosque of New Mother)

54. *Cevri Usta Camisi* (Mosque of Master Cevri); [*Nuhkuyusu Camisi*]

55. *Fatma Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Lady Fatma); [*Bağ Odaları Mescidi*]

56. *Gülfem Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Gülfem), *Gülfemhatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Gülfem)

57. *Hatice Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Lady Hatice), *Hacı Hesna Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of *Hacı* Lady Hatice), *Hacı Hesnahatun Camisi* (Mosque of *Hacı* Lady Hesna), *Hatice Hasna Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Lady Hatice Hasna)

58. *Kerime Hatun Camisi* (Mosque of Lady Kerime)

59. *Mihrimah Camisi* (Mosque of Mihrimah), *Mihrimah Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Princess Mihrimah), *Mihrümah Camisi* (Mosque of Mihrümah)

60. *Serçe Mescidi* (Mosque of Serçe), *Serçe Hatun Mescidi* (Mosque of Lady Serçe)

61. *Valide-i Atik Camisi* (Mosque of Old Mother), *Atik Valide Camisi* (Mosque of Old Mother), *Valide Sultan Camisi* (Mosque of Queen Mother); [*Toptaşı Camisi*]

Grammatical structure of mosque names

In the paper there are analysed 117 names of 61 mosques. This difference is caused by the fact that one mosque could have more very similar version of names, differing by vocabulary or spelling or totally different names. In the different names of one building different persons could be mentioned, various versions of the same personal name could be used or the descriptive names could be additionally used.

The grammatical structure of mosque name is nominal annexation called Turkish indefinite *izafet* construction (Stachowski 2009). The first part of the construction is one or more words decribing the woman and the second part is one word: *cami*, *mescit* or *namazgah* with the grammatically correct suffix. In one case it is observed that in the first part of *izafet*, before the description of woman, the name of the district of localization the mosque was used (*İstinye Neslişah Sultan Camisi*). Possibly, this additional term was used because the another mosque of similar name, *Neslişah Camisi*, in the Karagümrük neighbourhood exists. Also a name of another person (Akbaba) connected with indicated mosque is added to woman names in *Akbaba Canfeda Hatun Camisi*. As it was mentioned above, there are observed two cases of using the names of the street of localization, containing the women names in the mosque name formation. These women of course were not connected with the history of indicated mosques (*Hasırcı Melek Camisi* and *Çifte Gelinler Camisi*).

The differences are observed in the contain and formation of the first part of the mosque names:

1. first part built with the one or more descriptive terms of the function of a woman

2. first part built with one or more descriptive and personal names of a woman

3. first part built with personal names of woman,

4. few cases of another formation of the fist part.

Within the first-mentioned group the descriptive terms could be used as double (e.g. *Haseki Sultan*, favourite mistress and mother of sultan's first son), double written no separately (e.g. *Dayahatun*, wet nurse) or one term (e.g. *Valide*, ruling sultan's mother). It is worthy to observe that at almost every example containing the descriptive name (or names) of women one of four possible terms is used: *Hatun* (a wife of dignitary or a member of sultan family, lady), *Kadın* (usually a mother of sultan's daughter or younger sons), *Sultan* (sultan's daughter, in the form *Valide Sultan*, mother of ruling sultan), *Hanım* (lady). There are

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spelling differences also in the descriptive names, such as *Valde* and *Valide*, *Daya* and *Daye*. There are another scanty descriptive names such as *Usta* or *Kalfa* (Master). The word *Keyci* (quack) was deformed to totally different *Kiçi*, *Keçi* and *Küçük*.

Also in the construction of the first part of nominal annexation the Persian izafet construction is observed (Stachowski 2009) on the few examples, e.g. *Valide-i Atik*.

The most numerous is the second-mentioned group. These names one or more descriptive and one or more personal women names: one descriptive and one personal name, e.g. *Mihrimah Sultan* (or an inversion *Valide Pertevniyal*); two personal names and one descriptive, e.g. *Aynul Hayat Hatun*; two descriptive names and one personal, e.g. *Nakşidil Valide Sultan*. As the descriptive names above-mentioned *Hatun*, *Kadın*, *Sultan*, *Hanım* are used. What is more, the spelling of personal names could be different: *Şebsefa* and *Şepsefa*, *Zeynep* and *Zeyneb*, *Sitti* and *Sitte*. In one case the together spelling of personal and descriptive names is noted: *Gülfemhatun*. In another one case the use of Arabic word formation formant *-iye* (Danecki 2001), using to create abstracta, was added to woman name Suat: *Suadiye*.

The third above-mentioned group of women personal names as the first part of *izafet* is small. Within this group the different spelling of names is observed: *Şepsefa* and *Şebsefa*.

The fourth group is formed by examples with added names of street and district of localization. Within this group two interesting examples with using of the words *tekke* (Musluman monastery) and *han* (covered market) in the first part of *izafet* are observed: respectively *Şah Sultan Tekkesi Camisi* and *Valde Hanı Mescidi*. It is also observed example in which to the ealier name *Feyziye*, not meaning the woman name, the term *Hatun* was added. This addition created the fictional person of Lady Feyziye, reputedly connected with the indicated mosque. In that group there is also an example of describing a woman in the mosque name by other terms such as personal and descriptive: *Çivizade Kerimesi Mescidi*. The woman is described as a daughter of a man from Çivizade family.

Conclusion

Among the Istanbul mosques built between 1453 and 1923 on the territory of rising city and still on service there is a group containing the personal and descriptive names of women connected (or no) with the history of indicated mosque. There are 117 names of 61 mosques. These 117 names come from 51 women. These mosque exist on the territory of eight units of religious administration called *müftülük*. On the European shore there are Fatih, Eyüp, Kağıthane, Beyoğlu and Sarıyer and on Asian shore Beykoz, Üsküdar and

Kadıköy.The difference of number of mosques and names comes from the fact that there were created names deriving from various persons connected with the history of mosques.

Among the 51 women which names appear in the mosque names the four social group could be indicated: women connected with the sultan court by familiar ties (24), women connected with sultan court by the job (9), women connected with the aristocratic family (11), other, no indificated (7). In many cases women were the founders of mosques. In few cases they finished uncomplieted buildings or repaired them or also they were the receivers the dedication of mosques built by their spouses or children.

Three types of Musluman place of oration are observed among the analysed group: *cami*, *mescit* and *namazgah*. The majority of the analysed cases there are the free-standing buildings but also the mosques in the complexes *külliye* and in the old *tekke* are observed.

It is hard to precise in which historical epoch the great part of women founded mosques were built because no existing buildings were not included into analysis. But these analysed ones come from every historical epoch between the above indicated dates.

The Turkish indefinite *izafet* construction is the grammatical structure of all the analysed names. The second part of *izafet* is the word descibing the type of place of oration. The differences are observed in the first part of this grammatical structure which could be created by the descriptive and personal names in various combinations.

Adding the name of street or district of localization to the mosque names could be described as the marginal phenomenon. Equally marginal is the phenomenon of use of Persian *izafet* construction in the first part of few mosque names.

On the compilation of all mosque names built in Istanbul between 1453 and 1923 and still on service the group of names containing the women names is scant but worth to note and analyse. This analysis would help to draw conclusions about the presence of women in the social sphere during the history of Ottoman Empire.

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TRANSLATOR'S INTERVENTIONS IN THE IRAQI ARABIC VERSION OF EUGEN IONESCO'S *LA LEÇON*

Georgiana Nicoarea
University of Bucharest

This article presents a descriptive analysis of the translation strategies in the Iraqi Arabic version of Eugen Ionesco's play *La leçon*. The analysis is focused on different types of interventions on the part of the translator, Hikmet al-Hajj and the relationship between these and the type of translation he produces. The Iraqi Arabic version was published in 2004, in the twelve number of the electronic magazine Elaph. The main problems the target text poses, are due to the fact that it is more than a translation, the entire setting is changed, and the action takes place in the Iraqi capital, Baghdad, a relocation which requires large scale modifications of the source text. These modifications dictate the translation strategies which will be analyzed with the intention to identify at which scale the source text is transformed and if what we are dealing with is in fact an adaptation. A distinctive issue is the language in which the translation is made. If the source text has a linguistic uniformity, being written entirely in French, the same thing cannot be said about the translation, because the target text is sometimes heterogeneous, the stage direction are in Modern Standard Arabic while the lines are mainly in Colloquial Iraqi Arabic. The linguistic aspect will be analyzed in the second part of the article.

Theater translation and adaptation

In a broad sense theater is a two-folded form of art, in which different artistic manifestations merge in order to present one coherent image. Analyzing the relationship between the text and the representation, Anne Ubersfeld defines the theater as a paradoxical form of art, being at the same time a literary text, subject to an infinite number of interpretations and a concrete, instantaneous representation perceived by the public (Ubersfeld, 1996:11). Regarding the act of translating for the theatre, it is important to separate the text in itself, the verbal signs from the non-verbal ones which will be identified in the representation. The point of convergence between these two we find the representability which Rolland Barthes defines as the theatre minus the text, condensing signs and sensations which edify themselves on the stage, immerging from a written motive. Consequently, Susan Bassnett sees the theatrical text as an incomplete text

(Bassnett, 2002:119), which is only partially completed by the author, its full potential being attained only during the representation.

These views on the theatrical text cannot be neglected when it comes to translating drama. Thus, seeing the text as an incomplete entity, Patrice Pavis insists that the actual translation is in fact the representation, *la mise en scène,* which makes the translation a type of confrontation and in the same time of communication between different communicative situations and heterogeneous cultures separated in time and space (Pavis, 1990:135). Bearing in mind that any act of translation is an act of mediation between cultures, and while theatrical texts are regarded as incomplete, the translator, and mainly the director, becomes a complementary author. The translator seems to be entitled to a kind of freedom which surpasses that of a translator of other type of texts. This could mean that the task is therefore simplified and it only depends on the degree of freedom the translator allows whether it is linguistic dimension or the functional one that prevails. This perspective applies thus to drama texts are meant to be staged, which is exactly the case of the analyzed target text since its author is also a director (and a writer) and his version of Eugen Ionesco's play was produced with this particular purpose in mind.

The main purpose of a translation can establish the strategies to be used when transposing a text in another language and thus for another public with a different social background but it seems that for the theatre it is the specificity of this type of text that determine the translator's attitude towards the source text. According to Georges Mounin this kind of source text, mainly when it is conceived with the purpose of being staged, should be both a translation and an adaptation (Mounin, 1976:164). This raises the problem of what it means to be faithful to the source text when it comes to translating theatre and this is what will identify the translation textual units to be compared, the transemes. Being an adaptation means that the target text must be in accordance with the social, historical and geographic context of the target language. Georges Mounin considers the allegiance of a theater translation should be to what he views as the complex context of the play and of each of its line since every play is written for a public and a context and it is this context that is reflected in the play through allusions which cover the literary (the theatrical tradition in which the play is written), social, moral, cultural, geographic, historical context. It is a civilization that is perceived everywhere, in the text, on the stage and in the public (Mounin, 1976:161). The key role of the public suggests that it is the effect of the text on the public that should be the common ground between a source and a target text and it is on this less concrete element that the translation should be focused. The

communication function if the text being thus stressed, a certain degree of betrayal seems inevitable for a truthful dialogue.

In terms of strategies, translating drama will resort to those methods that are the least faithful to the source text: transposition, modulation and most of all equivalence and adaptation. These indirect translation strategies can be often influenced by personal options from the part of the translator and are thus less objective. This subjectivism is on the other hand forgiven because adapting the source text is sometimes considered necessary in order to transmit its message and according to Mona Baker, refusing to adapt can lead the reader or the public into a foreign world which paradoxically can be synonymous to betraying the author (Baker, 2001:6). If an author doesn't intend to produce a text that seems foreign in the eyes of the public, foreignizing translations even if semantically faithful, can fail in transmitting the message of the source text and moreover, the foreign touches can be regarded as intended by the author.

Translation and adaptation are not clearly differentiated as types of target texts. Adaptation may imply a certain degree of freedom for the translator which can allow interventions only visible when the two texts are analyzed together but they remain invisible to the public. The differences between the two texts can be seen in terms of translation shifts defined by Catford as "departures from formal correspondence" (Catford, 1965:73). These interventions are the subject of this article which will analyze alongside cultural transpositions some cases of omission and expansion. A wide use of these strategies can transform the source text so much that it may be considered a new one, and this has lead to considering adaptive translation as pseudo-translation as opposed to more literal translation which does not suppose rearranging the elements of the source text as the indirect strategies mentioned above do. Yves Gambier sees the reason for this type of rewriting of a text in the fact that adaptation establishes communication between two texts, and this communication means adjusting to different situational, extra-linguistic and linguistic parameters while the translator is free to choose the means to do it (Gambier, 1992:424). This position motivates the subjectivism of adaptive translations and emphasizes the importance of explaining the transformations a source text suffers in order to identify the key elements of communication between cultures.

As a translation strategy, adaptation has various definitions, one of these belonging to Vinay and Darbelnet who pointed the conditions in which this method should be applied. In their view adaptation in a must when the context to which the source text refers to is nonexistent in the target culture, and its purpose

is creating equivalence in case of cultural mismatch (Vinay and Darbelnet apud Baker, 2001:6). This implies that alongside the translator's linguistic competence, the paralinguistic competence plays a major role when it comes to decoding and recoding socio-cultural information and connotations. Translator's interventions in recoding connotations will affect textual references to culture and civilization, local, spiritual and geographical characteristics. Theodora Cristea mentions four types of cultural transfer conversion, ethnocentrism, explicitation and neutralization (Cristea, 2001:175). Other studies include omissions and expansions as adaptive strategies (Bastin in Baker, 2001:7) but these methods can be related to the four mentioned in Cristea, usually omissions have a neutralizing purpose while the expansions can have either a converting or an ethnocentric purpose. The strategies mentioned here will be the focus of our analysis. The following section will deal with the shifts derived from the geographical relocation of the source text covering conversions or neutralization of cultural elements al well as omissions and expansions and their role in the cultural transfer.

Cultural transpositions

The conditions which determine the adaptive translation under its many forms lead to the substitution of some translation units of the source text with other ones which are characteristic of the source culture. In the case of the translation analyzed here, elements pertaining to western civilization, mainly French civilization are replaced by others belonging to the Arab civilization and the Iraqi society, starting with the geography, the setting in which the action of the play takes place. The allusions and references to France from the source text are redirected towards the setting in which the play is intended to be staged, contemporary Iraq. Changing the setting determines manifold interventions on the part of the translator which constantly affect the target text. The most important variations, alongside the transposition of cultural elements, are noticed in the relationship between the characters, as well as some additions which on the other hand, do not lead the text away from the key events of the source text. The entire play is thus transformed but the target text is not subject to a general strategy aiming at the reconstruction of the purpose, the function and the impact of the source text even if the interventions are systematic and constant with formal and semantic elements being sometimes sacrificed in order to reproduce the function of the text. This approach determines the invisibility of the translator in Venuti's terms, as a result of domesticating strategies intended to produce a transparent, minimizing and sometimes omitting from the target text elements that could be perceived as foreign.

As mentioned above, there is a change of setting in the target text, from a small town in France, it moves to the Iraqi capital, even if the first stage direction offers the director the option to choose between a small town and a suburb of the capital. In other parts of the text all the geographic references to France are transposed to Iraq or omitted. For example the line where the teacher in Ionesco's play asks his student whose capital is Paris becomes *Baġdād hessa 'aṣima min?,* whose capital is Baghdad while the line *j'amerais vivre autrepart, à Paris ou au moins à Bordeaux* is omitted in the Iraqi version.

Other cultural references are either neutralized by explicitation using a functional correspondent or a partial or general heteronym which annuls the connotation of the source unit while others are translated in an ethnocentric manner introducing terms and sequences that indicate typical realities of the target culture. Neutralization affects the term *bachot,* familiar for baccalauréat, France's national secondary-school diploma which becomes *šahādat al-'i'dādiyya,* secondary school diploma. In this case the familiar turn is lost due to the diastratic interference, the target text expression belonging to the formal language register and this change cancels the socio-situational connotation of the source term.

Regarding the characters' description, the source text offers a small number of details that are nonetheless references to the European, and sometimes French social customs or fashion. The translator's interventions indicate as well the intention of domesticating the text, diminishing its foreignness in the eyes of the public while converting the source text element into correspondent ones from the Iraqi or Arabic society. Some of these are clothing elements like the cap*, coiffe paysanne*, worn by the maid in the source text, typical for the rural part of France suggesting her peasant origin which is again translated using an expression that explains the purpose of the headgear and not a connotation, the correspondent being *mindīl ra's,* a headscarf. We must note that the translator didn't intend a total conversion of the source text unit, as being a Muslim country we could expect the maid to wear an Islamic headscarf but this is not the case here. Another element is the girl's grey school apron, *le tablier gris*, a requirment in any school in France of that time becomes a grey dress, *fustān ramādiyy,* while the teacher's lorgnette, *les lorgnons*, a pair of spectacles with a handle, usually used as a piece of jewelry, become thick glasses *naḍḍārāt samīka*. The source term is here modernized, the lorgnette being very popular in the 19th century, the touch of pedantry is thus lost. A yet another modernizing touch is visible in the target text by the conversion and neutralization of the teacher's detachable collar, *le faux col*, a sign of elegance,

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popular in France until the beginning of the 20st century, translated with a hyponym *yāḫa,* a regular collar. The teacher's long coat, *une longue blouse noire de maître d'école,* suffers a more drastic transformation since it becomes a *rōb,* a bath robe. The teacher's physical appearance is modified at a larger scale than that of the other characters, the irony we can depict in Ionesco's text diminishes in the translation with the neutralization of certain elements and the loss of connotation, but it remains nonetheless present.

If certain clothing and accessories are neutralized, as we have seen in the previous paragraph, others are converted into elements typical for the Iraqi society. An example of conversion is the substitution of the teacher's skullcap covering the top of the head, *calotte* in the source text, by *ṭāqiyya ra's, 'araqčīn,* a literally translation followed by the name of the traditional Iraqi cap. The ethnocentrism here is clear as the *'araqčīn*-ul is typical for Iraq, a type of textile cap worn under the male headscarf in order to make it more stable while *ṭāqiyya ra's* is an explicitation of this term. This detail visibly identifies the teacher as an Iraqi man. But not only visible elements are replaced with ones belonging to the target culture as allusions containing cultural connotations are transposed, as in the case of comparison of the process of producing sounds with the way someone plays the harp. The multi-stringed instrument is replaced by one extremely popular in the Arab world, the *'ūd,* a pear-shaped stringed instrument related to the European lute.

Alongside the clothing elements, there are further modifications Hikmet al-Hajj brings to the original text, changes that pertain to the characters' age, their relationship and the social status. If in the source text the teacher's age is between fifty and sixty, in the Iraqi version he is slightly younger, he is forty five. Contrary to this change in age, the intention does not seem to be to give the character a plus in vitality as details nonexistent in the source text are added in the stage directions of the target text regarding the teacher's description as *ḍa'īlu-l-ḫaǧmi wa 'alā waǧhihi liḥyat^{un} yašūbuhā al-bayāḍu,* a thin man, whose hair is going grey. On the other hand, the maid, whose age is between forty-five and fifty years old in the source text is over sixty in the Iraqi version. And this is not the only change made regarding her status, she is not the maid any more, *la bonne,* in the Ionesco's play, but she is the teacher's sister, *l-uḫut,* and again, the Iraqi stage directions give us more details about her *wa hiya l-latī rabbathu ba'da wafāti 'ummihi l-mubakkirati*

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wa hiya fī s-sittīna min ‘umrihā wa ġayru mutazawwaǧat[in], "she is his sister who raised him after the early death of his mother". In the Arab world it is accustomed that elder sisters take care of the children, thus the reversal of the characters' age intended to somehow justify the dominant attitude of a female character in front of an Arab public. The stage directions of the Iraqi version add further information to sustain this relation of forces, on the physical level as well, as the teacher's sister is described as strong-built woman in spite of her late age, *’imra’at[un] dātu bunyat[in] qawiyyat[in] raġma kibari ‘umrihā,* details also nonexistent in the source text. Regarding the social status, the Iraqi version contains yet another addition in backing, pertaining to the teacher's financial status, described as a poor one, "even if he tries to hide it", *waḍ‘uhu-l-mādiyyu ġayru ǧayyid[in] lakinnahu yuḫfī dalika ǧāhid[an]*.

The establishment of a family relationship between the teacher and the maid in the Iraqi version determines changes in the terms of address the teacher uses. If in the source text he calls her by her first name, Marie, this is not the case in the translation where we can notice a wide diversification of these terms. The familiarity is underlined in appellatives like *uḫtī l-‘azīza,* "my dear sister" or in the more affectionate *‘azīzatī,* "my dear", and and *ḥabībtī,* "my beloved", all of which replace his calling her by the first name, a name not mentioned anywhere in the target text. The teacher also calls her *bāǧi,* term with the meaning of closed friend, used in Iraqi Arabic when addressing a nonrelated woman. The familiarity here can be interpreted as an attempt to diminish the imposition of the teacher's demands to help him in critical moments of the play, like the one in which he kills his student, a sign of positive politeness intending to minimize the threat to his sister's positive face. Moreover, familiar terms of address are typical for Arab societies where it is very common that unrelated people to use family terms in speech. In the student's lines for example, the French *Madame* is replaced by the term *ḫāla,* the equivalent in English being aunt from the mother's side, usually used in colloquial Arabic when addressing an older woman.

Remaining faithful to the same register, the translator introduces this kind of appellatives in the lines directed towards the student as well. If in the source text, the maid calls her *Mademoiselle*, the correspondent in the Iraqi version is *‘ēnī,* literally translated as my eye, it is a mark of familiar speech, commonly used in Iraqi Arabic which would be translated in English with a wide variety of words, as it is a invariable form applied to both men and women. All of these appellatives and the many other the translator introduces correspond to the very formal French

terms of address *monsieur, madame* and *mademoiselle*, the translator chooses familiarity instead of polite address in order to reflect the way politeness is conceived in the Iraqi society. These interventions that offer equivalent terms, familiar to the target culture makes the translator invisible as that the public does not perceive the target text as a translation because, between others, it is deprived of the foreignness a polite system as the French one would represent.

Omission is another strategy employed in the target text as a means of domestication. If for some elements, equivalences are found, for others the translator preferred to exclude them. For example in the description the student makes of the city she lives in, parts of the enumeration are left behind in translation. Her line *c'est une jolie ville, agréable, un joli parc, un pensionnat, un évêque, de beaux magasins, des rues, des avenues* is shortened by the omission of components the translator considered unknown or rare for the Arab public, the boarding school, the bishop and the avenues: *madīna ḥilwa fiʿlan, kulliš bīha ḥadāyiq, madāris, dakākīn, maḥallāt, šawāriʿ*, a beautiful city, full of gardens, schools, shops, and streets.

According to Antoine Berman, choosing to make substitutions or omissions is meant to give impression that the target text is the text the author would have written if he spoke the target language (Berman, 1984: 35). But in our case, the language is in itself a problem as the target text is not written in one homogenous code, so that the author would have had use two linguistic codes. Even if French has its regional dialects the source text is written entirely in standard French while in the translation the stage direction are in Modern Standard Arabic while the lines are mainly in colloquial Iraqi Arabic, with one exception.

The only phrase in standard Arabic found in the lines is the one the teacher asks the student to translate into several existent and nonexistent languages: *les roses de ma grand-mère sont aussi jaunes que mon grand-père qui était asiatique* (my grandmother's roses are as yellow as my grandfather who was Asian). The two versions of Arabic are identified as two different codes by the two speakers who refer to the language of this phrase as English. When the students in the source text asks the teacher what is the French word for grandmother even - if she was in fact speaking in French and she mentions the word -, *comment dit-on grand-mère, en français*? in the target text she uses a dialectal word *bībītī : šlōn wāḥid yigdar ygūl bībītī bi-l-'ingilīzi*?. This tension between the colloquial and the standard Arabic are further more intensified with the addition of a short exchange of lines, not found in the source text when the

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student repeats his instruction using the same Iraqi Arabic word: *trīdnī agūl bi-l-'ingilīzi zuhūr bībītī ṣafrā ...* "you want me to say my nana's flowers.." "The use of colloquial Arabic infuriates the teacher, who replies, *ğaddatī, ya'nī ğaddatī, mū bībītī!* "Grandmother, that is grandmother not nana", drawing her attention not to mix the two codes. In other parts of the play, the codes are clearly separated, standard Arabic only being used in the stage directions, this is perhaps more visible where parts of the line in colloquial Arabic is repeated in the backing, such the one following the line of the teacher "Here! Take three matches" *Tenez. Voici trois allumettes* followed by the direction: "We don't see any matches" (...) *On ne voit pas les allumettes* (...). Where in the source text we find the same word for matches, the Arabic version has two: *'isma'ī. hāy talāṯ 'ūdān šiḥāṭ* (...) (*ṭab^{an} lā 'a'wāda kibrīt^{in}* (...). When the word occurs in the line it is in colloquial Iraqi Arabic *'ūdān šiḥāṭ* while in the backing, it is the standard Arabic word that the translator uses *'a'wād kibrīt.*

Analyzing the linguistic aspect of this translation reveals some other interesting additions identified in the translation. If in other languages repetition is usually avoided, in Arabic it is very common and sometimes with the purpose of underlying or expanding the sense of the semantic unity that is doubled. In the Iraqi Arabic version examples of such doubling, cover a wide range of units from single nouns or verbs to entire phrases. In the translation of the maid's line: Vieux renard!, Old fox! We find two nouns *yā ḥayyāl! ta'lab!,* literally meaning "sly! fox!", the metaphor being doubled by a term that accentuates it's meaning, at the same time being more explicit. In other cases, the doubling, aside from the amplifying role, substitutes for a change in the category of the source text unit, the line *elle ne comprend rien celle-la! Elle ne comprend pas!* "She doesn't understand anything this one! She doesn't understand!" is translated by *l-ibnayya kulliš ma da tiftahim. diğāğ dabnag! damāġsiz w ṯōla,* "The girl doesn't understand anything at all! Stupid chicken! No-brainer and absent minded!". When it comes to entire phrases to which the translator adds a double, the purpose is to further amplify their impact like in the teacher's line in which he tries to convince his made he regrets the killing of his student: Oui, oui Marie, *je vous le jure*! "Yes, yes Marie, I swear to you" which becomes: *na'm, yā 'azīztī, 'aḫlif lič w dā'tič , āni kulliš nadmān,* "Yes my dear, I swear to you and on my father's honor, I'm very sorry".

The wide majority of drama texts are written with the purpose of being staged, thus it has to sound like a spoken text, rather than a written one, and that is the reason why theater is usually staged in the Arab world in spoken dialects and thus the choice to translate this play into colloquial Iraqi for an Iraqi audience. As

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it is a text meant to imitate speech, its translation imitates as well the speech automatism or pragmatic particles we can identify in Iraqi Arabic. These pragmatic particles have an expressive function rather than a referential or denotative one and are most frequently found in discourse. There are two categories of recurrent utterances that punctuate speech identified in the target text. The first category covers those additions to the source text that are reflexive and relate to the utterance act like "I mean", *'aqṣud* or "we can say that", *wi-nigdar-ingūl* or "I want to say", *arīd agūl*. These particles do not correspond to anything in the source text and are a characteristic of the act of re-creation of a spoken text in another culture which uses this type of discourse particles more.

The second category is represented by those speech automatisms in Arabic which have an origin in religious speech, formulaic expression very common in colloquial speech. They appear in the translation as markers of spoken discourse and are not correspondents of religious expressions in the source text. Some examples are the introduction of *allāh yiḫallīk*, "may God help you", *allā yāḫudič*, "may God take you", *'in šā alla*, "God willing" and oath expressions like *wa-llāhi* or *bi-llāhi*, literary meaning "with God". There formulaic expressions add a plus of emphasis mainly in conflict lines like that of the teacher's where it also substitutes the swearing with a polite request: *Mademoiselle, Mademoiselle, je dis ça pour vous! Merde alors! Dès que vous entendez l'expression: j'habite la capitale*, translated as "yā 'ānisa 'anā tara dā agūl hāda l-kalām li maṣlaḥtič w mā 'indī 'ayy maṣlaḥa šaḫḫiyya bi, *alla yāḫudič 'in šā alla*. 'awwal mā tismaʿīn ǧumla „'anā 'aʿišu fi-l-ʿāṣimati". In another line the expression *allāh yiḫallīk* has a similar role of making an appeal to the student "Don't start again... This can give you a heart disease", *Mais ne recommencez pas ... Ça peut vous donner une maladie de coeur ...* Don't start again... This can give you a heart disease translated as "*bass abūya*, inta baʿd lā tsawwihā, *allah yiḫallīk*, lā tsawwilna mašākil, *yā bābā*" with the sense of a sentence modifier equivalent of English adverb please.

The oaths introduced in the target text are used in two types of situations. A first one, in the teacher's lines serves as a pronouncement to affirm the truth when confronted by the maid with the accusation of killing the student: *Ce n'est pas moi ... Ce n'est pas moi ... Marie ... Non ... je vous assure ce n'est pas moi, ma petite Marie ...* It wasn't me... It wasn't me... Maris... I assure you it wasn't me, my little Marie, a line which in the Iraqi Arabic version contains the oath wa-llāhi, repeated three times: *wa-llāhi, mū āni, bēš aḫlif lič, wa-llāhi, mū āni... mū āni..*

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ḥabībti, wa-llāhi, mū āni. In the student's lines, a similar oath expression, *bi-llāhi*, is a means of pledging the teacher to a course of action, as when she asks the teacher to tell her what the French word for grandmother is: *comment dit-on grand-mère, en françai*s? a phrase which becomes "*bi-llāhi* šlōn wāḥid yigdar yigūl bībītī bi-l-'ingilīzi?"

Conclusions

Regarded independently from the source text, the Iraqi Arabic version of Eugen Ionesco's play presents itself as containing cultural elements familiar to the Iraqi public as there is no textual indication that the text is a translation. Comparing the two texts, we observed a general tendency to negate the foreign in the translation by indirect translation strategies like neutralization, ethnocentrism or omission. The target text gives us the impression that we are in front of another text, a "naturalization" in Antoine Berman's terms or a "domestication" in Lawrence Venuti's. If we take into consideration Berman's approach to translation we can say that the Iraqi translator, Hikmet al-Hajj never intended for the target culture to experience what would be for the Iraqi audience, the cultural strangeness of Eugen Ionesco's text. In this sense the translator fails in what Berman calls "the properly ethical aim of the translating act as receiving the foreign as foreign" (Berman 1985/2004: 277). Our analysis shows that there is in fact a systematic deformation of the source text, through different interventions of the translator, which prevents the foreign from being visible. But as we have shown in the first part of the article, theatre plays pertain to a different category of texts, usually meant to be staged, with the purpose of having an immediate effect on the public, thus the communicative function which is context determined prevails.

The traditional discussion about fidelity and liberty, about literal and free translation revolves around the idea of communication as well. Roger Bell considers that the context is a concrete component of communication while time, place and participants play an important role. In Bell's view the social component of language should interest the translator so that his work is adequate and acceptable from the point of view of social conventions (Bell, 2000:122-123). The social conventions dictate how the linguistic code is applied in a certain linguistic community, containing contextual information without which communication fails. Even if cultural elements are converted, the purpose of this conversion is nonetheless the communication between the two cultures. Whit a typical Iraqi cultural references, the translation succeeds in offering the public a theatre of the absurd, as all the key events of the play, the feeling of incomprehensibility and the inadequacy of language to form are maintained in the target text.

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POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION IN THE GCC COUNTRIES: A TOP – DOWN PROCESS

Mihai Pătru

Mihai Pătru holds a BA in Arabic Language and Literature (University of Bucharest) and a MA in International Relations and European Studies (Central European University – Budapest).

1. Introduction

In the context of the 2011 events that have taken by storm the Middle East and North Africa, the Arabs' dream of democratization has better chances to stop being considered a luxury item (al-Din, 1984: 6-7). One of the "true political reforms", as King Abdallah of Jordan called the required changes in the context of a new Cabinet appointment (Al-Arabiya News, 2011, February 1), should aim at increasing citizens' political participation in the decision making process. This goal was also publicly displayed by the Libyan revolutionaries in Benghazi where billboards and wall writings calling for "Election and Democracy" were present everywhere, as I noticed in early June 2011. These open calls bring into the spotlight the *exclusionary character* of the Arab Middle Eastern politics (Sadiki, 2004: 5), which under the present circumstances might be reduced, thus making the regimes receptive at peoples' demands to have a real and meaningful political participation.

In this broad context, an attentive look at the institutionalization of citizens' political participation within the six member states of the ***Cooperation Council*** for the Arab States of the ***Gulf*** (GCC), namely Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Bahrain, Qatar and Kuwait, aims at better understanding the *porousness* (Katzenstein, 2005) of these states when it comes to this issue. In particular, this article focuses on the electoral processes, perceived as an instrument of citizens' involvement in the political life. Despite the fact that this topic opens the door for a broad debate concerning the transparency of the electoral process, its fairness, gender implications and so on, considering the rentier state environment characteristic for the GCC states, the aspect to be debated here refers to the extent to which this institutionalization of political participation through electoral openings is a top-down promoted process.

The argument is that, based on the local population's dependency on the state, a major characteristic of this highly rentier environment, the institutionalization of citizens' political participation by means of electoral processes is not a consequence of their demand. The ruling classes are interested not to have their authority and legitimacy internally challenged, therefore besides

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the financial and social compensations towards the population, these efforts to institutionalize citizens' participation in the decision – making process is a way to insure their stability.

This article consists of three parts. Firstly, I will briefly discuss the predictions of the rentier state theory in the context of the GCC countries. The second section deals with the reforms adopted by those authorities meant to institutionalize citizens' involvement in the decision - making process by means of elections. In the last section, in the light of these elements, I look into the relationship existing between the GCC authorities and the population. A conclusion is also included.

II. The rentier state theory and the GCC countries

When dealing with the issue of the Arab democratization, one of the recurrent theories refers to the rentier character of this region. Despite its broad application from a geographical point of view, due to the dynamics of the Arab world, the rentier state theory has become one of the main arguments used in the debates concerning the level of the democratization process in this region, especially when it comes to the GCC area.

Based on Mahdavi's '70s debates on rentierism in the context of the pre-revolutionary Pahlavi Iran (Mahdavi, 1970: 428-468), the rentier state theory was further developed. In Mahdavi's understanding, the rentier states are those that "receive on a regular basis substantial amounts of external rents," (Ibid, 428) yet, mostly linked to the income resulted from the export of natural resources, such as oil or gas (Beblawi, 1990: 85-98).

Taking into account that the exogenous resources generate an important percentage of the total amount of revenues, these rents are considered to represent a key element in understanding the realities of a state (Luciani, 1995: 211) and "a common tool in the interpretation of the political dynamics of oil producing countries" (Luciani, 2005: 90). Moreover, the theory of rentierism argues that the recipient of these external rents is the ruling class (Schwarz, 2007: 10) which has the role of distributing a certain amount of the exogenous revenues to each sector of the society. In this context, since the contribution of the authorities to this particular type of income is minimal and their role is to allocate it, the state changes its character from an extractive state into a distributive one (Smith, 2004: 233), based on a mechanism called by Luciani "allocative system" (Luciani, 1990: 123).

In this case, particular specificities could be attributed to the ruling class. The elites, which concentrate in their hands the entire economic wealth of the state (Yates, 1996: 33), determine the creation of *sultanistic regimes* (Rathmell and Schulze, 2000: 48) thus developing a particular type of leverage on the lower

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classes based on what I would call *'alāqāt al-khubz* (bread liaison), to paraphrase Sadiki's concept of *dimiqratiyyat al-khubz* (bread democracy) (Sadiki, 1997: 135). Therefore, the authorities become independent of their citizens (Pripstein Posusney, 2005: 6). Since the population has no leverage over the state, the domestic leadership is not held accountable and is able to develop an apparatus which continues to be in power without seeking legitimacy by means of democratic representation. In this context, the Western capitalist slogan, "no taxation without representation" is transformed into "no taxation, no representation" (Brynen *et. al*., 1995: 15).

All these elements converge towards the development of an authoritarian regime where "the state is viewed as the property of the ruler", while his "distributive function which is played in order to maintain a desired balance in the segmented society is understood as the essential function of the government" (Luciani, 2005: 92). Since the state apparatus does not depend on collecting financial resources from the population, the widely accepted conclusion is that "the distribution of wealth has disguised the absence of political participation and has cushioned popular discontent" (Bill and Springborg, 1994: 28), or more strongly underlined by Luciani who argues that the ruling class of the oil exporting countries establish their legitimacy "on their distributive role and do not need democratic legitimation" (Luciani, 2007: 161).

Moreover, this indicates that within such an environment centered on exogenous financial resources, the expectations to witness political liberalization and democratization should be limited (Glasser, 2011: 7). Since "by establishing a distributive type of economy, they are less in favor of the requests for democracy" (Salamé, 1991: 323), the local authorities are expected not to foster any reforms (Brynen *et. al*., 1995: 15; Luciani, 2007: 161; Pripstein Posusney, 2005: 6), including electoral openings. The availability of exogenous rents is seen as the main disincentive for emasculating the political democratization demarches (Gausse, 1995: 293) while contributing to "the aggrandizement of the state and its political oligarchic patrons" (Sadiki, 1997: 133), thus offering the elite the possibility *to buy out* the groups that might articulate any demands for change (Crystal and al-Shayej, 1995: 108).

Based on the percentage of exogenous financial resources in the total income of a country, Glasser identified three types of rentier states: *minimally rentier* (Turkey or Morocco where external revenues comprise less than 20% of the total), *semi-rentier* (Egypt with exogenous revenues equaled to roughly 45% of the total) and *highly rentier*, like the GCC states which receive more than 75% of the total revenues from abroad (Glasser, 2001: 12-13). The highly rentier character of the GCC states is shown in table 1.

Table 1. Total public revenues and oil revenues (US dollars) (The Secretariat General of The Gulf Cooperation Council, 2008: 192 and 2010: 133)

COUNTRY		2008	2007	2006	2005	2004
UAE	Total revenues	----------	62287.3	54594.95	43744	25818
	Oil revenues	----------	47995.92	43975.49	30348	19979
	Percentage	----------	**77%**	**81%**	**70%**	**77%**
BAHRAIN	Total revenues	7121.3	5416.4	4892.2	4445.21	3458.5
	Oil revenues	6067.02	4336.3	3767.5	3365.15	2510.15
	Percentage	**85%**	**80%**	**77%**	**76%**	**73%**
SAUDI ARABIA	Total revenues	293598.1	171413.3	179648.5	150489.3	104610.9
	Oil revenues	262231.70	149916.3	161192	134544	88000
	Percentage	**89%**	**87.5%**	**90%**	**89.5%**	**84%**
OMAN	Total revenues	19866.6	15398.2	12951.63	11851.5	10565.41
	Oil revenues	13246.00	11675.2	9985.44	9367.75	8265.28
	Percentage	**67%**	**76%**	**77%**	**79%**	**78%**
QATAR	Total revenues	37439.0	32360	23644	18045	15127
	Oil revenues	22076.10	19436	15227	12742	9978
	Percentage	**59%**	**60%**	**65%**	**71%**	**66%**
KUWAIT	Total revenues	76376.0	63825.4	60458	51367	34869.1
	Oil revenues	71545.76	59509.93	48665	40273	26015.1
	Percentage	**94%**	**93%**	**80.5%**	**78.4%**	**74.6%**

III. Political participation and electoral opening in the GCC countries

The Arab Spring intensified the debate about the democratization of the region thus bringing into the spotlight the fact that some efforts have been done in the GCC area. Joining "the global trend towards democracy" (Niblock, 1998: 222) or representing a late contagion of the "third wave of democratization" that took place during the '70s in Latin America (Bellin, 2005: 21), the so-called *new spirit* witnessed in these countries when it comes to democratization (Ehteshami, 2003**:**

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61) no longer encourages to consider these reforms a *discovery*, as Sadiki used to label the interest for Arab democracy (Sadiki, 2004: 3).

Looking at the particular measures undertaken by the GCC regimes provides a more comprehensive picture of the domestic and regional dynamics concerning the institutionalization of citizen's political participation by means of electoral opening. Firstly, it is worth mentioning that this concept is not a novelty in the GCC area. Regardless of the fact that Saudi Arabia is considered an absolutist monarchy (Herb, 2005: 171), interest in citizens' political participation dates back to the Kingdom's founder, Abdul-Aziz al-Saud, who introduced elections for the *Majlis ash-Shura* (Consultative Council) and the municipal councils, measure to be abolished under King Faisal during the 1950s (Ehteshami and Wright, 2007: 928). Since the Saudi experience was unable to start a tradition of political participation, Kuwait is portrayed as the only country among the GCC group that experienced participatory democracy before the 1980s (Al-Naqeeb, 2006: 132) and held its first legislative elections in January 1963.

The strategy adopted by the GCC ruling classes was to establish the necessary political institutions as in the case of Bahrain, Saudi Arabia or Oman. In Bahrain, the reform process, significantly promoted since King Hamad's accession in 1999 (Peterson, 2009: 169), started with the 2001 National Action Charter. Paving the way for the 2002 Constitution, the Charter divided the legislature body into *Majlis an-Nuwwab* (Chamber of Deputies) and the 1993 already established *Majlis ash-Shura* (Consultative Council). *Majlis an-Nuwwab*, according to article 56 of the 2002 Constitution, "comprises forty members elected by direct, secret general ballot in accordance with the provisions of the law," while *Majlis ash-Shura* is made of 40 members appointed by the king. Moreover, in Riyadh, in the context of the 1990 Kuwaiti crisis and liberals' pressure (Ménoret, 2005), the Saudi king launched a set of reforms establishing the first modern national consultative body, *Majlis ash-Shura*, in August 1993. Although "a reform-oriented forum which … will serve as the ideal sounding board for the testing of future reform plans, and possibly acting as the ideal vessel for their introduction as well" (Ehteshami, 2003: 76), its members are currently appointed by the King from a national list of candidates from all strata of society. Furthermore, in Oman, considered in need of substantial reforms "to reach the point where Kuwait is today" (Ibid, 80) two bodies with limited powers were created in 1991. *Majlis ad-Dawla* (the Upper Chamber) consists of 71 members appointed by the monarch, while *Majlis ash-Shura* (the Lower Chamber or Consultative Council) is made of 84 members elected by popular vote.

Concerning Qatar, article 77 of the 2005 Qatari constitution stipulates that *Majlis ash-Shura* (Consultative Council) will consist of forty-five members, two

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thirds of whom will be elected by direct, general secret ballot, while the Emir will appoint the remaining fifteen members from amongst the ministers.

Particular attention should be paid to Kuwait where, despite the difficulties it had to face following 1990 Saddam's invasion, the ruling family did not suspend the already institutionalized electoral process and *Majlis al-Umma* (National Assembly). Regardless of the increased powers that *Majlis al-Umma* can exercise over the government and its composition (Herb, 2005: 176), which in numerous cases led to long-term political crisis, the Al-Sabah family did not manage to impose its intention to limit its authority and in October 1990 even restored the 1962 constitution. In contrast, one can situate the UAE whose 40 seat National Federal Council has undergone very few changes. The current President, Sheikh Khalifa, decided that the members of the Council would be elected by a reduced Electoral College system.

Thus having established the framework and the institutions subject to democratic reforms and also of citizens' political participation, the ruling regimes moved forward and organized elections, either concerning municipal or national bodies. In Bahrain, the process of "expanding the margins for formal and informal political participation" (Niethammer, 2006: 2) took place for the first time since 1957 during the 2002 municipal elections. The voters were called again the same year for parliamentary elections which attracted for the first around 53% of voters, a tendency which increased in 2006 up to 72% (Ehteshami and Wright, 2007: 920). In October 2010, elections for the Chamber of Deputies were held. In the context of the recent popular unrest, the Bahraini Cabinet endorsed a draft law showing the authorities' openness towards citizens' participation by lowering the eligibility from 20 to 18 years for those allowed to vote. Moreover, since increasing the participatory nature of the state was one of the demands of the demonstrators from the Pearl Square, the Government considered holding a referendum on the issue of strengthening the powers of Parliament, yet nothing has been decided (Gulf Daily News, 2011, March 13).

The first Saudi modern elections were held for half of the municipal councils in February and April 2005, following the 2003 Council of Ministers' decision to "broaden the participation of citizens in administrating local affairs by means of elections and to revitalize Saudi Arabia's municipal councils" (Ménoret, 2005). The slowness of these developments determined Prince Talal to declare that "the majority in Saudi Arabia prefers gradual steps towards a democratic life" (Khalaf, 2002). Yet, in the light of the Arab Spring and the urge for solid reforms, the authorities announced that 2009 postponed municipal elections would be held in September, 2011. Moreover, according to the Ministry of Municipal and Rural

Affairs, the municipal councils subject to electoral process increased from 179 to 285 (The Saudi Gazette, 2011).

Similar developments can be noticed in the UAE. The 6.689 members of the Electoral College, less than 3% of those eligible to vote, were nominated by the rulers of the seven emirates to vote in the December 2006 elections for half of the Federal National Council (FNC) seats. The rest of the members were appointed by the rulers of all seven emirates. Earlier this year, despite the fact that the UAE were not the victims of the *domino effect* that took by storm the other Arab countries, the President revamped the methods based on which the representatives of the FNC were elected, thus amending the 2006 methodology. This "national work plan that draws future roadmap for the federation" is a step meant to underline the President's "keenness on empowering the FNC to play its leading role in support of the executive authority" (Khaleej Times, 2011, February 16). Basically, the novelty brought by the new methodology increases the number of members of the electoral colleges by 300, besides representatives from each emirate. It also establishes a national committee for elections whose functions will be to draw the general framework, supervise or set the guidelines. Moreover, according to a high Emirati official, this change is seen as a "qualitative progress in the electoral process in line with the programs of bolstering political participation through gradual manner being adopted by the country" (Emirates 24/7, 2011 February 15).

In Qatar, the high level of overall wealth is considered to be a barrier for any political change since its citizens are "notoriously politically apathetic given the comfortable economic position they enjoy" (Ehteshami and Wright, 2007: 921). Yet, preparations are currently underway for a separate election law since article 78 of the Constitution stipulates that "the system of election shall be determined by law in which the conditions and procedure of nomination and election are specified." However, the first electoral experience took place in March 1999 and was organized for the 1997 created Central Municipal Council following the Amir's decision. Elections were held again four years later, according to the law, thus determining critics to consider this unprecedented *fair* and *honest* event as a "significant step towards democracy" (Rosman-Stollman, 2009: 192). Qatari authorities' engagement in institutionalizing their commitment towards strengthening political participation was consolidated this April when 43.3% out of those having the right to vote went to polls to elect the Central Municipal Councils (Al-Arab, 2011, May 11).

In Oman, regional events such as the early '90s Gulf War, the regime change in Central and Eastern Europe, the economic goals, the rise of Islamist opposition and the international pressure opened the authorities towards political reforms (Al-Haj, 1996: 560). The first partial elections for *Majlis ash-Shura* took

place in 1997 and 2000, and by 2003 the right to vote was extended to all adult nationals (Rabi, 2009: 213). Furthermore, female participation was encouraged and two women out of 32 that stood for the 2003 elections were elected to this body (Ehteshami and Wright, 2007: 925). Following the 2011 popular unrest, Sultan Qaboos has decided to start constitutional reforms in order to grant more powers to the *Majlis*, whose two chambers have had so far only an advisory role. In this context, this constitutional change will hopefully change the perspective over the 2011 elections for *Majlis ash-Shura*.

As the most experienced Gulf country regarding its participatory nature, Kuwait continued its political liberalization process after the defeat of the Iraqi army by the Western led forces as promised by the Emir (Ibid, 923) and elections took place in 1992. Consensus over the importance of this process and the institutions envisaged was reached both by the population, whose participation to the electoral process increased from 66% in 1967 to 83% in 1996, and the political class which constantly defended the participatory character of Kuwaiti politics (Crystal and al-Shayej, 1995: 101-126).

The institutionalization of the electoral process increased also due to the fact that it was recognized both by the state and citizens as the beginning of a reformist period (Ménoret, 2005). In Oman the institutionalized participatory nature of politics is reflected by a switch in the way the electoral process is referred to from *nominations and choice* (*tarsheeh wa ikhriyar*) to *intikhab* (elections) (Ehteshami and Wright, 2007: 925). Moreover, the commitment to increase citizens' participation in Qatar, Kuwait or Bahrain where the regimes respected the election schedules and did not cancel the processes despite internal or regional difficulties paved the way for the political liberalization strengthening.

IV. Political participation: a top – down process

The *exceptionalism* (Bellin, 2004: 139-157) of the Gulf region has been frequently discussed when debating these countries' capacity to foster democratic reforms. George Corm sees no further hope since he argues that the Arab Peninsula was influenced only by two major events: the birth, in the 6th century, of Prophet Muhammad and the discovery of oil resources (Corm, 2007: 323). Yet, the path followed by the GCC states when it comes to increasing their population participatory nature proves that there is still room for surprise. To understand the way this opening was generated and implemented as a top-down process one should look at the nature of the *relationship authorities – population*.

Firstly, the ruling regimes, defined by the robustness of their authoritarianism (Bellin, 2004: 139-157), have the financial capacity to build and strengthen the necessary system in order to expand their influence and set the state's developments on the desired track. Their lack of accountability to citizens

and the latter's dependence on the financial incentives distributed by the ruling elites are translated into the creation of a new type of modern patriarchic state concentrated around one single group (Sharabi, 1988: 17). The GCC states' *neopatrimonial* (Idem) nature is an instrument meant to emasculate any potential forms of opposition, regardless of its origin, and, equally important, a means of establishing and developing a solid and loyal base "through selective favoritism and discretionary patronage" (Bellin, 2004: 145).

Furthermore, the wealth provided by oil and gas rents is not used only for public expenditure programs, as Mahdavi predicted (Mahdavi, 1970: 432), like infrastructure, health care systems or education. It also offers the elites the capacity to staff the bureaucratic apparatus where an important percentage of the working class is employed with salaries above those characteristic for a very competitive setting in the private sector at home or elsewhere (Luciani, 2007: 166) and therefore dependent on the state (Teitelbaum, 2009: 15). The state involvement in all socioeconomic spheres (Sadiki, 1997: 134) touches upon this issue since the bureaucratic apparatus or the public service system established by the state attract and absorb most of the available national labor force, as a Qatari official admits (Al-Imadi, 2010, March 3). The fact that "the lion's share of employment is in the government sector" (Askari, 2006: 205) is confirmed by the 2007 Gulf Investment Corporation's report according to which the percentage employed in the public sector outnumbers greatly the one incorporated in the private sector (The Gulf Investment Corporation, 2007).

While in general this class is seen as the milieu where the call for democratization emerges (Luciani, 2007: 164), in this particular case the bargaining power is not used since any change in the political structure would lead to its loss. In addition to this *privileged income*, one should also take into account the fact that no taxes are demanded from the population. As mentioned before the concept "no taxation without representation" becomes "no taxation, no representation" (Brynen *et. al.* 1995: 15) a reality that is accepted as long as the income of each individual is not threatened.

Moreover, one of the prerequisites to establish the participatory nature of the state is the existence of a certain level of intention and willingness within civil society to get involved in the process. Bellin underlines two elements that explain the low level of political mobilization in the Arab world: poverty and illiteracy (Bellin, 2004: 150). Despite the high GDP per capita registered in the GCC area, the fact that "the commanding height of the economy remains largely in state hands" (Bellin, 2004: 139) underlines the significant inequality existing among different social strata and the uneven distribution of wealth. But this is covered by the mechanisms put in place by the rentier structure: the concept of *backshish state* (Korany, 1994: 511) which shows that the ruling class is willing to buy off

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the citizens by offering extremely developed social welfare systems, paid education both within the country or abroad, financial incentives for those willing to start their own small and medium businesses without asking for any taxes or percentages from their profits (Beblawi, 1987: 53). In exchange, citizens are not expected to demand and be interested in a higher degree of participation, thus answering in a positive manner to the state's strategy to weaken any participatory request or to cushion popular discontent (Bill and Springborg, 1994: 28). No latter than the beginning of this year, examples of buying out the population have been offered by the Saudi and Kuwaiti authorities. The Amir of Kuwait issued instructions granting every Kuwaiti citizen KD 1000 ($3,599), besides free food rations for 14 months, starting from February 1, 2011. In Saudi Arabia, King Abdullah also approved a benefit program (36 billion dollars) to be spend on salary increase, direct payments to students, those wishing to marry and debtors while in May 2011, the King approved the designs of 500, 000 new low-cost housing units amounting SR 250 billion.

Regarding literacy, this has been one of the primary concerns of the GCC states, commitment unequaled by any other Arab state. According to the 2009 Arab Human Development Report, the GCC countries are considered in the *high human development* category based on their level of public expenditure on education, reaching even 27.6% in Saudi Arabia in 2002-2005 (The United Nation Development Program, 2009:238). The most important outcome has been the increase of the literacy rate which reaches an average of 87% at adult level, and goes above 95% at youth level in all the GCC states. Regarding education, one should also consider the perspectives available to the labor force such as graduate students, practitioners etc., most of them being absorbed by the public system as shown above. As in the case of poverty, citizens' bargaining power is low or even absent since they are dependent on the state's wealth, despite its active contribution to the process of acquiring knowledge.

Moreover, the state's influence also reaches the business community, whether private or public. In the latter's case, the expansion of the public sector or *étatism* (Mahdavi, 1970: 432) transforms the state into a dominant factor not only in the administration or socio-political life, but also in the economic sector. For example, the regimes' representatives are dominant on the board of directors managing different public companies. In the oil rich Abu Dhabi emirate, 6 out of 10 members of the Abu Dhabi Investment Authority (ADIA) are part of the royal family, al-Nahyan, while the others of are members of loyal tribes such as al-Suwaidi. Even the private business sector is portrayed as *parasitical* since its wealth fully reflects the distributive character of the rentier oil rich state (Luciani, 2007: 162). The *alliance for profits* (Teitelbaum, 2009: 15) is the core element that brings the private business stratum closer to the regime which does not ignore

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its needs. In this case, Crystal's scenario according to which the business communities "will temper or even end political support for rulers who ignore their economic needs" (Crystal, 2009: 44) and will support alternative groups is not feasible. Additionally, one might expect the trade unions to play an important role in the democratization process of the country. Considering the alliance for profits strategy, the trade unions or business communities are transformed into "incorporated and closely supervised" entities (Kramer, 1992: 23) which lack credible autonomy (Bellin, 2005: 22). An example of the ruling class strategy to prevent any form of opposition from the business community can be found in Kuwait, where during the '50s and '60s "the merchants were bought off, by the state, as a class" (Crystal, 1989: 430-431) in order to stay away from the political life (Glasser, 2001: 56).

Additionally, despite society's dependency on the state and therefore a presumed control of the population, the authoritarian regimes have developed very elaborated, widespread and coercive intelligence and trained armies. The creation of a *mukhabarat state* and the pouring of important amounts of money into the military service strengthen the exclusive vertical relation between the ruler and the ruled (Sharabi, 1988: 20). In this context, the possibility of strengthening an opposition movement which might be vocal when it comes to political opening is very weak since those involved in the present system are interested in keeping the mechanism running.

V. Conclusions

The general picture shows that the ruling regimes are the ones that dictate the steps the nation is about to follow, including the path towards political participation and electoral opening. This strategy of introducing reforms from above is considered by Bill and Springborg as a way to prevent a "bloody revolution from below", especially when referring to the GCC countries (Bill and Springborg, 1994: 397). This seems to be a lesson that the GCC ruling classes applied and whose results were tested in the context of the 2011 popular revolts during which the local authorities managed to survive thus strengthening their legitimacy both internally and internationally.

The strategy adopted by these authorities, who have unconditional access to the rents resulting from oil or gas resources, is meant to preserve their status and leverage by preempting the needs of the citizens. Based on the lessons learned from the '89 democratization process that took place in Central and Eastern Europe and, more recently, from the Arab spring, the GCC rulers implemented and currently encourage several sets of reforms to increase the role and the involvement of the population in the political decision making process. This plan reduced potential attempts to contest their legitimacy by accusing them of not

opening the political life to citizens and therefore proved, both at internal and international levels, their readiness and willingness to reform the system.

The population has limited capacity and will to generate such changes. Its potential adherence to any forms of movements meant to increase its involvement in the political process, without having the acceptance of the rulers, would limit citizens' benefits. Hence, a particular *silent pact* is established between the rulers and the ruled ones: the top-down promoted process of democratization is accepted by the population, even if it occurs at lower intensity. The ruled are aware that any disturbance of the system brings important losses, while the latter acts in order to maintain a high living standard for the population and to increase, gradually, its political participation.

As a consequence of the highly rentier environment, the citizens are dependent on the authorities who offer them full financial support. They are offered well paid jobs in the state system, education programs abroad, subsidies for food, health programs or housing, everything on the state expenses. A similar attitude is observed when it comes to the trade unions or the private business communities, the main argument in this case being the *alliance for profit*. In return, the business community continues to enjoy all the advantages generated by the highly rentier nature of their societies, while gaining step by step a higher degree of political participation. Moreover, the population is not asked to financially contribute to the wellbeing of the state and, as a consequence, has no influence in the state's affairs. This situation is perfectly expressed by adjusting the western slogan "no taxation without representation" into "no taxation, no representation" (Brynen *et. al.* 1995: 15).

Despite their autocratic character, the *tribes with flags*, as Ambassador Maksoud labeled the GCC member states (Maksoud, May 10, 2010), have managed to leave behind the tribal legacy concerning the patriarchic typology of their societies and have started encouraging the participatory nature of their countries. Despite the "prophesies" of the highly rentier state theory that predicts the authorities' efforts to emasculate any sign of democratization, the ruling elites in the GCC countries have reconsidered their options in order to survive and legitimize their rule.

Finally, the approach adopted by the GCC authorities in order to maintain stability and their position is not new. Their way of dealing with citizens' political participation might be considered as a modern interpretation of the traditional Islamic *mawaid ar-rahman* (banquets of the Gracious). However, in the end, their strategy proves to be a win-win situation where the ruling regimes strengthen their authority, consolidate their access to resources and preserve local and regional stability, while the ruled ones keep and increase their profits and, step by step, boost their influence on the local political life.

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SOCIAL STATUS AND MATERIAL CULTURE.
VIEWING THE NINTH TO ELEVENTH CENTURIES KHURASANI SOCIETY THROUGH SAMANID POTTERY

Alexandra Daniela Pleşa
Leiden University

A widely used assumption regarding material culture studies is that artifacts can stand for the society that created them. It is indeed archaeologists' and material culture experts' common belief that objects can furnish valuable information about different aspects of past cultures, such as social relations, religious and cultic adherence, economic and technological development etc. Pottery, the commonest archaeological find, was centrally placed within the study of material culture of past societies, and has been enormously researched as one of the main material "vehicles" for information about ancient times.

As I also share the belief that material culture stands for the society that created it, I propose to approach a specific aspect of the relationship between ceramics and society, namely the topic of social status. My study will be guided by a broad interest, namely to ascertain to what extent pottery can furnish information regarding the social status of past individuals/ social groups that used it at some point in the past. Is this information "objective" and reliable? Moreover, what are the specific aspects of social status that we can pinpoint using ceramics as source, and what are those which cannot be accounted for?

I will argue that social status, as any type of social identity, is only partially revealed by means of pottery alone, and that textual sources are of great value and help in this respect. A specific case that exemplifies this theoretical discussion is the relationship between early Islamic society in Khurasan[1] and its pottery. Among the numerous Islamic dynasties that have governed cities in Khurasan, the Samanids are well known for their interest in art and development of intellectual thought. Samanid[2] pottery, with its two well known production centers, Nishapur and Samarkand, is one of the most aesthetically beautiful and interesting product of the early Islamic material culture. In addition to sharing

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[1] For the sake of simplicity, and as the article does not address philological issues, I preferred not to render the specific Arabic transcriptions.

[2] I use "Samanid pottery" here only as a denomination indicating the cultural environment of the time, and not the political reality. I will further discuss in detail the relation between the Samanid government and the pottery production.

commonalities in shape and technique with some other early Islamic ceramic types, Samarkand and Nishapur pottery often exhibits the interesting phenomenon of writing and pseudo-writing decoration, which I believe to offer indications on the social status of both potters and consumers. In my discussion about what can pottery tell about social status within a society, I will take the evidence of Samanid pottery and the early Islamic society, inquiring how shape, functionality, decoration and technique can provide us with information about the consumers and producers of ceramic. However, I will especially focus on the phenomenon of written decoration, as I believe it is, more than any other characteristics I have mentioned, one of the most interesting and fruitful "vehicles" for communicating social status. The unique strength of this decorative technique is the mingeling of *ornament* and *text* which provide two-sided evidence about the past. Not only is it a relatively rare decoration technique, but it is also a particular phenomenon within Islamic art, as it fully manifests itself only in the early Islamic times. Considering the religious importance of the "written word" which was constantly underlined in Islamic society has, together with its numerous apparitions as decorative motif in architecture, one might expect to also commonly find it on pottery. Its uniqueness and extensive permeability in terms of social interpretation make me somehow to favor it vis-à-vis other pottery characteristics I will deal with.

I. Theory and concepts
I.1. Artifact biography

My approach to the topic of ceramics and social status is largely indebted to the behavioral archaeology's understanding of ceramics and society relationship. Thus a considerable amount of the concepts I will use, as well as topics of discussion will be fueled by this particular theoretical approach.

Firstly, an idea I find extremely useful is the so-called *artifact biography*, which states that the importance, meaning and exchangeability of an artifact varies throughout its life time [3].   Speaking about Samanid ceramics, their importance as artefacts, the meaning people associated with their usage, or their economical value might have indeed changed through time. The idea that types of ceramic might have had subsequent ancient associated meanings, economic and cultic importance, enables us to rethink how social status is reflected through ceramics, and to realize that a certain type of pottery stands for multiple synchronic social statuses , as well as, through time, for subsequent social

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[3] Skibo, M. James and Michael Brian Schiffer. *People and Things: a Behaviorial Approach to Material Culture.* Springer, 2008.

statuses. To draw it slightly sharper, I understand through synchronic social status the plurality of social statuses that an individual is adhering to, but also the social statuses that different people, into the hands of whom a specific piece of pottery might have been, had at some point in time.

I believe this concept is strongly linked to a common conceptual proposition: archaeologists and material culture experts have often acknowledged that the higher artifact's complexity is, the higher the social status of the owner. I take here complexity to refer to the quality of the clay, glaze and decoration. A better designed and well shaped ware, for which good clay, pigments and glaze have been used, and which exhibits a complex and well drawn decoration, would thus stand for a higher social status than a piece more awkwardly made. As I partially agree with the direct proportionality of complexity in pottery and social status, and as I have linked it to the previous concept of behavioral chain, I would argue that a more complex ware would stand for a higher social status only at the moment in which it has been bought, and even then it cannot be assumed undoubtedly. Afterwards, the ware might be offered as a present, or it might be stolen, inherited, and passed on to subsequent owners, who do, or do not share the same social status and privileges as the original consumer. Regarding the very moment of purchase, the ware might be bought by someone who objectively has the material means to afford such a piece of ceramics, or contrarily, it might be bought by a poorer individual, who has spent a good deal of his savings to obtain it. Although generally we might acknowledge that artifacts of certain quality tend to be purchased by people that objectively afford them, and that poorer people would not obtain highly complex and expensive artifacts, we must not ignore a certain desire for prestige, the aesthetic aims, as well as the mirage that artifacts imbued individuals with, as they also do it nowadays. That is why not only the pottery must be analyzed when speaking about social status, but also the archaeological setting in which it has been found. Was it a wealthy house, was it found in a ceramic manufacture, in a kiln, was it dispensed as a residual object? All these questions are as important as pottery itself when speaking about social identities of every kind. Luckily, Nishapur offers some interesting details concerning the settings in which the pottery was excavated, which I will deal with later on.

I.2. Sociofunction, ideofunction and technofunction
The use-alteration perspective

Leaving the discussion of the artifact biography, there are two other concepts belonging to behavioral archaeology I benefit from: the idea of multiple

functions of an object –*sociofunctions*, *ideofunctions* and *technofunctions*[4] – and the *use-alteration* concept[5]. The first regards the artifact as holding different functions. The *technofunction* refers to the technology, the *sociofunction* indicates the social meaning it has been attributed (a prestige object, a group membership object), whereas *ideofunction* refers to religious and ritual usage of objects. Before looking for all these functions, one needs to find out what is the actual utilitarian use of the object, as it might shade light on all its other functions. A pottery piece, to refer to the specific artifacts I am analyzing here, might receive a total different socio- and ideofunction depending on its utilitarian purpose. A storage ware might have different socio- and ideofunctions than a cooking ware, or than an eating dish, in terms of visibility, for example; eating dishes are simply more visible than storing wares when a guest is received, thus the dishes might exhibit more social status marks than the former.

Special shapes might be used only for ritual/ religious purposes, and thus might bear specific decorations. Speaking about this last category of wares, the use-alteration perspective is indeed of great help. It simply states that certain wares are more frequently used than the others, the most commonly used wares being the domestic kitchen wares. A prestige ware, a ritual ware, or even the celebration dishes intended for guests would be less used and would consequently bear less marks of usage.

This brings me to the idea that, considering the specific decoration and the ware technique, the more skillfully a ware is decorated and shaped, and the less marks of usage it bears, than the more the chances of having been used as a prestige artifact; the same works for a less pretentious ware that has numerous usage marks. I am deeply aware also of the fact the former ware might have just been bought by the time the archaeological deposit was formed, and thus its "youngness" is not the result of a prestige or ritual intended function, but of an accident of preservation. We should not ignore this high possibility.

I. 3. Social status as performance
Finally, a third approach to which I am indebted is directly derived from social sciences theory, and has been fruitfully applied in archaeology by Hales and Hodos in a very recent work[6]. The main idea I will explore is that social status, as any type of social identity, is a matter of performance[7] which is

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[4] Skibo 1992: 34.

[5] Ibidem 44.

[6] Hales, Shelley and Tamar Hodos (eds.). *Material Culture and the Social Identities in the Ancient World*. Cambridge at UP, 2010.

[7] Hales and Hodos 2010: 17.

undertaken by consuming artifacts which are believed to produce/ facilitate and certificate social status. In other words, individuals tend to consume artifacts that they believe to correspond with their social status or with the social status they are aiming at. Exhibiting artifacts means exhibiting one's social status, which further implies that the artifact is not only a utilitarian object, but also a symbol. As Hodos also remarks, consumption marks social identity on the basis of market offer. Social identity is thus created from the negotiation of one's self-projected identity and aims, and the material culture market offer; no matter what social identity one is projecting, there is a single market pool from which one can choose the artifacts that would stand for one's identity.

Going back to ceramics consumption, we can assume that one consumes pottery either 1. objectively affording it, or 2. not normally affording it but making an effort to buy it in order to 3. preserve or achieve a certain social status within the society.

I.4. Whose social status?

Pottery does not only stand for the consumer social status, but also for the prestige and the social status of the potter. We can infer both social statuses from ceramic qualities such as the quality of the materials used for pots, the complexity and quality of decoration or the existence of inscriptions. However, one single ceramic ware although it might say something about owner's social status – which is supposed to have a creation economical power since he has been able to invest money in that artifact – cannot be taken as solid social mark for the potter;

We know that pottery manufactures from Nishapur produced various types of pottery, in terms of shape and quality. Since the same atelier produced ceramics for richer and poorer people, we can assert the potter's status only by having an overall view manufacture's production, which is only possible when finding the kilns and ceramic remains in the atelier. Even then, however, we face the haphazard of preservation: what we take to be the general production of wares, on the basis of what we find, might be the production of the very moment in which the kiln was abandoned, destroyed etc. All in all, a bigger manufacture, better clay and finer ceramics found in a manufacture surely indicate the prestige and economic prosperity of the producers.

II. Discussion on the concept of social status

One of the main theoretical assumptions I am using is that social status, as any other type of social identity, it is negotiated between individuals and is based on performance and practice. One holds a social status if one is acknowledged by the community to have it. Factors such as the economical power to obtain a certain social status, but also the appartenance via birth or inheritance of any kind

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of an already obtained social status influence the social negotiation of status. In any case, social status is maintained and exhibited via performance, in which material culture has a central role. One preserves and exhibits his social status by consuming certain types of artifacts that he finds suitable to his position. Furthermore, the consumption of certain types of ceramics, apart from pure utilitarian purposes – such as depositing, storing, carrying substances and eating – are the mark of what one perceives as suitable artifacts for his/her social status.

But what is social status about? Social status is primarily a concept reflecting personal or group identity within the society. It ascertains one's position, prestige and power within the group. Classically, it can be divided into *achieved social status*, - a status that one has gained via achievements, usually manifested in occupations, or *ascribed status*, - which one has inherited from predecessors, such as economical means, prestige of the family etc.

Social status entails groups of individuals gathered around some common values and ideas about life; moreover, social status is highly dependent on the social group that we focus on. Sets of interconnected social statuses are to be found at different levels of society: within the family group, one might possess the social status of father, mother, daughter, each one of those implying a certain behavior, values and rights; regarding occupations, one might have the social status of patron, whereas one might simply be a worker; speaking about ethnicity, one might be part of a minority, whereas one might be a native; and nonetheless, in economical terms, one might be a landowner, a bourgeois, a slave or a merchant. Back to the Khurasani early Islamic society, social statuses are not that evident as in other historical and cultural contexts, as I will detail further on.

II.1. Social status and social life in Samanid Khurasan

Apart from this general premise, it is equally important to discuss what social status refers to in the context of Khurasani early Islamic society. It has been acknowledged previously[8] that the social differentiation in Khurasan is far from clear, mostly due to the lack of textual evidence study. Although we hold rich information about the "patrician" families and their biographies, the way they relate to lower classes, as well as the lower classes life is far from common knowledge.

A general idea upon the urban life in Khurasani cities, seen through the example of Nishapur, can be however accounted for. At the period that I am

[8] Bulliet 1972: x: "At the present stage of development of medieval Islamic social history, changes over time in the balance of power and prestige among landowners, merchants, artisans, and government officials are difficult to make out."

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interested in, Nishapur was one of the most prosperous and big cities in the Abbasid caliphate. It was well known for its trade position and activities, and had an ethnically diverse population, in which Persians predominated, followed by Arab descendents and Turks; important communities of Christians and Jews played a role in the social life of the city, as they were attested to live in certain neighborhoods and having congregational meetings. Religiously, the society was dominated by Muslims, although one could still find communities of Zoroastrians and Buddhists, apart from the already mentioned Christians and Jews. All evidence points towards a hugely cosmopolite city, in which trade and commerce might have played a role equal to landownership of the immediate rural areas, on which the city was dependent. Although we have general ideas about the industries that have flourished there – such as pottery, glass making, waving, clay extraction – we do not possess punctual information about individuals or families that have performed them as career.

The two parallel discussions I have made up to this point, firstly the social status concept and its references, and secondly the Khurasani life in the early Islamic period, lead me to some remarks: 1. no social class details that might have supplemented the pottery evidence pervade through the textual evidence of the period; 2. distinctively, social status comprises an enormous amount of different social group affiliations and identities, and it would be both unpractical and unwise to account for the whole specter of social affiliations in early Islamic Khurasan, using only the evidence of pottery; 3. moreover, I believe that material culture and the case of pottery in particular, cannot objectively stand for all the palette of social affiliations and statuses: while it might be helpful to discuss pottery relevance for the economical means of the consumers, and subsequently to make inferences if they are aristocrats or not, and while it might be equally relevant to discuss it in terms of religious allegiance and literacy, it is no doubt less productive, if not impossible, to account via ceramics for social statuses as family relationship or occupations. Apart from the very rare case in which pottery has been especially designed to celebrate or to indicate via symbols or inscriptions a certain status, the common use pottery offers restricted and poor information on family relations or occupations.

On the basis of these three remarks I consider that only some social affiliations can be productively inferred by means of ceramic production,   and it is with reference to them that I would place my analysis of ceramic shape, technique and decoration. I will thus analyze some types of Nishapur and Samarkand ceramics and try to extract evidence for economical related, religious and literacy related social statuses.

III. Samarkand and Nishapur pottery

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As a study case I have chosen the Islamic Samanid pottery that has been produced in the city with the same name from the ninth century onwards. The Samanid pottery production and types require some clarifications, as it is one of the highly problematic ceramics from the Islamic Middle Ages, in terms of production places and dating.

The Samanids were a dynasty of governors in Khurasan beginning with 872 CE until 1001 CE, period in which they have continuously changed their possessions and influence within the larger Abbasid caliphate of the time. Their interest in art and subsequent sponsorship has made them to be seen as initiators of the Persian Renaissance in literature and arts. As pottery is one of the highly artistic crafts of the Medieval Islamic world, the scholars have associated the pottery production in Khurasan between the ninth and the eleventh centuries as "Samanid", assumption which does not entirely match the reality in the field.

Speaking about the two pottery production centers I have mentioned earlier, Nishapur and Samarkand[9], whose names in the scholarly literature have been used as labels for the pottery produced there, the two cities are just partly under Samanid rule for the period in discussion. Moreover, while Samarkand seems to be under the Samanid control throughout all the period in question, being transformed to some point onwards their capital, Nishapur has a much more complex history of governance, being gradually into the hands of Abbasids (748 CE-820 CE)[10], then passing under Tahirid governance for a short period (820 CE-872 CE), the Saffirid (872 CE-early tenth century) and lastly, only from the beginning to the end of the tenth century into the hands of Samanid dynasty, which was later to be dethroned by Ghaznavids (999 CE). As we can see, in terms of chronology vs. *de facto* rule, the Samanids had a very limited access to the governance of Nishapur; however, the two cities exhibit highly common pottery production techniques and shapes that one cannot but infer that they were created under the same cultural umbrella. In light of this discussion, I will refer to both the production from Nishapur and Samarkand as Samanid, in terms of cultural patronage, and not necessarily in terms of official rule.

Additionally, the types of wares produced in these cities and their techniques might need further clarification. The pottery produced in the area is indeed wealthy in shapes, design and production techniques. Some of the types were archaeologically demonstrated to have been produced and used in both cities, whereas a good deal of others either have been attested as used in both

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[9] The site is the contemporary Afrasiyab.

[10] Oficially the city, as well as the whole area of Khurasan, has been under Abbasid sovereignty until the Mongol conquest of 1258, but considering the degree of autonomy of local governing dynasties, it is no question that the Abbasid rule was only *de iure*.

cities but produced only in one of them and imported in the other, either produced and used only in one of the two[11]. However, the overall appearance of the pottery produced in Nishapur and Samarkand displays the same tastes of the time. From all the production types I will concentrate on only four types due to time restrictions and the amount of material to be reviewed. They are the so called "buff ware", "polychrome on white ware", the "black on white ware" and the "opaque white ware and its imitations"[12]. It is on these three types that we can observe the appearance of writing, which will occupy much of my inquiry. Since they are the object of my study case, I find it necessary to introduce each type and to provide the basic information for placing them within the larger pottery production of Samanid Khurasan.

The "buff ware"(Figs. 1 and 2) is a type of ware which has been produced and mostly used, as far as the archaeological evidence can tell us, in Nishapur, with few examples in other nearby Khurasan sites. It had a buff body and acquired black, yellow and green, more rarely red, under-glaze decoration, which was usually followed by the application of a lead glaze. The decoration usually consists of geometrical patterns, vegetal motifs and strangely designed animals, usually birds, accompanied sometimes by short inscriptions, issuing blessings for the owner or the name of Allah. Rarely do human representations appear, and the design usually exhibits the common feature of medieval *horror vacui*. It has been made not before the 9th century, and its manufacture seems to have stopped by the eleventh century.

The "black on white ware" (Figs. 6 and 7) is painted only in black, on a white engobe, which receives after a usually colorless lead glaze. It has been produced and used both in Nishapur and Samarkand, though with some variation in decoration. It was produced in a large number of shapes and dimensions, which include common dish wares (plates, bowls and cups), storing wares (pitchers, jars) and even lamps. Compared to the buff ware, the decoration is somehow more sober, due to the only use of black, and smaller. Whereas "buff wares" were usually decoration on their entire surface, this type has a relatively small decoration. The decorative vocabulary comprises geometrical shapes, placed on the rim as a continuous band, small birdlike representations place in the internal central area of the ware, and Kufic inscriptions.

The "opaque white ware" (Figs. 8, 9 and 10) is a common pottery type made in the Near East during the ninth and the tenth centuries. It was covered

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[11] For a complete discussion on each type, the production and usage place see the comprehensive article by Charles K. Wlikinson. Nov. 1961."The Glazed Pottery of Nishapur and Samarkand" in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*. New Series 20/3. 102-115.
[12] I Am keeping here the denomination used by Wlikinson in "Glazed Pottery…".

with an opaque white glaze containing lead, which was designed to imitate the much praised Chinese imported porcelains. The decoration is very simple and meager, usually consisting in a small Kufic inscription containing a blessing, the name of the potter or an aphorism, and much more rarely other decorative motifs such as vegetal or geometric ones. It was produced both in Nishapur and Samarkand, though the Samarkand wares have a peculiar decoration consisting in small dots of heart-shape motifs covering the entire internal surface of the ware. It seems that these latter decorations have been never imported and used in Nishapur[13]. Again, particular for Nishapur production of this type is that, contrary to the common practice in Iraq for example, the potters underlined the inscriptions with a continuous band, and placed them from the center of the ware to the exterior bottom.

IV. What is the Samanid pottery telling us about social status?

As I have mentioned and argued earlier, the main aspects of social status I am looking for are the economic, religious and literacy related ones. I must mention from the very beginning that I regard labeling social statuses that we contemporary use as highly inadequate for discussing medieval Islamic society. The phenomenon of social partition and labeling was far less clear than in the contemporary society, and although Islamic medieval society had noble tribesmen and family chiefs, slaves and *mawali*, merchants and manufacturers, *ulama's* and *imams*, the social mobility was possible and usually the daily life was much more subject to a mingling of the social classes than we might think of.

Thus I will try as much as possible not to "label" certain "social classes" when I am talking about pottery evidence, firstly because of the social mobility and relaxed boundaries between social classes, and secondly because of objective impossibility of ascertaining specific labeled social classes via pottery. Unless specific symbolic decoration on a ware or textual evidence is found, it is almost impossible to ascertain a ware belongs to a merchant family or to a manufacturer one, for example. What we might extract though is the indication of economic power of the family and possible elements of religiosity and piety. That is why I will abstain from using broad terms such as aristocrats, nobles, learned men or illiterates, peasants, merchants and manufacturers, as I believe they are economically defined and they can portray well Islamic medieval society.

IV.1. Decoration vs. Economic Power
Economic Power vs. Social Status

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[13] Wilkinson 1974: 181.

Samanid pottery accounts for the economic power of the individuals buying it. As I have discussed in the theoretical part of the essay, better quality ceramic stands for better material means. However, this logical assumption needs a double qualification when referring to Khurasani society: the relation ceramic decoration-economical means on one side, and the relation economic means-social status on the other.

Firstly it is necessary to discuss the idea that the more complex the decoration of a ware, the more expensive it is, and the "higher social status" indicator it might get. Indeed, more complex design usually requires more time to make, which in turn translates into a higher price, so one might naturally expect more decorated pottery in richer houses. But let us take the evidence of Nishapur "buff ware": Wilkinson argues that the items which exhibit a design composed by geometrical, vegetal patterns and animal representations (Fig. 2) have surely been intended for a richer public than the simple geometrical decorated ones (Fig. 1)[14]. He adds that usually, the geometrical ones happen to be coarser than those containing also zoomorphic decoration. However, not all of the geometric decorated wares were poorly made, some of them exhibiting complex designs and good technique. Further, the three other types of wares I am dealing with – the white wares – exhibit an opposite pattern of decoration: instead of being fully decorated, they generally have a simple whitish body and a well placed kufic script decoration, accompanied sometimes by vegetal motifs. What one might assert as lack of decoration is actually a technicality of design. In this case, the value of the empty space and the elegance it entails seem to be fully appreciated, that is why I seriously wonder why the same pottery manufacturers and the same public might not have appreciated the same simplicity in the other types of wares.

In short, I believe that simplicity in design does not stand by itself for a cheaper ware, and thus does not stand for a poorer buyer. Only when associated with the overall quality of the manufacture, as Wilkinson indicates in the case of the buff wares, it might be guessed that it was produced for a less pretentious public. When a piece has simpler decoration, a less carefully modeled shape and in addition low quality compositional materials than whatever counterpart, then we can infer that it stands for a poorer consumer.

The excavations at Nishapur from 1936 to 1939 have revealed many houses in which pottery has been found; not being elite houses, but rater belonging to notables and administratives, as Wilkinson remarks, they were

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[14] Wilkinson 1961: 4: "Most of the vessels of the inanimate group, obviously made to sell cheaply, are of cruder manufacture than the animate…Unlike the exterior decorations, the treatment of the interiors ranges from simple to complex. Inasmuch as the pieces with simple design and elaborate design were found together, it is clear that simplicity in itself does not indicate an earlier date but simply a less ambitious piece."

containing good quality pottery of diverse types[15]. The evidence thus indicates that a socially middle class in terms of contemporary society, with equal reasonable financial means, was able to get good pottery, which is in turn to say that generally there was a good deal of people with reasonable economical means having fine pieces of pottery.

Further, once having established that a better overall quality of the ware usually stands for more economical means, one must reflect upon the relation economical means-social status.

The logical assumption would be that higher economical means imply higher social status, but it is not always the case in the medieval Islamic society. Family appartenence and literacy were that much praised that usually belonging to a renowned tribe or being a scholar was much more prestigious that being a manufacturer with more economical means. Speaking about occupations, while calligraphers were praised because they worked with "the word" and they were literate, no one is mentioning potters, for example; while some scholars believe that Islamic potters were generally better seen than their European medieval counterpart because they furnished the tiles for mosques[16], the lack of textual evidence regarding potters cannot but indicate they were not important enough to be taken into consideration.

To sum up the discussion, I argue that the relationship design complexity in pottery vs. economical means vs. social status in Kurasani society is not a direct proportional one, and that it is qualified by the overall technique of the ware firstly, and by the prestige of some social classes compared to the economical means.

IV.2. Literacy vs. Social Status

I have previously specified that part of the "buff wares" and almost all the exemplars from the other three types present in some way or another a decoration consisted of a Kufic script text. It can vary greatly in terms of content, from a simple potter's signature or a benediction, to a whole Qur'an passage or aphorism. It can also vary in quality: whereas some inscriptions are elegant and easily readable, some exhibit errors of writing, and some just imitate the Kufic script, by creating non-readable decorative forms[17]. I believe that these decorations can

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[15] Idem 1974: 6.

[16] Arnold 1985: 197.

[17] I will provide here the complete list of inscriptions to be found on the illustrated wares: Fig 3: the Kufic inscription is a quotation from Qur'an Surat al-Qalam, 51-52: "…and the Unbelievers would almost trip Three up with their eyes when they hear the Message; and they say: 'Surely he is possessed.' But it is nothing than the Message to all the worlds.", translation in Grube 1974; Fig. 4: the Kufic inscription is written in Arabic, reading: "blessing, prosperity, good will, health

provide us with much information about the level of literacy of, to use some of the theoretical remarks I have mentioned, both potter and consumer, and subsequently about the social status of them. Contrary to the economical means-social status relation, I consider literacy and social status go hand in hand, and that is because of the accent that Islamic culture has always put on the value of the word, meaning of course the word of God, and subsequently on learning of the sacred Arabic language, as a mean of knowing and worshiping the word of God. Knowing to read and write is thus in the medieval Islamic society a prestigious quality, and working with words and knowledge is even more.

But to come again to de evidence of pottery writing, I think writing decorations might indicate to an important extent the literacy or the semi-literacy of both potter and consumer. I find logical that someone who would know to read and write would buy a pottery piece decorated with writing, and that this action would function also as a certain confirmation and prestigious acknowledgement that one is literate. Further, one might remember that even highly experienced scribes made many mistakes when they copied a manuscript or worked on dictation which is proven by the multitude of corrupted manuscript traditions that contemporary philologists are working at. If a literate scribe does make errors, than the possibility that a potter, who most probably has less training with words, would make mistakes is greater. That is why I believe that errors in writing decoration and pseudo-kufic script instead of meaningful message can be interpreted as signs, apart from the accidental errors, of semi-literacy or illiteracy of the potter. The impetus of drawing pseudo-Kufic meaningless inscriptions instead of meaningful ones must be the result of either a model-based production, where types of decoration are being reproduced without paying attention to the content, and additionally, of copying a previous meaningful inscription and not knowing how to read and write.

One of the very interesting writing phenomena is the signatures of the potters. Indeed, some of the "black on white" and "opaque white" wares have a sole decoration a small potter's signature, which is to some extent strange giving the fact potters have never figured among the most praised artisans of Medieval

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and happiness to you", translation Wilkinson, 1976; Fig. 6: Kufic inscription reading "He who speaks, his speech is silver, but silence is a ruby", translation at http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/me/e/inscribed_earthenware_b owl.aspx; Fig. 7: the inscription contains the word *blessing* repeated, translation in Wilkinson 1976; Fig. 8: the inscription reads "Blessing to the owner, made by Ahmad", translation in Géza Féhrévary 1994; Fig. 9: the inscription reads "Blessing to the owner, work of Muhammad al-Sala", translation int Grube 1974; Fig. 10, the inscriptions contains the signature of potter, "Work of Abu al-Jafar", translation in Grube 1974.

Islam. Thus their social position, and in addition the general medieval undeveloped sense of authorship, wouldn't have enabled them to sign their creations. The fact that the phenomenon is not just isolated, but that a good deal of the wares present it makes me ascertain that due to some reasons these potters were socially important, praised and well seen. People might have admired that much their work that they might have requested to have an original ware made by a certain manufacture. The fact that firstly, some potters were signing their pottery, and secondly that they *were able* in terms of language knowledge, to do that, leads me to think they were both literate and socially praised.

However, the discussion needs to be clarified further. The Qur'anic precepts advise to learn to read the sacred text, but that doesn't mean necessarily to understand it. A Muslim might get basic madrasa training in reading the Qur'an in Arabic, but might not fully understand the written text. However, the prestige of the written text was that spread that there is a great possibility for illiterate or semi-literate people to acquire a pottery vessel just to have the sacred text as close as possible, and thus to protect them. Although this aspect weakens the direct proportionality between writing decoration and literacy, and proves that whereas it might be partly true that literate potters and consumers produced and bought kufic script decorated wares, buying written decoration for the sacredness of the text implies the religious value of the object. More precisely, the written text might function as a talisman, protecting the owner from disasters of every kind, activity for which we have numerous evidences from medieval times[18]. That brings me to the discussion of piety, religiosity and their connection with social status, which I will deal with later on.

IV.3. Piety vs. Social Status

Piety has been indeed highly regarded as a virtue in medieval Islam. Thus being pious, respecting Qur'anic prescriptions and exhibiting one's religious allegiance must have been part of the social performance of every Muslim in Khurasan, as in any other part of the caliphate. By acquiring pottery with Qur'anic fragments as decoration, one was assuring protection from unhappiness and nonetheless exhibiting a pious behavior. The numerous "blessings" and verses from the Qur'an depicted in the pottery of the time (Figs. 3, 7, 8, 9) stand for the habitual occurrence of religious texts within pottery decoration. As piety was so highly regarded, I thus find buying ceramics with religious content as part of a

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[18] We know that mini-Qur'ans which contained the sacred text entirely although they were not bigger than a few centimeters, were wore as amulets and were collected up until know.

performance that would assure a higher social status within society, more prestige and respectability.

V. Conclusions

Taking into consideration the questions which have guided my study and the pottery analysis, I believe we can ascertain the important place that material culture broadly, and ceramics especially have in the discussion about social identity and status. Although pottery can offer many insights to social performance and consumption, its "objectivity" must be checked either by other archaeological evidence or by textual sources that might shed further light on society's structure.

It is however important to approach pottery studies as I have tried to do, seeing pottery as material culture being consumed within a social identity performance. Pottery has not only a utilitarian role, but acquires symbolic importance for a desired social status, and my analysis on writing decoration is in line with this approach. Additionally, behavioral archaeology concepts as multiple functions of pottery, and exchangeability in pottery meaning throughout its biography, as well as user alteration theory show us that a simple inference about social status cannot be based only on decoration, shape and wares' technique, but has to take into consideration additional factors. However, pottery can furnish information about social status only to a certain extent: whereas issues of occupations and family roles are harder if not impossible to grasp lacking specific evidence, economical status, religious allegiance and literacy are indeed more fruitful inquiries.

 As for Samanid pottery, the following conclusions are to be made: it stands not only for the social status of the consumers, but also for the prestige and respectability of the potter; it indicates a general spread of good quality ceramics not only within wealthy classes, but also in middle classes such as merchants, notables and functionaries; however, it cannot stand for specific social labels, but only for economic power. In addition, its specific writing decoration offers a unique insight into the literacy realm, indicating that at least some of the consumers and potters were literate or semi-literate. Further, it indicates the high association between written word, religious allegiance and high social status in the Medieval Islam.

 Finally, although pottery by itself cannot pinpoint social class, without the help of textual sources, I believe, as I have tried to show, that it offers a very clear insight on how social status is negotiated between individuals, and what are the values within the society that social status is based on. The case of the Khurasani society of the ninth to eleventh centuries shows us that economical power did not bring automatically higher social status, that a good deal of the population

afforded good quality wares and that social status was positively interpreted in terms of intellectuality and religiousness.

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VI. Illustrations:
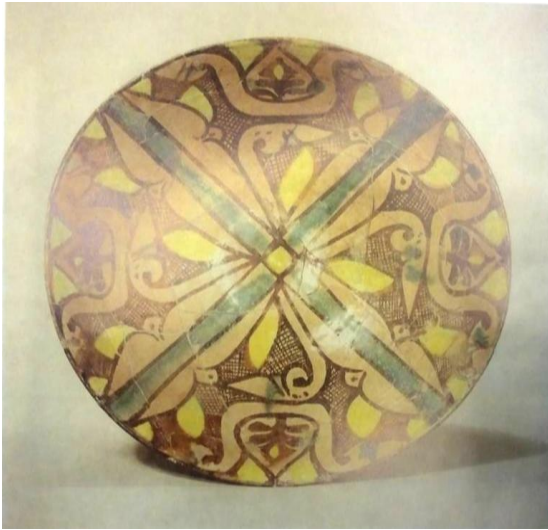
Fig 1. Bowl, inanimate "buff ware", Nishapur, 10-11th centuries; rpt. Wilkinson 1974: internal cover.

Fig. 2. Bowl, animate "buff ware", Nishapur, 10-11th centuries; rpt. in Wilkinson 1974: 51.

Fig. 3. Large bowl, "polychrome on white ware", Samarkand, 912 A.D.; rpt. in Féhérvari 1998: 19.

Fig. 4. Bowl, "polychrome on white ware", Nishapur, 10-11th centuries; rpt in Wilkinson 1974: xvi.

Fig. 5. Large plate, "polychrome on white ware", Nishapur or Samarkand, 10-11th century; rpt. in Grube 1976: illustration facing p. 88.

Fig. 6. Bowl, "black on white ware", Nishapur, 11th century; rpt. at www.britishmuseum.org : 01.04.2011.
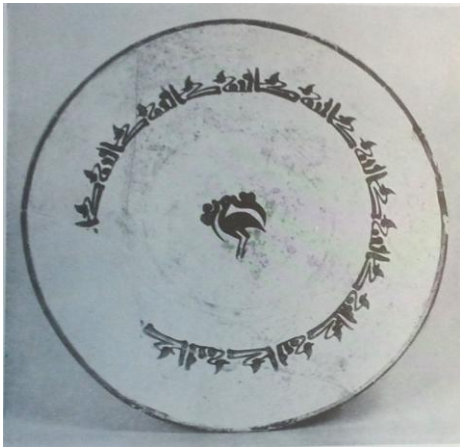
Fig. 7. Bowl, "black on white ware",
Nishapur, 10-1th centuries; rpt. in
Wilkinson 1974: 115.

Fig. 8. Bowl, "white opaque ware", Iraq,
9th century; rpt. in Féhérvari 1998: 13.

Fig. 9. Bowl, "white opaque ware", Iraq, 9th
century; rpt. in Grub 1976: 41.

Fig. 10. Bowl, "white opaque ware", Iraq, 9th
century; rpt. in Grube 1976: 41

ROMANIAN TRANSLATION OF ADDRESS FORMS IN NAGUIB MAHFOUZ'S
NOVELS

Corina Postolache

University of Bucharest

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to discuss the issues related to the translation of the Arabic address forms to Romanian, using as corpus the novels that make up Naguib Mahfouz's *Trilogy*, and their translation into Romanian by Nicolae Dobrişan (published under the titles *Bayna el-Qasrein*, *Qasr eş-Šawq* and *Es-Sukkariyya*). The English translation of these novels by William Maynard Hutchins has also been considered as an additional source for our analysis of the strategies that can be employed when translating such formulas.

The theoretical framework for our research is represented by works such as Brown and Gilman, *The pronouns of power and solidarity* (1960), Brown and Ford (1961), that deal with the connections between terms of address and social interaction, Burling (1970) who discusses the factors influencing the choice of address forms, Lambert and Tucker (1976) on the socio-psychological significance of address forms, Friederike Braun (1988) who emphasized the idea that the social implication is of the essence in the address system. The most important aspects concerning the address forms in Arabic are also discussed, taking into account the essential elements that shape up the address system in this language. A short description of the particular linguistic situation existent in the Arab world and, related to this, a brief discussion of the language in N. Mahfouz's novels is provided in section 4. Section 5 deals with the analysis of the address forms found in the *Trilogy*, and contains an inventory of all the terms of address employed in the novels, classified in two main categories: kinship terms and titles (courtesy titles, occupational terms, social status etc.). The usage of these terms is discussed in relation to their socio-pragmatic values, on one hand, and the problems raised by their translation into Romanian, on the other.

1. Theories on forms of address

The study of address forms has been widely looked into by sociolinguists. According to C. Fergurson (1991: 183), the first important research in this field is represented by Brown and Gilman's article *The pronouns of power and solidarity*

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(1960), which became a model and a starting point for many other subsequent studies. Gilman and Brown's article discusses the distinctions in the choice of address forms in relation to the status of interlocutors (equal, superior, inferior), arguing that the difference of status determines a vertical dimension of power (expressed linguistically by the choice of plural pronouns when an inferior is addressing a superior, on one hand, and the singular pronoun when a superior is addressing a person of inferior status), and a horizontal one of solidarity (the use of plural forms by both interlocutors when there is a social distance between them, and the singular when they are familiar to one another) (*apud*. Braun, 1988: 14-15).

Burling (1970) identifies the factors that determine the choice of address terms to be: age, gender, education, occupation, wealth, family background, the speaker's attitude, the social context:

> Beyond reference, we also choose our words so as to express something about the situation of the conversation itself: the mood of the speaker, the relative social positions of the speaker and the man to whom he speaks, the formality of the occasion (Burling: 82).

W. Lambert and R. Tucker (1976) argue that there is a close connection between the interlocutor's level of intimacy and the choice of address forms:

> In English we can register certain states of intimacy by using titles (Dr., Mr., Captain), last names, first names, in various combinations, or we can turn to nicknames or other amusing substitutes for real names [...] when we feel especially comfortable with a certain person (Lambert, Tucker 1976: 1).

They also show that certain languages display a higher accuracy and flexibility when it comes to expressing the level of intimacy or, respectively, the social distance, and thus the system of address forms in each language reflects the social structure and the complexity of social interactions in a certain linguistic community (ibid. 4).

F. Braun's approach in her study *Terms of address: Problems of patterns and usage in various languages and cultures* (1988) is particularly interesting for our own research, as she discusses the issue of address forms in a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspective. She defines the concept of "system of address" as the totality of address forms available in one language and the connections between them, explaining that each language may be characterized by the diversity of the address forms repertoire it possesses, which is culturally

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determined and allows more or less detailed distinctions according to the age, sex, social status or profession of interlocutors (Braun: 12). Another issue discussed by Braun is the usage of the so called *address inversion*, namely both interlocutors use the same term of address – usually a kinship term – which does not designate the addressee, but actually refers to the speaker who is of a superior status (Braun: 32-33).

The discussion of the address system in any language is also connected to theories on linguistic politeness, because politeness strategies have a strong influence on the choice and usage of certain address forms. Issues such as the different types of strategies (positive, negative, off-record) and the culture-bound norms of polite communication should also be taken into consideration when analyzing the address forms.

2. The system of forms of address in Arabic

Parkinson (2009: 468-471) reviews the most common words currently used as address forms in Arabic. Firstly, there are the personal names, either Muslim (*Muhammad, 'Ali*), Christian (*Hanna*) or without religious connotation (*Karīm*). This category also includes Western names, borrowed in some Arabic-speaking communities (especially the Christian ones).

Personal names may represent an address form by themselves, or may be accompanied by titles, as a sign of respect, conveying a higher degree of politeness; titles may also be used without the name. The use of personal names suggests intimacy, equality, or the superiority of the speaker in relation to his interlocutor, while the use of names accompanied by titles involves familiarity, but not intimacy, and the inferiority of the speaker. The use of titles alone denotes respect, regardless of the familiarity level. In Arabic countries, the social norm is to use first names and titles, unlike Western countries, where titles usually accompany family names.

Parents are often addressed using a teknonym (ar. *kunya)*, consisting of the word *abu* "father" or *umm* "mother" and the name of their first born. This is a polite manner of address among friends and acquaintances.

Among family members, either the name is used, or the name and the corresponding kinship term (*ya 'ammi*, "my uncle'', *yabni* "my son"). The terms denoting relatives may also be employed figuratively; for example *'ah* "brother" or *'uht* "sister", when used by unrelated interlocutors, suggest solidarity.

Terms such as *ya bouya* "father" and *ya 'ummah* "mother" are usually employed when addressing a very old person in a friendly and respectful manner. Regarding the interlocutor as a parent and using this figurative appellative is considered to be the highest form of appreciation; however, this term may make

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women feel uncomfortable, as it suggests old age, and the form *ya-lla*, from *ya lella* "lady" is considered more thoughtful (Parkinson: 36).

Parkinson also emphasizes the frequent use of polite terms such as professions (*'ustād* "professor", *duktor* "doctor"), Turkish loanwords referring to former nobility titles (*bāša* "pasha", *bek* , *hānim* "lady"), general titles (*'afandim* "lord", "master", *sayyid* "mister", *sitt* "lady", *madām*), religious titles (*šayh* "sheikh") etc. All these are used either by themselves or followed by personal names and form the bases of the polite address system.

The last category presented by Parkinson includes a series of address forms that express either friendship and intimacy (*habībī* "my love", *'azīzī* "my dear", *'utta* "kitten", *hilwa* "sweety", *'amar* "moon" etc.), or the speakers contempt (*himār* "donkey", *kalb* "dog", *ibn ilkalb* "son of a dog" etc.).

Braun (1988) also reviews the most common address forms in Arabic. She refers to the address inversion illustrated by the use of the term *ẖalī* (maternal "uncle"), that may be employed both in reference to the uncle and, by inversion, to the nephew. She also notes that some terms referring to the social status or position may also be inversed, for example superiors may address their inferiors with terms such as *bāšā* "pasha" or *afandi* "effendi", in order to express contempt (Braun: 267-269).

Braun makes out several implications that may be encoded in each address form. Taking into account their basic lexical meaning, the address forms may sometimes be interpreted literally: "master", "friend", "colleague" etc. But some appellatives have such diverse lexical meanings, that the literal interpretation is strange to say the least. For example, Arabic speakers use words such as *mu'laağī* "my lung" or *balaẖī* "my dates" in situations where English speakers would use a word like *honey* (Braun: 253-254). Therefore, as Braun points out, it is not the primary lexical meaning that should be taken into consideration, but the social significance, suggested by the relations between interlocutors, the speaker's evaluation and attitude towards the hearer, the speaker's social background etc. She also emphasizes that the social meaning is the most interesting aspect of the address system and it is, at the same time, the main reason and result of the distinctions found in each address system (Braun: 258-259).

2.1 Culture-specific factors influencing the address system in Arabic

The manner of address and the choice of certain address forms are influenced by several factors: the geographical position (some forms of address are specific to some regions), the social distance between interlocutors (which further depends on factors such as sex, age, profession, social status), the speaker's authority, religion, ethnicity, race.   In the Arab world, religion is

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among the most important factors conditioning the manner of address. Muslims frequently use terms with religious connotations, such as *hağ* "pilgrim", *šaykh* "sheikh" and *akh* "brother" terms that are never employed when speaking to somebody of a different religion.

Other culture-specific aspects that must be taken into consideration when discussing the Arabic forms of address, as well as their translation, are related to the very important role played by family and social relations in the Arab world. Dornier (1998) emphasizes the strong influence of social hierarchy and aspects such as age, status and authority in the verbal communication in Arab-speaking communities. For centuries, tradition has imposed the avoidance of familiar terms of address when speaking to an older or superior interlocutor. This respectful distance is best defined as *h'arf el-yâjoûr* "brick wall" which restricts every participant's role in a conversation (Dornier: 20).

The address system plays a very important part in defining the nature of human interactions, in relation to the cultural and social setting, the social hierarchies specific to every community, the importance of the social and professional status, the role of family and family relations in that community etc. In the Arab speaking communities, the address forms are very sensitive social markers, which require the speaker's special attention when choosing a certain address term, in order to express the due respect and to avoid offending the interlocutor (Parkinson 2009: 466).

3. Problems related to translations from Arabic

A widespread phenomenon that has influenced the translation of Oriental texts into Western languages consists in the modification and adaptation of those texts to the Western taste and the Western vision and perception of the East. This led to the creation of certain images about this part of the world – for example, Middle East was represented in the Western readers' mind as a magic, mysterious, fascinating place. As Anghelescu (2004) points out, the translation of the *One Thousand and One Nights*, which became very popular in the West (unlike the Arab world, where the stories were seen as lacking educational and literary value, as they were narrated in the spoken language, despised in the intellectual circles), represents in fact a manipulation and adaptation of the original text, in order to meet the Western fantasy about the East. Therefore, the translations of the *One Thousand and One Nights* have created a certain horizon of expectations, which continues to influence the success of all other literary works translated from Arabic (Anghelescu 2004: 10-13).

The perception of the East is often inculcated in the Western readers' minds by words and expressions that are not translated. Although it is natural that, due to cultural differences, some Arabic words are difficult or impossible to translate

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into European languages, there is an obvious tendency to keep Arabic words in the translation with no other purpose except the intent to make the text seem more exotic, interesting and mysterious.

In the article *Is Yā Māl al-Shām Untranslatable? On Conveying a Treasury of Arab Culture in English*, Kilpatrick (2000) discusses the problems raised by the translation of literary works from Arabic. She starts from the assumption that some translations are "more impossible" than others (p.436). The translator has to perceive all the different nuances meant by the author to create a similar effect in the translation, and to predict the linguistic, cultural and imaginative potential of the target readers. She points out that even people from completely different cultural settings share some common human experiences that help them understand the realities of other cultures. Kilpatrick advocates for the flow of the translation, with a minimum of footnotes (that may influence the reading experience in a negative way), accompanied by a glossary that provides the necessary information for the readers who are not acquainted with the other culture, without disrupting those who are familiar to the cultural differences in question (Kilpatrick: 431-433).

4. The language of Mahfouz's *Trilogy*

Our analysis is based on the corpus represented by N. Mahfouz's *Trilogy* (*Bayna el-Qasrein*, *Qasr eş-Şawq* and *Es-Sukkariyya*); the three novels depict a detailed and complex picture of the Egyptian political, social and cultural life in the first half of the 20th century. Therefore, the novels offer a complete image of the social dynamics and interpersonal relations between people from various social and cultural backgrounds of contemporary Egypt.

We briefly mention here an important and defining characteristic of the Arabic speaking world, namely diglossia, the coexistence of two forms of the language: alongside written literary Arabic, the language of the Koran and classical literature, used in the official mass communication, education, administration etc., which is the prestigious, high variety of the language, there exists the spoken language, the dialects used in everyday communication and any informal setting in every Arab country, which represent the low variety. The two are part of a continuum, consisting of an indefinite number of language varieties, ranging from the "lowest" dialectal forms to the purest literary language.

Some Arab writers tried to include the spoken language in their literary works, an attempt that has not proven to be very successful so far. Other writers and Mahfouz is included in this category, have attempted to suggest the spoken language by using different textual markers in the dialogues of their characters. From this point of view, the language in N. Mahfouz's novels is characterized by the authentic, oral style that he succeeds to infuse into the literary language. This

also makes it difficult for the translator, who must take into account the different language registers suggested by the various textual markers.

Thus, although it offers an accurate image of the real social interactions, it is important to note that Mahfouz's dialogues do not represent in fact the actual manner of speaking. The forms of address found in the *Trilogy* are a mixture of literary terms and adapted dialectal words. In an interview taken by Nicolae Dobrișan in 1971, Mahfouz explains his attitude towards literary Arabic and the role of the dialect in his prose:

> I have always been devoted to the literary language, *al-fusha*, but I adapted it according to the requirements of the novel, trying to shape it in such a way as to correspond to the modern and everyday needs, to be accessible both to the intellectual and the average reader with a minimum level of culture (...) The compromise, if I can call it that, was in favour of the literary language" (Dobrișan 1971: 20)

Because of this "adjustment" of the literary Arabic, the language of the *Trilogy* is closer to the authentic Cairote speech. The rhythm of the real language and the orality are conveyed, especially in dialogues, through the use of syntactic structures characteristic to the spoken language. As Somekh (1973: 134) points out, Mahfouz excelled in giving the impression that we are dealing with the spoken language, and not the literary one.

The address forms also play an important role in creating the feeling of authentic spoken language. The use of dialectal words that are not found in the literary language such as *nina*, referring to the mother or the mother-in-law, or *tiza* "aunt", or loanwords, such as the Turkish *hanem* "lady" have an important contribution in rendering the spoken language impression.

5. Address forms in N. Mahfouz's *Trilogy*

This section consists of a detailed analysis of the address forms found in the three novels, which shall be discussed according to several criteria: the relations between interlocutors, the level of intimacy, age, position in the social hierarchy, the feelings and emotional state of the speakers, the context of communication (formal or informal). We identify two main categories: kinship terms and titles (courtesy titles, occupational terms etc.)

5.1. Address forms referring to family relations

Kinship terms are expressed by a noun indicating the relation, usually preceded by the vocative particle *yā* and the possessive pronoun in the 1st person singular *ī* (*yā ʾābī* "my father", *yā ʿammī*, "my uncle" etc.). They are usually used

literally, and sometimes also figuratively, when addressing friends, acquaintances or strangers.

There are three address terms for "father" in our corpus: *'ābī* "my father", "dad", "daddy", *bābā* „father", "papa" and *wālidī* "my father". Out of the total of 37 occurrences, *'ābī* is used for 11 times, and *wālidī* for only 2 times. The most frequent among these is *bābā,* with 24 occurrences.

Every time the terms mentioned above are translated into Romanian with the word *tată* "father". It is important to mention here that the 3 Arabic forms belong to different registers of the language. *Bābā* is not a literary word, even though it is used throughout the Arabic speaking world, and is specific to the colloquial communication between family members. The use of *bābā* illustrates Mahfouz's intention to make the dialogues seem more authentic.

The forms *'ābī* and *wālidī* are both literary and specific to the formal manner of address. The distinction cannot be expressed in Romanian, as it illustrates a linguistic situation that is specific to the Arabic speaking world; therefore the translator provides one equivalent for the three words: *tată* "father". Another possible strategy, where the context allows it, could be the translation of *'ābī* şi *wālidī* with the word *tată* "father" (more formal), and the translation of *bābā* with *tati/tăticule* – "dad", "daddy" (informal, familiar).

When addressing one's mother, the terms that are used are *'umī* "my mother", *'umāh* "mother", *nīna* "mother" (dialectal) or *māmā* "mother" (colloquial). As to frequency, the most common of these is *nīna* (25 occurrences), followed by *'umī* (7 occurrences), then *'umāh* (4 occurrences) and *māmā* (3 occurrences).

The 3 forms *'umī*, *'umāh* and *māmā* are translated into Romanian with the word *mamă* "mother". The form *nīna* is also translated most often with *mamă* "mother" (19 times), but in 6 cases it is not translated and the original form is kept in the Romanian text, transliterated *nina*. In these cases, the translator provides a footnote, explaining that *nina* is a word in the colloquial spoken in Egypt, meaning "mother" (Dobrişan 1984: 179).

Unlike *bābā* or *māmā*, colloquial words used by all speakers of Arabic, the term *nīna* is specific to the Egyptian dialect, and is meant to bring additional local flavor and authenticity to the text. By not turning it into Romanian in some cases, the cultural individuality of the original text is kept unaltered. This situation makes it difficult for the translators to choose between different, and sometimes opposite, translation strategies of culture-specific terms. They may choose to adapt these words to the target language thus maintaining the affective, expressive force of the word in the original language. However, some argue that this strategy is detrimental to the cultural identity of the translated text. On the other hand, if

the word is not translated and thus the cultural specificity is preserved, the emotional force of the word may be lost.

Sons are addressed using the form *'ibnī* "my son" (5 occurrences) or, more frequently, the diminutive form of *'ibn* "son", namely *bunayya* (23 instances). The term *'ibnī* is translated into Romanian as *copilul meu* "my child", *fiul meu* "my son" or *băiete* "boy". Every time this address form is employed, it is used literally by the parent of the addressee.

The case of the diminutive *bunayya* is somehow different. This word was translated in 7 different ways, and only 2 of them are diminutives. Most often, the term *bunayya* is translated into Romanian with the word *fiule* "son" (7 instances). In two of these cases, the term is used figuratively, as an expression of affection. In 5 instances the diminutive *bunayya* was translated into Romanian as *copilul meu* "my child" and in each case it was used by parents when addressing their children. In 4 instances, when it was also used literally, it was translated with *fiul meu* "my son", in 2 cases with *băiete* "boy" (in one of these situations, it was used ironically by the older sister). Less frequent are the equivalents *băiatul meu* "my boy" and the diminutives *băieţaş* "little boy", with one occurrence each. The strategies adopted by the translator take into consideration the connotations of the original texts (affection, irony), without resorting to the literal translation of the Arabic diminutive, but selecting the Romanian address forms that have the same pragmatic function.

As to daughters and, by extension, to daughters-in-law, the forms of address used in the novels are *'ibnatī* "my daughter" (4 occurrences), *bintī* "my daughter"/"my girl" (2 occurrences), or the diminutive form of the word *bint* "girl" - *bunayyat* "little girl" (3 occurrences). In most cases, these forms of address are translated into Romanian with the appellative *fata mea* "my girl". The form *'ibnatī* is translated once as *fiica mea* "my daughter" and *bunayyat* is also translated once with the Romanian diminutive *fetiţa mea* "my little girl".

When used literally, the forms of address *'ahī* "my brother" and *'uhtī* "my sister" do not raise any difficulties in translation. But these terms are also frequently used in Arabic with a religious connotation, a function they do not have in Romanian. The translator maintains in these circumstances the literal translation *frate* "brother", respectively *soră* "sister". Another figurative use of the address terms *'ahī* and *'uhtī* in the novels is meant to suggest the interlocutors familiarity to one another; the Romanian equivalents, *frate* "brother" and *soră* "sister" have similar pragmatic functions within the Romanian system of address.

The dialectal word *`abla* is used by children when they address an older sister and by extension other elderly women, in order to convey respect. The translator chose to keep the word in its original form transliterating it (*'abla*) and

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explaining in a note that it is used by children in reference to older sisters and other women in the family (Dobrișan 1987: 49).

In regard to uncles and aunts, Arabic distinguishes between the maternal uncle *hāl* and aunt *hālat* and the paternal uncle ‘*amm* and aunt ‘*ammat*. Like English, Romanian does not have different forms for these, so the translator will translate both *hāl* and ‘*amm* with the word "uncle", and respectively *hālat* and ‘*ammat* with the word "aunt". However, the context may sometimes generate confusions if the two are not differentiated, especially taking into account the cultural significances associated with these terms. In Arabic communities, where the system of family relations is extremely important and complex, there are different types of relations between relatives on the father's side, respectively on the mother's side. In situations where this particular socio-cultural perception of family relations is important in the context, the translation proves to be difficult, and the translator may consider adding explanatory notes.

The address form *hālī* "my uncle" has 6 occurrences in our corpus, and is used only literally; it is translated every time into Romanian as *unchiule* "uncle", without any explanation regarding the fact that the Arabic term refers to the maternal uncle.

Unlike *hāl*, the term ‘*amm* is used both literally and figuratively. When the term is used in a figurative way, for example when a young man speaks to his brother, the Romanian translator prefers the term *frate* "brother". In one instance, the term ‘*amm* is accompanied by a name and becomes a title of courtesy – when the employer addresses his employee with *amm Gamil*, kept as such in the Romanian translation. In such cases, the translator introduces a note explaining that *amm* is a term that designates "the paternal uncle, and is used in the colloquial language in Egypt for older – and usually of modest condition – men" (Dobrișan 1989: 7).

With regard to the use of this term in Arab dialects, Dornier (1998: 35) shows that in the Tunisian dialect the term is used figuratively for addressing a man who is older than the speaker, with a modest social status. This strategy conveys the respect granted to older persons due to a psychological role (that of a child or nephew of the interlocutor) and regarding the interlocutor as part of the family. The term can be translated "uncle" in such cases of figurate usage if we take into account the partial loss of its primary semantics and the extension of its pragmatic functions.

The feminine version of ‘*amm* , ‘*ammatī* "my aunt", is translated for 2 times as *tușă* "auntie" and 3 times as *tușică* "auntie", regardless of whether the term is used literally (when the niece addresses her aunt) or figuratively (when a young man addresses an older woman).

The special importance played by family and family relations and the strong interdependence between family members, which is a reflection of another essential cultural characteristic of the Arab communities (the pronounced collectivism), is clearly depicted by the large number of address terms referring to relatives, and the complex implications conveyed by the choice of a certain kinship term.

5.2. Address forms consisting of titles

The terms taken into consideration here are either politeness markers, such as the English "Mister" or "Misses", or terms referring to a person's title, occupation or position.

5.2.1. Courtesy titles

The most frequent polite address form in our corpus is *sayyid* "sir", "mister". Most often, it is preceded by the vocative particle *yā* and the first person singular possessive pronoun – *yā sayyidī* (50 occurrences), or followed by names or other nouns (20 occurrences). The term is particularly interesting, as the Arabic form (سيدي) has two possible readings: *sayyidī*, the literary pronunciation, or *sīdī,* the dialectal one.

In the three novels, the term *sayyidī/ sīdī* is for the most part translated as *stăpâne* "master", especially when used by the wife or the servant when addressing the master of the house, and also when the employee is talking to his employer. In other situations, mostly in conversations between strangers, the preferred translation for *sayyidī/ sīdī* is *domnule* "Sir", "Mr". When it is followed by personal names, the term *sayyid* is translated with *domnule* "Sir", "Mr".

We notice that the translation of the term *sayyid/ sayyidī* in Romanian is not problematic as its usage is most of the times equivalent to the Romanian appellative *domnule* "sir", "mister". When different connotations are implied, the translator finds similar terms in the Romanian address system (*stăpâne* "master").

The word *sī*, the abbreviated form of *sayyid*, is frequently used in the colloquial language and less so in literary texts. In Mahfouz's novels it is always used in a compound, consisting of either *sī* or the first name of the interlocutor (21 occurrences), or of *sī* followed by *as-sayyid* „mister" (12 occurrences). In the first case, the Romanian equivalent is usually the transliteration of the word *sī* followed by the name (for example, *si Kamal*). The translator provides a footnote explaining that *sī* is "a common term of address in the Egyptian dialect, the contracted form of *sayyid*" (Dobrişan 1987: 41). Therefore, this dialectal word does not have an equivalent in Romanian and the translator does not consider it necessary to provide one. However, in 2 instances, *sī* is translated with *domnule*, and once, because of the irony conveyed in the original text, with *jupâne*.

Dornier (1998: 144) points out that the compound address form consisting of *si* and a name suggests a friendly attitude when used between strangers. This term is used, for example, when two people of similar social status are introduced to one another, but also in other situations, regardless of the social status or the age of interlocutors. The translation may differ in such cases, for example, when it is used by the wife addressing her husband, the Romanian word used by the translator is *stăpâne* "master", because of the respect conveyed in the original text by the use of this term.

Another inconvenience is represented by the combined address form of the words *sī* and *sayyid* – *sī as-sayyid*. This compound is translated into Romanian as *si domnule* (*si* and the Romanian word for "mister") in 8 instances, *si stăpâne* (*si* and the Romanian word for "master") in 2 instances, and once as *domnule* "Sir", "Mr". The translator provides an explanation for his choice, showing that *si* is the contracted form of the literary word *sayyid* "mister", used as a common term of address in dialects or preceding the names or Muslim saints or martyrs" (Dobrişan 1989: 25). We should take into consideration the fact that even though both terms (*sī* and *sayyid*) have the same primary meaning, their usage is different, and therefore the translator may decide to choose different translation strategies, according to the context. The literary form, *sayyid,* used mostly in formal situations, is translated into Romanian as *domnule,* depending on the relation between the interlocutors. The contracted, dialectal form however is more difficult to translate, and several strategies are available: the translator may consider using in the target language a dialectal term, a term specific to the colloquial speech, or not to translate the word and keep its original form. Dobrişan opts for the latter, which also solves the problem of the combination of two words with the same meaning.

Another dialectal term of address frequently used in Mahfouz's novels is the contracted form of *sayyidat* "lady" – *sitt*. Usually, it is combined with the first person singular possessive pronoun *sittī* "my lady" – 15 occurrences, or followed by a name or an adjective (8 occurrences).

The translator adopts the same strategy as in the case of *sī,* always keeping the original form of the word, *sitt*. He also provides a footnote, explaining that *sitt* is "the contracted form of *sayyidat* "lady", used in the colloquial speech in Egypt" (Dobrişan 1984: 93) and also "a common term of address for women in different social media in most Arab countries" (Dobrişan 1987: p. 19).

Unlike *sitt*, which is not translated, when this form is combined with the possessive pronoun – *sittī*, it is usually translated as *stăpână* "mistress" (10 occurrences), *doamna mea* "my lady" and once with a repetition *sitti, doamna mea* "*sitti,* my lady". The term *sitt* is usually employed in less formal situations,

for example in conversations between acquaintances, neighbours. It is also the most frequent term of address used by the servant when addressing the lady of the house, suggesting the difference of social status. When the term *sitt* is followed by a name, it implies a higher degree of politeness.

Another courtesy title for women is *hānim.* The translator explains: "The Turkish loanword *hanum* 'lady' entered the colloquial language in Egypt with the forms *hanum* and *hanim.*" (Dobrişan 1984: 30) *Hānim* is used only once by itself; four times it is preceded by a name (according to the word-order in Turkish language) or by a courtesy title (*sitt hānim*). The term is used especially in familiar settings, where there is a high level of intimacy between interlocutors (close friends, relatives). The word is never translated, and transliterated either as *hanem* or *hanum.*

5.2.2. Occupational titles

Another category of titles used in the *Trilogy* is represented by terms referring to the interlocutor's profession or occupation. The most frequent of these is *'ustād* (17 occurrences) which literally means "professor", "master". It is used by itself only in 4 instances, when it is translated either as *maestre* "master" (2 instances), *tinere* "young man" or *băiete* "boy". When followed by a name, *'ustād* is translated in 7 cases *domnul* "Mr.", once *maestre* "master" and five times it is not translated and the original form, transliterated *ustaz*, is kept. The footnote provided by the translator explains that it is a loanword of Persian origin, with the original meaning of "boss", "master"; in the modern language, it means "professor" and in the Egyptian dialect it is particularly used when addressing intellectuals or high-rank officials (Dobrişan 1987: 62).

As suggested by the various translations of the word, *'ustād* has a wide range of uses. In the literal acceptance, it conveys respect for the social and professional status of the interlocutor. When it is used figuratively, the pragmatic function of the term changes completely, and it has ironic connotations.

Another courtesy title borrowed from Turkish and frequently used in the *Trilogy* (14 occurrences) is *'afandi* "sir", "effendi", with a contracted form *fandim;* it can also be accompanied by the first person singular possessive pronoun, *'afandī.* Without the pronoun, *'afandi* has two occurrences and it translated both times with *domnule* "sir"; *fandim* has 4 occurrences, and is translated twice with *domnule* "sir" and twice with *stăpâne* "master".

When it is combined with a name, *'afandi* and its variants (similarly to *hanim*) keep to the topic of Turkish, as they are placed after the name. In all 8 occurrences of this compound address forms, the word *'afandi* is rendered into

Romanian as *efendi*, which is familiar in Romanian since it is borrowed from Turkish.

The 3 forms of this appellative are used among close friends and acquaintances; when it is followed by a name, it is also used as a general address form in conversations with strangers.

A title with only 3 occurrences in the corpus is *mu'allim* (literally "teacher"). It is used by itself or followed by a name, and in all instances it refers to the owner of a bar and brothel. In each case, it is translated in Romanian with the word *jupâne*.

A title with a certain religious inference in the *Trilogy* is *šayh*. In the corpus it is followed every time by the name of the interlocutor; all 10 occurrences refer to the same character, an old man. The translator explains in a footnote that, as a common term, the word *sheikh* (lit. s*haykh*) means 'old man' and originally it denoted the head of a tribe, clan or village; later, it became a courtesy title for theologists or other persons with studies in religious sciences who enjoy a certain prestige due to their age and knowledge (Dobrișan 1984: 42).

The title *šayh* has a feminine counterpart, *šayhat*. The translator explains that this term (transliterated in the Romanian version *şeiha*) is a "title used in Egypt and other Arab countries when addressing particularly pious women" (Dobrișan 1989: 30). In our corpus the title *šayhat* is for the most part used figuratively, ironically, without the religious connotation. It has 3 occurrences, twice in conversations between two sisters and translated *soro* "sister", and once used by the husband when addressing the wife and translated *măi femeie* "woman".

The title *bek* as an address form has only one occurrence in our corpus and is transliterated *bek* in the Romanian version of the novels. Dobrişan explains it in a footnote, alongside the title *pasha*, mentioning that they were both nobility titles during the period when Egypt was part of the Ottoman Empire and during the monarchic regime, adding that today, both have become terms of address in the colloquial language (Dobrişan 1987: 77).

The title *bāša* has 13 occurrences in the *Trilogy*, either by itself, in which case it is translated as *paşă* "pasha", or accompanied by other titles, for example *sa'ādat al-bāša* "Excellency the Pasha" or *ma'ālī al-bāša* "Excellency the Pasha" and is translated either with the word *paşă* "pasha" or *Excelenţă* "Your Excellency". Unlike *bek*, the title *bāša* is never used in a figurative way. It is therefore a courtesy title conveying respect, specific to formal situations, and it emphasizes the difference of social status between interlocutors.

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The courtesy titles that we have analysed in this section convey a general image of the address system in Arabic used in formal situations, where there is either a social distance or a difference of social status between the interlocutors. The translator has to take into consideration not only the different degrees of formality implied by these titles, but also the nuances related to the specific registers of the language. According to these, terms of address with the same basic signification may have different functions that are often difficult or impossible to render in the source-language. In the translations we have examined, there is a clear preference to translate the literary terms with equivalent Romanian forms of address, on one hand, and to keep the dialectal terms in their original form, on the other, thus preserving the cultural identity of the source text.

5.3. Reflections of the social status or setting

As seen in the above description, speakers of Arabic use a wide range of address forms consisting of titles, both in the literary and the colloquial language, which is an indication of the rigidity that characterizes social relations and hierarchies in the Arab world and the importance given to the social status. Individual identity is defined by the position in the society and in relation to the other members of the community. As any other communication strategy, the use of address forms is closely connected to social stratification.

In reference to the terms of address discussed in the previous section, we notice that most of them belong to the colloquial, familiar speech and are meant to express the social distance or to convey respect for one's position in society or within the family in a manner that is not excessively formal. They are either kinship terms, or titles such as the colloquial *sī* "sir", *sitt* "lady", nobility titles borrowed from Turkish, such as *hanum* "lady", *'afandī* "sir", "*effendi*", *bek,* or *'ustād* "professor", *šayh* "şeikh". They usually express a difference in social status or convey respect within a familiar setting – at home, in the family, among neighbours, friends or close acquaintances. For example, the house servant addresses the lady of the house with the colloquial term *sittī* "my lady".

Alongside these colloquial forms, literary terms such as *sayyid* „sir", *sayyidat* „lady", *bāša "*pasha" express a higher degree of formality and respect and are specific to formal situations.

The translation sometimes suggests the difference in social status conveyed by an Arabic term of address by using different equivalents in Romanian. For example, *sayyidī* is translated either as *domnule* "sir", "Mr." when it suggests respect or social distance, or with the word *stăpâne* "master", when there is a clear difference of social status between the speaker and the hearer. It should also be noted that the term *sayyidī* is translated with the Romanian word *stăpâne* when

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the wife adresses her husband, which is a reflection of the traditional status of women in the Egyptian society in particular, and the Arab world in general. Most terms of address referring to women show their inferior status in relation to men. Whereas the husband usually addresses his wife by name, or sometimes even using discourteous terms, the wife always addresses her husband by using respectful titles, such as *sayyidī* "sir". When the husband uses a similar courtesy title (*sitt)*, the context strongly suggests either the ironic usage of the word, or the fact that the husband wants to impose respect.

Another illustration of the women's status in the Egyptian society in particular and the Arab society in general is the lack of feminine occupational titles.

The term *'ustād* translated in the three novels as *domnule* "sir", *maestre* "master", *tinere* "young man" and *băiete* "boy", or kept in its original form and transliterated *ustaz*, also illustrates the interesting dynamics of the social relations and their connection to the address forms system. When the person addressed with the term *'ustād* has an equal or a higher social status than the speaker, the translation is *domnule* „sir" or *maestre* „master". On the other hand, when the status of the speaker is superior, the appellative *'ustād* expresses irony, and is less formal; therefore, the Romanian equivalents are *băiete* "boy" (in a case when the older brother talks to the youngest one), or *tinere* "young man" (in a context when the father talks to his son).

The choice of a certain term of address as well as its translation also depends on the context of the conversation – the setting, the situation of communication, formality/informality etc. For example, the term *šayhat*, which is the feminine counterpart of the religious title *šayh*, usually designates a pious woman. However, in some informal conversations it lacks the religious connotations and is used figuratively, ironically, as in a conversation between two sisters (when it is translated in Romanian with the address form *soro* "sister"), or when the husband talks to his wife (translated as *măi femeie* "woman")

6. Some observations regarding the terms of address that are not translated in Romanian

As shown above, some of the address forms present in the Trilogy are not translated in the Romanian version of the novels, where their original form is maintained and transliterated.

A first observation that can be made is that many of these term are dialectal, either specific to the Egyptian colloquial (*sitt, sitti, abla*, *nina* etc.) or borrowed from Turkish (*hanem)*. The choice of not translating such terms may be seen as a

strategy meant to preserve the cultural identity of the text. In some cases (for example, `abla`, discussed in section 5.1), besides the wish to add local flavour to the text, the reason for not translating may also be the lack of a Romanian equivalent with the same connotations as the Arabic term.

For instance, the word *si* is not translated for most of the cases. Sometimes, this may be explained by the fact that it appears together with a synonym (*sayyid*); the repetition cannot be rendered adequately in Romanian, even though both terms are easily translatable. The translator therefore chooses to keep the first element in its original form, and to translate the second one: *si domnule* "si sir". The word *sitt* represents a similar example: it is not translated except for the cases where the context suggests an additional meaning conveyed by this term.

As for terms as **'***amm* "uncle" and "*ustād"* "professor", the instances where they are not translated illustrate the use of the word in a figurative way. For example, the term **'***amm* is not translated when it is used in reference to an older man, of modest condition. For the word *'ustād* (discussed in 5.2.2 above), it is difficult to determine a clear distinction between the contexts in which it is translated in the Romanian version, and the ones where it is not. However, all instances where *'ustād* is not translated (transliterated *ustaz*) illustrate a figurate use of the word.

Concluding remarks

This analysis sheds light on the close connections between the address forms system in Arabic and the general strategies of verbal communication and politeness in this language. The importance of family relations, of the social position within the community, the status of women, the respect shown for older or educated persons in the Arab speaking communities are all clearly reflected in the usage of address forms in this language and its spoken varieties. In reference to translation, we mention the multiple possibilities of translating the same Arabic term into Romanian, depending on the pragmatic force conveyed in the original. The problem of cultural or linguistic untranslatability is another important aspect forcing the translator to choose between different strategies (finding an equivalent in the target language or not to translate the culturally-loaded words), each with its own advantages and disadvantages.

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CONCEPTS OF "NAZAR" AND "RU'AYAH" IN THE WORKS OF NIFFARY

Ruzana Pskhu
Russian Peoples' Friendship University, Moscow

The strangest figure of the history of Sufi literature, Muhammad Ben Abd al-Jabbar al-Niffary (d. 965), is a 'scientific puzzle' for any researcher, who investigates his written heritage. And we have at least two reasons to consider him as a 'scientific mystery'. One of them is the fact that we haven't any information about his life, teachers, disciples, relatives, family etc. All Sufi authors like al-Qalabazi, al-Makki, al-Tusi, al-Sulami, al-Qushairy etc., don't even mention the name 'al-Niffary' in their works about Sufism. Some authors suppose that this ignorance of al-Niffary in the history of Sufi literature was caused by the torture of al-Hallaj, which had made al-Niffary to guard himself from any possibility to follow the tragic destiny of al-Hallaj (Al-Yusef 2004:19-20): he consciously escaped from any possibility to be known or to be famous in Sufi circles. Another reason is that al-Niffary's works are written in the difficult style, his texts are filled by numerous allusions, various contradictions and vague images, which in their turn don't allow any reader to systemize his ideas or to understand with clearness the things, expressed by his language. As it is known, al-Niffary's written heritage concludes several very small unedited treatises and two vast works[1], which were edited and translated for the first time in 1935 by A.Arberry (1905-1969)[2]. These texts are very similar in their structure, style and strong expressiveness. The dialogues between the God and the mystic, presented in these works, are devoted to explaining the path to the God and the God himself explain to the mystic the divine meaning of the stayings, which are denoted by different terms. In al-Niffary's dialogues there are two voices. Sometimes it becomes difficult to know who is speaking to whom, and identities seem to shift at the center of the standing (Sells 1996:283). The paradoxicality of the phrases used by him to express his thoughts completely disorients the reader in his attempts to

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[1] "*Kitab al-mawaqif*" or "the Book of spiritual stayings", and "*Kitab al-mukhatabat*" or "The Book of spiritual addresses".

[2] The Mawaqif and Mukhatabat of Muhammad Ibn Abdi l-Jabbar al-Niffari with other fragments. Ed. for the first time, with translation, commentary, and indices, by Arthur John Arberry, M.A. London. 1935. The second and third editions in 1978 and 1987. There are also French translations of these texts: "Le Livre des Stations" par Maati Kabbal, 1989; "Les Haltes d'Al Niffari" par Sami Ali, 1995, 2007; "Le Livre des Haltes" par M.Lagarde, 2002.

understand and reconstruct the logic structure of al-Niffary's doctrine. Contrast of meanings, contradictory of thought, which turns to meaning, opposite just expressed, deprives the reader of hope to reconstruct al-Niffary's doctrine. The only thing, which al-Niffary grants to his reader, is possibility to follow the process of his thinking or precisely to watch the process of the language game which is developing in his face on the pages of the work. The only thing that we can say with sureness is that al-Niffary's "*Kitab al-mawaqif*" is constructed on effect of unexpectedness: the reader is in stressful situation of a never-ending paradoxicality and places absurdity. There, where the God gives to the mystic a certain prescription, always, as a rule, it is necessary to expect an opposite prescription (Pskhu 2011:214).

The common place of all al-Niffary's works investigations is mention about the complexity and symbolism al-Niffary's language. In fact, everyone, who read al-Niffary in original, knows how it is difficult to translate him from Arabic. The frameworks of usual representations, concepts and language possibilities of the reader during his conceiving al-Niffary's phrases should be broken. And it means that any attempts to pleasure the God by following to any "system" or to a certain way in search of His achievement are useless until they are based on confidence of the person that he is able to save himself. Value of such efforts is equal to zero - that can give them the importance, consists only in force of their attracting to the God. It is possible to say that the only thing that remains to the person on his path to God is a seeking, which will be his path. In other words, the knowledge which is found by the mystic in dialogues with the God, means comprehension of that all depends on will of the God. And in this situation of comprehension of extreme dependence on the God, the only thing that remains to the mystic is to hope for favour of the God, being entirely given on His will (Pskhu 2011:215). The semantic fullness of the text, its sophisticated language form and polyphony are transportable to other language with great difficulty. This language symbolicalness demonstrates impossibility to express in language the human soul communication with God. Diversity of the poetical expressions and images of al-Niffary points at logical impossibility of verbal expression of communication mystery with the Supreme Entity. The semantic polysemy of this text gives to the reader and to the researcher a wide field for interpretation: one phrase of al-Niffary can generate two or three interpretations clearing it. I think that this very rich allegorical potential of the text is extremely dangerous to scientific research under conditions when the researcher hasn't one of any means usual for any historian of philosophy such as information about ideas of predecessors or followers, historic and cultural influence on the intellectual evolution of the mystic, his own explaining his worldview etc. But all this as it has been told above exceeds possibilities of any researcher who took the

trouble to translate and study of al-Niffary's mystical heritage. He has only to deal with the text, more precisely, with language by which al-Niffary expressed his individual spiritual experience of communication with the God.

These important features of Niffary's style cause its semi-poetical/semi-prose character (Al-Yusef 2004:6). In fact the prose of al-Niffary was transformed by him into poetry and at the same time the text is staying on moment between poetry and prose and this moment is kept by the wonderful mystic power of author.

Then if we try to reveal the possible sources of influence on al-Niffary's texts, we will see that these sources maybe are very different and various, and in the last count we cannot say with sureness that it is precisely these sources, which really made true influence on Niffary's mode of thinking. Place of Niffary's birth, which was named as Niffar or Nippur and was situated on the bank of river Firat, was famous by its cross-cultural atmosphere, which certainly could influence on the contradictional and controversial character of al-Niffary's texts. More over we can agree with assumption that the heritage of al-Niffary is not Arabic in its roots (Al-Yusef 2004:22), being a result of mixture of Arabic culture and non-Arabic cultural traditions like Iranian or Indian (Al-Yusef 2004:23). In fact al-Niffary cites a little the Quranic text (only 3-4 citations) and doesn't cite at all the text of al-Hadiths. Traditional Sufi terms and images like "Lover", "Beloved", "Unity" etc. are not used by al-Niffary as technical terms: he prefers another category of terms like "vision"[3], "otherness", "staying" etc. Nevertheless it is evident also that the background and atmosphere of al-Niffary's texts are Islamic, though they can be influenced by other cultural traditions. But I suppose that we haven't sufficient and valid methods to investigate this question of external influence of non-Arabic cultures in the texts of al-Niffary: we have only a possibility to create some assumptions that can make interesting our investigation of these texts, but these assumptions will never have s scientific character, which will be proved by facts.

So we have only Niffary's language and this language is only fact, which can be investigated by philological methods of interpretations and understanding of al-Niffary's mode of thinking. The terminology of al-Niffary, as we said above, is very specific and original. The terms 'waqfa" (staying), "nazar" (look), "ru'ayah" (vision) etc. have their specific significance and if one wants to understand them, he should plunge the text, investigating it from different sides. The most interesting term, which is very significant for al-Niffary and which occurs very often in his texts, is the term "ru'ayah" or "vision". But it's very

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[3] The term "vision" (ru'ayah) is compared by Al-Yusef with Buddhist term "enlightenment" (Al-Yusef 2004:25) and al-Niffary denotes by this word (ru'ayah) the third stage on the way towards to the God after knowledge ('ilm) and mystical knowledge (ma'rifah).

interesting that one Niffary's unedited treatise [4] is based on the similar term "nazar" or "look", which in fact is radically different from the term "ru'ayah". This very small treatise is devoted to the theme of Divine Love and was very deeply analyzed by Paul Nwyia in his article "Niffari et l'amour-nazar" (Nwyia 1974). In the introductory words of his article Nwyia says, that first of all the title of this text of al-Niffary reflects the specific feature of Niffary's manner of writing, which can be denoted by the word "gharīb", i.e. "strange", and we should be ready, says Nwyia, to find in this text the strange understanding of Love, which is totally different from any other Sufi concept of Love. It doesn't mean that al-Niffary is a bad Sufi or he isn't a Sufi - in fact he is a different or unordinary Sufi, but he is a Sufi *par excellence*. This strangeness is a result of his manner to develop his thought: al-Niffary only touches the things, the ideas, but never dwells on them (Nwyia 1974:191). He never goes into details on the problems, which are touched by him, and this method is allowing to a reader to conjecture the core of the dialogue with God by himself. The structure of this treatise is very simple and concludes three parts: 'Introduction', 'Questions' and 'Answers'. In the 'Introduction' God addresses to the human being (which is personified in al-Niffary and which is addressed as "ayyatuha al-bunya") and then after series of question He displays His answers on the questions. These answers present the principal part of the text and contain developing of al-Niffary's dialectics of Love-'nazar'. The introduction of the treatise doesn't contain an idea of "nazar". The Love is considered here only as a judgment between lover and beloved (hukm baina al-muhibb wa-l-mahbub), which can transformed into a conflict between them. "The beloved submits to the judgments of the lover until the beloved fall in love with the lover. But when the beloved fell in love with his lover, he takes the judgments of his lover in respect of him". Till the beloved is an object of love, he takes passively the judgments of the lover, but if he transformed from the object of love into the subject of love, then the judgments, which he had in regard of the relationship "lover-beloved", will conflict with his own judgments "beloved-lover". The conflict is possible only if the beloved fell in love with the lover, affirms al-Niffary, because at the beginning, when the lover is only seeking the beloved, the last accept this search from the side of the lover, and this search is a seeking of the beloved by himself. But when the beloved fell in love with the lover, the last enjoys by the search, not by the beloved, and it is a cause of losing of sincerity of the love. That's why there occurs a conflict between the beloved and the lover. (Nwyia 1974:192-193). The look of the lover during of his search of the beloved is a difference between them, till both of them become at the same

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[4] The full title of this treatise is denoted in different manuscripts as "Wa min khasā'is kalāmihi al-gharīb fī-l-mahabba" (Nwyia 1974:191).

time an object and a subject of the love. And this mutuality of the love makes possible a dialectics of "nazar" or the look of 'vis-à-vis'. Then al-Niffary presents God's sayings about developing of the love and in the centre of the God's speech there are two terms: "look" (nazar) and "looking aside" (ghadd an-nazar). It is very important that the author of the text, according al-Niffary, is God, not al-Niffary by himself and in the last count it is God, who is the Beloved and the Lover at the same time. Al-Niffary gives a very deep analysis of dialectics of love looking, its results in the lover's being and in the being of the beloved, but it's more interesting his analysis of the reasons of looking aside of this love looking. This analysis shed the light on the relationship between God and human being. In fact why the lover can look aside his beloved? And what is a result of this looking aside in regards of the beloved and the lover? There are two answers on these two questions: firstly, the lover looks aside, because he is filled by the beloved and confused by his look, the lover is too weak to bear it and he continues to seek the beloved and finds a pleasure in this seeking. The beloved in his turn is afraid that the lover can negate his judgments of love, that's why he looks aside, though in reality he concentrates himself on the lover (Nwyia 1974:195). The lover sees this looking aside of his beloved and guess that the feeling of beloved is changed and he in his turn begins to feel a dread and turn his look on another object. Thus there is a rupture between the lover and beloved (it will last as long as the beloved doesn't take the initiative in renewal of their relationship). This analysis shows that the beloved is an object of love, but he is a subject of dynamics of this love, because it is he, who prepares all conditions for nearness with the lover.

At the end of the dialogue God said to al-Niffary very important words: "One, who characterizes me, is situated on the side of solitude, but who characterizes you, is situated on the side of choosen-ness". Actually God is alone and He should be loved and the human being is a lover, but instead of striving to God, he is striving to cover his experience of love by his looking. The human being looks God, but then looks aside Him, looking for His reward for this love, and it occurs cause of judgment of his knowledge about God, not of judgment of his feeling of love. That's why, says God, you are confused, but you don't loathe My reward. But it is a way, which leads to a deadlock, this way can lead a human being only to himself, because the real Path to the God needs sincerity (ikhlās) of lover, which strives to the Beloved not His reward. But even the looks of both (Beloved and lover) meet, the judgments of this meeting of eyes cannot be revealed by human nature – it is a gift of judgments of the inexpressible mystery (Nwyia 1974:196-197).

According to al-Niffary the vision (ru'ayah) is a final goal of a soul, because a human being can overcome his human nature limits only by means of vision of God. There are two paragraphs in al-Niffary's "*Kitab al-mawaqif*",

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devoted to theme of vision in the dialogue between God and al-Niffary. The first is named as "Mawqif of the veil of vision" (№ 29) and the second is "Mawqif of His vision" (№ 58). There is no doubt that across the text of "*Kitab al-mawaqif*" there are many fragments, "specialized" in the theme of vision, but these two paragraphs are key-passages for understanding of Niffary's idea of vision. The main positions of the 29 mawqif (*"The Veil of Vision"*) are following:

1) The veil of vision is one, but the causes through which it occurs are diverse, and these are various veils. In this sense ignorance and knowledge are the veils of vision, but who knows the veil, is near to the unveiling.

2) In the vision of God there is neither property nor interest; if one possesses property, God belongs not to him, nor he to God.

3) Vision isn't recollection and one who sees God, cannot inform about God;

4) Vision reveals vision, and makes absent from that which is other than vision; science is not in vision; if one sees absent with the eye of vision, he sees the association of decease and remedy, and His right perishes and he departs from God's servanthood;

5) God's vision neither commands nor forbids: His absence both commands and forbids (al-Niffary 1935:65-66).

As we can see in this mawqif al-Niffary describes the situations, which make the vision of God impossible. Vision is possible only in act of vision, in other words during the pure action of vision of God, which is absolute concentration of human attention on God and synchronous awareness that he is standing before Him without any capacities to describe or to know or compare Him by means of anything. This vision is only contemplation of God and during of the process of contemplation he doesn't need any prescription or prohibition. The contemplation of God is more than enough for a human being, who was blessed by God to this vision.

In the 58 mawqif, which is describing God's vision, al-Niffary try to express the process of unveiling of the vision of God and its consequences for the human consciousness. "My Lord has made Himself known unto me with a revelation in which He caused me to witness the manifestation of everything from Him. I abode in this vision, which is the vision of the manifestation of things from Him: but I had not the power to continue in a vision proceeding from Him… Then came to me ignorance and all that it contains… My Lord restored me to His vision; and my knowledge remained in His vision, and He did not expel it, until there remained to me no knowledge of any known thing. He showed me in His vision that that knowledge is manifested by Him, that He made it a knowledge, and that He made for me a thing known… I saw the He: and lo, there was no 'He'

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save He; for that 'He' which is other than He is not He". (al-Niffary 1935:100). It's very important that the vision of God is a result of God's self-revelation to a human soul: a human being in this case is only passive object of God's attention and he cannot see God by his own power of vision. Moreover all knowledge are disappeared in God's vision. The human being begins to see God with God's help and sees Him in everything. The next words of al-Niffary evolve this idea: "And He said me: If anything occurs to thy heart apart from Me, seek not indications of things, or of the authority of one thing over another; for things come back to thee in presenting themselves, while the thing that is presented to thee from beyond things comes back to thee in the time of temptation. But seek indications unto Me of my sign for the sake of its reality, which is my Self-revelation to thee… My sign is everything, and my sign is in everything: and all signs of thing proceed in the heart like proceeding of the thing of itself. At one time they appear, and at another they are veiled: they are diverse on account of the diversity of things. For so are things diverse, and so are their signs diverse: for things are in motion, for their signs are in motion. Thou art also diverse, for diversity is thy quality. But thou that art diverse, seek no indication of that which is diverse: for when it indicates for thee, it joins thee unto thyself in one respect; and when it does not indicate for thee, thou art torn asunder by thy diversity in all respects". (al-Niffary 1935:100-101). This text expresses one very important demand – demand of unity which is constructed by dual intention of human being. On one hand he should see in the diversity of the world indications and signs of one God, but on the other hand he should narrow his diversity of his human nature to himself. And if he creates in his consciousness these two points: one of them is God and the other is himself – then we can say about possibility of meeting and unity with God, then 'nazar' or looking is possible. And as we can conclude, hierarchy of these two similar concepts of al-Niffary - 'nazar' and 'ru'yah' – has following form: on one hand 'nazar' is only a preparation for 'ru'yah', but at the same time on the other hand 'nazar' can be regarded as the fullest realization of 'ru'yah', because as al-Niffary says, the final result of "fulfilled" 'nazar' is inexpressible mystery of Love, which, I dare say, can be described by terms of 'ru'ayah'.

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SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE CONCEPT OF *MUWĀṬANA*

Laura Sitaru
University of Bucharest

Citizenship is a necessary fiction with variable content[1].

Abstract
Discussions about the concept of *muwāṭana*, which concerns to a significant extent political thought in the Arab World, place themselves in a common paradigm, if we take into consideration the evolvement of similar concepts, borrowed or translated from Western culture. Thus, there are two main paradigms of interpretation and reporting to the new cultural acquisitions: on the one hand, the attempt to demonstrate that, although under a different semantic wrapper, the previously mentioned reality is present in the Arab-Islamic culture; on the other hand, the term's absolute novelty in lexical, historical and semantic terms for the culture of this area. However, we can easily recognize the two paradigms of interpretation, the universalistic one, with supporters in Arabic expression world, along with the one of cultural specificity, which has found an important representative in Bernard Lewis and others Western intellectuals.
Key words: *citizenship*, *al-muwatana*, *Muslim identity*

I. Introduction

For this analysis, I worked on set texts which reflect both positions, and this is the point where I would like to mention texts of Muhammad Arkūn, *Al-Fikru al-Islāmiyyu*: *qirā'at^{un} 'ilmiyyat^{un}* (Islamic thinking: a secular reading), but also on other comments the Algerian author has had on several occasions in relation to this subject; we also relied on texts of Moroccan author Muhammad 'Ābid al-Ǧābirī with *Al-'Aqlu s-siyāsiyu l-'arabiyyu* (Arab political thought) and a series of articles on the same topic, published in the Arab press of opinion. In addition, several other authors considered minor when compared to the two above-mentioned names, but whose views on the subject we consider at least as interesting, and who will be mentioned along the way.

I would like to start with a question which triggered the present analysis. What does the *muwāṭana* term bring new, in other words, why is it necessary in semantic terms and its equivalence in political practice in Arab-Islamic World, as long as it already exists the more functional term *ǧinsiyyia*, translated by the most important dictionaries as "nationality". At terminological level another questions

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[1] Abdelkader Belbahri. 2008. *Les enjeux de la reconnaissance des minorités. Les figures du respect*. Paris: L'Harmattan, p. 19

arises: what is the name of the bearer of *ǧinsiyyia*? *al-muwāṭin*? Dictionaries[2] establish as equivalents *al-muwāṭin* and 'citizen' (Wehr), 'citoyen' or 'compatriote' (Larousse) while *al-muwāṭinūna* are those who share a common *ǧinsiyya*. The novelty of the term *muwāṭana* is also proven by its absence from a series of bilingual dictionaries: Hans Wehr does not even note the third form of the verb *waṭana, yaṭinu* (to sit, to live a place), whereas the active participle *muwāṭin* is mentioned. *Al-Manhal* (French-Arabic dictionary) under 'citoyenneté' marks the equivalent *muwāṭiniyya* explained as *ṣifatu l-muwāṭini* (characteristic of being a citizen). Larousse (1999 edition) records the third form of the root of the verb *wāṭana, yuwāṭinu* with the meaning 'partager la même patrie', 'être concitoyen de', whereas for 'citoyenneté' uses the same vocable *muwāṭiniyya*. Unlike earlier dictionaries, Larousse also records the form *muwāṭana* not as isolated but as part of the expression *ḥaqqu l-muwāṭanati*, equated with 'droit de cité'.

Starting from this linguistic reality, rather characterized by terminological confusion[3], I have tried to determine by directly observing in texts of Arab authors the meaning which is commonly assigned to vocable *muwāṭana*, given its today frequent use (on one of the most accessed search engines *muwāṭana* has more than four and a half million entries).

II. *Muwāṭana* have no connection with *waṭan*

In most texts, authors feel the need to explain the history of this term, or, more exactly, its Western history, most of them failing to find an equivalent in the history of Arab political thought, but presenting it as a goal for each and every society which envisages itself governed by democracy. One of the most vehement explanations, based on denying any possible Arab or Islamic paternity of *muwāṭana* belongs to Muhammad ʿĀbid al-Ǧābirī: 'it won`t be easy at all to convince the Arabs that *muwāṭin* and *muwāṭana* have no connection with *waṭan* and that they are nothing but lexical inventions meant to equate and explain the terms 'citoyen' and 'citoyenneté' or *citizen* and *citizenship* in Western culture', says Moroccan professor and philosopher[4]. Those who link the concept of

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[2] *Al- Manhal* (Dictionnaire français - arabe), 2000, Dār al-Adāb, Beyrouth ; *As-sabīl al-wasīṭ*, 1999, *Dictionnaire arabe-français* (rédaction Daniel Reig), Paris : Larousse ; Abdelnour, Jabbour, 1995, *Dictionnaire détaillé français – arabe*, Dar El- Ilm Lilmalayin, Beyrouth ; Wehr, Hans, 1980, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, London : MacDonald & Evans LTD

[3] Azzedine Allam characterize *muwāṭana* as "vague, ambiguous and plurisemantic word, still badly understood in by the Arabs " (Allam, 2005, p. 93)

[4] In the article *Al-Muwāṭinu wa-l muwāṭanatu...'amsi wa-l yawma*, published on 4th March 2008 in www.liberaldemocraticpartyofiraq.com, and consulted on 15th May 2011.

muwāṭana with the vocable *waṭan* are definitely entitled to do that in linguistic terms, considers al-Ğābirī, but they commit a serious cultural and political inaccuracy. It is possible to identify what al- Ğābirī calls a mistake by closely observing the meaning that *citizenship* has in Western political culture.

Therefore, Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy[5] explains the concept of citizenship by relating it to the democratic type of government, in which citizens actively participate in city life, have rights and responsibilities, their relation with the state is a direct one and held at individual level. In the West, the concern for the concept of citizenship has significantly increased, in the nineties, in the sense of its necessary reformulation, considering the increasing internal diversity of Western liberal democracies but also, given the pressure the globalization process began to put on classic territorial state.[6]

Thus, the concept of *citizenship* had to adjust itself to the relation between citizenship and nationality in terms of pluralism manifested on multiple plans. Beyond theoretical trends, that customize the discussion about *citizenship* in Western cultural and political space and that are not covered by the present study, we should mention two features of the concept. I believe these features, although coming from different ideological directions, complement each other in the attempt to define the concept in question. The concept of citizenship encompasses the civil rights that a citizen has within a sovereign state, territorially defined, but, at the same time, the concept has also a psychological dimension, as it provides the citizen with a certain type of identity.[7]

These two elements have particularly drawn our attention, given the multiple definitions they assign to *citizenship,* as we also discover them in the attempts of Arab authors to historically motivate the existence of this concept in the Islamic political thought. On the other hand, there is an increasing appetite in the West for discussing *the postnational citizenship*, concept whose definition renounces the specific values of a nation, in its classical sense, while the citizen-individual has to refer to the universal principles that transcend cultural differences and find other common denominators of identity. For the European Union, beside the national citizenships of the EU members, the European citizenship became lately an issue impossible to avoid. In this context, there are voices claiming that European citizenship "cannot be a simple extension of national citizenship, but it should reaffirms the values and norms of civic

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[5] At section 'Citizenship' published on 13th October 2006 and accessed on 10th May, electronic address: http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/citizenship.

[6] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, p.1

[7] Idem, p. 2.

republicanism" (Skrobacki, 2007: 227-246). We have to take in consideration these attempts in discussing where Western Muslims place themselves inside the Western societies.

Moreover, multicultural citizenship represent a very recurrent idea in the Western debates about the future of this concept. Kymlicka[8], for instance, believes that multicultural citizenship will be more appropriate for a several Western countries whose deepest challenge to their social cohesion comes from their historic national minorities, not their immigrants[9]. Definitely, the concept of citizenship and its meanings in the Western countries[10] face a continuous moving and reformulating content. From now on, reformulations on the concept of citizenship have to take in consideration the reality of immigrants' presence, especially that they seem *have no desire to be dragged into these old battles. Many of them left countries with destabilizing ethnic/sectarian conflicts, and they did not come to Britain to become foot soldiers in someone else's identity conflicts* (Kymlicka, 2011, p.291).

Returning to the Arab authors, who fail to find in Arab-Islamic thought any relevant argument on whose basis Arab society might have developed independently of foreign influences, an equivalent concept for citizenship, we bring into discussion the pair of terms *al-muwāṭana* versus *al-'abawiyya*. In the reading of two of the leading theoreticians of the concept *al-muwāṭana*[11] and the transferring of this concept in Islamic cultural area, the term is defined by a series of conceptual oppositions, meant to clarify its meaning. Therefore, the first opposite relation establishes in relation to *al-'abawiyya*. The existing link between *rabbu l-usrati*, embodying the dominant authority in the family and *at-tiflu l-mahmiyyu* as protected entity, has exceeded the small family frame and has

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[8] Kymlicka, Will. 2011. *Multicultural citizenship within multination states.* In "Ethnicities", 11(3) 281–302, sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav, etn.sagepub.com

[9] *For example, when the 2003 UK Home Office Citizenship Survey asked 'how strongly you belong to Britain', 85.95 per cent of Indians, 86.38 per cent of Pakistanis, and 86.85 per cent of Bangladeshis said that they belong either 'fairly' or 'very' strongly to Britain – numbers that are essentially identical to the 86.7 per cent of whites who said they either fairly or very strongly belong. By contrast, only 8.5 per cent of Catholics in Northern Ireland identify as British (Coakley, 2007). That may be an exceptional case, but Scots too are less likely than immigrants to identify as British – a seemingly stable 33 per cent of Scots reject even a partial British identity* (Kymlicha, 2011, p. 283).

[10] In fact, Romania and other Eastern countries have a very long experience in restructuring the meanings of "citizenship".

[11] Muhammad Arkūn and Muhammad 'Ābid al-Ğābirī

multiplied itself across the whole social structure, providing society with a strong and defining patriarchal character[12].

The patriarchal type of organization is characteristic for the pre-capitalist nature of social relations, representing an organization form historically certified in a particular phase of development of Europe. However, it continues to exist and to regulate social relations in certain cultural areas, starting with the Arab area to the Indian and East-Asian one, with differences from one cultural world to another (Sharabi, 1988, p. 15 -17). A conceptual series, established by reference to modernity, identifies the main categories that form *al-abawiyya*: myth, religion, political organization on vertical direction, the importance of attachment to family and clan, the primate of rhetoric to the detriment of rational analysis (Sharabi, 1988, p. 18).

On the other hand, Muhammad Arkūn argues that in the Western concept of citizenship, *muwāṭana* constitutes itself around the notion *al-fard,* insisting on the role of the individual in his relationship with the state. In Arab-Islamic society, the concept around which social relations are conceived is *al-ğamā'a*, the group outside which the individual is annihilated. Muhammad Arkūn[13] believes that the idea of *ğamā'a* around which the social political organization of the Islamic traditional state is formulated, represents the main obstacle in trying to adopt and, especially understand the concept of *muwāṭana*.

In the texts I have analyzed, *muwāṭana* is most frequently defined through what it does not represent, as it follows: *muwāṭana* is not a simple affiliation to a geographical area, or just a citizenship and a passport; it encompasses a set of values, such as individual freedom, solidarity and civil responsibility. In a paper devoted to this subject, Adnān as-Sayyid Husayn[14] opposes *muwāṭana* to the idea of *fitna ṭā'ifiyya* (sectarian division), asserting that *muwāṭana* is inconsistent with the state of *iḥtilāl* (occupation), which can be achieved in conditions of *siyāda waṭaniyya* (national sovereignty). The conceptual opposition prologues itself to the point of emphasizing the incompatibility between the notions of *muwāṭin* and *muslim.* Thus, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Afindī names one of his papers concerned with this matter *Iʿādatu n-naẓari fī l-mafhūmi t-taqlīdī li-l ğamāʿati fī-l ʾislāmi: muslim^{un} am muwātin^{un}? (Reassessment of the traditional concept of group in Islam: Muslim or Citizen?)*

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[12] According to Abd al-Ghānī al-Azharī in the article *The issue of the concept of muwāṭana in Arab political thought,* published on http://docteurabdelghanielazhari.maktoobblog.com, accessed on 14th May 2011.

[13] According to Muhammad Arkūn, 1992, *Al-Fikru al-Islāmiyyu: qirā'at^{un} 'ilmiyyat^{un} ˑ (Arab thinking: a secular reading) Bayrūt: Markaz dirāsāt al-wahda al-'arabiyya*

[14] in the paper *Al-Muwāṭanatu fī-l waṭani l-'arabī (Citizenship in Arab world),* 2008, Rabat

In close connection to the above opposition, another combination of terms is brought into discussion, in position to explain why, at least for the moment, *muwāṭana* cannot be absorbed and assimilated by the Arab-Islamic political thought. It is the case of the opposition *muwāṭana* versus *'ubūdiyya*, both concepts involving a vertical relation of the individual, in the first case with the state, in terms of rights and responsibilities, with the divine, in the second case, with many more obligations and responsibilities and no rights. *Muwāṭana* is also explained as the opposite of the classical concept of *ra'iyya* who is still the main political perspective on the political participation of the people in the Islamic thought (at least that is what it used to be before the so-called Arab Spring). According to the classical Islamic political view, the *ra'iyya* has one very important duty: not to develop any political or public activity (Allam, 2005, p. 94) and to represent the fundaments the power is built on. However, the negative perspective on the ordinary people (which is also observable in the terminology used in their denomination) was a common reference for the Western civilization until Modern Revolutions. As we know, the Arab vocabulary, in the context of modern political acquisitions, assimilated new concepts and produced new ones. Thus, during this complex process, Western semantic realities were assimilated by Arabic language and created new born social and political situations. Items as "fard" (individual), "nāḫib" (elector), "ša'b" (people), sukkān (inhabitants) introduced other perspectives on the political participation of the ordinary people[15].

III. *Muwāṭana* explained as part of Islamic political thought

National social imaginary, generator of political discourse, brings together ideas, perceptions, interpretations of reality that together form the unity of a national group. Belonging to such a group is a type of *muwāṭana* the most common in the current understanding of the term in Arab World. We observe the contamination with classic definitions of the idea of nation and loyalty to it, such as that of Al-Fārābī, according to whom: 'nation is a group of individuals united by a number of factors, including common language (Zurayq, 1997, p. 54). This way, a semantic overlap takes place, *muwāṭana* being understood as a type of belonging to a previously existing and historically identifiable unity, whether it refers to *waṭan* or *umma* or *ǧamā'a*, so that in Arab world we have *waṭaniyyūna* and *qawmiyyūna* but we cannot have *muwāṭinūna*. [16]

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[15] Cf. Allam, 2005. P. 98. See also Sitaru, Laura. 2009. *Arab Political Thought. Key concepts between tradition and innovation*. Iassy: Polirom
[16] According to Muhammad 'Ābid al-Ǧābirī, work cited.

As with other new borrowed concepts, which I discussed in a previous paper, it is observable for the term *muwāṭan*a also the attempt to identify equivalents, both lexical and especially semantic ones in the history of political experiences in Islamic area. Therefore, according to the parameters required by the Western defining of the concept *al-muwāṭana* is explained by using two essential concepts for Islamic governance (defined this way by classic authors, from Al-Māwardī to Al-Fārābī), *al-ʿadl* și *al-musāwāt*. Beyond discussing the research method used for attempting to define the modern concept by relating it to historical realities of a different nature, the recurrent question in studies about *muwāṭana* comes down to discussing the content of the relation between *al-ḥākim* and *al-maḥkūm* or *ar-rāʿī* and *ar-raʿiyya* of Islam`s classical political theories and the semantic parameters of the modern concept of *muwāṭana*, product of Western modern culture.

Most often explained by the term *al-musāwāt* (equality) the concept of *muwāṭana* draws its ideological essence from the Quranic text, such as convincingly explains Abd al-Ghānī al-Azharī[17] in the first verse of Sura *Women*: 'You, people, fear your Lord, who created you from one soul, of which He also created the pair… (Quran, 4:1). On the other hand, the distantiation from the initial Quranic recommendations during the Omayyad and Abbasid dynasties would have undermined the principle of equality which the early age Islam was built on and it brought to the surface the tribal clashes for supremacy and power. In this way, the relapse in the spirit *ğāhiliyya*, dominated by *ʿašāʾir* și *qabāʾil* gradually excluded the founding concepts *ʿadl* and *musāwāt* from the political organization of the Islamic state, rendering   therefore the ownership and integration of the modern concept of *muwāṭana* particularly difficult.

It seems thus that *muwāṭana*, undoubtedly another type of identity reporting, superior or not to historical ones, but more flexible and sometimes, more comprehensive in the universal validity of the values it promotes, in the world of Arab-Islamic culture has to take the path from different forms of *ğamāʿa* (ethnic, religious) to the notion of *muwāṭin*, translated as *citizen*, (in respect to compliance to a common set of values) and not as *compatriot* (individual sharing a territory with others like him).

In the process of shaping a customized semantic sphere *muwāṭana* results from the analyzed texts as a multiple-semantic concept, built on different moving layers of significance. It was, thus possible to encounter adjacent attributes for the term *muwāṭana*, such as *ʿarabiyya* or *ḫalīğiyya* or *ʿirāqiyya* or even *muwāṭana muqāwima li-l ʾiḥtilāl,* in the particular case of applying the concept to

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[17] In the article *The issue of the concept of muwātana in Arab political thought,* published on http://docteurabdelghanielazhari.maktoobblog.com, accessed on 14th May 2011.

Palestinian Territories. Even if remaining in the sphere of classical identity loyalties, for some of these contextualization of the concept *muwāṭana*, it is still possible to observe a diversification of sources providing identifying criteria, such as the belonging to a privileged economic area *muwāṭana ḫalīğiyya*.

IV. Some final remarks

I believe the difficulty of assimilating the concept of citizenship (*muwāt{ana*?) by Arab-Islamic society is also enhanced (but not entirely) by the fact that, in the West, the notion itself undergoes a process of reevaluation and redefinition. Notions as *European citizenship* or *global citizenship*, both concepts undo the classic contact of the citizen with a certain territory, generally, national one, generates a state of uncertainty including the Western world.

Discussions on *European citizenship* triggered endless debates about the content of idea of European citizen, and especially, about to what extent the Muslims living in Europe can internalize this reality.

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RHYTHMICAL STRUCTURE OF THE CLASSICAL ARABIC VERSE[1]

Paweł Siwiec
Adam Mickiewicz University / Poland
Department of Asian Studies
Section of Arabic and Islamic Studies

For many centuries the rhythm of the classical Arabic verse has been associated mainly with its metrical structure[2]. The present paper, which is a recapitulation of the author's publications in Polish[3], aims to demonstrate that the problem is much more complex and multilevel, and encompasses three classes of factors:

a) Rhythmical constants (determining the rhythm of the verse);

b) Rhythmical tendencies (their frequency, although not constant, is large enough to significantly modify the basic rhythmical structure);

c) Various means of occasional rhythmization (generally limited to a few lines of a given poem).

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[1] The term *classical Arabic verse* signifies here the Arabic stychic lyrical poetry based on the prosodic rules systemized by Al-Ḫalīl Ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d. 791) and it is limited to the poetry composed in the literary Arabic language during the so-called classical period that continued roughly till the beginning of the 15th century.

[2] See for example: Al-Ǧawharī. 1984. *ʿArūḍ al-waraqa*, Ad-Dār al-Bayḍā'; Ibn Ǧinnī. 1972. *Al-ʿArūḍ*, Bayrūt; Aš-Šantarīnī. 1968. *Al-Miʿyār fī 'awzān al-ašʿār wa-al-kāfī fī ʿilm al-qawāfī*. Bayrūt; At-Tabrīzī, al-Ḫaṭīb. n.d. *Al-Kāfī fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ wa-al-qawāfī*. Bayrūt; Az-Zamaḫšarī. 1969. *Al-Qusṭās al-mustaqīm fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ*. Baġdād. See also contemporary publications: Wright, W. 1896-98. *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, vol. 4. *Prosody*. Cambridge; Weil, G. 1958. *Grundriß und System der altarabischen Metren*. Wiesbaden; Anīs, Ibrāhīm. 1972. *Mūsīqā aš-šiʿr*. Bayrūt; Kuryłowicz, J. 1972. *Studies in Semitic Grammar and Metrics*. Wrocław. Kuryłowicz, J. 1987. 'Akcent i iloczas jako czynnik rytmu' *Studia Językoznawcze*. Warszawa. 235-243; Abū Dīb, ʿAbdullah Kamāl. 1974. *Fī al-binya al-īqaʿiyya li-aš-šiʿr al-ʿarabī. Naḥwa badīl ǧiḏrī li-ʿarūḍ al-Ḫalīl wa-muqaddima fī ʿilm al-īqāʿ al-muqārin*. Bayrūt; Goldenberg, Y. 1976. 'La métrique arabe classique et la typologie métrique'. *Revue roumaine linguistique 21*. 85-98; Bohas, G. 1974. 'La métrique arabe classique'. *Linguistics* 140. 59-68; Bohas, G. 1977. 'Unités minimales en métrique arabe'. *Bulletin d'études orientales XXVIII*. 7-17; Abdel-Malek, Zaki N. 1980-1982. 'Towards a new theory of Arabic prosody'. *Al-Lisān al-ʿarabī*, vol. 18, part 1, vol. 19. part 1; Stoetzer, W.F.G.J. 1989. *Theory and Practice in Arabic Metrics*. Leiden; Frolow, D. 1991. *Klassičeskij arabskij stich*. Moscow. A review of the main standpoints and theories, particularly those concerning the question of ictus and stress, was presented by the author of this paper in his *Rytm staroarabskiej kasydy* (2005).

[3] Siwiec, P. 2005. *Rytm staroarabskiej kasydy*. Kraków; Siwiec, P. 2008. *Zarys poetyki klasycznego wiersza arabskiego*. Kraków; Siwiec, P. 2007. 'Kilka nowych uwag na temat akcentu wyrazowego w klasycznym języku arabskim'. M. Dziekan & I. Kończak (ed.), *Arabowie – islam – świat*. Łódź. 91-95.

The paper also provides evidence for the role of word-stress in the rhythmical structure of the mediaeval Arabic verse, especially in rhyme. Additionally it re-examines Al-Farāhādī's metrical theory as well as the hitherto existing opinions pertaining to the inventory of metrical patterns used in the classical poetry.

I. RHYTHMICAL CONSTANTS
1. Metrical pattern
Already the earliest Arabic poets, long before the grammarians of Basra and Kufa, must have noticed that the word chains that form the utterances can be divided into two contrasting segments: a long one and a short one. They adapted this opposition into the plane of verse structures, making it one of the main verse-creating factors. An utterance, shaped on the basis of recurrence of equivalent patterns of short and long units, gained a specific rhythmical quality, depending on the relative position of these units. The short element, i. e. the weaker one, is equal to a short syllable which in the Arabic language has only one form, namely: *consonant + short vowel* (CV). Whereas the long unit, i. e. the stronger one, is equal to the long syllable which can assume one of the following shapes: *consonant + long vowel* (C$\bar{\text{V}}$) or *consonant + short vowel + consonant* (CVC). Combining these two quantitatively differentiated elements (short and long syllable) into one inseparable entity gives the minimal rhythmical molecule: ⌣— or —⌣, named *watid*[4] by Al-Farāhīdī. It recurs in a regular order in each line and except for caesura and clausula does not undergo any modifications. It alone, however, does not determine the rhythm of a verse. It is always accompanied by one or two other, rhythmically simpler and variable particles (*sabab*), which, depending on strictly defined metrical rules, can have the value of one long or two short syllables, or their short variant. In this paper the constant element (*watid*) will be called c o n s t i t u t i v e s e g m e n t whereas the variable one (*sabab*)[5] will be called c o m p l e m e n t a r y s e g m e n t.

As far as permutation of the feet order in the verse is concerned, the metrical patterns used in the classical Arabic poetry can be divided into three groups: a) homogeneous meters based on recurrence of the same foot; b) compound meters, built of two different feet but based on the same structure and position of the constitutive segments; c) combined meters, built of two different feet based on the same position but different structure of the constitutive segments[6].

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[4] *Watid maǧmūʻ* (⌣—) and *watid mafrūq* (—⌣).

[5] *Sabab ḫafīf* (—) and *sabab ṯaqīl* (⌣⌣).

[6] See: Siwiec, P. (2005). The metrical patterns listed below include only meters that can be verified in the classical Arabic poetry. Some metrical variants mentioned by the medieval Arab

1. Homogeneous meters [7]

Wāfir

a) ⏑—⏔—|⏑—⏔—|⏑——   ⏑—⏔—|⏑—⏔—|⏑—⏑ [8]

b) ⏑—⏔—|⏑—⏔—   ⏑—⏔—|⏑—⏔⏑

c) ⏑—⏔—|⏑—⏔—   ⏑—⏔—|⏑——⏑

Hazaǧ

⏑—⏔⏔|⏑—⏔⏔   ⏑—⏔⏔|⏑—⏔⏑ [9]

Mutaqārib

a) ⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔   ⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑—⏑ [10]

b) ⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔   ⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑⏑

c) ⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔   ⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑⸌ [11]

d) ⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔   ⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑

e) ⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔   ⏑—⏔|⏑—⏔|⏑⏑

Ramal

a) ⏔⏑—⏔|⏔⏑—⏔|⏔⏑—   ⏔⏑—⏔|⏔⏑—⏔|⏔⏑—⏑

b) ⏔⏑—⏔|⏔⏑—⏔|⏔⏑—   ⏔⏑—⏔|⏔⏑—⏔|⏔⏑⏑

c) ⏔⏑—⏔|⏔⏑—⏔|⏔⏑—   ⏔⏑—⏔|⏔⏑—⏔|⏔⏑⸌

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prosodists (see: Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi. 1913. Vol. 4, 34-87; At-Tabrīzī, Al-Ḫaṭīb op. cit.; Az-Zamaḫšarī op. cit. and others) do not occur in reliable anthologies and poetry collections. Examples quoted in the works on prosody, most often without mentioning the names of the poets, seem to be rather invented by the prosodists themselves.

[7] Six out of all feet identified by Al-Farāhīdī form accordingly six homogeneous metrical patterns. Their common feature is the identical, iambic structure of the constitutive segments. What differentiates them and at the same time co-determines the rhythm character of the poem is the position of the constitutive versus complementary segments as well as the structure of the latter.

[8] In every position, except for the verse endings, the basic foot can be freely replaced by its variant with the contraction of the first complementary segment. It applies to both long and short verse sizes. It is also permissible to shorten the quantity of both complementary segments in it, hence the following variations: ⏑———⏑ or ⏑—⏑—. Although the first variant is tollerable, nevertheless the use of the other, as perceived by a sensitive receiver, too much disturbs the rhythmical structure of a poem.

[9] In the initial feet of both hemistichs contraction of the first or second complementary segment can occur, but it can never occur simultaneously in both of them.

[10] In all the variations of *mutaqārib* the last foot of the initial hemistich can be either complete or catalectic (⏑⏑) causing no disturbance of the poem's rhythmical structure.

[11] The symbol ⸌ signifies here a super-heavy syllable, i. e. CV̄C (consonant + long vowel + consonant).

d) ⏖—⏞|⏖—⏞   ⏖—⏞|⏖—⏑̱

e) ⏖—⏞|⏖—⏞   ⏖—⏞|⏖⏑⏑̱

Kāmil

a) ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—   ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑⏑̱ [12]

b) ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—   ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑̱

c) ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—   ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—|—⏑̱

d) ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—|⏑⏑—   ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—|—⏑̱

e) ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—|⏑⏑—   ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—|⏑⏑⏑̱

f) ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—   ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑⏑̱

g) ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—   ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑̱

h) ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—   ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑⸴

i) ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑—   ⏖—⏑—|⏖—⏑⏑̱

Raǧaz

a) ⏖⏖⏑—|⏖⏖⏑—|⏖⏖⏑—   ⏖⏖⏑—|⏖⏖⏑—|⏖⏖⏑⏑̱

b) ⏖⏖⏑—|⏖⏖⏑—|⏖⏖⏑—   ⏖⏖⏑—|⏖⏖⏑—|⏖—⏑̱

c) ⏖⏖⏑—|⏖⏖⏑—   ⏖⏖⏑—|⏖⏖⏑⏑̱

d) ⏖⏖⏑—|⏞——   ⏖⏖⏑—|⏞—⏑̱

e) ⏖⏖⏑—|⏖⏖⏑—|⏖⏖⏑⏑̱

f) ⏖⏖⏑—|⏖⏖⏑—|⏞—⏑̱

2. Compound meters [13]

Ṭawīl

a) ⏑—⏞|⏑—⏖⏖|⏑—⏞|⏑—⏖⏖   ⏑—⏞|⏑—⏖⏖|⏑—⏞|⏑—⏞⏑̱ [14]

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[12] In each foot of *kamil*, irrispective of their position, either the first or the second complementary segment can be contracted. Therefore the following variants are possible: ⏑— ⏑— or —⏑⏑—.

[13] This group of meters includes three metrical patterns which in the Al-Farāhīdī's system form the so-called metrical circle of *muḫtalif*. They are: *ṭawīl, madīd* and *basīṭ*. The kernel of each of them, which determines the character of the rhythm, is composed of a pair of feet: ⏑—⏞̇ ⏑—⏞— for *ṭawīl*, ⏖—⏞̇⏖⏑— for *madīd* and ⏖⏖⏑—̇⏖⏑— for *basīṭ*. Every such pair differs from the others not only in types of feet, but also in the distribution of the constitutive segments. In the meter of *ṭawīl* these segments stand in the beginning of each foot, in *madīd* they take the second position, and in *basīṭ* the final position in the foot.

[14] In the catalectic variation it is preferable that the complementary segment of the penultimate foot in the line should have a shortened form, i. e. ⏑—⏑. However this is not an absolutely observed rule.

b) ⏑—⏒|⏑—⏑⏑|⏑—⏑|⏑—⏑⏑   ⏑—⏒|⏑—⏑⏑|⏑—⏑|⏑——⏑̱

c) ⏑—⏒|⏑—⏑⏑|⏑—⏑|⏑—⏑⏑   ⏑—⏒|⏑—⏑⏑|⏑—⏑|⏑—⏑̱

Madīd

a) ⏑⏑—⏒|⏑⏑⏑̱|⏑⏑—⏒   ⏑⏑—⏒|⏑⏑⏑̱|⏑⏑—⏑̱

b) ⏑⏑—⏒|⏑⏑⏑̱|⏑⏑—   ⏑⏑—⏒|⏑⏑⏑̱|—⏑⏑̱

c) ⏑⏑—⏒|⏑⏑⏑̱|⏑⏑—   ⏑⏑—⏒|⏑⏑⏑̱|⏑⏑⏑̱

d) ⏑⏑—⏒|⏑⏑⏑̱|⏑⏑—   ⏑⏑—⏒|⏑⏑⏑̱|—⏑̱

Basīṭ

a) ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑—   ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑̱

b) ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑—   ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑—|—⏑̱

c) ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑—|⏑——   ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑—|⏑——⏑̱

d) ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑—   ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑⏑̱

3. Combined meters [15]

Sarī [16]

a) ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑—|—⏑—   ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑—|—⏑⏑̱

b) ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑—|—⏑—   ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑—|—⏑̱

c) ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑—|—⏑—   ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑—|—⏑⏑̱

d) ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑—   ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑̱

e) ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑⏑—|⏑—⏑̱

Munsariḥ

a) ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑—⏑|⏑⏑⏑—   ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑—⏑|⏑⏑⏑⏑̱ [17]

b) ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑—⏑|⏑⏑⏑—   ⏑⏑⏑—|⏑⏑—⏑|⏑—⏑̱

Muqtaḍab

—⏑—⏑|—⏑⏑—   —⏑—⏑|—⏑⏑̱

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[15] All the meters which share the constitutive segment of a trocheic form have been collected by Al-Farāhīdī in the so-called metrical circle of *muštabih*.

[16] The presence of the foot containing the trochaically shaped constitutive segment in the variations of this meter is hard to identify. According to the assumptions of the traditional Arabic prosody it is the last foot in both hemistichs. Whereas the forms that occur in this position very much diverge from the specified form. Despite that all the traditional Arabic works on prosody unanimously treat them as catalectic forms of the foot ⏑⏑—⏑, claiming that the meter of *sarī* has no acatalectic form whatsoever. At the same time it is not explained why the foot ⏑⏑—⏑ should be considered as the primary form.

[17] Most often the last foot of the acatalectic six-foot verse size takes the form of —⏑⏑⏑̱, but it is not an absolutely observed rule.

Ḫafīf

a) ⏒⏑——⏒|⏒——⏑⏒|⏒⏑——⏒   ⏒⏑——⏒|⏒——⏑⏒|⏒⏑——⏒̱

b) ⏒⏑——⏒|⏒——⏑⏒|⏑⏑——   ⏒⏑——⏒|⏒——⏑⏒|⏑⏑⏒̱

c) ⏒⏑——⏒|⏒——⏑——   ⏒⏑——⏒|⏒——⏑⏒̱

d) ⏒⏑——⏒|⏒——⏑——   ⏒⏑——⏒|⏑——⏒̱

Muǧtatt

⏒——⏑⏒|⏒⏑——   ⏒——⏑⏒|⏒⏑—⏒̱

Muḍāriʿ

⏑——⏒⏒|——⏑——   ⏑——⏒⏒|——⏑—⏒̱

As a consequence of the stichic nature of the classical Arabic poetry, the verse or line (*bayt*) is both the basic and the largest unit of the poem structure. It can be composed of eight, six, four or three feet[18]. The three-foot verse sizes are rhythmically undivided, whereas longer formats are basically dichotomic. The line of division runs always across the middle of the verse metrical structure and it does not have to be accompanied by parallel division on the syntactic level. In the majority of cases the caesura coincides with the word-ends but it is not a compulsory versification principle[19]. Both hemistichs, though equivalent in the number and order of feet, are not always fully symmetrical due to the possibility of catalexis (ʿilla) in each half-line on one hand and syncopation (ziḥāf) of the complementary segments on the other[20].

The alternating nature of the complementary segments results in the individual feet not having constant quantitative-syllabic shape. The foot ———⏑—, for instance, can be replaced by —⏑⏑—, ⏑——⏑— and even by ⏑⏑⏑—, while instead the foot ⏑⏑—⏑— the variants ———⏑— or ⏑——⏑— can occur. As a result, verses of the same poem, although equivalent regarding the order of feet, have mostly different size if measured by moras or the number of syllables, as can be seen in the following examples:

A)

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[18] Two-foot-verse compositions are extremely rare.

[19] Dichotomy on the prosodic level of the composition has been reflected in its graphical structure. According to the applied style of notation, hemistichs are placed in some distance from each other. In lines in which the hemistich boundary falls inside a word, the word is in most cases artificially torn apart between the two hemistichs.

[20] The quantitative equivalence of segments ⏑⏑ and — works only in one direction. This means that a disyllabic segment can always be replaced by a long syllable, whereas it not possible to replace a monosyllabic segment with two short syllables.

aqwā wa-aqfara min nuʿmin wa-ġayyara-hu

hūǧu r-riyāḥi bi-hābī t-turbi mawwāri

waqaftu fī-hā sarāta l-yawmi asʾalu-hā

ʿan āli nuʿmin amūnan ʿabra asfāri

fa-staġmaʿat dāru nuʿmin mā tukallimu-nā

wa-d-dāru law kallamta-nā ḏātu aḫbāri

fa-mā waǧadtu bi-hā šayʾan alūḏu bi-hi

illā ṯ-ṯumāma wa-illā mawqida n-nāri[21]

```
——◡—|◡◡—|——◡—|◡◡—
——◡—|◡◡—|——◡—|—◡
◡—◡—|—◡—|——◡—|◡◡—
——◡—|—◡—|——◡—|—◡
——◡—|—◡—|——◡—|◡◡—
——◡—|—◡—|——◡—|—◡
◡—◡—|◡◡—|——◡—|◡◡—
——◡—|◡◡—|——◡—|—◡
```

B)

hal ġādara š-šuʿarāʾu min mutaraddimi

am hal ʿarafta d-dāra baʿda tawahhumi

yā dāra ʿablati biʾl-ǧawāʾi takallamī

wa-ʿimī ṣabāḥan dāra ʿablata wa-slamī

fa-waqaftu fī-hā nāqatī wa-kaʾanna-hā

fadanun li-aqḍī ḥāǧata l-mutalawwimi

wa-taḥullu ʿablatu bi-l-ǧawāʾi wa-ahlu-nā

bi-l-ḥazni fa-ṣ-ṣammāni fa-l-mutaṯallami[22]

```
——◡—|◡◡—◡—|◡◡—◡◡
——◡—|——◡—|◡◡—◡◡
——◡—|◡◡—◡—|◡◡—◡—
◡◡—◡—|——◡—|◡◡—◡—
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[21] An-Nābiġa aḏ-Ḏubyānī. 1982. *Dīwān an-Nābiġa aḏ-Ḏubyāanī*. Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir. 48.

[22] Az-Zawzanī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn. 1978. *Šarḥ al-muʿallaqāt as-sabʿ*. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿilmiyya. 109.

⏑⏑—⏑—|——⏑—|⏑⏑—⏑—

——⏑—|⏑⏑—⏑—|⏑⏑—⏑⏑

⏑⏑—⏑—|⏑⏑—⏑—|⏑⏑—⏑—

——⏑—|——⏑—|⏑⏑—⏑⏑

In the first fragment the size of the lines ranges from 42 to 45 moras while the number of syllables is constant. In the second example the lines are quantitatively equivalent but the number of syllables differs. It appears then, that in the classical Arabic poetry neither the syllable nor the mora can be a principle of the verse equivalence.

It is worth mentioning, however, that in the light of Al-Farāhīdī's metrical theory, the foot, and consequently every line of a composition, always contains the same number of segments[23]. Each line of An-Nābiġa's poem consists of twenty segments, while the ode of ʿAntara has eighteen segments in a line. Therefore, acknowledging the foot as the basic component of the verse, it seems reasonable to postulate that the segment, as defined above, should be recognized as the minimal rhythmical particle of the verse[24].

Some of the metrical patterns show great structural similarities. They are most distinctly visible between *wāfir* and *hazaǧ* as well as between *kāmil* and *raǧaz*. As is well known, the foot ⏑—⏑⏑—, which is typical for the meter *wāfir*, can be optionally replaced with ⏑————. The following poem shows the degree of liberty in this respect:

ariqtu wa-āba-nī hammī
       li-naʾyi d-dāri min nuʿmi

fa-aqṣara ʿāḏilun ʿan-nī
       wa-malla mumarriḍī suqmī

amūtu li-hiǧri-hā ḥuznan
       wa-yaḥlū ʿinda-hā ṣarmī

fa-biʾsa ṯawābu ḏāti l-wud
       di taǧzī-hi bnatu l-ʿammi

---

[23] Except for the final foot in the first half-line, where the number of segments can differ in individual lines due to optional catalexis. This difference, however, has no impact on the rhythmical pattern because it is generally neutralized by the following pause.

    [24] We do not know if and how the shortened syllables were compensated during recitation. Maybe it was by prolonged articulation of the adjacent syllables. Unfortunately the medieval Arabic sources say nothing about the declamatory techniques used at that time.

wa-yawma š-šaryi qad hāǧat
      dumūʿan wa-kaffa s-saǧmi
ġadāta ǧalat ʿala ʿaǧalin
      šatītan bārida ẓ-ẓalmi
wa-qālat li-fatātin ʿinda
      hā ḥawrāʾa ka-r-riʾmi
a-hū yā uḫti bi-l-lāhi l-
      lāḏī lam yakni ʿan ismī
wa-lam yuǧāzi-nā bi-l-wuddi
      aḫfā bī wa-lam yakmi
fa-qālat raǧʿa mā qālat
      naʿam yaḫfī-hi ʿan ʿilmī
fa-ǧiʾtu fa-qultu ṣabbun zalla
      min wāšin aḫī iṯmi
wa-qad aḏnabtu ḏanban fa-ṣ-
      faḥī bi-l-lāhi min ẓulmī
fa-qālat lā fa-qultu fa-lim
      araqti damī bi-lā ǧurmi
a-in aqrarti bi-ḏ-ḏanbi
      li-ḥubbin qad barā ǧismī
zawayti l-ʿurfa wa-n-nāʾi
      la ʿamdan ġayra ḏī raḥmi[25]

```
ᵕ‒ᵕᵕ‒|ᵕ‒‒‒
ᵕ‒‒‒|ᵕ‒‒ᵕ
ᵕ‒ᵕᵕ‒|ᵕ‒‒‒
ᵕ‒ᵕᵕ‒|ᵕ‒‒‒
ᵕ‒ᵕᵕ‒|ᵕ‒‒‒
ᵕ‒‒‒|ᵕ‒‒‒
ᵕ‒ᵕᵕ‒|ᵕ‒‒‒
ᵕ‒‒‒|ᵕ‒‒ᵕ
```

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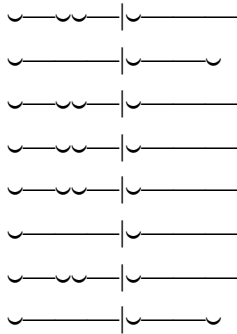
[25] ʿUmar Ibn Abī Rabīʿa. N.d. *Dīwān ʿUmar Ibn Abī Rabīʿa.* Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir. 382-383.

⌣———|⌣——
⌣———|⌣—⌣
⌣—⌣⌣—|⌣—⌣⌣—
⌣———|⌣—⌣
⌣—⌣—|⌣—⌣
⌣———|⌣—⌣
⌣———|⌣——
⌣———|⌣——
⌣—⌣—|⌣—⌣—
⌣———|⌣—⌣—
⌣———|⌣——
⌣———|⌣—⌣
⌣—⌣⌣—|⌣—⌣—
⌣———|⌣—⌣
⌣———|⌣——
⌣———|⌣——
⌣———|⌣—⌣⌣—
⌣—⌣⌣—|⌣—⌣—
⌣———|⌣—⌣
⌣———|⌣——
⌣———|⌣—⌣—
⌣———|⌣—⌣—
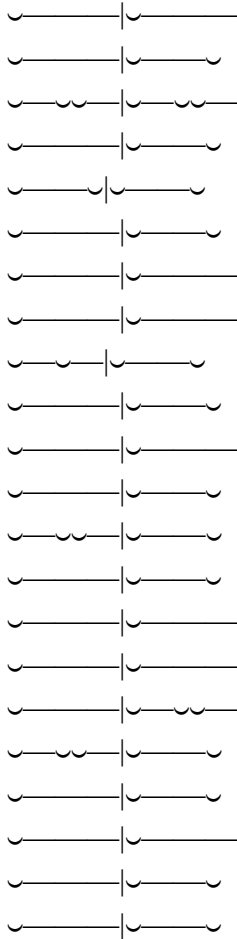
The poem consists of sixty feet, of which only ten have the form of ⌣—⌣⌣—. And it is just them that determine that the rhythmical pattern of the poem should be assigned to the meter *wāfir*. The same situation occurs in the meter *kāmil*, where, irrespective of a position in the verse, the basic foot ⌣⌣—⌣— can be freely replaced by ——⌣— or ⌣—⌣— or even —⌣⌣—[26].

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[26] Such 'blurring' of differences between certain metrical patterns denotes their rhythmical cohesion. It also entitles assumptions on their genetic affinity, especially that interchangeability of the feet in the above pairs of meters works only in one direction, i. e. two short syllables can be replaced by one long but never the opposite. So it is quite presumable that some variants, which were originally used to modulate the rhythm of the basic patterns, began to be used in certain variations of *wāfir* and *kāmil* in every foot without exception. As a result, it lead to the origin of two separate (although rhythmically very similar to the primary forms) metrical patterns. A large structural resemblance to these two patterns is also found in the *sari* meter. It

2. Rhyme[27]

It is the most distinctive signal of rhythmical segmentation in old Arabic poetry. Apart from the meter, rhyme is one of two indispensable verse-creating factors. Without it a literary composition could not have been considered as poetry.

By its invariable recurrence in every line-end of a poetic composition, the rhyme clearly signals line boundaries. This delimitative function is strictly connected with its rhythmizational role. The regular appearance of identical sound sequences in intervals defined by a verse format, in addition to the instrumentational value of the rhyme, endows a given poem some specific color. Not without reason did the old Arabic poems use to be named after the consonant being the main component of the rhyme, like for example *lāmiyya* or *mīmiyya*. The distinctiveness of verse segmentation rhyming signal depends, of course, on the scope of consonance. It may be limited to one etymologically long final vowel of the rhyming words or comprise two, three and even three and a half syllables, as it is in the case of the so-called *luzūm mā lā yalzam* technique favored by Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (973-1058).

3. Stress position in clausulae.

Traditional Arabic works on versology do not take up the subject of stress at all. Even the present-day studies either refuse its role or pass over it in silence[28]. Thus, one could have the impression that in the Arabic classical poetry the position of the word-stress in the line-ends did not play any role. But was it really so?

One of the main metrical pattern features is a relative uniformity of the quantitative structure of the final feet in verses. As a consequence of the strict connection between the accentuation and the syllabic structure the stability of the accentual signal in the line-ends is in greatly determined by the metrical pattern itself. It refers first of all to the clausulae in which the penultimate should be long ($C\overline{V}$ or CVC) when the final syllable is neutral, as well as to those catalectic

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differs from the six-foot *raǧaz* only by the nature of the final feet in hemistichs. What connects it with the six-foot *kāmil* is, apart from the presence of the —— ◡ — foot, the possibility of —— and ◡◡ ◡ forms in caesuras.

[27] To be precise, it is a mono-rhyme, since according to the classical Arabic versification rules, all the clausulae of a poem must have identical sound structure, irrespective of how many verses the poem comprises.

[28] Still the best-known is the Gothold Weil's idea of ictus as a metrical stress independent of the word accent – most probably due to his repeatedly published article in Encyclopaedia of Islam (*ʿArūḍ*). However, it was strongly critisized by Stoetzer who at the same time rejected any role of stress in the rhythmical structure of the classical Arabic verse (1989: 90-142). Stoetzer's opinion was maintained later by Frolov (1991: 224).

variations which end with a super-heavy syllable (C$\bar{\text{V}}$C). In the first case the clausulae will be paroxytonic whereas in the second case it is always oxytonic.

An indirect confirmation of the essential role of the word-stress in medieval Arabic stichic poetry can be found in some implications contained in works on versification from that time. One first draws attention to the definition of rhyme, proposed by Al-Farāhīdī. It emphasizes that the rhyme space starts from the vowel preceding the first unvocalized consonant, counting from the end of the verse[29]. Following that, in the rhyming words like *mutabattili / ǧulǧuli / miǧwali* found in the famous *mu'allaqa* by Imru' al-Qays, for instance, it should be the vowel being the peak of the third syllable from the end of each word. However, as it is easy to see, the timbre of this vowel is harmonically completely neutral. The phonetic conformity in the above example is restricted to the last syllable: *-li*. The irresistible conclusion is that Al-Farāhīdī's conception of rhyme was not synonymous to sole phonetic conformity. An additional factor must have been taken into consideration by the author of *Al-'ajn* in defining the boundaries of rhyme space.

Analysis of the structure of verse endings leads to a conclusion that this additional factor is word-stress. Firstly because, when choosing a harmonically neutral vowel as the linearly first in the chain of phonic elements that fill the rhyme space, Al-Farāhīdī must have been aware of its role as a word-stress carrier. Secondly, the vowel pointed by Farāhīdī in his definition of rhyme almost always satisfies accentual requirements [30] (sporadic deviations can be explained by deliberate transaccentuation). In light of the above it becomes clear that for Al-Farāhīdī rhyme formed an inseparable combination of minimal phonetic equivalence and the accentual form of clausulae.

Another indirect evidence for the existence of a close relationship between clausulae harmony and their accentual form can be derived from the traditional division of rhyme into variations depending on the number of short vowels within

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[29] *Al-qāfiyatu min āḫiri ḥarfin fī l-bayti ilā awwali sākinin yalī-hi min qabli-hi ma'a ḥarakati l-ḥarfi llaḏī qabla s-sākin* (Ibn Rašīq, op. cit., vol. 1: 151).

[30] The word-stress in the classical Arabic is of a dynamic type. It is aphonemic and predictable. Its function is only delimitative, i. e. it indicates the boundaries of words. Its position is regulated automatically by the number of prosodemes in a word and the quantity of the penultimate syllable. In two-syllable words the stress falls always on the first syllable which is at the same time penultimate. In longer words the penultimate is stressed on condition that it is a long syllable, otherwise the stress falls on the prepenultimate, irrespective of its quantity. In the pausal position, which signals the boundary of a syntactic unit and is characterized by reduction of some vocal endings, the word-stress does not shift but only its distance from the end of the word shortens, e.g.: *Áḥmad* instead of *Áḥmadu* or *ḏáhab* instead of *ḏáhaba*.

the rhyme space. And so, when mentioning these variations it is always emphasized that they should never be used interchangeably in the same poem. The only permitted exception is a variation of the meter *sarīʿ*, in which coexistence is possible for two clausulae: — — (*mutawātir*) and ◡◡— (*mutarākib*). When permitting such a possibility in the meter *sarīʿ*, it is always emphasized that it occurs only when the rhyme is 'fettered' (*qāfiya muqayyada*), i.e. when the rhyming words have a pausal form[31]. This is because with that conditioning the stress can fall only on the penultimate syllable, irrespective of the quantitative structure of the final foot, since the 'fettered' rhyme rules out proparoxytonesis.

The role of the stress signal in forming the rhythm of line endings is visible when its position is not strictly imposed by the meter. Such a situation occurs every time when the penultimate syllable is short (CV). The stress position is determined, broadly speaking, by the size of the rhyming words. This is illustrated in the following fragments:

A)

wa-laqad daḫaltu l-ḥayya yuḫšā ahlu-hu

   baʿda l-hudūʾi wa-baʿdamā saqaṭa n-nidā

fa-waǧadtu fī-hi ḥurratan qad zuyyinat

   bi-l-ḥalyi taḥsabu-hu bi-hā ǧamra l-ġāḍā

lammā daḫaltu manaḫtu ṭarfī ġayra-hā

   ʿamdan maḫāfata an yurā rayʿu l-hawā

kaymā yaqūlu muḥadditun li-ǧalīsi-hi

   kaḏabū ʿalay-hā wa-l-laḏī samaka l-ʿulā

qālat li-atrābin mawāʿima ḥawla-hā

   bīḍi l-wuǧūhi ḫarāʾidin miṯli d-dumā

bi-l-lāhi rabbi muḥammadin ḥaddiṯna-nī

   ḥaqqan amā tuʿǧabna min hāḏā l-fatā[32]

B)

mā bālu ʿayni-ka min-hā l-māʾu yankasibu

   kaʾanna-hu min kulā mafriyyatin sarabu

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[31] Ibn Rašīq, op. cit., vol. 1: 172.

[32] ʿUmar Ibn Abī Rabīʿa, op. cit.: 17.

wa-firā'u ġarfiyyatun aṯ'ā ḫawārizu-hā

 mušalšalun ḍayyaʿat-hu bayna-hā l-kutabu

istaḥdaṯa r-rakbu ʿan ašyāʿi-him ḫabaran

 am rāǧiʿu l-qalbi min aṭrābi-hi ṭarabu

min dimnatin nasafat ʿan-hā ṣ-ṣabā sufaʿan

 kamā yunaššaru baʿda ṭ-ṭiyyati l-kutubu

saylan mina d-daʿṣi aġšat-hu maʿārifa-hā

 nakbā'u tasḥabu aʿlā-hu fa-yansaḥibu[33]

In the poem from which the first fragment is taken, the final words in all lines are disyllabic. Thus there is no doubt about their paroxytonesis.

In the next fragment the rhyming word forms are size wise longer (tri-, quadri- and even pentasyllabic). Therefore in a situation when the penultimate syllable is inevitably short, the stress should consistently fall on the propenultimate syllable.

In D̲ū ar-Rumma's poem such an accentuation is determined by the almost complete lack of disyllabic words in rhyme clausulae. In such line endings, where both the propenultimate and penultimate syllables are short, proparoxytonesis is in force almost without exception. Singular deviations can be explained by deliberate transaccentuation.

In clausulae where the propenultimate syllable is either long or neutral, proparoxytonesis occurs less often; however in broad reckoning the deviations do not exceed 4% of all such cases[34], even though in some poems this figure may be relatively higher.

Considering the above, it is hard to dismiss the role of the accentual factor as a clausulaic constant in the classical Arabic poetry. It is highly probable that accentual signal stabilization in the clausula occurred long before the beginning of the Muslim era. This is supported by the works of the oldest Arab poets.

4. Syntactic juncture and the intonational signal

The main characteristic of the verse division in the classical Arabic versification is its exact compliance with the syntactic segmentation. The line-ends always meet

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[33] Al-Qurašī, Abū Zayd. N.d. *Ǧamharat ašʿār al-ʿArab*, Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir. 338.

 [34] For instance, according to the author's calculations, in the collections of Samawʾal (d. 560) and ʾUrwa Ibn al-Ward (d. 596), proparoxytonesis in clausulae of this type is absolute, whereas in the collections of Imruʾ al-Qays (d. 539), An-Nābiġa aḏ-D̲ubyānī (d. 604), Al-Buḥturī (820-897), Abū Nuwās (762-813) and Al-Ḫuṭayʾa (d. 678) deviations from proparoxytonesis are respectively: 0,33% (1:300 verses), 0,5% (4:700 verses), 1,3% (30:2301 verses.), 2,7% (6:216 verses) and 3,9% (6:153 verses).

the boundaries of syntactic entities. In most cases longer verse measures contain compound sentences which sometimes can be very much developed as for example:

a-min ummi awfā dimnatun lam takallami

   bi-ḥawmanati d-darrāǧi wa-l-mutaṯallami

wa-dārun la-hā bi-r-raqmatayni ka-anna-hā

   marāǧīʿu wašmin fī nawāširi miʿṣami

bi-hā l-ʿīnu wa-l-ārāmu yamšīna ḫilfatan

   wa-aṭlāʾu-hā yanhaḍna min kulli maǧṯami

waqaftu bi-hā min baʿdi ʿišrīna ḥiǧǧatan

   fa-laʾyan ʿaraftu d-dāra baʿda tawahhumi

aṯāṯiyya sufʿan fī muʿarrasi mirǧalin

   wa-nuʾyan ka-ǧaḏmi l-ḥawḍi lam yataṯallami

fa-lammā ʿaraftu d-dāra qultu li-rabʿi-hā

   a-lā nʿam ṣabāḥan ayyu-hā r-rabʿu wa-slami[35]

Simple sentences, members of sentences or word groups prevail in shorter measures, like in the following poem:

yā Hariman wa-anta ahlu ʿadli

   an waradaʾl-Aḥwaṣu māʾan qablī

la-yaḏhabanna ahlu-hu bi-ahlī

   lā taǧmaʿan šaklu-humu wa-šaklī

wa-nasla ābāʾi-himu wa-naslī

   laqad nahaytu ʿan safāhi l-ǧahli

ḥattā ntazā arbaʿatun fī ḥabli

   fa-l-yawma lā maqʿada baʿda l-waṣli

fāraqtu-hum bi-ḏī ḍurūʿin ḫufli

   muwāʾima l-ḥazni qarīʿi s-sahli

bi-ṣāʾibi ṣ-ṣadri šadīdi r-riǧli

   yamuddu bi-ḏ-ḏirāʿi yawma l-maʿli

sa-taʿlamūna man ḫiyāru ṭ-ṭabli[36]

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[35] Az-Zawzanī, op. cit.: 58-59.

The poems of Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā (530-637) and Labīd Ibn Rabī'a (560-661) quoted here show how strictly the syntactic intonation is interrelated with the verse intonation, which in poetry always plays a major role. In both examples practically every line forms a declarative sentence with an undoubtedly cadential ending. Thus, the syntactic intonation, not taking into consideration the internal verse division, reinforces the demarcation function of the line-end intonation signal.

The final segment of a line is particularly distinguished since a few language factors converge in it, namely: syntactic juncture, intonation signal, pause, uniform accentual structure, and rhyme with the constant word-stress position. All these factors occur simultaneously forming a specific delimitative configuration. The most distinctive is rhyme, which, combined with the stable word-stress position in clausulae, gives a composition its characteristic tone. Such rigorously uniform clausulae definitely underline the autonomy of the lines[37].

5. Caesura

Dichotomy of the verse is practically inscribed in the classical Arabic versification system, since it is to a great extent imposed by the meter. Most of the verse measures consist of even numbers of feet; four, six or eight. The indivisible types of verse are marginal in a sea of the classical poetry. The major part of them is compositions based on the three-foot *raǧaz* and sporadically three-foot *sarī'* and two-foot *munsariḥ*.

The boundary of the initial hemistich marks the caesura position which inherently coincides with the word ends. Depending on the verse measure, the caesura occurs after the second, third or forth foot. The demarcative signals that accompany it are much weaker as compared with those of clausula, which is a natural consequence of its subordination to the latter. Syntactic juncture in caesurae is not a rigorous rule in the classical poetry. However, it is so common (at least in the pre-Islamic poetry) and cases of inconsistency between the internal rhythmical division and the syntactic segmentation are so rare, that its role as a determinant of caesura cannot be ignored. In the poem of Imru' al-Qays, for instance, only in 5 out of 81 lines the caesura has no clear syntactic demarcation due to the fact that it runs across coherent word structures like in the following line:

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[36] Labīd Ibn Rabī'a al-'Āmirī. N.d. *Dīwān Labīd Ibn Rabī'a al-'Āmirī*, Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir. 137-138.

[37] In the classical Arabic poetry it is not permitted to split a word between two verse lines. As for the enjambment it is considered to be a serious transgression of the versification (so-called *taḍmīn*).

wa-yawman ʿalā ẓahri l-kaṯībi ta ʿaḏḏarat

      ʿalay-ya wa-ālat ḥalfatan lam tuḥallali[38]

Full sentence closure associated with definitely cadential intonation profile never happens in the caesura.

II. RHYTHMICAL TENDENCIES

They are also called versification tendencies. Their role in the rhythmical structure of poetry cannot be underestimated. Among other things it is mainly owing to them that individual poetic compositions, although created according to the same metrical pattern with identical sequences of feet, have different rhythmical character. There are three phenomena in the classical Arabic poetry that can be reckoned as rhythmical tendencies:

1. Elimination of caesura

Some attempts to neutralize the rhythmical verse dichotomy used to be taken even by the earliest pre-Islamic Arab poets. The famous poem by Al-Aʿšā is a good example. It is composed of nearly a hundred lines, three quarters of which are devoid of caesura. Here is a fragment of it:

mā bukāʾu l-kabīri bi-l-aṭlālī

      wa-suʾālī wa-mā taruddu suʾālī

dimnatun qafratun taʿāwara-hā ṣ-ṣay-

      fu *bi-rīḥayni min ṣabā wa-šamāli*

lāta hunna ḏikrā ǧubayrata aw man

      ǧāʾa min-hā bi-ṭāʾifi l-ahwāli

ḥalla ahlī baṭna l-ġumaysi fa-bādū

      lī wa-ḥallat ʿulwiyyatun bi-s-siḫāli

tartaʿī s-safḥa fa-l-kaṯība fa-ḏā **qā-**

      rin *fa-rawḍa l-ġaḍā fa-ḏāta r-riʾāli*

*rubba ḫarqin min dūni-hā yuḫrasu s-***saf-**

      ru *wa-mīlin yufḍī ilā amyāli*

*wa-siqāʾin yūkā ʿalā taʾqi l-***mal-**

      i *wa-sayrin wa-mustaqā awšāli*

*wa-ddilāǧin baʿda l-hudūʾi wa-tah***ǧī-**

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[38] Az-Zawzanī, op. cit.: 10.

rin *wa-quffin wa-sabsabin wa-rimāli*
*wa-qalībin aġnin ka'anna mina r-**rī-***
      ši bi-arġā'i-hi suqūṭa n-niṣāli[39]

The caesura in the quoted fragment is present only in lines 1, 3 and 4. Curiously enough the original graphic form of the composition still renders a twofold structure of the lines by splitting the text artificially according to its metrical pattern. The words that are located on the border between two metrical half-lines (typed here with bold letters) are torn in half between both hemistichs. An interesting thing is that the stressed syllable in every such split word (which is always a paroxytone) is always the final syllable of a respective initial hemistich. So, even though the caesura has been practically eliminated, its position is indicated by the word-stress.

Caesura elimination occurs in compositions of many other Arab poets of the classical epoch. And they are always accompanied by a stable word-stress on the last syllable of the final foot in the initial hemistich. Such a way of eliminating the caesura causes that one does not feel any sudden rhythm deformation.

Another method of neutralizing the dichotomic intonational contour of the verse is filling the verse space with text in such a way that the caesura crosses a coherent syntactic unit, as in the following example:

ra'ayta r-rūḥa ġadba l-ʿayši lammā
      ʿarafta l-ʿayša maḫḍan wa-ḫtilābā
wa-lasta bi-ġālibi š-šahawāti ḥattā
      tuʿidda la-hunna ṣabran wa-ḥtisābā
fa-kullu muṣībatin ʿaẓumat wa-ǧallat
      taḫiffu iḏā raġawta la-hā ṯawābā
kabirnā ayyuhā l-atrābu ḥattā
      ka'an-nā lam nakun ḥīnan šabābā[40]

In this fragment the rhythmical dichotomy is basically preserved, because the boundaries of the initial hemistichs coincide with the word-ends, which in turn is signaled by paroxytonesis of the words. However, in some places, like in lines 1, 2 and 4 the caesura runs across inseparable syntactic entities. In this situation, although the dichotomic construction of the line has not been structurally violated, the rhythmical dichotomy of the composition has been seriously disturbed,

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[39] Al-Qurašī, Abū Zayd, op. cit.: 119.

[40] Abū al-ʿAtāhiya. 1980. *Dīwān Abī al-ʿAtāhiya*. Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir. 33.

because such 'blurred' caesuras significantly weaken the anticadential intonation signal associated with them.

2. Word-stress distribution

The tendency to emphasize the metrical pattern, i. e. the foot order is also an important factor in shaping the rhythm of the classical verse. It is achieved by such distribution of words in the lines that the word-stress falls on the long syllables of the constitutive segments in a possibly regular way:

li-mani d-diyāru ka-anna-hunna suṭūru
       bi-liwā zarūda safā ʿalay-hā l-mūru
nuʾyun wa-aṭlasu ka-l-ḥamāmati māʾilun
       wa-muraffaʿun šurufātu-hu maḫǧūru
wa-l-ḥawḍu alḥaqa bi-l-ḫawālifi nabta-hu
       sabiṭun ʿalā-hu mina s-simāki maṭīru
li-asīlati ʾl-ḫaddayni ǧāziʾatin la-hā
       miskun yuʿallu bi-ǧaybi-hā wa-ʿabīru
wa-iḏā taqūmu ilā ṭ-ṭarāfi tanaffasat
       ṣuʿudan kamā yatanaffasu l-mabhūru
fa-tabādarat ʿaynā-ki iḏ fāraqtu-hā
       diraran wa-anta ʿalā l-firāqi ṣabūru
yā ṭūla layli-ka lā yakādu yunīru
       ǧazaʾan wa-laylu-ka bi-l-ǧarībi qaṣīru
wa-ṣarīmatin baʿda l-ḫilāǧi qaṭaʿtu-hā
       bi-l-ḥazmi iḏ ǧaʿalat raḥā-hu tadūru
bi-ǧulālatin suruḥi n-naǧāʾi kaʾanna-hā
       baʿda l-kalālati bi-r-ridāfi ʿasīru[41]

◡◡́——◡́◡|◡◡——◡́◡|◡◡́◡
◡◡́——◡◡́|◡◡́——◡◡́|——◡́◡
◡́——◡◡́|◡◡——◡◡́|◡◡◡́◡—
◡◡◡́◡—|◡◡◡́◡—|——◡́◡
——◡́◡◡́|◡◡——◡◡́|◡◡◡́◡—
◡◡——◡◡́|◡◡——◡◡́|◡◡◡́◡

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[41] Al-Ḥuṭayʾa. 1981. *Dīwān al-Ḥuṭayʾa*, Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir. 26-27.

⏑⏑–́⏑— | —–́⏑— | ⏑́⏑—⏑—

–́—⏑–́ | ⏑⏑–́⏑— | ⏑⏑–́⏑

⏑⏑́—⏑–́ | ⏑⏑—⏑–́ | ⏑⏑–́⏑—

⏑́⏑—⏑— | ⏑⏑–́⏑— | —–́⏑

⏑⏑–́⏑— | —–́⏑— | —–́⏑—

⏑⏑́—⏑–́ | ⏑⏑—⏑–́ | ⏑⏑–́⏑

——́⏑–́ | ⏑⏑——́⏑–́ | ⏑⏑–́⏑

⏑⏑́—⏑–́ | ⏑⏑—⏑–́ | ⏑⏑–́⏑

⏑⏑–́⏑— | –́—⏑–́ | ⏑⏑–́⏑—

——́⏑— | ⏑́⏑—⏑–́ | ⏑⏑–́⏑

⏑⏑–́⏑— | ⏑́⏑—⏑–́ | ⏑⏑–́⏑—

–́—⏑–́ | ⏑⏑—⏑–́ | ⏑⏑–́⏑

The metrical pattern of the above poem by Al-Ḥuṭay'a is a catalectic six foot *kāmil*. The constitutive segment (⏑—) is located at the end of each foot. In the whole composition, as illustrated above, the word-stress position in the space of the first two feet of each hemistich generally coincides with the long syllable of the constitutive segment.

3. Distribution of words in lines

One more means used to modify the rhythmical profile of the verse is a tendency to maintain the same number of meaningful word forms within hemistichs. In the following poem by Ibn Hānī al-Andalūsī (937-973), for instance, nearly every hemistich includes four such units:

a-taẓunnu | rāḥan | fī š-šimāli | šamūlan

       a-taẓunnu-hā | sakrā | taǧurru | ḏuyūlā

naṯarat | nadā | anfāsi-hā | fa-ka'annamā

       naṯarat | ḥibālāti d | -dumūʿi | ḥumūlā

aw kullamā | ǧanaḥa l | -aṣīlu | tanaffasat

       nafasan | tuǧāḏibu-hu | ilay-ya | ʿalīlā

tuhdā | ṣaḥā'ifu-kum | munaṯṯaratan | wa-mā

       tuǧnī | murāqabatu l | -ʿuyūni | fatīlā

lā tuǧmiḍu | naẓara r | -riḍā | fa-la-rubbamā

       ḍammat | ʿalay-hi | ǧanāḥa-hā l |-mablūlā

wa-ka'anna | ṭayfan | mā htadā | fa-baʿaṯṯumu

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> *miska l | -ǧuyūbi r | -radʿa min-hu | badīlā*
> *sa-arūʿu | man ḍammat | ḥiǧālu-kumu | wa-in*
>   *ġadati l | -asinnatu | dūna ḏālika |ġīlā*
>
> *aʿṣī | rimāḥa l | -ḫaṭṭi | dūna-ki | šurraʿan*
>   *wa-uṭīʿu | fī-ki | ṣabābatan | wa-ġalīlā*
> *la aʿḏiru | n-nasla l | -mufīta | abā-ki aw*
>   *yaḥmī | nufūsan | aw yuqadda | fulūlā*
> *mā li-l-maʿālimi | wa-ṭ-ṭulūli | amā kafā*
>   *bi-l-ʿāšiqīna | muʿāliman | wa-ṭulūlā*[42]

The natural consequence of the relatively uniform distribution of words in lines is the regular disposition of accents. The outcome is a relatively syllabic-accentual verse.

III. Means of occasional rhythmization

These means of rhythmization comprise a variety of occasional (limited to narrow parts of a given composition) lexical recurrences and sound repetitions as well as various kinds of symmetrical syntactic structures. The following paragraphs describe this phenomenon in detail:

1. Internal rhyme

The rhyme is a rhythmisizing factor solely the recurrence ascribed to it. Thus, its extra-appearance, in addition to its principal end-line position, always yields a noticeable modulation to the basic rhythmical structure of a composition. The internal rhyme, which is rather scarcely used in the classical Arabic poetry, most often has a function of instrumentation. Sometimes, however, it is utilized to emphasize the existing rhythmical divisions or to signal boundaries of some additional rhythmical entities limited to only a few lines. Here is an example:

> *yawmu n-nawāzili wa-z-zalāzili wa-l-ḥawā*
>   *mili fī-hi iḏ yaqḏifna bi-l-aḥmāli*
> *yawmu t-taġābuni bi-t-tabāyuni wa-t-tanā*
>   *zuli wa-l-umūri ʿaẓīmati l-ahwāli*[43]

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[42] Ibn Hānī al-Andalūsī. N.d. *Dīwān Ibn Hānī*. Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir. 265.

[43] Abū al-ʿAtāhiya, op. cit.: 326.

Both lines here are devoid of caesura and each of them begins with a sequence of rhyming words that have identical morphological structure. The ends of these sequences fall in the center of the feet that open the initial hemistichs. In the first line there are: *nawāzili*, *zalāzili*, *ḥawāmili* while in the next line *taġābuni*, *tabāyuni* and also *tanāzuli*, which is linked to the rhyming words of the preceding line. As a result, the rhythmical division is moved beyond the borderline demarcated by the dichotomy of the metrical structure of the verse.

2. Alliteration, consonance and assonance

iḏā laqiḥat ḥarbun ʿawānun muḍirratun
      ḍarūsun tuhirru n-nāsa anyābu-hā ʿuṣlu

quḍāʿiyyatun aw uḫtu-hā muḍariyyatun
      yuḥarraqu fī ḫāfāti-hā l-ḥaṭabu l-ǧazlu

iḏā laqiḥat ḥarbun ʿawānun muḍirratun
      ḍarūsun tuhirru n-nāsa anyābu-hā ʿuṣlu

quḍāʿiyyatun aw uḫtu-hā muḍariyyatun
      yuḥarraqu fī ḫāfāti-hā l-ḥaṭabu l-ǧazlu[44]

The accumulation of consonants: *ḥ*, *r* and *ḍ* in this example serve to intensify the dynamics of the battle description by imitating its noises.

3. Repetition of words

a) Anaphora, e. g.:

wa-laqad raʾaytu l-ḫādiyāti muliḥḥatan
      tanfī l-munā wa-tuqarribu l-āǧālā

wa-laqad raʾaytu masākinan maslūbatan
      sukkānu-hā wa-muṣāniʿan wa-ẓilālā

wa-laqad raʾaytu musalṭanan mumallakan
      wa-mufawwahan qad qīla qāli wa-qālā

wa-laqad raʾaytu mani staṭāʿa bi-ǧumʿatin
      wa-banā fa-šayyada qaṣra-hu wa-aṭālā

wa-laqad raʾaytu d-dahra kayfa yubīdu-hum
      šayban wa-kayfa yubīdu-hum aṭfālā

wa-laqad raʾaytu l-mawta yusriʿu fī-himi

[44] Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā. N.d. *Dīwān Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā*. Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir. 60.

> *ḥaqqan yamīnan marratan wa-šimālā*[45]

As is seen, six subsequent lines begin with the same expression: *wa-laqad ra'aytu* – 'I did see'. In Abū al-ʿAtāhiyia's (748-825) poem, from which the quotation comes, the anaphora appears in a few more places.

b) Prosapodosis, e. g.:

wa-ḫayyabta asbābi-ya n-nāziʿā

> *ti ilay-ka wa-ma haqqu-hā an taḫībā*

yurayyibu-nī š-šay'u ta'tī bi-hi

> *wa-ukbiru qadra-ka an astarībā*[46]

At the beginning and at the end of both lines there are words with similar stems and meanings. In the first line they are *ḫayyabta* – 'you disappointed' and *taḫībā* – 'they would be disappointed', while in the next line: *yurayyibu-nī* – 'he raises my suspicions' and *astarībā* – 'I am suspicious'

c) Ploce, e. g.:

yā baytu bayta r-ridā ya baytu munqaṭaʿī

> *yā baytu bayta r-ridā bayta ġurbati-yah*

yā baytu bayta n-nawā ʿan kulli ḏī ṯiqatin

> *yā baytu bayta r-ridā bayta waḥšati-yah*[47]

Within these two lines there is a series of repetitions of the word *bayt* ("home, house") with different shades of meaning depending on the context.

d) Anadiplosis, e. g.:

wa-iḏā ṭaʿanta ṭaʿanta fī mustahdifin

> *rābī l-maǧassati bi-l-ʿabīri muqarmadi*

wa-iḏā nazaʿta nazaʿta ʿan mustaḥṣifin

> *nazʿa l-ḫazawwari bi-r-rišā'i l-muḥṣadi*[48]

Every line contains a developed temporal-conditional clause. The verbs used in the antecedent in these clauses, i. e. *ṭaʿanta* – in the first and *nazaʿta* – in the second, are being literally repeated in the consequent.

4. Word-sound figures

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[45] Abū al-ʿAtāhiya, op. cit: 347.

[46] Al-Buḥturī. N.d. *Dīwān Al-Buḥturī*. Vol. 1. Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir. 107.

[47] Abū al-ʿAtāhiya, op. cit.: 484.

[48] An-Nābiġa aḏ-Ḏubyānī, op. cit.: 42.

a) Figure of etymology, e. g.:

A)

qad bayyana l-baynu l-mufarriqu bayna-nā

asafan wa-ayyu ʿazīmatin lam tuġlabi

ṣadaqa l-ġurābu laqad raʾaytu šumūsa-hum

bi-l-amsi taġrubu ʿan ǧawānibi ġurrabi[49]

B)

wa-ḏakkara-nī-ki wa-ḏ-ḏikrā ʿanāʾun

mašābihu fī-ki bayyana-hu š-šukūli

nasīmu r-rawḍi fī rīḥin šamālin

wa-ṣawbu l-muzni fī rāḥin šamūli[50]

In the first line of the quotation A) there are three words derived from the same root *byn*, namely: *bayyana* – "he separated", *baynu* – "parting", *bayna* – "between". A similar situation occurs in the first line of the quotation B) taken from a poem by Al-Buḥturī: *ḏakkara* – "he reminded", *ḏikrā* – "memory". As for the word-sound repetitions occurring in the second line of the quotation A), they should rather be classified as a quasi-figure-of-etymology, because there is no connection of etymological nature between *ġurābu* – "raven", *taġrubu* – "it sets" (Sun) and *ġurrabi* – a proper name (place or hill). The same is true of the word play in the second quotation, where the expression: *fī rīḥin šamālin* means literally: 'in the northern wind', whereas the expression: *fī rāḥin šamūli* – 'in the cooled wine'.

b) Parechesis, e. g.:

a-li-mā fāta min talāqin talāfin

am li-šākin mina ṣ-ṣabānati šāfi

am huwa d-damʿu ʿan ǧawā l-ḥubbi bādin

wa-l-ǧawā fī ǧawāniḥi ṣ-ṣadri ḫāfi[51]

In the above fragment there is a whole sequence of words that differ from themselves in one consonant. These are: *talāqin* – *talāfin*, *šākin* – *šāfi*, *šāfi* – *ḫāfi* as well as: *ǧawā* – *ǧawāniḥi* (although in this case the difference consists of more than one sound).

c) Polyptoton, e. g.:

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[49] Al-Buḥturī, op. cit., vol. 2.: 228.
[50] Ibidem: 59.
[51] Al-Buḥturī, op. cit., vol. 1: 414.

yā-rubba bākin ʿalā mayyitin wa-bākiyatin

      lam yalbaṯā baʿda ḏāka l-mayti an bukiyā

wa-rubba nāʾin naʿā ḥīnan aḥibbata-hu

      mā zāla yanʿā ilā an qīla qad nuʿiyā[52]

Repetition consists here in a few inflectional realizations of the same lexeme, i. e.: *bākin* – "lamenting" (m.), *bākiyatin* – "lamenting" (f.), *bukiyā* – "was lamented" – in the first line and in the second line: *nāʿin* – "announcing the death", *naʿā* – "announced the death", *yanʿā* – "announces the death", *nuʿiyā* – "was announced as dead".

5. Conformity of the metrical and syntactic segmentation

wiqāfu-hā ḍarimun wa-ǧaryu-hā ǧaḏimun

      wa-laḥmu-hā ziyamun wa-l-baṭnu maqbūbu

wa-l-yadu sābiḥatun wa-r-riǧlu ḍāribatun

      wa-l-ʿaynu qādiḥatun wa-l-matnu malḥūbu

wa-l-māʾu munhamirun wa-š-šaddu munḥadirun

      wa-l-quṣbu muḍṭamirun wa-l-lawnu ġirbību[53]

⏑‒⏑‒|⏓⏑‒||⏑‒⏑‒|⏓⏑‒

⏑‒⏑‒|⏓⏑‒||‒‒⏑‒|‒⏑

‒⏓⏑‒|⏓⏑‒||‒‒⏑‒|⏓⏑‒

‒‒⏑‒|⏓⏑‒||‒‒⏑‒|‒⏑

‒‒⏑‒|⏓⏑‒||‒‒⏑‒|⏓⏑‒

‒‒⏑‒|⏓⏑‒||‒‒⏑‒|‒⏑

The quotation comes from a poem composed according to the eight-foot acatalectic pattern of *basīṭ*; each line is filled with four simple coordinate nominal sentences. Three of these sentences are combined with rhyme (different in each line) other than in the clausula. The boundaries of these sentences coincide with the boundaries of the two-foot segments: ⏓⏓⏑‒|⏑⏑‒, of which the metrical pattern is built. The congruent distribution of the word-stress heightens the rhythmical division. Thus, we observe here a clear splitting of the hemistich into symmetrical entities. At the same time the prosodic signals of demarcation connected with the subdivisions are practically identical with those of the caesura.

[52] Abū al-ʿAtāhiya, op. cit.: 481.

[53] Imruʾ al-Qays. 1983. *Dīwān Imriʾ al-Qays*. Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir. 76.

6. Syntactic-intonational parallelism

la-ʿumrī la-qad nūdīta law kunta tasmaʿu

  a-lam tara anna l-mawta mā laysa yudfaʿu

a-lam tara anna n-nāsa fī ġafalāti-him

  a-lam tara asbāba l-umūri taqattaʿu

a-lam tara laḏḏāti l-ġadīdi ilā l-bilā

  a-lam tara asbāba l-himāmi tušayyaʿu

a-lam tara anna l-faqra yuʿqibu-hu l-ġinā

  a-lam tara anna ḍ-ḍayqa qad yatawassaʿu

a-lam tara anna l-mawta yuhtiru šabībatan

  wa-anna rimāḥa l-mawti naḥwa-ka tušraʿu[54]

In the above fragment by Abū al-ʿAtāhiya the individual hemistichs constitute a series of rhetorical questions. Every such sentence is built according to an identical syntactic scheme, and it begins with the same anaphoric phrase: *a-lam tara* – 'did you not see?' The hemistichs are then parallel to each other on both the syntactic and intonational level. The anaphora additionally strengthens the syntactic-intonational parallelism.

IV. RHYTHM-SHAPING IN THE ARABIC ODE – EXAMPLE ANALYSIS

The rhythmical composition of the classical Arabic verse can be shaped in different ways depending on the type of metrical pattern, the kind of rhyme, as well as the intensity of the rhythmical tendencies and means of occasional rhythmization. This can be illustrated in the following fragment:

yā ʿaynī bakkī ʿalā ṣaḥrin li-ašġāni

  wa-hāǧisin fī ḍamīri l-qalbi ḥazzāni

in-nī ḏakartu nadā ṣaḥrin fa-hayyaǧa-nī

  ḏikru l-ḥabībi ʿalā suqmin wa-aḥzāni

fa-bkī aḫā-ki li-l-aytāmi aḍarra bi-him

  raybu z-zamāni wa-kullu ḍ-ḍarri yaġšā-nī

wa-bkī l-muʿammama zayna l-qāʾidīna iḏā

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[54] Abū al-ʿAtāhiya, op. cit.: 249.

kāna r-rimāḥu laday-him ḫalǧa ašṭānī

wa-bna š-šarīdi fa-lam tabluġ arūmatu-hu

ʿinda l-faḫāri la-qarmun ġayru mihǧāni

law kāna li-d-dahri mālun ʿinda mutlidi-hi

la-kāna li-d-dahri ṣaḫrun māla fityāni

ābī l-haḍīmati ātin bi-l-ʿaẓīmati mit

lāfuʾl-karīmati lā niksun wa-lā wāni

ḥāmī l-ḥaqīqati bassālu l-wadīqati miʿ

tāqu l-wasīqati ǧaldun ġayru ṯunyāni

ṭallāʿu marqabatin mannāʿu maġlaqatin

warrādu mašrabatin qaṭṭāʿu aqrāni

šahhādu andiyatin ḥammālu alwiyatin

qaṭṭāʿu awdiyatin sirḥānu qīʿāni

yaḥmī ṣ-ṣiḥāba iḏā ǧadda ḍ-ḍirābu wa-yak

fī l-qāʾilīna iḏā mā kayyala l-hānī

wa-yatruku l-qirna muṣfarran anāmilu-hu

ka-anna fī rayṭatay-hi naḍuḥa arqāni

yuʿṭī-ka mā lā takādu n-nafsu tuslimu-hu

mina t-tilādi wahūbun ġayru mannāni[55]

⏑—⏑́⏑⏑́|—⏑—|⏑́——⏑—|⏑́⏑
⏑⏑́⏑—|—⏑⏑́|—⏑́⏑—|⏑́⏑
⏑́——⏑⏑́|⏑⏑—|⏑́——⏑—|⏑́⏑—
⏑́——⏑⏑́|⏑⏑—|⏑́——⏑—|⏑́⏑
⏑́——⏑⏑́|⏑⏑—|⏑́——⏑⏑́|⏑⏑—
⏑́——⏑⏑́|⏑⏑⏑́|——⏑́⏑—|⏑́—
⏑́——⏑⏑́|⏑⏑⏑́|————⏑⏑́|⏑⏑—
⏑́——⏑⏑́|⏑⏑⏑́|——⏑́⏑—|⏑́⏑
⏑́——⏑⏑́|⏑⏑⏑́|————⏑—|⏑́⏑—
⏑́——⏑⏑́|⏑⏑⏑́|——⏑́⏑—|⏑́⏑
—⏑́⏑—|⏑́⏑⏑́|——⏑́⏑—|⏑́⏑—
⏑⏑́⏑—|⏑́⏑⏑́|——⏑́⏑—|⏑́⏑

[55] Al-Ḫansāʾ. 1983. *Dīwān al-Ḫansāʾ*. Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir. 136-137.

´——⌣´|⌣⌣´|————⌣´|⌣⌣—

´——⌣´|⌣⌣—|´——⌣—|´⌣

´——⌣´|⌣⌣—|´——⌣´|⌣⌣—

´——⌣´|⌣⌣´|——´⌣—|´⌣

——´⌣—|⌣⌣—|——´⌣—|⌣⌣—

——´⌣—|⌣⌣—|——´⌣—|´⌣

——´⌣—|⌣⌣—|——´⌣—|⌣⌣—

——´⌣—|⌣⌣—|——´⌣—|´⌣

´——⌣´|⌣⌣—|´——⌣´|⌣⌣´

———⌣´|⌣⌣—|——´⌣—|´—

⌣´⌣—|´⌣—|´——⌣—|⌣⌣—

⌣´⌣—|——⌣´|——´⌣—|´⌣

——´⌣—|——⌣´|——´⌣—|⌣⌣—

⌣——⌣´|⌣⌣´|——´⌣—|´⌣

The metrical pattern of this composition is an eight-foot catalectic *basīṭ*. In shorter feet (apart from clausulae) the syncopated variant prevails: ⌣⌣—. The full form (—⌣—) was used only seven times, where, apart from the last line, the feet are distributed symmetrically in both hemistichs (lines 1, 6 and 12). In longer feet the full form (——⌣—) dominates. The syncopated variant (⌣——⌣—) occurs six times (lines 1, 6, 12 and 13), and only once symmetrically in both hemistichs (line 12).

Every line is a complete sentence, so it is an entirely autonomic syntactic-intonational unit. The paroxytonic rhyme –*āni* is the most distinctive signal of the rhythmical segmentation. In some places rhythmical dichotomy has been disturbed. In lines 7, 8 and 11 the caesura has been eliminated, whereas in line 4 it is hardly noticeable because it falls within a congruent syntactic entity. It is interesting to note that nevertheless the graphical form of the poem still preserves dichotomy at the expense of metrical irregularities of the hemistichs.

Ends of initial hemistichs are generally proparoxytonic (apart from lines 3 and 4). Paroxytonesis in the caesura of the opening line is due to the preferential rhyme consistency between hemistichs in the first line of a composition.

There is a marked tendency to emphasize the symmetrical distribution of feet within hemistichs. In lines 2, 9, 10 and 11, as well as in initial hemistichs of lines 1 and 5, the boundaries of the two-foot segments ——⌣—|⌣⌣— always match with the word ends. In lines 9 and 10 this is additionally accompanied by a boundary of a syntactic unit and related to it intonational signal. It gives the lines

an atomic structure. A similar phenomenon occurs in the previous two lines. Here, however, the rhythmical subdivisions cross the foot order.

The majority of hemistichs contain four meaningful word forms each, whereas the final words are always trisyllabic, apart from lines 7 and 11.

In addition, some other more or less visible occasional rhythmical modifiers have been used in this composition:

1. Internal rhyme: *ašǧāni - ḫazzāni, zamāni - yaġwānī, haḍīmati - ʿaẓīmati - karīmati, haqīqati - wadīqati - wasīqati, ṭallāʿu - mannāʿu - qaṭṭāʿu, marqabatin - maġlabatin - mašrabatin, andiyatin - alwiyatin - awdiyatin, ṣiḥāba - ḍirāba.*

2. Morphological parallelism; the rhyming words are nearly always built according to identical inflectional and word formation patterns.

3. Syntactic parallelism:
- Recurrence of identical adjective forms in lines 7-11,
- Symmetrical temporal-conditional caluses in both hemistichs of line 11.

4. Anaphora in lines 3 and 4: *fa-bkī* : *wa-bkī*.

5. Figure of etymology: *ḏakartu – ḏikru, aḍarra – ḍarri* (lines 2, 3).

SUMMARY

The average receiver of the classical Arabic poetry – either listening to its recitation or reading at one's fireside – does not associate the rhythm of the verse with a specific sequence of long and short syllables. If he is not sufficiently acquainted with versology, he cannot even distinguish the boundaries of the metrical units, not to mention the ability to identify individual meters. However, even an untrained ear will without doubt be able to perfectly catch the recurrent shaping of text endings between one pause and another. It refers to the rhyme, which is invariable within the range of the whole poem, and also to the constant accentual profile of clausulae. These two elements are most distinct in the rhythmical construction of old Arabic poetry. However they are not restricted to poetry, since the same factors are characteristic of rhyming prose and they also give Koranic recitations their specific rhythmical features.

The line structure of the classical poetry, contrary to the text of Koran, is based on isometry. This means that all lines of a given composition are equivalent to each other as far as the quantitative-syllabic structure is concerned. Otherwise, their rhythmical equilibrium would be disturbed. Seemingly contrary to the constitutive role assigned to meter in old Arabic poetry, foot types and configurations are not directly sensed during recitation. This is true even though it is mostly them that cause the verses to be instinctively perceived as rhythmically equivalent.

In old Arabic stichic verse, as in every other type of poetry, rhythm is a complex and multilevel phenomenon. Characterization of its components is beyond subjective experience and evaluation, as well as fixed opinions about its solely quantitative nature. The verse-creating factors, which are at the same time rhythm-creating factors, are selected features of the Arabic phonological system – both prosodic (quantity, stress, intonation) and inherent (features of recurring phoneme groups that form the rhyme). The rhythmical structure of a poetic composition is shaped, apart from rhythmical constants (e. g. metrical pattern, rhyme, accentuation of clausulae, etc.), by versification tendencies. Their recurrence is not constant; however, their frequency is large enough to visibly modify the basic rhythmical pattern. Some of them, like for example the tendency to preserve a constant number of meaningful word forms in hemistichs, emphasize the rhythm created by rhythmical constants. Others, like the tendency to eliminate or weaken the caesura, work against the rhythmical constants by neutralizing the metrical pattern. There are also factors which modify the rhythm in an occasional way, e. g.: lexical repetitions, internal rhymes, alliteration, syntactic-intonational parallelisms, etc. Their range is generally limited to a few lines. Due to such multitude of means, poems composed according to the same metrical pattern can be perceived as rhythmically diverse.

MODERNITY AND FUNDAMENTALISM IN TRANSPLANTED ISLAM. ACTUAL TRENDS

Christian Tămaş
"Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iasi

1. Statistic data

Occidental or *European* Islam, often known by the name of *transplanted* Islam is a term used to describe the Muslims who legally immigrated in the industrialized countries of Western Europe after the 2nd World War, as well as the hundreds of thousands of illegal Muslim immigrants.

The transplanted Islam is a very particular one, it has its own lifestyle, its own problems and aspirations, more or less legitimate, and is based on the contribution of all the Muslim peoples and traditions. Most transplanted Muslims come from North Africa, Turkey, Pakistan, Mali, Senegal, Bosnia, Kosovo, the Middle East, Iran, Indonesia and the Philippines. But the demographic dimension of the EU Islam could never be extremely accurate, given the constant intra-community migration.

Currently, according to the latest statistics[1], in the 27 EU countries plus Norway and Switzerland live around 44,1 million Muslims belonging to the "transplanted" Islam (which includes the natural growth, the illegal immigration and the increasing number of conversions to Islam[2]).

2. Structures and organization

The emergence of new generations issued from the naturalized immigration, their relations with their countries of origin, the access, through naturalization, to the citizenship of the European countries change, nevertheless, the whole perspective which doesn't regard any more only the respect for the religious and cultural aspects associated with the phenomenon of migration, but has to deal with the legal recognition and management, through the national

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[1] The Future of the Global Muslim Population. Projections for 2010-2030, A Project of the Pew Research Center, The Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, Analysis 27.01.2011.

[2] According to the latest estimates, in France approximately 3,600 people convert to Islam every year, compared to only 600-900 Muslims who choose to give up their religion (Schmidt 2006). In Germany, the annual number of people converted to Islam is about 1,500 (Ackermann 2007), in Spain, about 2,000, in Belgium, about 2,500 most of the new converts opting for the radical movements.

policies of the European Union's countries, of the Islamic minorities' cultural and ethnic interests.

If until 1973-74 we could speak of an "invisible" or "domestic" transplanted Islam preserved and transmitted on a family base, in the past three decades Islam has been shifting towards a visible, social dimension, its main objective today being that of gaining its full legitimacy, based on the recognition of a community status which involves various local contexts, such as those of France or Germany, where the *Régions* or the *Länder* have a number of important powers in relation to culture, education, and religion.

The organized Islam present nowadays in Europe is founded on two patterns:

– one based on the adherence to a supranational or ethnic organization;

– the other based on the adherence to a specific brotherhood[3], built around an idea or a charismatic leader that enforces it.

2.1. Supranational and ethnic organizations

With regard to the supranational structures, the most important in the EU is the *World Islamic League*[4], under Saudi control, which, acting as an NGO, can easily become a partner in the dialogue with different national and international organizations. Propagating fundamentalist *Wahhabi* doctrine and receiving a generous financial support, the League has the following main objectives:

1. the strengthening and spreading of the Islamic faith;
2. the development of religious Islamic education at all levels;
3. the construction and maintenance of mosques;
4. the distribution of publications with religious content;
5. the restoration of the Arabic language among the non-Arab Muslims.

Another organization is the *Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe* (FIOE), structured as an NGO as well, partially funded by money from the Gulf States, directed from the UK, and assisted by the *European Council of Research and Fatwa*[5]. Some of the chapters of this organization[6] are believed to be close to the *Muslim Brotherhood*.

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[3] This system represents a main characteristic of the classic Islam.

[4] Nevertheless it seems that only a small number of Maghrebis and newly converts feel represented by the League as most Muslims seem very much influenced by the religious authorities of their countries of origin.

[5] The organization's task is to study and edict collective *fatwas* (religious opinions on Islamic law), to answer questions for Muslims of Europe, and solve their problems, in accordance to the Islamic law (*shari'a*).

But despite the results of the supranational Islamic organizations, their influence in Europe is sometimes contested and produces a lot of friction within the Muslim ethnic communities. Especially the Turkish communities are rather reluctant to accept the *umbrella* of these Arab financed organizations. In the places characterized by a consistent Turkish presence, the mosque, which serves, in the Islamic tradition, both as a meeting point and a forum for debate, often belongs to the local Turkish community and is related to the so-called *halal business*, including bakeries, butcher shops, libraries, Qur'anic schools, travel agencies, and sports clubs which depend on it. These "parishes" are exclusivist structures, where Muslims belonging to other ethnic groups are rarely accepted. Such rivalries between the Islamic communities point out, by extension, some of the internal difficulties impeding the Muslims' desire for legitimacy and recognition in the European countries.

2.2. The brotherhood-type structures

Unlike the supranational or the ethnic organizations, the brotherhoods generally do not imply ethnic rivalries, given that they are ideologically based and involved in more specific problems than the organizations. The most active Islamic brotherhood is *The Muslim Brotherhood*, which has massively infiltrated into Germany and from there into other European countries. This brotherhood, financed by Saudi Arabian funds, has become an umbrella for many other groups animated by its ideology, i.e. *l'Union des Organisations Islamiques de France* (Union of Islamic Organizations of France), the *Milli Görüş* organization established by the Turkish emigrants in Germany[7], *l'Unione delle Comunità ed Organizzazioni Islamiche in Italia* (Union of the Islamic Communities and Organizations in Italy), etc.

Among the most important Islamic brotherhoods active in Europe we can cite as well the *Tabligh8*, particularly active in northern Europe, or the *Süleymany*, founded in 1950 by Turkish immigrants. They are sometimes subordinated to a number of strictly religious brotherhoods, such as the *Naqshbandiyya*, which appears to be the most representative Islamic community of this kind in Europe.

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[6] i.e. *FIOF (Federation of Islamic Organizations in France)*.

[7] With 30,000 members, and around 100,000 sympathizers, this organization claims to defend the rights of Germany's Turkish immigrants, giving them a voice in the democratic political arena while "preserving their Islamic identity". Despite this, some Milli Görüş leaders have repeatedly expressed contempt for democracy and for the Western values.

[8] Missionary movement in Islam, developed after 1945 militating for the Islam's revival, and the reformation of the ill educated. It is active in Asia, Africa, North America, and northern Europe, and feeds the militant organizations for a "true Islamic state".

3. Integration versus marginalization

Nowadays Muslims born within the European Muslim communities are called immigrants of the "third generation" whose development follows a sociological pattern which states that *the first generation adapts, the second integrates, and the third claims its roots*.

Most Muslim immigrants who arrived in western Europe after World War II, gathered into small and culturally homogeneous nations. Their influx represented a new phenomenon for many host states and it was often unwelcome. Meanwhile, Muslim immigrants retained powerful attachments to their native cultures, and they gathered in enclaves with their compatriots: Algerians, Tunisians, and, lately, Libyans in France and Italy, Moroccans in Spain and Italy, Turks in Germany, Indians and Pakistanis in the United Kingdom and so on.

Despite the EU or the EU states' national policies, the European host countries never learned how to really integrate newcomers, especially those belonging to strong cultural backgrounds. Thus the Muslims communities of Europe remain distinct, cohesive, and, to a certain extent, bitter, making their adoptive countries collide with an increasing number of immigrants exceptionally retentive of their ways, producing a variant of what the French scholar Olivier Roy (2004) calls "globalized Islam" characterized by militant Islamic resentments towards Western dominance, by an anti-imperialism exalted mainly by the *Salafi*[9] revivalism.

As a consequence of demography, history, ideology, and policy, Europe now shelters an increasing number of often marginalized Muslim communities whose members are its citizens in name but not culturally or socially.

While talking about integration and globalization but deprived of its colonial empire, Western Europe acquired instead a structure similar to an internal colony which keeps slowly expanding in the entire Union. Many of this structure's members are willing to integrate and try to climb Europe's social ladder but many young Muslims reject the minority status to which their parents acquiesced. Thus an extremely volatile mix of European nativism and immigrant dissidence challenges the "societal security", or "the national cohesion" of states (Buzan, Weaver and Wilde 1998: 119). To make things worse, the very isolation of these diaspora communities obscures their inner workings, allowing fundamentalists to fund-raise, prepare, and recruit *jihad* fighters.

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[9] *Sunni* school that considers the so-called *salaf* (pious ancestors) of the early Islam as exemplary models. The term was used for the first time in the 12th century. The adepts of this school consider the first three generations of Islam (the Prophet's generation and the next two generations after his death) as examples of perfection in the practice of Islam.

Under the circumstances, even liberal segments of the European public began to have a number of second thoughts about immigration. Many were disillusioned by their governments' failure to reduce or even identify the sources of social unease implying a combination of vandalism, delinquency, and hate crimes stemming from Muslim immigrant enclaves. As general trends, the state appeared unable to regulate the entry of immigrants, and the society seemed unwilling to integrate them. In some cases, the social reaction was xenophobic and racist; in others, it tried to sanction the policy-makers seduced by the multiculturalist dream of diverse communities living in harmony under the compassion umbrella of remedial benefits offered to oppressed nationalities all over the world.

Thus, in 2002, an "electoral rebellion" over the issue of immigration was already threatening the political balance in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, and the Netherlands where the Dutch angered by the 2002 assassination of the gay anti-immigration politician Pim Fortuyn, determined the main political parties to adopt much of his program. Recently in the United Kingdom, the Tories and the Labourists agreed to promote immigration restrictions, such as tightened procedures for asylum and family reunification as well as and a computerized exit-entry system like in the U.S. The 2004 Muslim veil rebellion, the 2005 and 2007 slums riots in France, the asylum abuse and terrorism debates in the United Kingdom, the immigration political dispute in Belgium and Switzerland, the 2006 Prophet's Cartoons scandal in Denmark, the Dutch frustration over the killing, in 2004, of the film director Theo van Gogh, as well as the niqab-banishing legislation adopted in several European countries, prove to a certain extent the European Union's failure to deal with a complex phenomenon that could transform Muslim ethnicity into a dangerous weapon.

A main reason for tensions between the native Europeans and the Muslim immigration is due to the fact that, in spite of many gilded political discourses, the socio-economic conditions of the European Muslims are extremely fragile. The unemployment rate for the Muslims population is usually bigger than the national averages. In this regard, the UK Muslims' situation is particularly critical. People coming from Bangladesh and Pakistan are confronted with an unemployment rate three times higher than the unemployment rate affecting the minorities considered to be the most disadvantaged. And this situation is not confined only to low-skilled jobs but regards also high profile jobs in medicine, education or public administration.

This socio-economic marginality is often accompanied by a residential segregation. Census data show that British Pakistani immigrants tend to occupy the most dilapidated and unhealthy housing. Even if it doesn't reach the same

level of segregation, the ethnic perception of social differences is also very present in urban areas in France, Germany, Italy or the Netherlands.

Thus for the new generations of Muslim immigrants any question involving modernity or fundamentalism refers to the experience of differences and discrimination (racism, social exclusion) linked to a cultural loss. These young people are indeed victims of a post- or neo-colonial syndrome that places Muslims in the centre of a negative imagery rooted in the colonial past.

Such an approach can explain violent protests like the riots of Marseille, the so-called *Minguettes rodeos*[10] in 1981, the riots of Vaulx-en-Velin, in 1989, and others, when Muslim communities were victims of racial discrimination or of police brutality. But such violence is nevertheless contained and limited because such neighbourhoods are often left to themselves, and there are city policies directed toward the subsidizing of a number of activities that help to maintain calm.

Furthermore the correlation between social problems and Islam can be invoked as a reason for the political success of the extreme right movements, not only in France, but also in Belgium, Austria, Italy and the Netherlands. As a matter of fact the collision between Islam and poverty increases the legitimacy of the thesis on the incompatibility of cultures and on the threat posed by the roots of Islam. And the September 11 events, as well as the London and Madrid attacks increased the stigma linking Islam, suburbs, and terrorism.

Under these circumstances the Muslim communities' reaction was one of self-segregation in terms of culture and global ethnic belonging. Given the context of different policies, sometimes diametrically opposed, practised in the European countries with regard to Islam, Muslim communities – whose support, both internal and external, aims towards the idea of a transnational structure – tend to give to their members a sense of unity, similar to the old ideal of Islamic unity of faith (*ittihad*), which has never fully worked so far.

In the same respect, the extensive media coverage of physical and mental sufferings that affect Muslims in many parts of the world, the contexts of the explosive Middle East, where the symbolism of Jerusalem and the quest for a Palestinian State has long been a source of violence, the conflicts of Philippines, Kashmir, Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya seem to suggest to many young Muslims that evoking the past and isolating themselves behind the gilded walls of a once glorious tradition, as well as putting up an often violent and

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[10] Violent confrontation with the police in a Lyons suburb named *Les Minguettes*. In about 250 incidents called "rodeos", groups of young rioters used to steal a car, engaged police in a chase, and then abandoned and burnt the vehicle down (cf. Wacquant, 2007: 5).

sometimes bloody resistance, is the only guarantee of their ethnic and cultural existence.

Fully aware of these things, the young Muslims belonging to the third generation let themselves constantly seduced by the rhetoric and the activism of fundamentalist Islamic groups. All their grievances are in fact motivated by the desire to be seen and recognized in accordance with the standards of the Western societies that use to divide people in two categories: 1) of wealth and success and 2) of poverty and failure. Young Muslims want to pass from an underground or "domestic" Islam to the public recognition of the dignity of their ethnicity and religion.

4. Ethnicity between modernity and fundamentalism

Taking into account the symbolic language's resemantization in the Western world, for the young people issued from the Islamic immigration and born in the adoptive homelands of their parents, the Islamic roots and traditions, far beyond the natural framework of the simple Muslim identity, become ultimate symbols whose strength contributes to the aggregation of a strong internal feeling of belonging and identity, and, at the same time, of segregation and rejection of any value considered susceptible of doing damage to their own values regarded as the only real ones given the divine inspiration allocated to them.

But in the silence of even greater misunderstandings, an Islam adapted to secularism is emerging as well. Indeed, the dominant trend in the European Muslim population is to reconcile the individual autonomy with the belief in a more or less defined transcendent dimension administered in accordance with the constraints of time, and preserved by means of the observance of the major rites of passage: a) the circumcision, b) the marriage, c) the burial. This kind of believers consider themselves as "non-practising", even if they do not reject the cult and practice transmitted by their parents which relate them to the festive and traditional Islam. They belong mostly to the immigration issued middle class, and have little knowledge of the Islamic tradition and the ritual requirements arising from it. Most haven't received any Qur'anic teaching, be it within their own family or outside it. Islam here refers mostly to the preservation of fidelity to the original group without actually encouraging the true belief or any form of piety.

In general, for these Muslims religion is associated with the family/small community reunions occasioned by the celebration of the main Islamic holidays which involves a breakaway from the daily life pressures and frustrations. It is also associated with the respect paid to their parents' beliefs, but without implying adherence to any religious matters involved. These Muslims perceive Islam as a cultural heritage enshrined in the traditions as well as in their family behaviour

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related to one Muslim community or another. They consider Islam a mere "marker" of descent that places them more in a cultural dimension than in a religious one.

Besides this category of Muslims, there is another one defined, unlike the first, by a willingly assumed obligation to comply with all the Islamic rules and prescriptions. Islam shifts in this case from its cultural dimension to a rigid orthoprax involving the ultimate respect shown to all Islamic religious requirements and practices and to their embodiment in everyday life. Complying to the rules of Islam means complying to a world directly governed by the word of God revealed in the Qur'an, it means classifying the world as "pure" and "impure", and all human acts according to their degree of legality or illegality, it means rejecting all relativism in quest of an idea of absolute.

But be it lax or rigid, Islam is more than a religion, it is a way of living, as well as a dominant culture whose values collide with the often contradictory (non)values of the Occident which transformed Europe in a land of predilection for the fundamentalist Islamic movements.

The spreading of fundamentalist movements is due to the fact that preaching the return to the basic essence of Islam, and providing a conservative education seem to promote the resistance of the Muslim population and, by extension, of the Islamic culture, against the non-Islamic social and cultural milieus.

Given the situation of the teenagers living in the suburbs of the major cities whose authorities are mostly unable to cope with the far-reaching national and even international situations, and depend on an electorate who is not very interested in paying attention to such social phenomena, many young Muslims see no other alternative than the politicized Islam, the lack of interest shown by the authorities pushing them to embrace the doctrines of various militant Islamic groups, more or less radical, supported in terms of logistics and doctrine by a number of fundamentalist currents of global dimension less animated by the ideas of a progressive Islamic reformism inspired by Muhammad 'Abduh (1849-1905) and Al-Afghani (1838-1897), and mostly fuelled by the rigoristic schools' trends. All these movements, very active in the Islamic world engaged in various kinds of *jihads*, even if are not based on a religious doctrine, have a great importance taking into account that a number of underground or quasi-underground movements, more or less violent, such as the Liberation Party, active in Central Asia, or Bin Laden's network, are ready to sanction the real or the imagined frustrations of the Muslims around the world.

Thus, taking into account the social, economic, and political hostility of the milieu, Islamic fundamentalism seems to provide for many young people a sense of life, an ideal, and a cause to fight for.

But the European Islamic ideology doesn't imply only this radical trend. There are many Muslims who consider Islam as a source of morals and education which exalts the logic of individual choice, introducing a break with the ethnicization of religion. European Muslims put forward a logic concerning individual decision and individual choice that fully fits their attachment to the Islamic religious values. According to this trend, it is not enough to believe in God and to practise a particular cult because one was born into it but to express one's own individuality when choosing to practice a certain cult or religion, and to give a personal sense to the revealed message. The quest for an universal and scholarly Islam, governed by the individual logic sets the premise of an unprecedented reconstruction in the European milieu of a new logic of the Islamic faith capable of preserving itself from excesses and radicalisms.

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Book reviews

George Grigore, *L'arabe parlé à Mardin – monographie d'un parler arabe « périphérique »*, Bucharest, Editura Universității din Bucureşti, 2007, 350 pp.

Reviewed by Andrei A. Avram[*]

L'arabe parlé à Mardin is a welcome contribution to the literature on Arabic dialects. The analysis is based on a corpus of texts collected *in situ* and in Istanbul, where there is a large community of Mardini Arabs, as well as on data elicited by means of a questionnaire devised by the author.

Chapter 1, "Mardin: presentation générale" (pp. 17-26) introduces the reader to the geography, history and demographics of the area of Mardin.

In chapter 2, "Mardin: mélange linguistique" (pp. 27-36), the author presents the language situation in Mardin, which is characterized by the coexistence of four languages, Mardini Arabic, Kurdish, Turkish and (Țuroyo) Aramaic, which differ not only in terms of their genetic affiliation, but also from a typological point of view. It is shown that Mardini Arabic, an Arabic *Sprachinsel* completely isolated from the prestigious *al-fuṣḥā*, faces competition from both Kurdish, the dominant regional language, and from Turkish, the official language, and its status illustrates what the author calls (p. 32) "asymétrie linguistique".

The phonetics and phonology of Mardini Arabic are described in great detail in chapter 3, "Phonétique et phonologie" (pp. 37-105). The issues covered are: the inventory of consonantal and vocalic phonemes; emphasis and its extension; the scope of *imāla*; the phonological processes of consonant devoicing, vowel harmony, deletion and epenthesis; syllable structure; stress; intonation.

Chapter 4, "Les catégories grammaticales du mardini" (pp. 105-106), is a brief outline of the grammatical categories relevant to an analysis of the morpho-syntax of Mardini Arabic.

Chapter 5, "Morphosyntaxe verbale" (pp. 107-170) is a thorough analysis of the Mardini Arabic verb. The author discusses the following topics: the tri- and quadri-consonantal verbs and their derived forms; the active participle; the passive; the *maṣdar* of primitive verbs; the so-called "verbal nominal" constructions of the type *sawa – ysawi* 'to do' + noun and *ṣār – yṣēr* 'to become'

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[*] University of Bucharest, Department of English.

+ noun'; the tense, aspect and mood markers *qāyəm*, *ta*, *kān*, *kəl*, *kān ta*, *baq*, *də*; the negative morphemes *mo*, *ma* and *la*.

In chapter 6, "Morphosyntaxe nominale" (pp. 171-218), the author provides a comprehensive account of the derivational morphology and inflectional morphology of nouns and adjectives. The section on derivation focuses on suffixes, given that the only prefix attested, *bē* 'deprived of' (< Kurdish *bê* 'without'), is not fully integrated. The sections on inflectional morphology cover the following: gender; number (the singular, the dual, the external plural, the internal plural, the collective, the singulative); diminutives; the vocative; proper and common nouns; the plural of adjectives in $C_1(a)C_2\bar{\imath}C_3$; the degrees of comparison of adjectives; names of colours and of peculiar mental or physical characteristics; *status constructus*, including the type noun + *əl* + adjective; compound nouns.

Chapter 7, "The numeral" (pp. 219-226), deals with on the classes of numerals. In addition to cardinals, ordinals, fractions, and distributive numerals, the system of numerals of Mardini Arabic includes the so-called collective numeral.

Chapter 8, "Pronoms et determinants" (pp. 227-256) discusses the pronouns and the determiners. The classes of pronouns are: autonomous personal; affixed personal; possessive; demonstrative; relative; interrogative; indefinite; reflexive. The determiners consists of demonstrative adjectives, quantifiers (for an empty set, for plurality, for totality and the distributive *kəll* / *kəllət*), and what the author calls "identificatifs d'identité", "identitificatifs d'altérité" and "le comparatif".

In chapter 9, "The adverb" (pp. 247-256), the author describes several classes of adverbs: of manner, place and time, relative interrogative adverbs, adverbs of affirmation and adverbs of negation. Also included is a discussion in some detail of a selected number of adverbs.

The following two chapters, 10, "The conjunction" (pp. 257-262), and 11, "The preposition" (pp. 263-284), are an overview of the conjunctions (including complementizers) and prepositions and of their main uses.

In chapter 12, "Syntaxe de la proposition et de la phrase" (pp. 285-318), the author describes the syntax of root clauses and of complex sentences. Three types of root clauses are examined: the existential clause with *fīyu* 'to exist', the clauses constructed with the enclitic copula identical with or derived from the personal pronouns, and what the author calls "l'énoncé de monstration" with the particle *kwa* 'here is'. The sections on syntax of complex sentences deal with complement, conditional and relative clauses as well as the following types of adverbial clauses: of reason, purpose, concession, comparison, and time.

Chapter 13, "La réduplication à *m*" (pp. 319-330), looks at the process whereby vowel-initial words are reduplicated with addition of [m], e.g. *akəl-makəl* 'food and similar things', while consonant-initial words undergo reduplication and substitution of their initial consonant by [m], e.g. *r̤ās-m̤ās* 'head and other body parts'. The discussion includes remarks on the phonology and on the semantics and pragmatics of *m*-reduplication.

In chapter 14, "L'alternance codique: mardini-kurde-turque" (pp. 331-342), it is shown that in the particular language situation in Mardin code-switching frequently involves Mardini Arabic and Kurdish, but may include Turkish as well. The author examines both inter- and intra-sentential code-switching. Also discussed are the linguistic and social factors facilitating and/or triggering code-switching.

In addition to being a comprehensive description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Mardini Arabic, the book demonstrates the extent of the influence exerted by Kurdish and Turkish. This includes: the phonemes /p/, /g/, /v/, /ʒ/, /tʃ/ "imported" from Kurdish and Turkish; the use of *status constructus* paralleling the *izafet* of both Kurdish and Turkish; suffixes from Turkish, e.g. the relational suffixes -*či*, -*li*, the privative suffix -*səz*; adverbs of Turkish origin, e.g. *belki* 'maybe', *bīle* 'actually', *yalnəz* 'only'; complementizers from Turkish, e.g. *agar* 'if', *ki* 'that'; conjunctions from Turkish and/or Kurdish, e.g. *čənki* 'because', *garak…garak* 'either…or', *ham…ham* 'not only…but', '*vēya* 'or', *ya…ya* 'either…or'; prepositions from Turkish, e.g. *lə-ḫāṭər* 'for', *qarši* 'against'; the wide-spread use of *m*-reduplication. In addition, some features of Mardini Arabic may be traced back to (Ṭuroyo) Aramaic as well, e.g. the use of the enclitic copula.

In the following I would like to make a few observations and to propose some possible alternative accounts.

Consider first several issues related to phonology. The uvular stop /q/ is not voiced (p. 38), but voiceless. Some of the "paires minimales, emphatique – non-emphatique" (p. 65) are in fact quasi-minimal pairs, differing in more than one segment: *m̤aṣa* 'table' – *masa* 'evening' –, *ḍ̤ərs* 'tooth' – *dars* 'lesson', *m̤ām̤a* 'mother' – *məme* 'nipple', *məl̤l̤at* 'the people of' – *məllət* 'annoyed (fem. sg.)'. The occurrence of [ə] when the following syllable contains an /ə/, e.g. *məsək* 'to seize', and of /a/ when the following syllable contains an /a/, e.g. *daḫal* 'to enter', is an instance of vowel copying, rather than vowel harmony (p. 87). $C_1C_2\bar{e}C_3$ and $C_1C_2\bar{o}C_3e$ are not allophones of $C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$ and $C_1C_2\bar{u}C_3e$ respectively (p. 94): only the vowels [ē] and [ō] are conditioned (by the neighbouring consonants). Phonetic realizations should have been transcribed between square brackets, not between slashes.

Consider next morpho-syntax. The masculine and feminine forms of the distributive 'each' *kəll* and *kəllət* are shown to be used interchangeably, and the author concludes (p. 242) that "[a]yant en vue que les deux formes sont employées indistinctement, sans aucun conditionnement, on peut considérer *kəllət* comme allomorphe de *kəll*". Since allomorphs occur in complementary distribution and are conditioned, it follows that *kəll* and *kəllət* actually occur in free variation. In the analysis of the *status contructus* of nouns ending in the short vowel /a/ or /e/ (p. 212), it is shown that "l'occurrence d'un nom terminé en a/e comme premier terme dans un état d'annexion entraîne toujours l'apparition de la consonne /t/ qui modifie la dernière syllabe de cette manière: Ca/e → Ca/ət". According to the author (p. 212), "cette consonne peut être historiquement motivée (les terminaisons *at*, *'at*)", but with nouns historically ending in /ā/ or /ā'/ or borrowed nouns ending in /a/ or /e/, the occurrence of [t] is an instance of analogy (p. 213). I would suggest an alternative analysis in terms of rule reinterpretation[1]: the original rule of deletion (noun-final) $t \rightarrow ø$ / __ # has been reinterpreted as a rule of epenthesis $ø \rightarrow t$ / noun __ noun.

A few comments are in order with respect to the influence of Turkish on Mardini Arabic. In his discussion of obstruent devoicing in word-final position, the author writes that "je suis enclin à croire que ce traitement des consonnes en mardini est tel non seulement pour des causes internes, mais aussi parce qu'il est soutenu par l'influence de la langue turque où ce phénomène est très typique". However, Turkish influence is not necessarily a factor. Firstly, in Turkish only the stops /b/, /d/, /g/ and the affricate /ʤ/ undergo devoicing[2], whereas in Mardini Arabic the list of obstruents subject to devoicing also includes the fricatives /v/, /z/ and /ʒ/ (p. 45). Secondly, in Turkish obstruent devocing also occurs in word-internal codas, whereas in Mardini Arabic it seems to be restricted to word-final position. Thirdly, in Mardini Arabic voiced stops also become aspirated in word-final position.

In the discussion of the analytical comparative *zēd* + adjective (pp. 205-206), the author appears to suggest the possibility of Turkish influence. Thus, the reader is referred (p. 205) to Turkish *daha*: "La construction analytique *zēd* (v. turc *daha*) + adjectif". Also, it is stated (p. 206) that *zēd* 'more' placed before an adjective is "synonyme avec le turc emprunté à l'arabe, *ziyade* « augmentation », « plus », « davantage »", as in *ziyade büyük* 'bigger'. However, this use of *ziyade*

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[1] For the concept of rule reinterpretation see H. H. Hock (1991), *Principles of Historical Linguistics*, second revised and updated edition, Berlin · New York, Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 262-263.

[2] See e.g. C. Gussenhoven and H. Jacobs (2005), *Understanding Phonology*, second edition, London, Hodder Arnold, p. 65.

might be rather infrequent[3]. Moreover, various reflexes of the same Arabic root occur in similar constructions in e.g. Maltese *Id-deheb hu **iżjed** prezzjuż mill-fidda* 'Gold is more precious than silver' and even in Arabic-lexified contact languages, e.g. Nubi, to form the superlative *Ma'ish ta 'Bombo 'kan ba'tal **'zaidi***. 'Life in Bombo was very bad'[4].

The adverb *baqa* 'finally', derived from the verb *baqa* 'to remain', is said to have been "grammaticalisé avec ce sens sous l'influence de l'adverbe turc *artık* « à la fin », « finalement »" (p. 255). Firstly, it is not clear why a Turkish adverb would have triggered in Mardini Arabic the grammaticalization of a verb into an adverb. This cannot be a case of ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization, since there is no universal strategy of grammaticalization yielding an adverb meaning 'finally' from a verb meaning 'to remain'. It cannot be an instance of replica grammaticalization[5] either as there is no grammaticalization process in Turkish, from a verb 'to remain' to the adverb 'finally' which could have been replicated. Secondly, the position of *baqa* differs from that of *artık*. In Mardini Arabic, *baqa* always occurs in sentence-final position (p. 255), whereas in Turkish, *artık* occurs in initial position in affirmative sentences, but in final position in negatives ones: ***Artık** Türkçe'yi güzel konuşuyorsun*. 'You now speak Turkish very well' vs. *İstanbul'da evimiz yok **artık***. 'We no longer have a flat in Istanbul'[6]. Therefore, the use of *baqa* as an adverb may well be an internal development. Thirdly, the case for a Turkish influence is further weakened by the fact, mentioned by the author himself (p. 255), that a similar form, *bâqę* 'no longer', is attested in negative sentences in at least one other dialect, Tlemcen Arabic.

The meaning 'but' of *aṃṃa* is explained (p. 258) as having been "calqué d'après le turc *amma* 'mais'", as "la conjonction turque *amma* a été empruntée, à son tour de l'arabe classique *amma* « quant à... »". However, the semantic development from 'as for' to 'but' is also attested in Maltese *imma* 'but'[7].

It goes without saying that the above remarks do not detract in the least from the value of this truly excellent book. Its extensive scope does justice to

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[3] It is not mentioned in A. Göksel and C. Kerslake (2005), *Turkish. A Comprehensive Grammar*, London, Routledge, in their discussion of the comparative form of adjectives, on p. 198.

[4] I. Wellens (2003), An Arabic Creole in Africa. The Nubi Language of Uganda, PhD dissertation, Catholic University of Nijmegen, p. 80.

[5] For ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization and respectively replica grammaticalization see B. Heine and T. Kuteva (2005), *Language Contact and Grammatical Change*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 81 and 92.

[6] A. Göksel and C. Kerslake (2005), *Turkish. A Comprehensive Grammar*, London, Routledge, p. 231.

[7] Brother Henry (1980), *Grammatika Maltija*, Gżira, De La Salle Brothers, p. 199.

George Grigore' s impressive scholarship in the field of Arabic dialectology. To conclude, the author should receive ample credit for this authoritative and insightful work, which is of interest not only for specialists in Arabic dialects, but also for those studying language contacts and code-switching.