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<http://araba.ils.unibuc.ro/>
e-mail: gmgrigore@yahoo.com; laurasitaru@yahoo.it
gabrielbituna@gmail.com

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VERBS REFLECTING CLASSICAL ARABIC FORM IV PATTERNS IN MOROCCAN DIALECTS

Jordi Aguadé
University of Cádiz

Abstract. The causative/factitive verbal form IV in Classical Arabic is semantically not clearly defined and often redundant with the meaning of the form II. For this reason, almost all modern Arabic dialects have replaced it with form II, a shift stimulated by vocalic changes. From a diachronic point of view there are many verbs in North-African dialects in which we can easily recognize verbs of former IV form. This article gives a list of such verbs in Moroccan Arabic dialects. Verbs are divided into two different groups. The first group is comprised of those whose causative/factitive meaning clearly indicate their origin from a former IV form. The second group is exclusively comprised of verb doublets reflecting ancient I and IV forms and, for this reason, shows semantic as well as morphological opposition.

Keywords: Moroccan Arabic, morphology, verbs, verbal form IV, causative, factitive.

It is a well-known fact that the causative/factitive verbal pattern *ʔafʕala ~ yufʕilu* (form IV) in Classical Arabic is semantically not clearly defined and often redundant with the meaning of the pattern *faʕʕala ~ yufaʕʕilu* (form II)¹. For this reason, almost all modern Arabic dialects have replaced it with form II, a shift stimulated by vocalic changes and the loss of the phoneme /ʔ/².

As regarding form IV in North-African dialects, authors frequently assert that the pattern has completely disappeared³: this is correct from a synchronic point of view as, in the Maghreb, forms IV have been regularly replaced by II forms. From a diachronic point of view, however, there are many verbs in which we can easily recognize former IV forms⁴.

Further below, I will give a list of such verbs in Moroccan Arabic dialects. My data are mainly based on the entries gleaned from two dictionaries:

¹ This article has been written under the auspicious of the Spanish research project FFI2011-26782-C02-02 “Dialectos y sociolectos emergentes en el Magreb occidental”. In quotations from other authors I have adapted their transcriptions to my own system.

² Brockelmann 1908: 523; Fischer / Jastrow 1980: 46; Holes 1995: 113. This change is already documented in Arabic papyri from the IX-X centuries (Hopkins 1984: 73).

³ Harrell 1962: 29, 34; Grand’Henry 1972: 59 (“Il n’en subsiste pas de traces notables dans le parler de Cherchell. Le fait es commun à l’ensemble des dialectes du Maghreb”); Marçais 1977: 55-56; Aguadé / Elyacoubi 1995: 53.

⁴ Durand 1994: 66; Heath 2002: 338-339 (Heath gives a small list of such verbs).

Dictionnaire arabe français by A. L. de Prémare (from here onwards abridged as *DAF*)⁵ and *A dictionary of Moroccan Arabic: Moroccan English* by R. S. Harrell (abridged as *ME*). *DAF* is the most comprehensive dictionary of Moroccan Arabic dialects and is, on the whole, comprised of entries collected over decades by the French dialectologist Georges Séraphin Colin. *ME* contains data gathered in the sixties of the last century by the American dialectologist Richard Slade Harrell and is based on the speech of educated Moroccans from the cities of Casablanca, Rabat and Fez. Occasionally, other less comprehensive dictionaries or glossaries are as well cited in my article.

Certainly, not all the verbs reflecting ancient forms IV are now equally as common in Morocco; some of them occur only in a single dialect. For more details regarding the geographic distribution of a verb, the reader can access the *DAF*.

For practical reasons verbs are divided into two different groups. The first group is comprised of those whose causative/factitive meaning clearly indicate their origin from a former form IV.

The second group is exclusively comprised of verb doublets reflecting ancient forms I and IV and, for this reason, show semantic as well as morphological opposition (respectively $a/u \neq -i$ and $\bar{u} \neq \bar{i}$ in the imperfective of defective and hollow verbs).

Verbal roots are in this study arranged according to the Arabic alphabet.

Group 1.

gza (*yǧzi*)/*dza* (*yǧzi*) “to suffice”⁶ < *ʔaǧzā* (*yuǧzī*) “to suffice, to replace”.

ḥṣa (*yǧḥṣi*) “to count, to enumerate”⁷ < *ʔḥṣā* (*yuḥṣī*) “to count”.

ḥāt (*yḥīt*) “to close in from all sides, to encircle”⁸ < *ʔaḥāta* (*yuḥītu*) “to enclose, to encircle”.

xbəṛ (*yəxbəṛ*): “to tell, to inform, to let know”⁹ < *ʔaxbara* (*yuxbiru*) “” the I stem *xabara* means “to try, text, to have experienced”.

⁵ In spite of its title, it is a dictionary of Moroccan Arabic.

⁶ *DAF* 2: 187-189 (*wāḥəd lə-qdər lli yǧdzīni* “une somme d’argent qui suffise à ma subsistance”). Verb not quoted by *ME*.

⁷ *DAF* 3: 140; *ME* 248 (*ḥṣa bā ṣda lə-ǧnəm* “he’s already counted the sheep”); *DAM* 78.

⁸ *DAF* 3: 273-274 (*ḥātət b-əl-ṣādyān nāqma* “une catastrophe a entouré les ennemis de tous côtés”); not quoted by *ME* and *DAM*.

⁹ *ME* 213 (*xbərthūm bīn ḥḥāhūm ža* “I informed them that their father has arrived”, *xbərni fuq-āš gād yži* “let me know when he’s coming”); *DAM* 159 (*xəbru b-lli ḡadda l-ṣīd* “le informaron de que mañana es la fiesta del cordero”).

drək (*yīdrək*) “to obtain, to get; to reach, to arrive at”¹⁰ < *ʔadraka* (*yudriku*) “to attain, to reach”
dla (*yīdli*) “to present, to offer (evidence, document)”¹¹ < *ʔadlā* (*yudlī*) “to deliver, adduce, present”.
dməž (*yīdməž*) “to insert, to mix”¹² < *ʔadmaḡa* (*yudmiḡu*) “to insert, annex, intercalate”.
dār (*ydār*) “to do, to put”¹³ < *ʔadāra* (*yudīru*) “to turn, rotate, revolve; to direct, to set in motion”.
rsəl (*yīrsəl*) “to send”¹⁴ < *ʔarsala* (*yursilu*) “to send”.
šāb (*yšīb*) “to find, to meet”¹⁵ < *ʔašāba* (*yušību*) “to attain, to reach”.
ḏāf (*yḏīf*) “to add”¹⁶ < *ʔadāfa* (*yudīfu*) “to add”.
šžəb (*yšžəb*) “to please, to like”¹⁷ < *ʔa šžəba* (*yšžəbu*) “to please, to delight”.
šda (*yšdi*) “to contaminate, to infect”¹⁸ < *ʔa šdā* (*yu šdī*) “to infect”.
šta (*yšti*) “to give”¹⁹ < *ʔa štā* (*yu štī*) “to give”.
šān (*yšīn*) “to help, to aid”²⁰ < *ʔa šāna* (*yu šīnu*) “to help, to assist”.
šār (*yšīr*) “to lend, to loan”²¹ < *ʔa šāra* (*yu šīru*) “to lend, to loan”.
šya (*yšya*) “to get tired, fatigued”²² < *ʔa šyā* (*yu šyī*) “to be or become tired”.
ḡāt (*yḡīt*) “to come to the aid of, to save”²³ < *ʔaḡāta* (*yugītu*) “to help”.
fḡəd (*yīfḡəd*) “to cause to lose, to deprive”²⁴ < *ʔafḡada* (*yufḡidu*) “to cause to lose

¹⁰ DAF 4: 264; ME 23 (*l-mūrāḏ dyālha dərəkəttu* “she reached her goal”); DAM 44.

¹¹ DAF 4: 328 (“présenter, apporter [preuve, document]”). Verb not quoted by ME and DAM.

¹² DAF 4: 330 “mélanger, insérer”. Verb not quoted by ME and DAM.

¹³ DAF 4: 401-402; ME 18 (*āš kān ka-ydār tamma?* “what he was doing there?”); DAM 40 (*āš ka-ydīru n-nās?* “¿qué hace la gente?”).

¹⁴ DAF 5: 110 (*rsəl l* “envoyer un message à qqn.”); ME 127 (*rsəlt l-bārəḥ risāla l-l-Məḡrīb* “I sent a letter to Morocco yesterday”); DAM 122.

¹⁵ DAF 8: 138-139; ME 143 (*fayn šəbti lə-ktāb?* “where did you find the book?”); TAR 2: 436-437; DAM 137.

¹⁶ Verb quoted only by DAF 8: 227 (“ajouter, adjoindre, inclure”) and DAM 46 (“añadir, incluir”).

¹⁷ DAF 9: 25-26; ME 268 (*ka-yšžəbni nfiq š-šbāḥ bəkri* “I like to get up early in the morning”); DAM 182.

¹⁸ DAF 9: 52; ME 254.

¹⁹ DAF 9: 152-153; ME 264-265 (*šīni žūž kīlu d-lə-bḡāta!* “give me two kilos of potatoes!”); DAM 181.

²⁰ DAF 9: 292-293; ME 253 (*šīna, šāl līlāh!* “help us, for the love of God!”).

²¹ DAF 9: 300 (*šīr li səlḥāmək* “prête-moi ton burnous”).

²² DAF 9: 323 (*šyīt* “je suis fatigué”); ME 266; DAM 181.

²³ DAF 9: 443 (*līla yḡītna b-əš-šta* “que Dieu nous aide en nous envoyant la pluie”); ME 46; TAR 2: 585; DAM 60.

or miss”.

fāq (*yfīq*) “to wake up”²⁵ < *ʔafāqa* (*yufīqu*) “to recover, to wake up”.

qāl (*yqāl*) “to leave alone; to grant a cancellation of sale; to fire, to dismiss”²⁶ < *ʔaqāla* (*yuqālu*) “to cancel, to dismiss; to free, to release”.

kra (*yīkri*) “to rent”²⁷ < *ʔakrā* (*yukrī*) “to rent, to lease”.

lhām (*yīlhām*) “to inspire, to give inspiration to”²⁸ < *ʔalhama* (*yulhimu*) “to make swallow; to inspire”.

mīla (*yīmli*) “to dictate”²⁹ < *ʔamlā* (*yumlī*) “to dictate”.

ngās (*yīngās*) / *ndās* (*yīndās*) “to make unclean, to soil”³⁰ < *ʔanḡasa* (*yunḡisu*) “to soil, to pollute”.

nšād (*yīnšād*) “to sing, to recite”³¹ < *ʔanšada* (*yunšidi*) “to sing, to recite”.

nša (*yīnši*) “to build, to raise; to start”³² < *ʔanša ʔa* (*yunši ʔu*) “to build, to start”.

nšaf (*yīnšaf*) “to be just. to treat with justice”³³ < *ʔanšafa* (*yunšifu*) “to be just”.

nfəq (*yīnfəq*) “to buy food or provisions, to provide”³⁴ < *ʔanfaqa* (*yunfiqu*) “to spend (money); to provide”.

hlək (*yīhlək*) “to cause much harm to, to endanger, to ruin”³⁵ < *ʔahlaka* (*yuhliku*) “to ruin, to destroy”.

hməl (*yīhməl*) “to neglect, to give the cold shoulder to”³⁶ < *ʔahmala* (*yuhmilu*) “to neglect, to omit, to disregard”.

²⁴ DAF 10: 130-132 (“faire perdre; manquer à qqn.”); TAR 2: 602. ME (37) quotes only *fqəd* “to lose” (< *faqada*, form I).

²⁵ DAF 10: 198; ME 32. TAR 2: 615-616 (“ce verb est la forme IV^e classique أفق qui, ayant perdu l’alif hamzéd initial, est devenu en tout point une I^{ère} forme dialectale avec les dérivés et composés correspondants à cette première forme”); DAM 51.

²⁶ DAF 10: 485; ME 108 (*qālūh mən l-mənšīb dyālu* “they dismissed him from his position”); TAR 2: 683 DAM 85.

²⁷ DAF 10: 571; ME 64 (*l-bārəḥ kra dāk d-ḡār l-xāy* “yesterday he rented that house to my brother”).

²⁸ DAF 11: 93; ME 70 (*ʔəbbi ləhmu ḡəttā dāz mən hād ž-žīh* “God gave him the inspiration to come this way”).

²⁹ DAF 11: 253; ME 81 (*āzi llāh yxāllīk mli ʔlīyya hād əl-qīḡ ʔa* “please dictate this excerpt to me”).

³⁰ DAF 11: 317 (“polluer, salir”); ME 101 (quotes only *ngās*). Regarding the shift ḡ > d/g in Moroccan Arabic cf. Cantineau 1960: 61; Heath 2002: 136-138; Aguadé 2003: 70 and 84.

³¹ DAF 11: 363; ME 104.

³² DAF 11: 370; ME 104 (transcribes *nšəʔ*, with final *hamza*); TAR 2: 773.

³³ DAF 11: 381 (*hād l-ḡākəm ka-yīnšaf bīn n-nās* “ce chef est équitable envers les gens”).

³⁴ DAF 11: 431; ME 100 (*nhār s-səbt ka-nnəfqu l-l-ʔūsbū ʔ kāməl* “on Saturdays we buy food for the whole week”); DAM 109.

³⁵ DAF 12: 72-73; ME 54 (*hlək ʔāsu* “to put oneself in a dangerous situation”); DAM 67.

³⁶ DAF 12: 83; ME 54; DAM 67.

Group 2.

<p><i>ḥma</i> (yāḥma) “to get very warm or very hot”</p> <p style="text-align: center;">≠</p> <p><i>ḥma</i> (yāḥmi) “to heat, to make hot”³⁷</p>	<	<p><i>ḥamiya</i> (yaḥmā) “to be or become hot”.</p>
	<	<p><i>ḥahmā</i> (yuhmī) “to make hot, heat”.</p>
<p><i>ḥya</i> (yāḥya) “to live, to come back to life (as from a grave illness)”</p> <p style="text-align: center;">≠</p> <p><i>ḥya</i> (yāḥyi) “to bring back to life, to revive, to resurrect”³⁸</p>	<	<p><i>ḥayiya</i> (yahyā) “to live”.</p>
	<	<p><i>ḥahyā</i> (yuhyī) “to lend life, to endow with life”.</p>
<p><i>xṭa</i> (yāxṭa) “to miss (a target); to make a mistake, to err”</p> <p style="text-align: center;">≠</p> <p><i>xṭa</i> (yāxṭi) “to not speak to, ignore; <i>xṭa f-</i> “to swear or curse at”³⁹</p>	<	<p><i>xaxṭiḥa</i> (yaxṭaḥu) “to be mistaken; to commit an error, make a mistake; to sin”.</p>
	<	<p><i>ḥaxṭaḥa</i> (yuxṭiḥu) “to commit a in error, be at fault (<i>fī</i> in); to be wrong (<i>fī</i> about, in)”.</p>
<p><i>xfa</i> (yāxfa) “to disappear, to be gone (somewhere)”</p> <p style="text-align: center;">≠</p> <p><i>xfa</i> (yāxfi) “to hide to conceal (as information)”⁴⁰</p>	<	<p><i>xafiya</i> (yaxfā) “to be hidden, be concealed”.</p>
	<	<p><i>ḥaxfā</i> (yuxfi) “to hide, conceal”.</p>
<p><i>xla</i> (yāxla) “to empty, to become empty”</p> <p style="text-align: center;">≠</p> <p><i>xla</i> (yāxli) “to empty”⁴¹</p>	<	<p><i>xalā</i> (yaxlū) “to be empty, to be vacant”.</p>
	<	<p><i>ḥaxlā</i> (yuxlī) “to empty, to vacate”.</p>
<p><i>ṛḍa</i> (yāṛḍa) “to accept, to be satisfied with”</p> <p style="text-align: center;">≠</p>	<	<p><i>raḍiya</i> (yarḍā) “to be satisfied, to be content”.</p>

³⁷ DAF 3: 239-240 (*ḥmāw l- ḥāmmām* “on a allumé la chaufferie du hammam”); ME 244; DAM 76.

³⁸ DAF 3: 299-300 (*ḥād š-ši ka-yāḥyi l-qalb* “ceci ravigote”), ME 250; DAM 79.

³⁹ DAF 4: 96-97; ME 221; DAM 164.

⁴⁰ DAF 4: 117; ME 214-215; DAM 162.

⁴¹ DAF 4: 139-140 (*l-wāba xlat al-blād* “la peste a dépeuplé la ville”); ME 215; TAR 2: 248-249; DAM 162.

<i>ṛḍa</i> (<i>yəṛḍi</i>) “to satisfy, to content” ⁴²	<	<i>ṛaṛḍā</i> (<i>yūrḍī</i>) “to satisfy, to please”.
<i>ṛwa</i> (<i>yəṛwa</i>) “to be or get watered or irrigated” ≠ <i>ṛwa</i> (<i>yəṛwi</i>) “to water, to irrigate; to recite” ⁴³	<	<i>rawiya</i> (<i>yarwā</i>) “to be irrigated”. <i>ṛarwā</i> (<i>yurwī</i>) “to give to drink, to water; to tell, to relate” ⁴⁴ .
<i>šqa</i> (<i>yīšqa</i>) “to get tired, to become fatigued; to take the trouble, to bother” ≠ <i>šqa</i> (<i>yīšqi</i>) “to tire, to fatigue; to cause some trouble or bother” ⁴⁵	<	<i>šaqiya</i> (<i>yašqā</i>) “to be unhappy, to have trouble”. <i>ṛašqā</i> (<i>yūšqī</i>) “to make unhappy”.
<i>šfa</i> (<i>yəšfa</i>) “to be or become clear, limpid” ≠ <i>šfa</i> (<i>yəšfi</i>) “to make clear” ⁴⁶	<	<i>šafā</i> (<i>yašfū</i>) “to be or to become clear, limpid”. <i>ṛašfā</i> (<i>yušfi</i>) “to filter, to clarify”.
<i>ḍwa</i> (<i>yəḍwa</i>) “to shine” ≠ <i>ḍwa</i> (<i>yəḍwi</i>) “to light, to illuminate” ⁴⁷	<	<i>ḍāṛa</i> (<i>yaḍū ṛu</i>) “to shine”. <i>ṛaḍā ṛa</i> (<i>yudī ṛu</i>) “to light, to illuminate”.
<i>tfa</i> (<i>yəṭfa</i>) “to go out (light, fire)” ≠ <i>tfa</i> (<i>yəṭfi</i>) “to put out, to stifle (fire), to switch off, to turn off (light)” ⁴⁸	<	<i>ṭafi ṛa</i> (<i>yaṭfa ṛu</i>) “to go out (light)”. <i>ṛaṭfa ṛa</i> (<i>yutfi ṛu</i>) “to switch off (light)”.
<i>šfa</i> (<i>yā šfu</i>) “to pardon, to give a pardon to” ≠ <i>šfa</i> (<i>yā šfi</i>) “to protect, to save, to	<	<i>šafā</i> (<i>ya šfū</i>) “to forgive”. <i>ṛaf šā</i> (<i>yu šfi</i>) “to heal, protect, save”.

⁴² DAF 5: 132-135; ME 124 (*llāh yəṛḍi šlik* “may God bless you”); DAM 119.

⁴³ DAF 5: 252-253; ME 129.

⁴⁴ In this case *ṛwa* (*yəṛwi*) could reflect as well Classical Arabic *rawā* (*yarwī*) “to bring water, to give to drink”.

⁴⁵ DAF 7: 143; ME 156.

⁴⁶ DAF 8: 80; according to DAF, *šfa* (*yəšfi*) is used only in poetry.

⁴⁷ DAF 8: 220-221. ME (31) quotes only *ḍwa* (*yəḍwi*).

⁴⁸ DAF 8: 310; ME 196 (*nsīti ma-tfīti-š ḍ-ḍūw* “you forgot to turn out the light”); DAM 152.

release, to let go (from job, responsibility) ⁴⁹		
<i>ʕma</i> (<i>yā ʕma</i>) “to be or become blind” ≠ <i>ʕma</i> (<i>yā ʕmi</i>) “to blind, to render blind” ⁵⁰	<	<i>ʕamiya</i> (<i>ya ʕmā</i>) “to be blind”. <i>ʕa ʕmā</i> (<i>yu ʕmī</i>) “to blind, to render blind”.
<i>ʕād</i> (<i>y ʕūd</i>) “to return, to come back” ≠ <i>ʕād</i> (<i>y ʕūd</i>) “to bring back, to return” ⁵¹	<	<i>ʕāda</i> (<i>ya ʕūdu</i>) “to return, to come back”. <i>ʕa ʕāda</i> (<i>yu ʕīdu</i>) “to cause to return, to bring back”.
<i>ḡna</i> (<i>yəḡna</i>) “to be rich, wealthy” ≠ <i>ḡna</i> (<i>yəḡni</i>) “to make rich, to make wealthy” ⁵²	<	<i>ḡaniya</i> (<i>yaḡnā</i>) “to be rich”. <i>ʕaḡnā</i> (<i>yuḡni</i>) “to make rich”.
<i>fṭa</i> (<i>yīfṭa</i>) “to become tender (foot)” ≠ <i>fṭa</i> (<i>yīfṭi</i>) “to dictate, to give a <i>fatwā</i> ” ⁵³	<	<i>fatiya</i> (<i>yafṭā</i>) “to be youthful, young”. <i>ʕaftā</i> (<i>yufṭī</i>) “to give a <i>fatwā</i> ”.
<i>fna</i> (<i>yīfna</i>) “to come to an end, to perish” ≠ <i>fna</i> (<i>yīfni</i>) “to destroy, to exterminate” ⁵⁴	<	<i>faniya</i> (<i>yafnā</i>) “to perish, to pass away”. <i>ʕafnā</i> (<i>yufnī</i>) “to annihilate, to destroy”.
<i>qām</i> (<i>yqām</i>) “to get up, to arise” ≠ <i>qām</i> (<i>yqām</i>) “to prepare (tea), to furnish” ⁵⁵	<	<i>qāma</i> (<i>yaqāmu</i>) “to get up, to stand up”. <i>ʕaqāma</i> (<i>yuqāmu</i>) “to set up, to make rise, to start”.
<i>lḡa</i> (<i>yīlḡa</i>) “to talk, to babble (baby); to chirp”	<	<i>laḡiya</i> (<i>yalḡa</i>) and <i>laḡā</i> (<i>yalḡū</i>) “to talk nonsense”.

⁴⁹ DAF 9: 164; ME 255. *ʕfa yā ʕfu* is one of the few Moroccan verbs with imperfect in *-u*.

⁵⁰ DAF 9: 249-250; ME 259; DAM 179.

⁵¹ DAF 9: 274-275 “ramener, faire revenir”.

⁵² DAF 9: 431 “fournir les moyens de se passer de, suffire à (qqn), rendre riche, enrichir”.

⁵³ DAF 10: 22-23; ME 40.

⁵⁴ DAF 10: 172; ME 36-37.

⁵⁵ DAF 10: 462-463, 489; ME 109; TAR 2: 675-676; DAM 113.

\neq <i>lġa</i> (<i>yīlġi</i>) “to invalidate, to abolish, to do away” ⁵⁶	<	<i>ʔalġā</i> (<i>yulġī</i>) “to abolish, to do away”.
<i>lqa</i> (<i>yīlqa</i>) “to find, to meet”	<	<i>laqiya</i> (<i>yalqā</i>) “to encounter, to meet”.
\neq <i>lqa</i> (<i>yīlqi</i>) “to throw” ⁵⁷	<	<i>ʔalqā</i> (<i>yulqī</i>) “to throw”.
<i>mḍa</i> (<i>yīmḍa</i>) “to be sharp; to get lost”	<	<i>maḍā</i> (<i>yamḍī</i>) “to be sharp; to go away”.
\neq <i>mḍa</i> (<i>yīmḍi</i>) “to sign; to get lost” ⁵⁸	<	<i>ʔamḍā</i> (<i>yūmḍī</i>) “to spend, to pass; to undersign, to sign”.
<i>mḷa</i> (<i>yīmḷa</i>) “to be or become filled, full”	<	<i>mali ʔa</i> (<i>yamḷa ʔu</i>) “to be full”.
\neq <i>mḷa</i> (<i>yīmḷi</i>) “to fill” ⁵⁹	<	<i>ʔamḷa ʔa</i> (<i>yumḷi ʔu</i>) “to fill”.
<i>hān</i> (<i>yhūn</i>) “to be easy; to be or become despicable”	<	<i>hāna</i> (<i>yahūnu</i>) “to be easy; to be despicable”.
\neq <i>hān</i> (<i>yhīn</i>) “to despise, to have a low opinion of” ⁶⁰	<	<i>ʔahāna</i> (<i>yuhīnu</i>) “to despise”.

As a final remark, I would like to underline that all verbs quoted here belong to the traditional Moroccan vocabulary. Interviews with educated speakers clearly show that the increasing influence of modern written Arabic in Moroccan dialects has no influence as regarding the number of form IV verbs: not a single example quoted by my informants could be identified as a contemporary borrowing.

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⁵⁶ DAF 11: 60-62; for *lġa* (*yīlġa*) “to babble, to chirp” DAF gives also the variant *lġa yīlġi*. ME (70) mentions only *lġa* (*yīlġi*) “to babble, to chirp”.

⁵⁷ DAF 11: 73-74; ME 71 (quotes only *lqa*, *yīlqa* “to find”); TAR 2: 746-747.

⁵⁸ DAF 11: 219-220; ME 78.

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SOME ASPECTS OF NEGATION IN THE LEBANESE SERIES 'AJYĀL

Iulia Anamaria Alexandru
University of Bucharest

Abstract. The Lebanese dialect has certain regional particularities, especially in what regards the pronunciation and grammar. The negation can be a tricky matter, as the ways of expressing it in the spoken dialects are very different than the forms we might encounter in more elevated forms of Arabic. Along with a brief description of what we call the Lebanese dialect, the purpose of this paper is to present some aspects of the Lebanese negation as it appears in the consulted works, which will then be compared in the second part of our study with our remarks on the negation based on a Lebanese series, and finally in a third part we will compare the results of our research with the ways of rendering the negation used by a native Lebanese speaker.

Keywords: lebanese, dialect, negation, Bizri, Feghali, el-Hajje, particles.

1. Foreword

The Lebanese dialect, along with the Syrian, Palestinian, Jordanian dialects belong to the so called oriental dialects. Fida Bizri goes beyond by saying that it's actually "the same language", with small differences based on the region or the environment where it's actually being talked and she calls this language Levantine Arabic. She goes on explaining that this dialectal family first appeared as a consequence of the contact between the Arabic dialect introduced by the Muslim conquerors in the 7th century and between the Syriac language¹, which was spoken in the moment of the Muslim conquest in the region of the Levant. Subsequently, these dialects have continued to evolve, especially regarding the vocabulary, under the influence of Persian, Italian, Turkish, but also French and English. (Bizri, 2010: 15)

In his turn, Hassan el-Hajje points out that the dialects belonging to the Levantine Arabic have certain similarities. Among these similarities, some of the most spectacular remain the pronunciation of the voiceless unaspirated uvular consonant *qaf* as a glottal stop, the decrease in intensity of *h*, that may lead to its

¹ The influence of the Syriac language on the Lebanese dialect is still strong today, especially regarding the pronunciation and the grammar. Furthermore, certain developments of the Syriac language can still be heard in some Syrian or Lebanese villages, among the communities that still follow the Syriac rite, but also in the Maronite community, for which the Syriac represent a sacred language. (Bizri, 2010: 15)

total disappearance in the affixes pronouns *-ha* and *-hon*, the absence of the feminine plural in the pronoun and verb categories, borrowing from Aramaic the suffix *-kon* for the second person plural, the independent personal pronoun *hanna* and the suffix pronoun *-hon* for the third person plural. (el-Hajje, 1954: 7)

The Lebanese dialect has certain regional particularities, especially in what regards the pronunciation and grammar. Thus, referring to these local traits, the Lebanese „accents” may be divided based on various regions, among them: the north region, which includes Bcharré, Ehden, Hasrun; the region of Batrûn and Jbeil, the region of Beirut, the region of Mount Lebanon, the region of Chouf, the region of Saïda and its surroundings, the south of Lebanon and Bekaa. However, these differences don't represent an obstacle for mutual understanding. (Bizri, 2010: 15)

Besides the diversity of the regional accents, Lebanon is known for the wide spreading of the multilingualism phenomenon. Thus, those who speak the Lebanese dialect, use in their daily language words borrowed from other languages, especially French and English, but also from Modern Standard Arabic. (Bizri, 2010: 16)

After this brief description of what we call the Lebanese dialect, we would like to point out that the purpose of this paper is to present some aspects of the Lebanese negation as it appears in the consulted works, which will then be compared in the second part of our study with our remarks on the negation based on a Lebanese series. As we stated above, the Lebanese dialect is facing in the last decades the problem of multilingualism, which can occur by means of borrowed words from European languages, but also from the modern standard Arabic or from the other Arabic dialects, which Lebanese dialect speakers get in contact with, due to a variety of reasons, including tourism, the spreading of movies or series produced or translated in certain Arabic dialect, such as Egyptian, Gulf or Syrian or the popularity of certain artists or musicians that promote their own dialect in all the Arab world.

1. Some general remarks on the negation of the Arabic varieties spoken in Lebanon

In the Lebanese dialect, with its diverse local varieties, the *lan* and *lam* particles, which are used in Modern Standard Arabic to negate the future or the past, have disappeared. And we can say, that usually the negation is made throughout the particles *mā* and *lā* that are used in the Lebanese Arabic, to negate both nominal and verbal clauses. (Feghali, 1928: 214)

1.1. Particle *lā*

The particle *lā* is used with the imperative mood to form the negative imperative, but it may happen that the particle *lā* will appear, under the influence of Modern Standard Arabic, before an imperfective verb to negate a future action, an undetermined action or a usual, repeated action.

Example: *hādā 'ám̄r lā yəḥtaǰ lberhân* „this is a thing that doesn't need to be proven” / *əl mwái lā tém̄r̄oq* (the more popular usage is *ma btém̄r̄oq*) ^c*a* ^c*eṭṣân* „water doesn't flow before the thirsty one.” (Feghali, 1928: 214).

The particle *lā* although in the Lebanese dialect was almost completely replaced by its synonym *mā*, it still appears in some expressions that have entered the dialect directly from classical Arabic. (Feghali, 1928: 215).

The particle *lā* can be found in both nominal clauses and verbal ones, where it can negate imperfective or perfective verbs.

The particle *lā* usually appears in negative phrases, such as *lā...wala*, with the meaning “nor...nor”. (Bizri, 2010: 83)

Examples of using particle *lā* to negate nominal clauses: *uhâḥen lā šáur ulā dastûr balléšt beḷ^cmâr*. „And immediately, without any advice or authorisation, I started to build.”

rékbu utâhu lā 'ékl ulā šérb. „They mounted their horses and left without eating or drinking.”

hájde ba^cda bént laj (= lā hī) maḥtûbé ula mǧau^uzé. „This is still a girl, she is not engaged, nor married.”

láštā qā^c din háúné lā šáyle ula ^cámlé „Why are you staying here, without any occupation or job?”

mánnu² šâḥbe ulánni šâḥbu „He is not my friend, nor am I his.” (Feghali, 1928: 215).

Examples of particle *lā* used to negate imperfective verbs: *šáuftu ḥerdân la byâkøl ula byéšrab* „he seems unhappy: he doesn't eat, nor drink.”

mā lī náfs lā qûm ulā nâm ulā 'e^cmēl ši „I am not in the mood to stand, nor to sleep, nor to do anything at all.” (Feghali, 1928: 216).

Examples of ways of using particle *lā* to negate perfective verbs: *la ḍrâbnā ḥáda ula ḥádā ḍarâbnā* „We didn't hit anyone, and no one hit us.”

² The first term of the negative phrase in this last example is not *lā*, but the particle *mā* followed by suffix pronoun.

'aš bkøn ma ḥḍertu ʔla b^cattū ḥadā maṭrēḥkøn „Why didn't you come or didn't you send someone at your place?” (Feghali, 1928: 216).

Playing the same role of the repeated conjunction or preceding another particle, which expresses negation, *lā* can sometimes combine with personal pronouns. The personal pronouns can either be independent, preceded by particle *lā*, or can be suffix pronouns, which are attached to *lā*, throughout the particle ('e)nn-. In this context, the particle *lā*³ expresses the meaning of the verb “to be”.

Examples: *mānni malzūm fiye ulānnøn malzūmìn fiye* „I am not responsible towards them, not they are towards me.”

'ānā ʔ'entū fārd wāḥed lā 'āna ʔrīb^c ankøn ulā 'entū ʔerbā^c ānné „Me and you (plural) are one person. I am not a stranger for you, nor are you strangers for me.” (Feghali, 1928: 216).

When the particle *lā* is not repeated or accompanied by another negation it is used in Lebanon either as a way to negate some optative clauses, usually inherited as they are from the classical Arabic, or as an expletive element, which precedes verbs that express doubt or fear.

Examples of using the *lā* particle in optative clauses: *rāitu^c émru lā ʔérġe* „If he would just never return!”

'āllā la iḥāz^znak būlādek „God never let you be sad because of your children.”

nšāllā la tšūf eḥ-hāna – „Let's hope you never get to feel happiness!” (Feghali, 1928: 217).

Examples of the usage of particle *lā* as an expletive element: *uṣāṭ fez^c ān la iḵūn šéylā zá^c bṛa^c lāiḥ* „He started to fear, she might have made fun of him.”

'ānā ḥāyef la iṣību mšibe b'amārkā „I'm scared something might happen to him in America.”

In the examples mentioned above, particle *lā* doesn't represent other than an expletive element that cannot express in this context the negation by its own. Thus, in this context if we want to express a negative idea, *lā* must be accompanied by the negative particle *mā*, like in the following example: *bḥāf lā mā yūšālš bakkîr ta iṣūf 'ébnu* „I fear he won't arrive in time to see his son.” (Feghali, 1928: 218).

Particle *lā* is pretty often used in sentences along with another negative particle, with the purpose of strengthening the negation.

³ This particular meaning of *lā* is rare to be found in Lebanon, where it has been replaced in this case by particle *mā*. (Feghali, 1928: 217).

Examples: *lâh* (= *lā*) *mā ḥabbértniš ʿánnu* „No, you didn’t tell me anything about him.”

lâh lâh mā qəlnâ-lak mbârəḥ lâh „No, no we didn’t tell you yesterday. (Feghali, 1928: 218).

In some cases, the particle *lā* doesn’t negate the nominal clauses that is preceding, but negates an action or something that already occurred.

Examples: *qālét-lé dáḥlak ʿallā bīqāšəšnə qəlt-éllā lā ʿállā yfūr*. „She told me: Do you think God will punish me? I told her: No, God is merciful.”

ḥáiyak bāʿdu nâyəḥm lā qām mən zmân. „Your brother is still sleeping? No, he woke up a while ago.” (Feghali, 1928: 219).

1.2. Particle *mā*

The particle *mā* is very used in Lebanon, it can be heard both before an imperfective verb and before a perfective one. Thus, it can negate both a past action, a present one or a future one. Furthermore, the particle *mā* can be combined with suffix pronouns revealing quasi-verbal traits and expressing, in the Lebanese dialect, the verb “to be” at its negative form. But, contrary to the synonym particle *lā*, *mā* can never be joined directly to a pronoun. Subsequently, we can say that *mā* is mainly a verbal particle, whilst *lā* is a nominal one. For this reason, the negative element *š(i)*⁴, which is usually attached to a negated verb, cannot appear along with a verb preceded by the particle *lā*, the only exception to this being the verbs at the imperative mood: *lā iḡiš* “don’t come”. However, the particle *lā* in most modern dialects is replaced by *mā*, even in the case of a verb at the negative imperative. (Feghali, 1928: 220)

As shown above, the particle *mā* precedes an imperfective or a perfective verb to negate the action expressed by it, the verb, in its turn, is sometimes followed by the adverb *š(i)*:

ʿánā mā ʿam bhākīk. „I’m not speaking to you.”

mā ʿékəl ḥóbz ulā tīn. „He doesn’t eat nor bread, nor figs.”

mā šəfnákš. „I didn’t see you for a while.” (Feghali, 1928: 221).

Often, the first phonetic element of *mā* disappears as a consequence of a dissimilation, under the influence of another labial consonant, *b* or *m*:

qâl ʿa bədduš iḡí. „It seemed like he didn’t want to come.”

⁴ Inhabitants of big cities, such as Beirut, along with most of the educated people avoid using the element *š(i)*, that they find particularly vulgar and characteristic to the inhabitants of the mountain regions and for the *ḥəllāh*. (Feghali, 1928: 221)

'a biṛúḥš mā^{cc} é ʔlaʔ 'ašmā šâr iṣîr. „He won't come with me, no matter what happens.” (Feghali, 1928: 221).

Sometimes, the particle *mā* is used instead of *lā* to express an interdiction or the optative:

mḥál'nā dáiyeq ma idéq-lak ʕáiš. „Our house is small, may your life always be wealthy (may your life not deprive you of anything).” (Feghali, 1928: 222).

In the Lebanese dialect, *mā* can also have an interrogatory meaning, similar to 'a *mā* in Modern Standard Arabic, and only based on the given context we can understand when it expresses a simple negation or when it gives the whole negative sentence an interrogatory meaning:

mā qelt-ellúš ta iǧí. „You didn't tell him to come?”
'ent ʕméltu 'a btəstḥíš. „You did it, aren't you ashamed?” (Feghali, 1928: 222).

Based on the meaning shown above, particle *mā* appears more often, without being accompanied by the element *š*, as an affirmative particle, adding to the whole sentence more certitude and energy:

mā byéswa tšúfné ʔa(i)r máṛṛa. „you might as well see me another time.” („can't you see me another time?”)
mā báʕ ez-zélm šārbîn. „The men are still drinking.”
'ana mā báʕ rfak ubaʕ réfɔn. „I know you and I know them.” (Feghali, 1928: 223).

Similar to particle *lā*, *mā* can be combined with personal pronouns, in order to express the verb “to be” at its negative form, with the help of the particle (*'e*)*nn-*. The resulted construction can be declined in gender and number, based on the subject and having the following forms: *mánniš* (1st pers. sing.), *mannákš* (2nd pers. masc. sing.), *manníkš* (2nd pers. fem. sing.), *mánnuš* (3rd pers. masc. sing.), *mánnāš* (3rd pers. fem. sing.), *mannâš* (1st pers. plur.), *mannkónš* (2nd pers. plur. masc. & fem.), *mannónš* (3rd pers. plur. masc. & fem.).

On the other hand, *mā* can be attached, without any intermediary particles, to the suffix pronouns of the 3rd pers. sing. masc. and fem., and thus obtaining the following forms *maʔš* and, respectively, *maiš*. These forms, in their turn, have been replaced lately with a unique particle *māš*.

Examples: *šéylak máuš māķen.* „Your job isn't a serious one.”

hénné máuš/ māš ʕārfîn. „They don't know.”

néhnā máuš/ māš ʕāʔzînek. „We don't need you.”

'ébnak mánnuš ʔəltân. „Your son has done no wrong.”

hal-bént mánnāš hélwè. „This girl is not pretty.” (Feghali, 1928: 224).

Recent studies have drawn attention to a new particle *mīs*⁵, with an unique form, used both in the Levantine Arabic dialects and in the North Africa ones to negate a nominal clause.

Examples: *ana méch hōn*. „I am not here.”

ḥanna méch rāyih. „Hanna is not leaving.” (Fleyfel, 2010: 23).

Furthermore, the particle *mā* can join other particles to form verbs, which express negative action, or rather said, verbal phrases with a negative meaning:

mā [‘]*lákš*. „Don’t worry.”

mā fināš [‘]*layon wáḥdnā*. „We can’t compete with them, by ourselves.”

mā léhaš [‘]*éndi ší*. „I don’t owe him anything.”

mā beḍḍiš. „I don’t want.”

mā bénā šiš. „Nothing is wrong with us.”

mā fiš ḥádā mertâḥ b(h)ad=déné. „No one is happy in this world.” (Feghali, 1928: 224).

Sometimes, especially in poetry, the verb “to be” at its negative form is expressed through the particle *mā* alone:

mā mbáiyen [‘]*laik ɛl-kébr*. „You don’t seem old.” (Feghali, 1928: 225).

The negative form of the verb “to be” can also be expressed throughout the particle *ɣayr*, in the case of the attributive constructions:

ɛl-’mûr ɛl-ɣáir ḡaḥrîyé lâzēm tébṭal. „The matters that are not essential must disappear.” (Feghali, 1928: 225).

2. Some aspects of negation based on a Lebanese series

In this last part of this brief study, we will discuss some aspects of the negation, based on the observations made on the Lebanese series *’ajyāl*. The series were lunched in Lebanon during Ramadan of year 2011. It gathered mostly Lebanese actors, but also other famous figures of the Arab cinematography. Our purpose is to analyze some examples of the negation in what the producers of these series call “the Lebanese dialect”, to compare it with what we found in the consulted bibliography and last but not least, to ask a Lebanese Arabic speaker to point out for us from the examples presented, what he wouldn’t use in his daily conversation with other Lebanese people.

⁵ Having as an alternative pronunciation *mēš*.

2.1. The particles of negation found in the Lebanese series 'ajyal

During our study we have found that the following particles were used to render the negation in the analyzed series: *lā / lā'*, *mā*, *mīš / mīš' / mēš*, *mū* (found in only one line).

2.1.1. Particle *lā*

As pointed out in our brief theoretical presentation *lā* is usually used to render the negative imperative, but sometimes it appears also in other structures, under the influence of the Modern Standard Arabic. In our analyze we noticed that the characters of the series have completely replaced *lā* in forming the negative imperative with the synonym particle *mā*. However, we did find one single line, where *lā* is used by the character called Theo before an imperfective verb:

lā bt'arfti 'enti šū bḥebbik. “You don’t know how much I love you.”

We have noticed that the particle *lā* appears very often in the lines of the characters in the negative phrase *lā...wa-la*⁶..., expressing the English construction “nor...nor”:

Faraḥ : *šu biddi 'amal lā ma' u celulaire wa-lā ba'rif ra'am ṣaḥbu wa-la ḥattā weyn beytu.* “What I will do? He doesn’t have a cell phone and I don’t know the number of his friend, nor where his house is.” In this example *lā* is first used to negate possession *lā ma' u celulaire* “he doesn’t have a cell phone”, then to negate for two consecutive times the verb *ba'rif* “I know”. It is interesting in this example to notice that we have three negations and that the character prefers to keep using the particle *lā* in all three of them, even though the subject of the first negated sentence is not the same with the subject of the other two sentences.

Another example of the *lā... wa-la...* construction was found in a conversation between Theo and Faraḥ:

mīš mātawwaj, mā hēk? „You’re not married right?”

lā. „No.”

wa-lā ḥātib? „Nor engaged?”

wa-lā märtəbeṭ. „Nor with any obligation (in a relationship).” In this example we have three negations, all three of them made in nominal clauses. The first negation is made with particle *mīš*, while the other two with *lā*; *mīš mātawwaj... wa-lā ḥātib... wa-lā märtəbeṭ...* “not married...nor engaged...nor in a relationship”.

⁶ The first negation in this construction, can also be *mā* or *mīš'* but the second term of the construction will be in most cases *wa-la*.

A last example with this construction comes from the character Farah: *'anā lā biḥaddā wa-lā bitšajjar* “I don’t provoke, nor argue.” We can see here that *lā* is used before two imperfective verbs: *biḥaddā* “I provoke” *bitšajjar* “I argue/ fight”.

The particle *lā* can also render the pronominal adjective “any”, in sentences that we have a double negation:

Serje: *layla, il-'uṣṣa mīš hōn*. “Layla, this is not the problem.”

Layla: *il-'uṣṣa mīš wu-lā maṭraḥ*. “There isn’t any problem.”

Another usage of *lā*, also found in Modern Standard Arabic, is *lā* used to negate species, denoting categorical negation:

Layla: *lā ḥada ḡayry biy^carif*. “No one except me knows.”

Particle *lā* also appears in sentences, in which we already have another particle of negation, but this other particle, doesn’t actually express a negation in this context, but adds an extra meaning to the sentence, for example in the next sentences it adds an interrogatory one:

Šahīd: *mīš lā btis'al hiye ^cannī 'awwal^{an}*? “Isn’t she the first not to ask about me?”

2.1.2. Particle *mā*

The particle *mā* can precede an imperfective or a perfective verb to negate the action expressed by it.

Examples:

- Negating a past action: Tamara: *lā, hēk mā ittafa'nā*. “No, this way we didn’t reach any agreement.”

- Negating a verb expressing the past continuous tense: Amelia: *lā, mā kēnū ^cam biḥkū*. “No, they weren’t talking.”

- Negating a present action: Tamara: *mā bi'dir li-'annī bikrah il-kezāb*. “I can’t, because I hate lies.”

- Negating a verb expressing the present continuous tense: Rola: *mā ^cam biḥam šū šār ma^cī*. “I am not understanding what happened to me.”

- Negating a future action: Farah: *mā laḥ iḥud ḥabūb*. “I won’t take pills.” / Roger: *mā raḥ⁷ ḥalliki truḥī ^ca-l-beyt hēk...maḡlūbe*. “I won’t let you go home like this...defeated.”

⁷ We can notice here a variation between the alveolar lateral approximant sound *l* and the alveolar trill *r*, thus resulting in two forms for the same particle that helps us render the future: *laḥ* / *raḥ*.

- Negating a verb at the imperative mood: Māher: *mā thāfī, māmā, kill šī mnīh*. “Don’t worry mum, everything is alright.”

Sometimes the particle *mā* is used to express the optative, as was also pointed out by Feghali (Feghali, 1928: 222):

Inās: *ya rabb, bi-daḥlak bass mā iṣīrlu šī*. “Oh God, please just don’t let anything happen to him!”. We can see here *mā* in a sentence that expresses a wish, to not happen anything to her son.

Some other meanings that the particle *mā* may carry and that were also found in the consulted works include *mā* that adds an interrogatory meaning to the whole phrase, *mā* that can get attached to suffix pronouns to express the negative of the verb “to be”, *mā* that helps form the negation in some stable verbal phrases.

As stated before, (Feghali, 1928: 222), *mā* with an interrogatory meaning is similar to *'a mā* from Modern Standard Arabic, and only based on the context one can tell when *mā* expresses a simple negation or when it adds to the whole sentence an interrogatory meaning:

Faraḥ: *biḥabbī tis'alī su'alēt kūr, mā hēk?* “You like to ask a lot of questions, isn’t it so?”

Tamara: *kamēn mā təgayyar 'imēnak?* “You still won’t change your belief?”

Tamara: *mā baddak tis'al^can 'uḥtak, matal^{an}?* “You don’t want to ask of your sister, for example?”

Layla: *la-mīn l-ambulans? mā rita hōn⁸?* “Whom is the ambulance for? Isn’t Rita here?”

Based on the examples above, we can state that *mā* can add an interrogatory meaning to the phrase, either if it were a stable interrogatory expression like *mā hēk* “isn’t it so?”, or a normal negation, that has an interrogatory meaning.

The particle *mā* can also get combined with personal pronouns to express the negation of the verb “to be”, throughout the particle (*'a*)*nni-*: (Bizri, 2010: 83)

Faraḥ: *anā mā ba^crif la-weyn reyḥa wa-leyš musta^cjle wa-mannī muwefa'a*. “I don’t know where are you going, why are you in a hurry, and I don’t agree.” We can notice the usage of *mā* with a personal pronoun *mannī* “I am not”, in the last negation, preceding an active participle *muwefa'a* “agreeing”.

Layla: *bi-l^caks manna majnūne wu-lā nitfe*. “On the contrary, she is not crazy at all.”

⁸ Although in the analyzed lines of the series, *mā* is hardly used to negate a nominal clause, we can see it being the particle preferred in this context due to its interrogatory meaning.

Tamara: *mira halla' manna hōn*. "Mira is not here now."

mā, in the last two examples, is joined to the suffix pronoun for the 3rd feminine singular, resulting in *manna*.

Furthermore, the particle *mā* can be combined with other particles to form verbs that express negative actions, or rather, verbal expressions with a negative meaning.

Examples:

- With particles that render possession: - *ʿand*:

Faraḥ: *mā ʿandī šī bi'ulu*. "I don't have anything to say." / *ktīr mabsūṭa bi-ḥayaty mā ʿandī mašākəl*. "I'm very happy with my life, I don't have any problems." /

Rola: *'inta ʿārif min^a l-'awwal 'anā wa-yek mā ʿannā musta'bal sawā*. "You know from the beginning that me and you have no future together."

- With particles that initially express a locative meaning, such as *fī* that can render both the verb "to be able to":

Faraḥ: *ṣadd'īnī mā ba'a fiye*. "Believe me, I can't anymore." / *mā fiye unṭur*. "I can't wait." / *mā fiye ṭḥamal ḥāsara tenye'*. "I can't stand a second loss.", or the verb "to be":

Aḥmad: *mā fī muškle*. "No problem." / *'iltlak mā fī məḥayyam*. "I (already) told you, going to the camp is out of the question (lit. there is no camp)."

- With particles that initially carry an instrumental meaning, such as *bi-*:

Theo: *mā biha šī bass neset telefona ʿandī*. "Nothing is wrong with her; she only forgot her telephone at my place."

Abrīl: *mā bi'a⁹ šī tante rita*. "Nothing is wrong with Mrs. Rita."

Serje: *mā bini šī*. "Nothing is wrong with me".

- With particles that express a wish, such as *badd*:

kəzēb, huwe mā baddu walad. "Lier, he doesn't want any child."

2.1.3. Particle *mīš*

As shown in the first part of our study, the particle *mīš* is the result of the particle *mā* that gets attached, without any intermediary particles, to the suffix pronouns of the 3rd pers. sing. masc. and fem., and thus obtaining the following forms *mauš* and, respectively, *maiš*. Form which have been subsequently replaced

⁹ We can observe here the almost total disappearance of *-h*, resulting in what may seem a glottal stop, as stated by Hassan el-Hajje. (el-Hajje, 1954: 7).

with a unique particle *māš*, that has recently evolved into *mēš* / *mīš*, under the influences of the Northern African dialects. (Feghali, 1928: 224).

Usually the particle *mīš* is used to form the negation in a nominal clause, and can thus precede:

- Participles:

Mira: *mīš ma^cul hēk*. „This is not possible.”

Amelia: *'anā b-šarāḥa ta^cbēnī wa-mīš jeye min jūnī, jeye min kanadā*. „I'm really tired and I'm not coming from Jounieh, but from Canada.”

Rita: *'anā l-yōm mīš məṭawwle birja^c sa^ca 'arba^c*. „I'm not going to be late today, I'm coming back at four o'clock.”, in the first example we can see a past participle *ma^cul* “possible”, being negated, as for the other two examples we can see that the active participles *mīš jeye* “not coming” *mīš məṭawwle* “not going to be late” are being used instead of the verbs, thus the negation is formed with *mīš*, the particle used for nominal clauses, and not with *mā*, the particle that usually appears in verbal clauses.

- Adjectives:

Maher: *mīš ṭabt^ciye 'intū bi-ha-l-mujamma^ca*. „You people in this community are not normal.”

Šahīd: *mīš ḥelū hēk, ktīr sa^cbe l-ḥayet*. „This is not nice, life is very hard.”

- Nouns:

Theo: *lā, mīš il-māmā mīn ^cam biyḥkī?* „No, this is not mum (on the telephone), who is speaking?”

Rola: *'ana mīš il-mas'ūle*. „I am not the responsible.”

Abrīl: *il-yōm mīš dawēmē*. “Today it's not my shift.”

Serge: *haydē 'akīd mīš nḥiyār ^cašābī*. „This is not a nervous breakdown for sure.”

- Pronouns:

Faraḥ: *mīš bass 'inta mišta' la-bayak*. „You're not the only one missing your father.”

Ḥikma: *mīš 'annī lli ṭalabt ḥabībī, haydā l-məḥtaṣam iṣ-ṣayyis, il-ex-jawze*. „It's not me who demanded, dear, but the boss, my ex husband.”

- Prepositions:

Maher: *mīš la-ilī*. „It's not (good) for me.”

Amelia: *ya^cnī iš-ši'a llī st'jirta, mīš la-ḥaḍartik?* „You mean the flat that I rented is not yours (lit. for you)?”, in this case *la-* is used to denote possession.

Rola: *'inta musta'balak mīš mā^ctī*. „Your future is not with me.”

Melissa: *mīš bi-l-jizdēn*. „It's not in the purse.”, in this case *bi-* carries a locative meaning.

As seen above, *mīš* expressing the negation of the verb “to be” can precede many prepositions, with different meaning, *la-* “for” or expressing possession, *ma^c* “with”, *bi-* “in”.

The particle *mīš* similar to the particle *mā* can sometimes add to the sentence an interrogatory meaning, as in the following examples:

Mira: *mīš māberih sa'alt-lī hāda s-su'al? wa 'awwal māberih? wa 'awwal māberih?* „Didn't you ask me the same thing yesterday? And the day before yesterday? And the day before that?”

Serge: *mīš 'inti llī 'āyše ma^ca ahla bi-l-qatar?* „Aren't you the one who lives with her parents in Qatar?”

Inās: *mīš 'ilti-l-nā innu 'am biyštigil bi-'afri'iya?* „Didn't you tell us that he's been working in Africa?”, in all the examples shown above *mīš* never actually expresses a negation, but actually has an interrogatory meaning.

Although less often than the particle *mā*, *mīš* can also negate a verbal clause, usually when there is a present continuous verb, but not only:

- With a present continuous verb:

Serge: *mīš 'am šaddi' šū 'am bišēr ma^ci.* “I can't believe what is happening to me.”

Layla: *bint mitel l-'amar 'omra tnēn wa 'išrīn sene bidda rijēl akbar minna wa-mīš 'am biy'bal?* „A very beautiful girl (lit. a girl like the moon), who is twenty two years wants a man that is older than her and he doesn't accept?”

- With a verb that expresses a future action:

Rola: *mīš raḥ ridd ba'a 'ā telefonēt.* „I won't answer the phone anymore.”

We'd like to draw attention that this last meaning of *mīš*, rendering the negation in a verbal clause, is not mentioned in the consulted resources, most of their authors point out that *mīš* is just a nominal particle.

2.1.4. Particle *mū*

This particle, as we can see from the consulted works is not a particle characteristic of the Lebanese dialect, thus it only appeared in one line, in the analyzed episodes of the Lebanese series *'ajyāl*. We may only assume that the particle appeared under the influence of another dialect, that the actor or the screenwriter is familiar to.

In our only example *mū* appeared as a nominal particle:

Theo: *mū mumkin i'bal lā šī wu-lā ḥada yāsabib lī 'iḥbāt.* “I can't let anyone or anything affect me.”

2.1.5. Particle *ba'a*

Although particle *ba'a* cannot render the negation by itself, we have considered wisely mentioning it at the end of our study, since it appears very often in our Lebanese series and has the role of strengthening the negation:

Tamara: *'ilti-lak mā ba'a telfin, jaye*. “I told not to call anymore, I’m coming.”

Serge: *ma ba'a fīnā bass nāfakkir bi-halla'*. “We can’t think anymore just about the present.”

2.2. Comparing our results with the means of negation of a Lebanese speaker

In this brief part of our study, we have asked a Lebanese speaker to confirm us which are the negations he usually uses in his daily conversations. We’d like to mention that the interviewed person is from the town Arjess, in the district of Zgharta, north of Lebanon. It’s a male subject, in his early thirties and has a university degree in computer science. The subject has rarely travelled outside of Lebanon, likes to watch the news and other political programs, which are often broadcasted in Modern Standard Arabic, he also attended during his university period some classes of Modern Standard Arabic.

The subject clearly expressed a preference for the particle *mā*, at the expense of the particles *lā* and *mīš*. He stated that the particle *lā*, he almost never uses it, except in the construction *la..wa-la* “nor...nor”, and only for the second negation, thus becoming *mā...wa-la*. So he rephrased the following example:

Faraḥ : *šu biddī ʿaməl lā maʿu celulaire wa-lā baʿrif ra'am ṣaḥbu wa-la ḥattā weyn beytu*. “What I will do? He doesn’t have a cell phone and I don’t know the number of his friend, nor where his house is.”

Rephrased: *šu biddī ʿaməl mā maʿu celulaire wa-mā baʿrif ra'am ṣaḥbu wa-la ḥattā weyn beytu*. We can see however, even if he uses in his daily talk *wa-la*, in front of a verb he preferred to replace it with particle *mā wa-mā baʿrif*, only the third negation still having *lā* as a means of being expressed.

The preference of *mā*, to the detriment of *lā* can be seen also in the next example:

Faraḥ: *'anā lā biḥaddā wa-lā bitšajjar* “I don’t provoke, nor argue.”

Rephrased: *'anā mā biḥaddā wa-mā bitšajjar*, however the speaker had no problem using *wa-la* in front of nouns, thus he kept *mīš mātawwaj... wa-lā ḥātib.... wa-lā märtabet...* “not married...nor engaged...nor in a relationship”.

On the other hand, he preferred to replace *lā* of negation of species from *lā ḥada ḡayry biyʿarif* “no one except me knows” with *mā*, resulting in *mā ḥada*.

The conclusion can only be that in the construction *lā/mā ...wa-la*, *lā* usually still appears in front of the second negation, but can be replaced even there by *mā*, especially when the particle comes before a verb.

As referred to *mā* he stated that he usually uses it in front of verbs, or with suffix pronouns in front of nouns. However he rephrased one example when *mā* precedes prepositions, forming the negation of verbal phrases. Thus he said *mā finī ba'a* instead of *mā ba'a fiye* “I can’t anymore” and *ma finī bunṭur*, at the place of *ma fiye bunṭur*.

The subject also said that *mīš* or *mūš* is often heard now between the Lebanese speakers, but he personally prefers the equivalent construction formed from *mā*, the intermediate particle (*a*)*nn-* and the suffix pronouns. For example, he would prefer to say instead of *mīš ma^c’ul* “it’s not possible”, *mannu ma^c’ul*, and instead of *mīš jeye* “I am not coming”, *mannī jeye*. But, although, he stated that most Lebanese speakers now use in their daily conversations *mīš*, he said it is not common in the Arabic of Arjess to use this specific particle in front of a verb, so he rephrased all the verbal clauses that had *mīš* as a mean of negation, for example:

Serge: *mīš ^cam ṣaddi’ šū ^cam biṣēr ma^ci*. “I can’t believe what is happening to me.”

Rephrased: *mā ^cam ṣaddi’ šū ^cam biṣēr ma^ci*.

Layla: *bint mitel l-’amar ^comṛa tnēn wa ^cišrīn sene bidda rijēl akbar minna wa-mīš ^cam biy’bal?*. „A very beautiful girl (lit. a girl like the moon), who is twenty two years wants a man that is older than her and he doesn’t accept?”

Rephrased: *bint mitel l-’amar ^comṛa tnēn wa ^cišrīn sene bidda rijēl akbar minna wa-mā ^cam biy’bal?*

Rola: *mīš raḥ ridd ba’a ^cā telefonēt*. „I won’t answer the phone anymore.”

Rephrased: *mā raḥ ridd ba’a ^cā telefonēt*.

As for the particle *mū*, he added that it’s not a particle used in his area, and would replace it in our example with *mīš*:

Theo: *mū mumkin i’bal lā šī wu-lā ḥada yaṣabib lī ’iḥbāt*. “I can’t let anyone or anything affect me.”

Rephrased: *mīš mumkin i’bal lā šī wu-lā ḥada yaṣabib lī ’iḥbāt*. “I can’t let anyone or anything affect me.”

3. Conclusions

Based on our brief study, we can conclude that we have at least three different opinions about the means of expressing the negation in the Lebanese dialect. For example, the particle *lā*, that the consulted works say it still appears in

expressing the negative imperative and in the construction *la...wa-la* “nor....nor”, has been almost at all replaced by *mā*. Thus, all the imperatives in the episodes we analyzed have *mā* as a mean of expressing their negation, for example:

Rola: *Māher, mā tsakkər duḡrī*. “Maher, don’t close directly.” However, in the series *lā* still appears sometimes in the construction *lā...wa-la* “nor...nor”:

Theo: *bass mā ʿarraftinī la ʿa jawzik wa-la ʿa wuledik*. “But you didn’t introduce me, nor to your husband, nor to your children.”

Another fact that caught our attention is the widespread use of particle *mīš*. Both from our consulted resources, from the analyzed episodes and from our interview we can conclude that *mīš* is usually used to express negation in nominal clauses, whilst *mā* negates verbal ones:

Amelia: *mā kēn lezim titrikī il partī*. “You shouldn’t have left the party.”

Tamara: *l-ʿasmē bi-drama mīš ktīr mhimme*. “The names in a drama (series) are not very important.”

mā is also used along with prepositions, that form stable verbal constructions:

Theo: *ħallīni ðall ħadik, ħašṣat^{an} innu mā ʿiltik ʿindik, mā ʿindik uħtik*.

“Let me stay near you, especially your family isn’t with you, you don’t have your sister with you.”

Rita: *lēš mā bidda təzbəṭ?* “Why doesn’t it (pregnancy) want to go well?”

And both *mā* and *mīš* can sometimes be used to add an interrogatory meaning to the sentence:

Serge: *mīš ʿinti llī ʿāyše maʿa ahla bi-l-qatar?* „Aren’t you the one who lives with her parents in Qatar?”

Faraḥ: *bithəbbī tisʿalī suʿalēt ktīr, mā hēk?* “You like to ask a lot of questions, isn’t it so?”

On the other hand, less often than *mā*, *mīš* also appears in the series in verbal clauses, especially in front of a present continuous verb. Sometimes the same character uses the same verb, but with different particles of negation, as in the following example:

Faraḥ: *mīš ʿam bifham šī min šī*. „I don’t understand anything.”

mā ʿam bifham ha-l-ħakīm. „I don’t understand this doctor.”

The particle *mū*, was encountered in only one line of the character Theo, played by the Lebanese actor Youssef el Khal. We can only assumed it appeared under the influence of other neighbouring dialects, such as the Syrian one.

Last, but not least, we also noticed a widespread usage in many negative clauses of the particle *baʿa*, which strengthens the negation:

Serge: *ma ba'a fīnā bass nāfakkir bi-halla'*. "We can't think anymore just about the present.

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ON THE FUNCTIONS OF *fi* IN THE VERBAL SYSTEM OF ARABIC PIDGINS

Andrei A. Avram
University of Bucharest

Abstract. This paper examines the functions of *fi* in the verbal system of four Arabic-lexified pidgins: Pidgin Madam, Saudi Pidgin Arabic, Omani Pidgin Arabic and Qatari Pidgin Arabic. The analysis is based on a corpus of transcripts of interviews, answers to questionnaires, translations of test sentences, and various online sources. It is shown that *fi* occurs as an existential copula, in possessive *have*-constructions, as a predicative copula and as a locative copula. Also discussed are the influence of the substrate languages and the role of grammaticalization as factors accounting for the uses of *fi* in these varieties of pidginized Arabic.

Keywords: *fi*, copula, existential, possessive, predicative, locative.

1. Introduction

The present paper* looks at the role played by *fi* within the verbal system of four Arabic-lexified pidgins. The varieties considered are Pidgin Madam, Saudi Pidgin Arabic, Omani Pidgin Arabic and Qatari Pidgin Arabic. These varieties are frequently lumped together under the name of “Gulf Pidgin Arabic” (Smart 1990, Wiswall 2002, Næss 2008, Bakir 2010): for instance, Bakir (2010: 201) writes that the “reduced linguistic system in use in various countries of the western coast of the Arab Gulf and Saudi Arabia [...] has been given the name Gulf Pidgin Arabic”. However, they are treated here as separate entities, a decision which is not without parallels in the literature on pidgin languages¹.

A well-known typology (Mühlhäusler 1997: 5-6) distinguishes three developmental stages, on the basis of linguistic criteria: (i) pre-pidgins (also called jargons or minimal pidgins); (ii) stable pidgins; (iii) expanded (or extended) pidgins. Each of these stages is characterized by a specific set of phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical diagnostic features (Mühlhäusler 1997: 128-186, Siegel 2008: 2-3). Pidgin Madam exhibits the characteristics of a pre-pidgin, whereas Saudi Pidgin Arabic, Omani Pidgin Arabic and Qatari Pidgin Arabic may be undergoing stabilization.

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¹ Holm (1989), for example, uses “West African Pidgin English” as a cover term for a number of varieties, e.g. Nigerian Pidgin English, Cameroon Pidgin English (or Kamtok), Ghanaian Pidgin English, which are considered separately by other authors.

Pidgins have also been classified on the basis of social criteria. Bakker (1995: 27-28), for instance, classifies pidgins in terms of the social situation in which they are used. Four types are accordingly distinguished: (i) maritime pidgins; (ii) trade pidgins; (iii) interethnic contact languages; (iv) work force pidgins. All four varieties under consideration can be assigned to the category of work force pidgins. Sebba (1997: 26-33) suggests a typology according to the social context of the language's origins and identifies the following types: (i) military and police pidgins; (ii) seafaring and trade pidgins; (iii) plantation pidgins; (iv) mine and construction pidgins; (v) immigrants' pidgins; (vi) tourist pidgins; (vii) urban contact vernaculars. All four varieties qualify for the group of immigrants' pidgins.

The corpus of empirical data is made up of both published and unpublished sources. The published sources include transcripts of interviews, answers to questionnaires, translations of test sentences designed to elicit specific data. The unpublished sources consist of online sources, such as internet discussion lists (between users with different mother tongues), songs, poems (see the list of online sources in the References section). It is perhaps worth noting that, to my knowledge, this type of source has not been tapped in any previous study of Arabic-lexified pidgins.

Except for the data from Al-Moaily (2008), which are transliterated from the original version in Arabic script, all examples appear in the orthography or system of transcription used in the sources. The length of quotations has been kept to a reasonable minimum. Relevant items in quotations are in bold characters. All quotations are accompanied by glosses and their translation. Whenever known, examples also include the specification of the L1 of the speaker as well as the length of stay.

2. **Pidgin Madam**

Pidgin Madam² is spoken in Lebanon by Sri Lankan female domestic workers, with Sinhala as their L1, and their Arab employers. Sociolinguistic issues, such as the context in which this variety emerged, its status and functions, are discussed by Haraty et al. (2007) and, at great length, by Bizri (2010). Linguistic analyses of the pidgin can be found in two papers (Bizri 2005 and 2009) and in a monograph (Bizri 2010), from which the relevant data are taken.

According to Bizri (2010: 127), Pidgin Madam “has \emptyset in the predicative and equative functions, and *fī* in the existential and locative positions”. This distribution is illustrated by the following examples given by Bizri (2010: 127-128):

² Also called “Pidgin Madame” (see e.g. Bizri 2010).

- (1) predicative
sāmi Ø buk sīde
 Sami book new
 ‘Sami’s book is new.’
- (2) equative
hayda Ø sāmi bābā
 DEM Sami father
 ‘This is Sami’s father.’
- (3) existential
banadūra fī
 red FI
 ‘There are tomatoes.’
- (4) locative
Sāmi buk tawle haddik fī
 Sami book table near FI
 ‘Sami’s book is near the table.’

However, there appear to be quite a number of exceptions to these distributional patterns. Thus, contra Bizri (2010: 127), *fī* actually also occurs in equative copula structures. Consider the following examples:

- (5) a. Karuna (Sinhala; 10 years)
fi hayda bado sarīre (Bizri 2010: 169)
 FI DEM still small
 ‘She is still young.’
- b. Gunawathie (Sinhala; Saudi Arabia, then Lebanon)
fi kār gūḍ māma (Bizri 2010: 198)
 FI much good mother
 ‘Madam was very good.’
- c. Chandrawathie (Sinhala)
awwāl bēbi ana sīre, fi [...] marida (Bizri 2010: 219)
 beginning child 1SG small FI sick
 ‘In the beginning, when my child was young, [I] was sick.’
- d. Chandrika (Sinhala; 17 years)
ana ma fi merteha hone sogol (Bizri 2010: 227)
 1SG NEG FI relaxed here work
 ‘I don’t feel at ease with this job’

Furthermore, \emptyset can mark location, contra Bizri (2010: 127):

- (6) *bēbi ana Ø māma bēt* (Bizri 2010: 134)
 baby 1SG mother house
 ‘[As for] my son, he is at my mother’s’

According to Bizri (2010: 128), “Pidgin Madam expresses possession [...] by means of a construction which consists in saying “at me X exists””. Actually, the preposition ‘at’ does not occur³:

- (7) *ana bēbi fi* (Bizri 2010: 128)
 1SG child FI
 ‘I have a child.’

Finally, Bizri (2010: 124) writes that *fi* is “an indicator of state, it has the meaning of “to be in the situation of somebody who...”. The data, however, suggest that *fi* functions rather like a verbal predicate marker:

- (8) a. *ana ma**ɸi** ārip sogel* (Bizri 2010: 124)
 1SG NEG-FI know work
 ‘I didn’t know how to work.’
- b. *ana **ɸi** rūhi dūbat⁴* (Bizri 2010: 125)
 1SG FI go Dubai
 ‘Am mers in Dubai.’
- c. Karuna (10 years)
*ana ma **ɸi** dogre nēmit* (Bizri 2010: 185)
 1SG NEG FI immediately sleep
 ‘I immediately go to bed’
- d. Gunawathie (Saudi Arabia, then Lebanon)
***ɸi** gūm, **ɸi** salli* (Bizri 2010: 197)
 FI get up FI pray
 ‘I would get up [and] pray’

As can be seen, *fi* is compatible with various classes of verbs, and permits a range of temporal and aspectual interpretations.

To conclude, *fi* functions as a predicative, existential and locative copula. The predicative and locative uses of *fi* are subject to considerable variation. *Fi* is also used to express predicative possession (the *have*-construction pattern)⁵. The use of *fi* as a verbal predicate marker in Pidgin Madam is restricted to two

³ As mentioned by Bizri (2010: 130), “Pidgin Madam is [...] characterized by the absence of the morphemes marking [...] the locative”.

⁴ Where stands for a voiced retroflex stop.

⁵ See the classification of possessive constructions in Heine (1997a and 1997b).

subjects. Moreover, out of a total of 16 occurrences of *fi* as a verbal predicate marker (in Bizri 2010), 14 are attested in the speech of an informant who, prior to coming to Lebanon, had worked in Saudi Arabia. Under the circumstances, her use of *fi* as a verbal predicate marker may reflect the situation in Saudi Arabia Pidgin Arabic⁶.

3. Saudi Pidgin Arabic

Al-Moaily (2008) describes the Saudi Pidgin Arabic spoken in the town of Alkharj. This variety is “used for communication between locals who speak a variety of non-standard Arabic known as Najdi Arabic and foreigners from the Indian subcontinent who come from various linguistics backgrounds like Urdu, Bengali, Pashtu and Punjabi” (Al-Moaily 2008: 3). In spite of the various first languages of its speakers, Al-Moaily (2008: 1) chooses, rather arbitrarily, to call it “Urdu Pidgin Arabic”. This decision is all the more surprising given that five of his six subjects have Punjabi, Pashto or Bengali as their L1 and only one has Urdu as his L1. Moreover, as specified by Al-Moaily (2008: 28), this particular interviewee “took three turns only” and “produced very little linguistics data”.

Al-Moaily (2008) only discusses the use of *fi* as a copula. According to Al-Moaily (2008: 40), “in UPA [= Urdu Pidgin Arabic] the copula *fi* [...] does not agree in tense, person, number, or gender with the subject” and it “occurs in the present tense only”. More specifically, Al-Moaily (2008: 40) claims that “in the past tense, which is expressed via lexical items like *əwæl* (first) [...] and in the future tense, expressed by *bæden* (later) or *bʊkrah* (tomorrow), no copula is present”. This claim is illustrated with examples such as:

- (9) a. present
fi nafar tani (Al-Moaily 2008: 40)
 FI person other
 ‘There is another person.’
- b. past
awal Kharġ Ø mazbūt (Al-Moaily 2008: 40)
 first Kharġ good
 ‘Kharġ used to be good in the past.’

However, whereas the interviews in Al-Moaily (2008) appear to include no occurrence of the copula *fi* in future tense sentences, a rather large number of examples illustrate its use in past tense sentences:

- (10) a. Abulbashar (Bengali; 11 years)
hada kullu yōm ma fi (Al-Moaily 2008: 81)

⁶ See section 3.

- DEM all day NEG FI
 ‘this wasn’t [the case] every day’
- b. Abdulhamid (Punjabi; 26 years)
awwal ma fi tilifōn (Al-Moaily 2008: 95)
 beginning NEG FI telephone
 ‘there were no telephones before’
- c. Shera (Pashto; 22 years)
kahrabā ma fi gali (Al-Moaily 2008: 133)
 electricity NEG FI expensive
 ‘electricity wasn’t expensive’

Note that while in (10a) and (10c) it is the context which yields a past tense interpretation, sentence (10b) contains *awwal*, one of the lexical items which – according to Al-Moaily (2008: 40) – express the past tense.

Al-Moaily (2008) does not distinguish among the types of structures containing the copula *fi*. An analysis of the interviews in Al-Moaily (2008) shows that *fi* occurs in several such constructions. The first series of examples illustrate the use of *fi* as a predicative copula:

- (11) a. Abulbashar (Bengali; 11 years)
ana nafar fi ġadīd (Al-Moaily 2008: 80)
 1SG person FI new
 ‘if I’m a newcomer’
- b. Abdulhamid (Punjabi; 26 years)
alhīn fi šabīh (Al-Moaily 2008: 86)
 now FI similar
 ‘it’s similar now’
- c. Abdulmajid (Punjabi; 27 years)
Riyād fi ba’īd (Al-Moaily 2008: 92)
 Riyadh FI far
 ‘Riyadh is far’
- d. Sameer (Bengali; 26 years)
ma fi lāzīm (Al-Moaily 2008: 108)
 NEG FI necessary
 ‘it’s not necessary’
- e. Shera (Pashto; 22 years)
fi ahsan (Al-Moaily 2008: 127)
 FI bun
 ‘it is alright’

Fi as an equative copula also occurs, although rather rarely:

- (12) a. Abulbashar (Bengali; 11 years)
hāda fi haddād (Al-Moaily 2008: 70)
 DEM FI
 ‘[He] is a smith.’
- b. Abdulhamid (Punjabi; 26 years)
huwa fi mīkānīki (Al-Moaily 2008: 93)
 3SG FI mechanic
 ‘he is a mechanic’

The most widely attested use is that of *fi* as an existential copula:

- (13) a. Abulbashar (Bengali; 11 years)
fi itnēn bagala (Al-Moaily 2008: 68)
 FI two greengrocer
 ‘there are two greengrocers’
- b. Abdulhamid (Punjabi; 26 years)
fi šuwaya bas ma fi katīr (Al-Moaily 2008: 86)
 FI a little but NEG FI much
 ‘there are a few, but not many’
- c. Sameer (Bengali; 26 years)
ma fi luga tani (Al-Moaily 2008: 113)
 NEG FI language other
 ‘there is no other language’
- d. Shera (Pashto; 22 years)
ana fi bas (Al-Moaily 2008: 126)
 1SG FI only
 ‘there was only me’

Moreover, existential *fi* and *mawǧūd* ‘existing, existent’ co-occur pleonastically, as in:

- (14) a. Abdulhamid (Punjabi; 26 years)
fi Riyad fi mawǧūd (Al-Moaily 2008: 89)
 in Riyadh FI existing
 ‘there are in Riyadh’
- b. Sameer (Bengali; 26 years)
Hindi fi mawǧūd Bengal (Al-Moaily 2008: 113)
 Hindi FI existing Bengal
 ‘Hindi is spoken in Bengal’ Lit. ‘there is Hindi in Bengal’
- c. Shera (Pashto; 22 years)

lāzim kul šay fi mawǧūd (Al-Moaily 2008: 126)
 necessary every thing FI existing
 ‘every thing must exist’

The least frequent is the use of *fi* with a locative function:

- (15) Abulbashar (Bengali; 11 years)
awwal fi hināk (Al-Moaily 2008: 72)
 first FI there
 ‘he was there before’

Fi is also widely attested in *have*-constructions:

- (16) a. Abulbashar (Bengali; 11 years)
ana šugul ma fi (Al-Moaily 2008: 71)
 1SG work NEG FI
 ‘I don’t have a job’
- b. Abdulmajid (Punjabi; 27 years)
ana fi bēt tāni (Al-Moaily 2008: 98)
 1SG FI house other
 ‘I have another house’
- c. Sameer (Bengali; 26 years)
ma fi wakt (Al-Moaily 2008: 97)
 NEG FI time
 ‘I don’t have time’

In addition, *fi* functions as a verbal predicate marker, associated with various temporal and aspectual interpretations, including the past tense, the future, the habitual aspect:

- (17) a. Abulbashar (Bengali, 11 years)
nafar ziyāda fi irūh madrasa (Al-Moaily 2008: 81)
 person much FI go school
 ‘many people go to school’
- b. Abdulhamid (Punjabi, 26 years)
ba’dēn ana fi iǧi sa’ūdiya (Al-Moaily 2008: 99)
 then 1SG FI come Saudi
 ‘then I came to Saudi [Arabia]’
- c. Sameer (Bengali, 26 years)
hallāg fi isawwi seym-seym kida (Al-Moaily 2008: 84)
 barber FI do same like this
 ‘the barber does the same’
- d. Shera (Pashto, 22 years)

ana fi ya'ti bukra
 1SG FI come tomorrow
 'I'll come tomorrow'

(Al-Moaily 2008: 134)

Al-Azraqi (2010) describes the variety of Saudi Pidgin Arabic spoken by Indians, Bangladeshis, Indonesians and Filipinos in Al-Ahsa county, in the eastern region of Saudi Arabia, on the coast of the Gulf. According to Al-Azraqi (2010: 163), the term “‘Gulf pidgin’ would be too broad and may subsume other potential pidgin varieties”. She therefore argues that “it will be useful to distinguish” the pidgin she analyzes “as an Asian variety” (Al-Azraqi 2010: 163). Such a distinction would be also called for since “recognizing that the pidgin is used by Asians is also important because a pidgin is heavily characterized by the speakers’ mother languages [sic] that form the substrate” (Al-Azraqi 2010: 163). On the strength of these two arguments, Al-Azraqi (2010) calls this variety Gulf Asian Pidgin. The corpus consists of six hours of data from TV series, 15 hours of tape recorded spoken data and test sentences designed to elicit specific forms by focusing on word order and structural features (Al-Azraqi 2010: 164).

With respect to *fi* Al-Azraqi (2010: 169) states that it “is found in different cases and is used to perform different syntactic functions in the sentence” and that “it denotes various meanings according to the context”. She refers to *fi* as a “particle since it functions differently in the sentences” (Al-Azraqi 2010: 169).

The samples in Al-Azraqi (2010) illustrate several uses of *fi*. One such function is that of predicative copula:

- (18) a. *Hada ma fi barid wājid.* (Al-Azraqi 2010: 169)
 DEM NEG FI cold very
 ‘This is not very cold.’
- b. *Hada rijāl fi za’lān.* (Al-Azraqi 2010: 171)
 DEM man FI upset
 ‘This man is upset.’

Also attested, but far less frequently, is the locative use of *fi*:

- (19) *Bēbī ’ana fi bangaladiš.* (Al-Azraqi 2010: 171)
 baby 1SG FI Bangladesh
 ‘My children are in Bangladesh.’

Al-Azraqi (2010: 170) claims that the uses of *fi* include that “as a possessive pronoun”. In support of her claim she lists examples⁷ such as:

- (20) a. *’anā fi šantā karbān* (Al-Azraqi 2010: 170)

⁷ The translations are Al-Azraqi’s.

1SG FI bag ruined
'My bag is ruined.'

- b. *'inta fī bint hilu* (Al-Azraqi 2010: 170)
2SG FI daughter beautiful
'Your daughter is beautiful.'
- c. *baba 'ana fī 'īn ta'bān* (Al-Azraqi 2010: 170)
father 1SG FI eye ill
'My father's eye is ill [sic]'

Three remarks are in order here. Firstly, by itself *fī* cannot be analyzed as a possessive pronoun: at the very best, the personal pronoun plus *fī* could be a pronominal possessive adjective. Secondly, attributive (or nominal) possession is expressed by juxtaposition of two noun phrases, with variable word order: possesse – possessor (21a) or, less frequently, possessor – possessee (21b):

- (21) a. *hada walad 'ana* (Al-Azraqi 2010: 166)
DEM child 1SG
'This is my son.'
- b. *'ana uxt fī zawāj ba'dēn* (Al-Azraqi 2010: 166)
1SG sister FI marry later
'My sister is getting married later.'

Thirdly, sentences such as those under (20) actually illustrate the use of *fī* to express predicative possession (the *have*-construction). Al-Azraqi (2010: 169) herself writes that *fī* is used "in place of the verbs *to be* or *have*". Finally, the sentences under (20) are structurally similar to those in (22), which illustrate precisely this statement, and in the translation of which Al-Azraqi uses the verb 'have':

- (22) a. *'ana fī sadīk* (Al-Azraqi 2010: 169)
1SG FI friend
'I have a friend'
- b. *Hiyya fī ša'ar tawīl.* (Al-Azraqi 2010: 170)
3SG.F FI hair long
'She has long hair.'

Finally, *fī* is a verbal predicate marker, in e.g. future or past tense contexts:

- (23) a. *Sadīg 'ana fī rūh itnēn šahar.* (Al-Azraqi 2010: 166)
friend 1SG FI go two month
'A friend of mine is leaving in two months.'
- b. *lēš 'inta ma fī warrī 'ana?* (Al-Azraqi 2010: 171)

why 2SG NEG FI show 1SG

‘Why didn’t you show [it] to me?’

The same functions and uses of *fi* are amply illustrated in various online sources, such as internet discussion lists and forums, etc., with participants from a wide range of L1 backgrounds. Consider first examples attesting to the use of *fi* as a predicative copula (24), as an equative copula (25) and as an existential copula (26):

- (24) a. English
Lazem fi souraa (2006a)
Necessary FI quick
‘It must be quick.’
- b. Javanese
mafi kuwaiis (2009b)
NEG-FI good
‘it’s not good’
- c. Bengali (2009b)
fi patient suayya
FI patient a little
‘be patient a little’
- d. Tagalog
Mapi quios... (2012b)
NEG FI good
‘It’s not good...’
- (25) Punjabi
ana mafi sadiq?? (2012a)
1SG NEG FI friend
‘I’m not a friend?!?’
- (26) a. Tagalog
fi kathir nadafa rijal filipini (2009c)
FI much cleaning man Filipino
‘There are many Filipino cleaning men’
- c. Tagalog
malum fe wahed napar (2010a)
know FI one person
‘[I] know there is a person’
- d. Tagalog
baden overtime mafi (2012b)
then overtime NEG FI
‘then there is no overtime’

A large number of examples illustrate the use of *fi* in predicative possessive constructions. These include the following:

- (27) a. Tagalog
elyom mafi wajid pulos (2006b)
 today NEG-FI much money
 ‘I don’t have much money today.’
- b. Tagalog
mapi mina-mina (2006d)
 NEG FI scholarship
 ‘I don’t have a scholarship’
- c. English
baden mafi fulus (2008a)
 then NEG-FI money
 ‘and I won’t have money.’
- d. Tagalog
ana mafi [...] kafil (2009d)
 1SG NEG-FI sponsor
 ‘I don’t have a sponsor’
- e. Tagalog
Ana fi sadiki shogul Bahrain (2011b)
 1SG FI friend work Bahrain
 ‘I have a friend who works in Bahrain.’

Also attested is the use of *fi* as a verbal predicate marker:

- (28) a. English
kalam ams masbut le mafi ro? (2008a)
 speak yesterday good why NEG-FI go
 ‘Yesterday [you] said it was alright, [so] why didn’t you come?’
- b. Tagalog
ana ma fi malum Arabic (2008b)
 1SG NEG FI know Arabic
 ‘I don’t know Arabic.’
- c. Urdu
kolo nafrat nom, enta ma fe nom? (2009a)
 all person sleep 1SG NEG FI sleep
 ‘All people are sleeping, aren’t you sleeping?’
- d. Tagalog
baden ana fi dugdug (2009c)

- then 1SG FI ring up
‘then I’ll ring you up’
- e. Hindi
ana fe gul inta taal bet (2011c)
1SG FI say 2SG come house
‘I told you to come [to my] place.’
- f. Urdu
Lesh ente kalam ana mafī like (2012a)
why 2SG speak 1SG NEG FI like
‘Why did you say [that] I didn’t like [it]’
- g. Tagalog
ana fee shukol dahin (2012b)
1SG FI work now
‘I’m working now’

To sum up, *fi* exhibits several functions in the verbal system of Saudi Pidgin Arabic. It functions as an existential copula, but it occurs less frequently and variably in predicative, equative or locative constructions. *Fi* expresses predicative possession (*have*-construction pattern). Also, *fi* is occasionally used a verbal predicate marker.

4. Omani Pidgin Arabic

The only description of Omani Pidgin Arabic available is due to Næss (2008), who refers to it as “Gulf Pidgin Arabic” and who analyzes the variety spoken in the border town of Buraimi. The number of informants was 16, with the following breakdown per L1: Bengali (one speaker), Chavacano⁸ (one speaker), Javanese (one speaker), Malayalam (five speakers), Sinhala (three speakers), Tagalog (one speaker), Tamil (one speaker) and Urdu (three speakers). The data were obtained via interviews, amounting to some six hours of recorded speech

Næss (2008) restricts the use of the term “copula” to predicative copulas. According to Næss (2008: 81), “unambiguous copula [= predicative copula] uses are rare” in her material. Some of these are listed below:

- (29) a. A2 (Urdu; 5 years)
huwa fi bakistāni, ana fi hindi (Næss 2008: 81-82)
3SG FI Pakistani 1SG FI Indian
‘He is Pakistani, I am Indian.’
- b. B1 (Sinhala; 14 years)
ma pi same-same banāt hāda, sah? (Næss 2008: 53)

⁸ The Spanish-lexified creole spoken in the Philippines.

- NEG FI same girl DEM true
 ‘the girls aren’t like that, right?’
- c. C1 (Bengali; 7 years) (Næss 2008: 76)
aleyn hāda mafī mustamil
 now DEM NEG-FI used
 ‘Nowadays these aren’t used.’
- d. C4 (Malayalam; 7 years) (Næss 2008: 66)
ana fī zeyn māl hindi
 1SG FI good PREP India
 ‘I’m well [when I’m] in India.’
- e. C5 (Malayalam; 7 years) (Næss 2008: 75)
’umān alhīn mafī ḡāli
 Oman now NEG-FI expensive
 ‘Oman is not expensive now.’
- f. D1 (Javanese; 4 years) (Næss 2008: 82)
ana fī miskin
 1SG FI poor
 ‘Poor me!’

Note that, according to Næss (2008: 81), in such sentences “the norm in GPA [= Gulf Pidgin Aabic] is to omit the copula”.

Fi as an existential copula – considered to be a “syntactic expletive” by Næss (2008: 81) – is widely attested in the corpus:

- (30) a. B2 (Sinhala; 5 years) (Næss 2008: 60)
ana bilād pi hāda muškila akel, ma pi akel
 1SG country FI DEM problem food NEG FI food
 ‘In my country there’s this problem with food, there’s no food’
- b. C1 (Bengali; 7 years) (Næss 2008: 35)
dākel fī šay
 inside FI thing
 ‘Inside there were some things.’
- c. D2 (Tamil; 12 years) (Næss 2008: 77)
fī muslim fī mafī muslim
 FI Muslim FI NEG-FI Muslim
 ‘There are Muslims [and] there are non-Muslims.’
- d. D4 (Tagalog; 9 months) (Næss 2008: 76)
fī sahīr dukān
 FI small shop
 ‘There was a small shop.’

Næss (2008: 80) notes “the use of *fi* to mean “to have” parallel to the usage of the Gulf Arabic preposition ‘*ind*’. Several occurrences of *fi* fall in this category:

- (31) a. B3 (Sinhala; 22 years)
ana ma fi bēt (Næss 2008: 73)
 1SG NEG FI house
 ‘I don’t have a house.’
- b. C1 (Bengali; 7 years)
ma fi muškila ana (Næss 2008: 73)
 NEG FI problem 1SG
 ‘I don’t have a problem [with that]’
- c. D1 (Javanese; 4 years)
fi riyāl bas ma fi arūs? (Næss 2008: 76)
 FI man but NEG FI marriage
 ‘you have someone, but you’re not married?’

Næss (2008: 88) also writes that “the continuous aspect appears to be a possible function of *fi* in my material”⁹. In her view, this function “may be derived from *fi*’s basic meaning “there is”, as in “there is/was a state of (verbal action)” (Næss 2008: 88-89). As a marker of the continuous aspect, *fi* “is found in past, present and future meanings”, but “in all cases, the possible aspect marking appears to be optional” (Næss 2008: 89). The following examples illustrate the use of *fi* as a continuous aspect marker, in a present tense and in a future tense context respectively:

- (32) a. A2 (Urdu; 5 years)
ana fi kalām mišan huwa (Næss 2008: 89)
 1SG FI speak PREP 3SG
 ‘I’m talking to him’
- b. C 2 (Malayalam; 8 years)
sana hāda fi rūh madrasa (Næss 2008: 89)
 year DEM FI go school
 ‘in one year, he will be going to school’

However, Næss (2008: 91) admits that “there are still examples which are not explained by this”. To account for such cases, Næss (2008: 91) considers two hypotheses: “*fi* either serves another grammatical purpose or else is inserted

⁹ Cf. Miller’s (2002: 21) analysis of the samples of Gulf Pidgin Arabic in Smart (1990): *fi* is used for “the expression of progressive – *ana fi sawm* “I am fasting””.

randomly by speakers unsure of how to use it”. A more plausible analysis, however, would be that *fi* is in fact a verbal predicate marker, which is therefore compatible with a variety of temporal and aspectual interpretations. This appears to be confirmed by examples such as those listed below:

- (32) a. A1 (Urdu; 10 years)
nafar mafi araf hāza (Næss 2008: 72)
 person NEG-FI know DEM
 ‘a person wouldn’t know this’
- b. B3 (Sinhala; 22 years)
arabi mapi hebbi (Næss 2008: 73)
 Arab NEG-FI love
 ‘Arabs don’t like [them].’
- c. D1 (Javanese; 4 years)
bāden ana mapi pakkar (Næss 2008: 72)
 then 1SG NEG-FI think
 ‘and I don’t think [of it] anymore’
- d. D2 (Tamil; 12 years)
wāhed fi šīl kūb gūl hāda kūb (Næss 2008: 89)
 one FI take cup say DEM cup
 ‘one would take a cup and say this is a cup’
- e. E1 (Malayalam; 17 years)
ana awwal fi yijlis andel sandūg māl cash (Næss 2008: 65)
 1SG beginning FI sit PREP box PREP cash
 ‘In the beginning I sat at the cashier’s desk’
- f. E2 (Chavacano; 17 years)
mafi hebb siyāda diyāy u laham (Næss 2008: 73)
 NEG-FI love much chicken and meat
 ‘He didn’t like chicken and meat too much’

Instances of *fi* with the same various functions can also be found in the samples of Omani Pidgin Arabic in online sources. The examples under (33) and (34) illustrate its use as a predicative copula and as an equative copula respectively:

- (33) a. *Muslim ana ma fi hindus* (Kumar 2011a)
 Muslim 1SG NEG FI Hindu
 ‘I’m a Muslim, not a Hindu.’
- b. *Hada nafar ma fi kuwayis* (Kumar 2011b)
 DEM person NEG FI good
 ‘This man is not good.’
- (34) a. *Insān ana ma fi hayawan* (Kumar 2011a)

- human being 1SG NEG FI animal
 ‘I’m a human being, not an animal.’
- b. *ana insān, ma fi haywān, ya mudīr* (Kumar 2011b)
 1SG human being NEG FI animal PART director
 ‘I’m a human being, not an animal, boss’

Predicative possessive *have*-constructions are also formed with *fi*:

- (35) a. *ma fi fulūs ana faqīr* (Kumar 2011a)
 NEG FI money 1SG poor
 ‘I don’t have any money, I’m poor.’
- b. *ma fi akal, ana miskīn* (Kumar 2012b)
 NEG FI food 1SG poor
 ‘I don’t have any food, I’m poor.’

As shown below, *fi* can express a number of temporal and aspectual values. This again suggests that *fi* is a verbal predicate marker.

- (37) a. *batn mal ana fee sawee same same usfoor* (Mr. Verb 2002)
 belly POS 1SG FI make same bird
 ‘my belly is making [noises] like birds’
- b. *Ma fi šuf ahli ana* (Kumar 2011a)
 NEG FI see familie 1SG
 ‘I haven’t seen my family.’
- c. *ma fi ibğa sawa-sawa šuġl, ana fi irğa balad* (Kumar 2011b)
 NEG FI want together work 1SG FI return country
 ‘I don’t want to work together [with him], I’m going back to my country.’

In conclusion, *fi* is frequently used as an existential copula, and more rarely as a predicative and equative copula. *Fi* also occurs in predicative possessive *have*-constructions. Moreover, *fi* functions as a verbal predicate marker. Except for existential sentences, where the use of *fi* appears to be obligatory, in all other cases the use of *fi* is subject to variation.

5. Qatari Pidgin Arabic

The verbal system of Qatari Pidgin Arabic is analyzed in detail by Bakir (2010), who uses the term “Gulf Pidgin Arabic”. The relevant data were obtained via interviews and conversations with 10 informants, with the following first language backgrounds: Bengali (3), Hindi (1), Malayalam (2), Sinhala (2), Tagalog (1) and Tamil (1).

Bakir (2010: 215) writes that “one element that we frequently find in the verb phrase of GPA [= Gulf Pidgin Arabic] is *fi*” and that “in GPA *fii* has

developed a much wider range of uses than what it has in origin”, i.e. in the lexifier language (Qatari Arabic).

According to Bakir (2010: 216), *fi* is “used in a similar manner to that of the English copulative verb ‘be’”. The first series examples below illustrate what Bakir (2010: 215) refers to as the “common existential use” of *fi*:

- (38) a. B (Malayalam, 30 years)
?ašaan fi nafar iji (Bakir 2010: 215)
 because FI person come
 ‘Because there is someone coming.’
- b. C (Bengali, 30 years)
fi muškil (Bakir 2010: 215)
 FI problem
 ‘There is a problem.’
- c. E (Sinhala, 4 years)
fi nafar muut ?ašaan maafii šuuf filim (Bakir 2010: 219)
 FI person die because NEG FI see film
 ‘Is there a person who dies because he doesn’t watch a movie?’

Also attested is the use of *fi* as a predicative copula

- (39) a. B (Malayalam, 30 years)
?ašara fi kabiir (Bakir 2010: 216)
 ten FI big
 ‘Ten are big.’
- b. D (Tagalog, 5 years)
?inta fi majnuun (Bakir 2010: 216)
 2SG.M FI crazy
 ‘Are you crazy?’
- c. F (Tamil, 5 years)
laa, maafii zaruuri (Bakir 2010: 216)
 no NEG FI necessary
 ‘No it is not necessary.’

Note that the examples above are erroneously analyzed by Bakir (2010: 216) as showing that *fi* “is often used in equational sentences”.

The samples in Bakir (2010) also contain one instance in which *fi* has the function of locative copula:

- (40) A (Bengali, 20 years)
?anaa fi hnii (Bakir 2010: 216)
 1SG FI here
 ‘I am here.’

Bakir (2010: 218) claims that the instances of what he calls “extended use” of *fi* include cases in which “it seems to have assumed the role of the auxiliary ‘have’”. In fact, these are predicative possessive structures:

- (30) a. B (Malayalam, 30 years)
?anaa fii ŝugul, ?anaa maafii muškila (Bakir 2010: 218)
 1SG FI work 1SG NEG FI problem
 ‘If I have work I don’t have a problem.’
- b. D (Tagalog, 5 years)
maafii ?uyuun ?inti (Bakir 2010: 217)
 NEG FI eyes 2SG.F
 ‘Don’t you have eyes?’
- c. G (Hindi, 10 years)
sayyaara maafii betrool (Bakir 2010: 216)
 car NEG FI petrol
 ‘There is no petrol in the car.’ Lit. ‘The car doesn’t have petrol.’

As noticed by Bakir (2010: 217), “*fii* may also be found in sentences containing main verbs, occupying a preverbal position”. Bakir (2010: 217) concludes that “it seems that *fii*, and its negative counterpart *maafii*, are playing the role of a predication marker”. Consider the following examples:

- (31) a. C (Bengali, 30 years)
?anaa maafii noom (Bakir 2010: 219)
 1SG NEG FI sleep
 ‘I don’t sleep.’
- b. D (Tagalog, 5 years)
leeš maamaa maafii sawwi tabdiil (Bakir 2010: 219)
 why mother NEG FI do change
 ‘Why doesn’t Madam make changes?’
- c. E (Sinhala, 4 years)
?inta fii yaskit (Bakir 2010: 217)
 2SG FI be silent
 ‘You keep quiet.’
- d. F (Tamil, 5 years)
?inta fii saafir (Bakir 2010: 217)
 2SG FI travel
 ‘Are you traveling?’

In sum, *fi* often functions as an existential copula and, less frequently, as a predicative and as a locative copula respectively. *Fi* also occurs in *have*-constructions expressing predicative possession. Finally, *fi* is used as a verbal predicate marker. As mentioned by Bakir (2010: 219), “variation is inescapable” in all these cases.

6. Conclusions

Fi functions as a copula in all the four Arabic-lexified pidgins at issue. The occurrence – including in the present tense – of the copula (of various types) is a feature less typical of pidgins. Evidence from the pidgins considered shows that it is more frequently attested than assumed by e.g. Ferguson (1971: 144), Romaine (1989: 29), Sebba (1997: 39). This confirms – once more – the relevance of Arabic-lexified varieties, which have not figured prominently in the literature on pidgins (see e.g. Miller 2002, Avram 2003), for the study of these languages.

In the *have*-constructions used to express predicative possession, the syntactic structure is identical in all the four pidgins: the possessee is encoded as the subject, the possessor as a locative complement and the predicate is a locative copula.

Like all Arabic-based pidgins (see Avram 1994 and 1995), none of the pidgins considered here has preserved the verbal morphology of Arabic. The use of *fi* as a verbal predicate marker seems to be specific to the Arabic-lexified pidgins spoken in the Arabic Gulf. This function of *fi* has not been reported for any of the varieties formerly or currently spoken outside this area, i.e. – in addition to Pidgin Madam – Turku (Tosco and Owens 1993), Ugandan Pidgin Arabic (Kaye and Tosco 1993) and Juba Arabic (Tosco 1995), Romanian Pidgin Arabic (Avram 1997, 2007, 2010).

The emergence of *fi* as a copula appears to be due to a “conspiracy” of factors. Thus, the existential copula *fī* is found in Lebanese Arabic (Nasr 1966, McLoughlin 1982), Saudi Arabic (Omar 1975) and in the varieties of Gulf Arabic (Qafisheh 1970 and 1975, Holes 2010, Smart and Altorfer 2010). Moreover, an existential copula is found in the substrate languages as well. The extensions in the use of the copula may be due either to the influence of some of the substrate languages or to grammaticalization. Some of the substrate languages, e.g. Hindi and Urdu, also use the copula with a predicative and a locative function. On the other hand, equative *fi* may be the result of the grammaticalization process “COPULA, LOCATIVE > COPULA, EQUATIVE”, itself “presumably part of a more extended pathway, namely LOCATIVE > EXIST > COPULA” (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 99).

As for *fi* in possessive structures, it most probably reflects the substratal input, given that most of the relevant languages draw on the Location Schema “Y

is located at X ¹⁰ in *have*-constructions expressing predicative possession. This use of *fi* may also have emerged as a result of the grammaticalization path “COPULA, LOCATIVE > H-POSSESSIVE”¹¹ (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 101), given that the Location Schema is cross-linguistically one of the most frequent sources for *have*-constructions.

The use of *fi* as a verbal predicate marker may be the outcome of two grammaticalization processes. A first grammaticalization chain is “COPULA, LOCATIVE > CONTINUOUS” (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 97). The second one is “CONTINUOUS > HABITUAL” (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 93). As noted by Bybee et al. (1994: 158), progressive markers may develop into presents and imperfectives, and the progressive extends to cover habitual functions, and “the result is a gram [= grammatical morpheme] of very general meaning”. In other words, the two grammaticalization processes are arguably part of a more extended chain, namely, locative copula > continuous > habitual > predicate marker. Differences in the frequency in the use of *fi* as a verbal predicate marker can be attributed to the influence of the substrate languages. Some of them, e.g. Hindi and Urdu, use the auxiliary verb ‘to be’ both for the continuous and for the habitual aspect. This might account for the higher frequency of *fi* as a verbal predicate marker in Saudi Pidgin Arabic, Omani Pidgin Arabic and Qatari Pidgin Arabic – with a large number of Indian speakers – as opposed to Pidgin Madam. The latter is exclusively used by speakers of Sinhala, in which ‘to be’ does not serve as an auxiliary for the continuous and/or the habitual aspect.

Finally, the variation in the use of *fi* as a copula and as a verbal predicate marker accords well with the fact that none of the varieties at issue is as yet a stable pidgin.

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¹⁰ For the event schemas accounting for possessive constructions see Heine (1997a: 91 and 1997b: 46). The source schema “Y is located at X” develops into the target schema “X has, owns Y”.

¹¹ Where H-possessive stands for a marker of predicative possession” (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 127, f.n. 20).

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POLITENESS IN THE SPOKEN ARABIC OF BAGHDAD A PRAGMATIC APPROACH

Gabriel Bițună
University of Bucharest

Abstract. This paper attempts to carry out an analysis of speech samples recorded in the Spoken Arabic of Baghdad from a pragmatic point of view. The approach takes into consideration, the linguistic behavior manifested in verbal interactions, also known as speech acts. Another point of focus is represented by the elements associated with the cultural tradition, lifestyle and mentalities that predominate in the Baghdadi traditional society, expressed through the use of the various type of linguistic politeness. The theoretical framework revolves around the works of pragmatic researchers, while the transcription system and the dialectological approach is based on Baghdadi Arabic monographs and researches.

Keywords: Spoken Arabic of Baghdad, Iraq, pragmatics, Arabic dialectology, linguistic politeness, inter-dialectal code-switching, communicational strategies, speech acts.

Objectives

This paper attempts to carry out an analysis of speech samples recorded in the Spoken Arabic of Baghdad (SAB , henceforth) from a pragmatic point of view. My approach takes into consideration, besides the linguistic behavior manifested in verbal interactions, the elements associated with the cultural tradition, lifestyle and mentalities that predominate in the Baghdadi traditional society.

On account of the fact that every language has its own dialogue building system, with preferences for various communicational strategies, such a system allows the shaping of many intercultural misunderstandings. Whether the strategies are direct or indirect, explicit or implicit, for certain practical manifestations of the fundamental speech acts that depend on the different articulations of value systems (intimacy or distance, spontaneity or carefulness, etc.), misunderstandings are easily generated. The trespassing of the agreed means of dialogue building causes the obstruction of communicational channels.

Data corpus

In order to establish a data corpus, I have gathered oral texts in SAB through various methods: audio recordings of spontaneous conversations (using a

“hidden microphone”) between Baghdadi Arabs, field surveys through which I observed not only the linguistic competence of the speakers, but also their adaptive capacity for diverse situations, that is for the accomplishment of “speech in conformity with the circumstances” (Coseriu, 1994:136). Another source that I used was the Internet and phone conversations with or between people from Baghdad.

Theoretical framework

Studies on communicational strategies begin and develop within the last thirty years of the 20th century. With the purpose of outlining a theoretical basis, after studying a series of works, I have chosen the books of: Geoffrey N. Leech (1983), H. Paul Grice (1989), E. Goffman (1967), P. Brown and S. Levinson (1978), Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1990, 1994, 1996), Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu (1995), Eugenio Coseriu (1994) and Havertake (1994). As for the transliteration of the Iraqi data, I used a system based on the works of, McCarthy and Raffouli (1964, 1965), Woodhead and Beene (eds., 1967), Grigore (2010) and my own adaptations.

Methodology

The studies published so far on SAB use a *phonological* and uniform transcription, i.e. each phoneme of SAB is represented by a symbol, regardless of the possibility of having allophones in the speech act. The first step of my analysis was to make a *phonetic* transliteration of the conversational sequences as they were uttered (the specification of the precise phonetic realization of the speakers). I then started the analysis of the recordings by taking into account the features of the sender, the receiver and the communicational context (socio-cultural, spatiotemporal and psychological circumstances, etc.). The model taken into consideration in this paper is a fusion of the models suggested by Grice (1989), Leech (1983), Goffman (1967), Brown & Levinson (1978), Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1990, 1994, 1996), and Ruxăndoiu (1995).

With regard to politeness as a social rule, there are two aspects set in gear: a positive one (kindness, respecting the need of each individual, enjoying the appreciation of others) and a negative one (respecting the territory of the other, avoiding the prejudice of the interlocutor’s public image, mutually respecting the need for independence).

Through/In this analysis I intend to highlight the cultural determinants of verbal exchange behavior. I also intend to emphasize the role that the verbal behavior holds in the addressing system, in shaping up interpersonal relations, in

uttering speech acts and in ritual exchange functions (greetings, conversation starters, etc.).

Some remarks on SAB

Iraq is located between two rivers, Tigris and Euphrates, in the region that the Greeks named Mesopotamia, which literally means "between the rivers". A large part of the country is covered by desert and plains, with the exception of some more fertile lands found in the meadows of the said rivers, the swamps (*ahwār*) in the south and mountains in the north.

There are two main groups in the Iraqi Arabic dialect, that Haim Blanc (1964) has defined as *gelet* and *qeltu*, which are 1st person singular forms of the suffixal conjugation of the verb *gāl/qāl* "to say" (Blanc 1964: 5). Nonetheless, this key-verb appears transliterated as *gilit* in the works of Raffouli & McCarthy (1964, 1965) and the dictionary of Woodhead & Beene (eds., 1967). According to Jastrow (1978), the *qeltu* dialects represent the original language of Iraqi cities, with origins as far back as the times of the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258), while the *gālāt* dialects are much more recent and of Bedouin origin, introduced by the immigrants who had come from the Arabic Peninsula. Jastrow (1978) states that the *qeltu* dialects are spoken by the Muslims of Northern Iraq and by the Arab Jews and Christians throughout the country, while the *gālāt* dialects are spoken by the majority of the Muslim population in the south. Abu-Haydar (2008:190) mentions that "the members of the *qeltu* group talk to each other in the Arabic dialect with other members of the community, but in *gālāt* with the rest, because [...] it is the *lingua franca* of Iraq".

Positive politeness

Positive politeness is productionist in nature: it employs a valorizing speech act, either in the guise of a compliment, a gift or so on. Through a strategic behavior, the sender paves the way for a topic that might become a source of disagreement or even argument, starting the conversation by drawing the attention of the other to a neutral topic. Thus, two Iraqi men, with ages ranging between 25 and 30 years, meet on the street just in front of the house of one of them. The two are cousins (the matter dealt with lies in a traditional endogamous marriage), and one of them wants to find out how much the other has put aside for his wife's dowry. Knowing that the money problem might be a delicate matter to discuss, the sender tries to approach his interlocutor using the strategy of disagreement avoidance, by initiating a safe topic, perceived as a way of assert mutual territory before dealing with the main topic.

- *ānī fakkarit hwāye w hassa atruk hāy aš-šaḡle wiyyā-l-kāsētāt w-aḡuṭṭ mēz ‘ar-raṣīf w-abī’ ḡigāyīr. hādī ḡōš šarwa, aškur ‘alla.*
- *bassⁱ mnēn tilgā mištiriyya??*
- *la-thāf, hāy š-šaḡle, ānī a‘ruf-hā zēn. w-inte, ba‘ad da- tištuḡul ‘ala bāb ‘alla?*
- *ē, ba‘ad, š-asawwi? bass l-iftūs tiḡi.*
- *inte dakkarit l-iftūs. ma tu‘āḡidnī. zammēt čām filis ‘ala mūd il-mahar ?*
- I thought about it a lot and now I’ll drop the thing with the cassettes and I’ll lay a table on the sidewalk and sell cigarettes. It is a good deal, thank God.
- But where will you find buyers?
- Don’t worry, I know this job very well. How about you, do you still work at *God’s gate*¹?
- Yeah! What else could I do? Yet, there’s money in.
- You mentioned the money. Don’t get me wrong but... have you saved some for the dowry?

Avoiding disagreement through a pseudo-agreement. The two interlocutors, father and son (10 years old) discuss about the son’s next day examination. The father has a tough attitude towards the child, which, according to Goffman, is like a face threatening act (Goffman, 1967:5), in case he flunks the examination. The boy tries to avoid the disagreement that might take place, slipping in another matter that, in its turn, threatens the face of the father, creating a pseudo-agreement situation.

- *bāčir ba‘ad ma tirsib bi-l-imtiḡān, sima ‘it?*
- *ānī t‘allamit wu ddākarit wiyyā ibin ‘ammī, ba‘ad ma arsib, w-alla! bass inte yā bābā, ba‘ad ma tiḡrub ‘allāwī... ḡaṭīye.*
- Tomorrow you won’t be flunking the exam, you hear?
- I studied and my cousin and I helped each other to revise, I won’t flunk it, really! But you, dad, don’t beat little Ali... it’s a pity...

Another example of pseudo-agreement that I found in a dialogue between a mother and son, which, in exchange for agreeing over eating the food, introduces a demand (i.e. he asks her for a balloon), lowering the total agreement between the two at the rank of pseudo-agreement:

¹ *yīštuḡul ‘ala bāb alla* (literally, “he works at God’s gate”) means „to do anything, randomly, as it was the given circumstance, of the man who sells cigarettes; other Iraqis are used to going at the market and wait there until someone asks them to help with any kind of job that implies mainly physical work. After gathering up a sum of money considered sufficient, they will return home, continuing with this style of work for a period of time that can often last their entire lifetime.

- *y-a!la y-umma, ukul!, ukuuuul!*
- *ākul, bass tištirīn l-ī fadd naffāha?*
- Come on, mommy, eat! eaaaaat!
- I'll eat, of course, but will you buy me a balloon?

The optimistic attitude, as a way of preventing rejection, is used in the following example by a woman that wishes to spend some time at one of her neighbors' place. The process basically consists of presenting a demand directly, without expressing any doubt in regard to its acceptance by the receiver and without elements of constraint attenuation.

- *ažill 'idkum taḥat fayy in-nabga nsōlif, niḥhak, w b-il-'aša, rāḥ arġa' 'a-l-bēt.*
- I will stay at your place, at the shadow of the *nabga*², we'll chat, laugh and, at nightfall, I'll get back to my house.

Another strategy found in my corpus is the inclusion of both the sender and the receiver in the activity that a phrase refers to, even if the matter concerns only one of the interlocutors. Knowing that the daughter-in-law is not taking care of her son, the mother-in-law talks to her, and shows her, through this strategy, indirectly and allusively, what she should be doing in order to properly take care of her husband.

- *hūwa čān hwāye yhibb yiṭla' 'b-dišdāše bēza yiftarr bi-l-madīne ka-l-amīr. lāzim niġsil dašādīs-a niḥrub-hā 'ūtī ḥattā niṭiḥir bī^h lamma yiṭla' min bāb il-ḥōš*

- He used to enjoy a lot to go out in his white *dishdasha*, to take a stroll in the city, like a prince. We must wash his *dishdashas*, iron them, so we could be proud of him when he goes out the door.

aḥsan nās (which is rendered ad-litteram by “the best folk”) is a collocation voided of meaning in colloquial speech, due to its frequent use. It is employed as the phrase that immediately follows the answer to the question “where are you from?”. It is used as a positive strategy to the *captatio benevolentiae* of the receiver, in order to make him/her feel at home, having, basically, the meaning of *very well, how good, how lovely*.

Thus, two Iraqis, meeting each-other in Erbil, are having the same conversation, in which the expression does not have a semantic meaning anymore.

- *inte mnēn?*
- *min kirkūk.*

² *nabga, nabqa* is a shrub with round fruits of dark-violet color, that is used for industrial and medical purposes and it is very often found in Iraq.

- 'aḷla, kirkūk, aḥsan nās!
- Where are you from?
- From Kirkuk.
- God, Kirkuk, how great!

Nonetheless, if an outsider uses this collocation, it will no longer be recognized by the native speaker and it will be taken within its original meaning, because he will not expect the outsider to use it and, therefore, he will not recognize it as employed by the natives. Thus, an Arabic-speaking Romanian, meeting an Iraqi, uses this expression that, to the astonishment of both him and the receiver, causes an entirely different reaction than in the situation presented above.

- *hūwa mn-il- 'irāq, mū hīci?*
- *ē, min baḡdād.*
- *aḥsan nās!*
- *mm? ē, aḥsān nās, ya 'nī, eḥna aḥsan 'mn-il-miṣrīyīn, ē, aḥsan nās...*
- He is from Iraq, right?
- Yeah, from Baghdad.
- *How lovely!*
- Huh? Yeah, the best folk, that is, we are better than the Egyptians, yes... the best folk...

Negative politeness

Negative politeness consists of maintaining the distance between interlocutors. Just as Ruxăndoiu states, "negative politeness takes place between outsiders and insiders or between the insiders of the same community, when there are differences of age, social status, official positions, etc." (1995:110).

There are two distinguished strategies that frequently appear in the recorded corpus:

1. The strategy of the reduction to a minimum of the assumptions regarding the intentions, desires or preferences of the receiver;
2. The strategy of deference towards the receiver (Ruxăndoiu, 1995:110).

A type 1 strategy appears in the following dialogue between a young man who temporarily repudiated his wife, and her brother. I should mention here that in the Islamic traditional society, a man can repudiate his wife temporarily by uttering the collocation '*anti ṭāliq* – "you are free", after which the wife returns to her parents' house. The next step is reconciliation or, in some cases, divorce. From a strategic point of view, the husband has to renegotiate the marriage

contract with the girls' family, to determine who made the mistake and why the situation ended up in the way it did. If the collocation is uttered three times: *'anti ṭāliq ṭāliq ṭāliq*, the divorce becomes permanent.

Due to the fact that the brother has a great say in the family matters regarding the reconciliation between the two parties and the recommencement of the relationship, the young man will speak with him with an entirely unusual deal of respect considering they are about the same age and, much more than this, first cousins (I have to add that in the traditional society that I am analyzing, endogamous marriages (i.e. marriages within the same family) are much more frequent than exogamous matrimony (i.e. outside the family or between people who are not related).

Therefore, the young man finds his brother-in-law in front of his house and he has the following conversation with him:

- *is-salāmu 'alē-kum.*
- *w 'alē-kum.*
- *'aḷḷa ysā'id-ak. ṣār zamān ma šift-ak. šlōn-ak, yā aḡāt-ī.*
- *zēn*
- ...
- *bilā zaḥma 'alē-k. tismaḥ l-ī ašrab išwāyya maḡy 'mn-il-wāterkūler māl-kum?*
- *ē... iṭfazzal*
- Peace be upon you!³
- You too.⁴
- God help you!⁵ It's been a long time since I saw you. How are you, *kind sir?*⁶
- Fine.
- ...if it's not too much trouble, can I have a sip of water from your water cooler?
- Yes... have a go...

The first strategy employed in this instance is one of great negative politeness, intended to gain the benevolence of an unanticipated respect. Subsequently, the second type of strategy is used in the second part of the

³ *is-salāmu 'alē-kum*, Islamic traditional greeting showing great respect.

⁴ *w 'alē-kum*. The greeting is truncated, which evidently reveals his annoyance. Normally, the answer would be *w 'alē-kum is-salām*.

⁵ *'aḷḷa ysā'id-ak* – Collocation implying great respect.

⁶ *aḡā* – Ottoman nobiliary title, employed here as a sign of great respect.

conversation. In order to make his way into his in-laws' yard, he asks for something that cannot be refused in the Arab society according to the law of the desert: water.

Another example is taken from a conversation between a passer-by and the watchman of an orchard.

- *yā 'amm-ī, min ruḥuṣṭ-ak, tinṭī-nī fadd sindīya alla yinṭī-k aḳtar. man 'ūtā fa-li-nafsi-hi.*

- Hey, uncle, excuse me, can you give me a grapefruit, 'cause God will give you more. *Those who give, get!* (lit. *Whoever gives, it will be for himself*)

To gain the benevolence of the other, the sender introduces in his speech a phrase from the Qur'ānic Arabic, the Arabic with the highest level of prestige, wanting to communicate two things thereby:

a. that he is a Muslim, just like the watchman of the orchard. Thus he places the conversation on top of an unreserved spirit of mutual solidarity;

b. that the watchman is so learned, that he would understand this elevated form of Arabic (trying to elevate his status and to save his face).

Similarly, there is another example of the same usage of an elevated level of language that appears under the form of a request, preceded by a directive sentence:

- *rūḥ li-d-dukkān w-ṣtirī fadd kīlō laḥam matrūm. ānī, y-umma, lam, la, wa lan aṭlub min-ka ḡayra hāda š-šī.*

- Go to the store and buy a kilo of minced meat. I, mommy, did not, do not and will not ask you for anything besides this.

Therefore, the mother, who is illiterate, unexpectedly uses, in front of her son, a sequence from literary Arabic (*lam, la, lan* – which are the verb negation particles for the various aspects in literary Arabic), wanting to underline the gravity of her promise.

Another negative strategy is the formal, negative addressing, caused by the presence of an outsider taking part in the conversation. Thus, the natives, fearing that the outsider would not understand their Arabic variety, use another level of language (one or two collocations from the literary Arabic or a dialect that they consider to be more prestigious than theirs). This is the point where inter-dialectal code-switching occurs.

Inter-dialectal code-switching

Starting with the 60's, the Egyptian dialect (Cairene⁷) has had a great influence in the Arabic world, because of Gamal Abdel Naser, the second president of Egypt. He was considered the savior of the country from the reign of the last king of the Muhammad Ali dynasty, Faruk the 1st of Egypt.

The influence of this dialect occurs on many levels:

- In music: the musical mainstream in the entire Arabic world was and still is marked by the songs of singers Abdelhalim Hafez, Leyla Murad, Umm Kulthum, Asmahan, etc.
- In the film industry: feature films and TV-shows produced in Egypt were and still are aired in the entire Arab world, Egypt being the second film producing country in the world, after India.

I have noticed that, in some isolated areas of Iraq, the population knows more words from the Egyptian dialect than the Baghdadi dialect, as it appears in the example below, when the speaker, born in southern Iraq, tries to offer to a non-Iraqi person some directions on the street:

- *hāy il-'unwān [il]lī-nte tis'al 'an-a, ānī ma a'ruḥ-a. ma a'darš a'ull-ak da fēn. trīd as'al l-ak in-nās?*
- This address, that you speak of, I don't know it. I can't tell you where it is. Do you want me to ask somebody else?

The sender, in this case, addresses the non-Iraqi person without knowing whether he was an Egyptian or not. Nonetheless, the Iraqi speaker integrates in his message a sequence of Egyptian Arabic, because of the prestige of this language, so that he would make sure he is understood.

Another strategy is the one of code-switching with another dialect, the one spoken by the receivers, for gaining their benevolence. However, the shifts are merely superficial and, in spite of the sender's effort, only some sounds are shifted, the rest remaining in Iraqi (the shifts are often made through a compelled progression that leads to the insertion of sounds from another dialect in order to generate words that wouldn't even have the phonetic constitution of the said dialect).

- *ānī ba'ad ma arūḥ hnāke. ma ma'ul yaḥkūn hēk. ānī ma sawwēt šī. lēš hēk yitšarraḥūn?*

⁷ I have to point out that any dialect from an Arab country has its own internal variations. That is why *Cairene dialect* is much more restrictive and representative than *Egyptian dialect*, the latter representing a larger range of phonetic and even syntactic and morphologic variations, depending on the Egyptian area where it is spoken (in the south, for example, there is a dialect close to the one it neighbors geographically, that is a variety of the Sudanese Arab dialect).

- I'm not going there anymore. It's not fair to talk like that. I haven't done anything. Why are they acting like this?

The voiceless velar stop /k/, in certain positions in SAB, shifts into the voiceless affricate /č/. In that SAB sequence, the shift would have occurred following this process (*hīčī* instead of *hēk*). However, by simply shifting the affricate /č/ into the velar /k/, the speaker is under the impression that he uses the Syrian Arabic variety.

The second type, the strategy of deference, implies:

- The use of collocations in the vocative case, like “my aunt” (form of address to a much older woman) – *hālt-ī*, “my uncle” – *amm-ī*, etc.
- The use of politeness deixis – of the type *ḥaḥrat-ak* (with the variation for addressing a female person, *ḥaḥrat-ič*) – literally meaning “your grace”; *siyātt-ak* (with the variation for addressing a female person, *siyatt-ič*) – literally meaning “your lordship”, *ḡanāb-ak* (*ḡanāb-kum* for addressing many persons) meaning “mister”, etc.
- Exaggerated politeness. For example, the following situation presents two neighbors that are building a fence between their yards. Although, normally, they would address each other *inta* – “you”, while dealing with the matter of the fence, one of them resorts to a politeness strategy, by addressing the other with *siyātt-ak* – “your lordship”, to give him a greater importance and, subsequently, make him build a longer part of the fence.
- *zēn, ānī asawwi s-siyāḡ minnā li-ḡādī, bass asawwi fadd siyāḡ ma yinhidim mīt sane, w-aḷḷa! siyātt-ak tkammil il-bāḡī mū hīčī?*
- I'll build the fence from here to over there. But I'll build one that won't fall in a hundred years, by God! Your lordship will finish the rest, won't you?

Belonging to the same type of strategy is the inclusion of the sender himself in the inconvenience – *the assumed state* in which the receiver finds himself:

- *ōf, lēš inti ddīrīn wuččəč kull-ma nitrāḡā? lēš ihna za 'lānīn?*
- oh, why do you turn your face away every time we meet? why are we angry?
- *ya abū 'abbās, ⁱl-ḥamdilla 'a- s-salāme... činna msāfirīn, mm?*
- hey, Abu Abbas, welcome⁸... we've been away, huh?

The mitigation of the impact by using the plural instead of the singular for the first person:

⁸ *i*-ḥamdilla 'a- s-salāme, lit. praise to God for the peace.

- *ḥabbēna-nmurr ‘alēk ḥatta - no‘ruf aḥbāarak, umūarak, šu‘ūnak. aḥbāarak māku, ‘ngaṭa‘at min zamān.*
- We wanted to pass by your place, so we could know how you are: the news, your business, your stuff. We haven’t gotten news from you, they cut off a long time ago.

Conclusions

With the help of the conceptual framework chosen from the pragmatics and linguistics, as well as Arabic dialectology works that I have used on the data corpus, we could say that there is a tendency of keeping the negative face in the Baghdadi community, its members being rather defensive than offensive. Throughout the corpus, we could notice that the *Iraqi* person tries to defend their negative face. However, even if at a lower extent, we can also find the positive face, it is tested and tried, at times, to the limits. The diminishing of the impact by using the plural instead of the singular for the first person is also a modality of expressing positive politeness. Generally, through the politeness strategies, strictly from the point of view of relations between men, various strategies are employed and, generally, the one of retreat or backing down is much more present, because ending up in a conflict in a society like the Iraqi one may give room, sometimes, for/to tragic consequences. In the moment that *mo yḥālif* becomes *ḥālaf* (the conveniences have been trespassed), conflict automatically bursts out.

Several communicational strategies have been noticed, using appellatives, deixis, inter-dialectal code-switching and a great number of negative and positive politeness forms.

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LIMITATIONS OF AUTOMATIC TRANSLATIONS: GOOGLE TRANSLATE

Andra Ramona Dodiță
University of Bucharest

Abstract. The reason that justifies this study and article is the spreading and the promotion of a considerable amount of inaccurate translations from Arabic into Romanian made by a market-leading software (due to the amount of languages for which it provides translations and the number of users) that is only a click away from the homepage of the most used search engine in the world – Google Search. This article comprises the highlights of a eight months study I’ve conducted and throughout which I’ve tested the degree of accurateness of translations from Arabic into Romanian performed by Google Translate.

Key words: Google Translate, statistical machine translation, Arabic, Romanian, English, language, morphosyntax.

Just like almost any Internet user, one day, I found myself using the wonder translation software, Google Translate. In my case, I accessed Google Translate out of curiosity, and why not, hoping for a reasonable solution to my problem at that moment – a sentence I had to first understand and then translate from Arabic into Romanian. After minutes and minutes of browsing through all the dictionaries I had at home and after considering all the translation possibilities, I still had no idea even what the topic of the sentence was. And then it came to me: “Why don’t I use this oh-so-famous translation software everybody uses, Google Translate? Maybe I can get at least a hint, to start with, that’ll help me understand my sentence.” As expected or not, the translation provided by Google Translate made me feel even more puzzled than I was before accessing it.

From that moment on, whenever I found a more difficult sentence or a more challenging piece of text that would require quite some time and effort to understand and translate, I would try translate it with Google Translate and see how it came up. Since most of the translations turned out to be a disaster, I wondered whether easier sentences would benefit from a more accurate translation. By challenging Google Translate to deal with more accessible pieces of text, I noticed not only that the program cannot translate more difficult sentences, but it would also fail with simple, basic sentences.

Following the above mentioned strategy, I've conducted an 8 months study (October 2010-May 2011) throughout which I've tested the degree of accurateness of translations from Arabic into Romanian performed by Google Translate. I used hundreds of pieces of text varying from easy to average which, along with the detailed explanation of the translation errors at all the levels (morphosyntactic, lexical and syntactic), will not appear in this article given the nature of this publication, *ergo* this article will only comprise the highlights of the study I performed. As for why I have not used difficult texts as well, the software developers say,

Arabic is a very challenging language to translate to and from: it requires long-distance reordering of words and has a very rich morphology. Our system works better for some types of text (e.g. news) than for others (e.g. novels) – and you probably you should not try to translate poetry... (Och, 2011)

Yet, the criteria I used in evaluating the accuracy of the translations made by the program are the following:

The would-be interpreter must have a perfect grasp of the 'sense of spirit' of his author. He must possess knowledge in depth of the language of the original as well as of his own tongue. He ought (...) be faithful to the meaning of the sentence, not to the word order. (...) Our translator will aim for a version in plain speech. He will avoid the importation of neologisms, rare terms, and esoteric flourishes of syntax (...) The final rule applies to all good writing: the translator must achieve harmonious cadences (*nombres ratories*), he must compose in a sweet and even style so as to ravish the reader's ear and intellect. (Steiner, 2001:302).

According to various online sources based on different surveys, Google Search is, by far, the most used search engine all across the globe. Regardless of the country one accesses Google Search from, there are several buttons (links) at the top of its homepage, among which you will also find Google Translate.

The main reason that justifies this study and article is the spreading and the promotion of a considerable amount of inaccurate translations from Arabic into Romanian made by a market-leading software (due to the amount of languages for which it provides translations and the number of users) that is only a click away from the homepage of the most used search engine in the world – Google Search. At the same time, before proceeding, it is necessary for me to mention that this work does not intend to criticize or minimize the efforts of the program and its developers, and this is why I haven't used any text that would be particularly difficult even for a human translator.

For a better understanding of the study it is essential to know how the Google Translate software works. When Google Translate started, it would only

translate from English into French, German and Spanish, and from French, German and Spanish into English. Arabic was only added later, in the 5th stage (launched in 2006), while Romanian, along with other languages, was added in the 10th stage (launched in 2008). At this state, translations could be done between any two languages, going through English. Since any translation from Arabic into Romanian is made through English, that means that any mistake that appears at the level of translation from Arabic into English will, unless by accident, also appear, if not actually worsen, in the translation from English into Romanian.

The history of machine translation actually goes back over 60 years, almost immediately after the first computers had been used to break encryption codes in the Second World War, as foreign languages were seen, in fact, as encrypted English. In the '70s the foundations for the first commercial systems were laid, and ever since, with the appearance of personal computers and with the users' need to benefit from translation tools, the field of machine translation kept growing. (Koehn, 2010:4)

But as time passed, people realized how complex, how active languages are in the process of enrichment, and especially how difficult it is to teach a computer all the rules of a language. This led to innovating the field of machine translation by creating statistical machine translation methods, which don't imply teaching the computer anything, as the computer is left to discover the rules by itself.

According to the official Google Translate website,

Google Translate is a free translation service that provides instant translations between 64 different languages. It can translate words, sentences and web pages between any combination of our supported languages. With Google Translate, we hope to make information universally accessible and useful, regardless of the language in which it's written. (Google Translate, 2012)

As for how it works, the developers explain how Google Translate generates a translation after

looking for patterns in hundreds of millions of documents to help decide on the best translation for you. By detecting patterns in documents that have already been translated by human translators, Google Translate can make intelligent guesses as to what an appropriate translation should be. This process of seeking patterns in large amounts of text is called *statistical machine translation*. (Google Translate, 2012)

These texts come from books, organizations like the United Nations and websites all around the world. (Google Translate, 2012)

Our computers scan these texts looking for statistically significant patterns, that is, patterns between the translation and the original text that are unlikely to occur by

chance. Once the computer finds a pattern, it can use this pattern to translate similar texts in the future. When you repeat this process billions of times you end up with billions of patterns and one very smart computer program. (Google Translate, 2010)

The Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency¹ did a study on machine translation in relation with human translation and the processing of spoken languages. The authors of the study certify that even though computational capabilities of machines exceed those of humans in many ways, even the most advanced of today's computers cannot compare with the language ability that humans acquire naturally, since for translating and extracting the information conveyed through language "humans take advantage of a variety of cognitive abilities that no computer can currently emulate." (Olive, 2011: vii)

The linguists working for DARPA state that text input can be problematic mainly due to the lack of orthographic representation. While Chinese does not indicate word boundaries orthographically, Arabic does that, but it often does not include explicit vowel marking, thus creating ambiguities, since it can be uncertain which vowels were intended. (Olive, 2011:viii)

The Arabic alphabet includes twenty eight letters that mark consonants and long vowels. (Grigore, 2006:9) As for the short vowels, all three of them, "a", "i" and "u", are graphically represented through signs placed above or under the consonants, and can be only found in books for children, holy books, especially the Qur'ān (Grigore, 2006:9), some poems, in order to avoid reading errors. In regular texts, short vowels only appear in order to avoid confusions between words that have the same consonant radical, but that are different once vocalized. (Grigore, 2006: 10) Vowels don't only influence the meaning of a word, but also the syntactic function, as vowels carry grammatical case information. (Olive, 2011: 537)

Statistical machine translation is corpus based, that is, it learns from examples of translations called bilingual/parallel corpora. The program does that by aligning source and target sides of parallel texts. (Habash, 2010: 119) By doing this, the program learns in an unsupervised manner what pairs of words in the paired sentences are translations of each other. (Olive, 2011: 133) The word alignments are used to learn translation models that relate words and sequences of words in the source language to those in the target language. At the same time, when translating a source language sentence, a statistical decoder combines the information in the translation model with a language model of the target language

¹ DARPA is an agency of the United States Department of Defense and it is responsible for the development of new technologies for use by the military.

to produce a ranked list of optimal sentences in the target language. (Habash, 2010: 119)

Besides pairs of words (source language word – target language word), translation models also include various additional statistics reflecting the likelihood of a certain translation pair to appear. (Olive, 2011: 134)

When it comes strictly to Arabic, the real challenge for the statistical translation method is nothing else but the morphological complexity of the language, that consist of a large set of morphological features. “These features are realized using both concatenative (affixes and stems), on the pattern

[CONJUNCTION+[PARTICLE+[ARTICLE+BASE+PRONOUN]]]

and templatic (root and patterns) morphology with a variety of morphological and phonological adjustments that appear in word orthography and interact with orthographic variations.” (Olive, 2011: 135) The main concern gravitates around the clitics, that are distinct from inflectional features such as gender, person and voice. The clitics are written attached to the word, and thus, increase its ambiguity. (Olive, 2011:136)

Going back to the pattern listed above, the base can have attached either proclitics (such as the definite article “al”, prepositions such as “bi-“ and “li-“, functional particles such as “sa-“, conjunctions such as “wa-“ and “fa-“), or enclitics (affix pronouns). The base can have a definite article or a member of the class of pronominal enclitics. Pronominal enclitics can attach to nouns (as possessives) or verbs and prepositions (as objects). The definite article doesn’t apply to verbs or prepositions. The definite article and pronouns don’t coexist on nouns. Particles can attach to all words. (Olive, 2011: 136)

Of course that in order to obtain proper words to work with – base words – the program must remove all the clitics. But getting to the base words can be quite a difficult thing to do since what the program might select as a particle, for example the preposition “bi-“ [with], might actually be the first consonant of the pattern. So it is either the program does not properly identify the clitics and ends up not removing them, or the program removes more than the clitics, which adds ambiguity “and requires higher accuracy of preprocessing tools which, when failed, introduce errors and noise”. (Olive, 2011: 137)

For a given parallel text, the Arabic vocabulary size is significantly larger than the English one. In the parallel news corpora used in the experiments described by Olive, the average English sentence length is 33 words compared to 25 words on the Arabic side. The larger Arabic vocabulary is causing problems in scarcity and variability in estimating translation models, since Arabic words do not appear as often in the training data as their English counterparts, and this is a

problem when using the statistical machine translation method on language pairs with significant vocabulary size difference. “If a language F has a larger vocabulary than a language E, problems in analysis dominate when translating from F into E (due to a relatively larger number of out-of-vocabulary words in the input) whereas, generation problems dominate when translating from E into F.” (Olive, 2011: 137)

Arabic is such a morphologically rich language since its open-class words consist of a consonantal root interspersed with different vowel patterns, plus various derivational affixes and particles. A given root form can lead to thousand of different word forms, which may present a problem for language modeling and vocabulary selection. (Olive, 2011: 522) Also, one must not forget that some patterns resemble others, regardless of the fact that the consonant root is different. In the above mentioned situations only the context can help decide for one pattern (word form) or another.

The most problematic levels for Google Translate when it comes to translating from Arabic into Romanian are, by far, the lexical and the syntactical one.

On the morphosyntactic level, in order to translate, one must discover the linguistically relevant features of both the source and the target languages. The selection of these features can be different in the meaning that what might be relevant for the source language might be irrelevant for the target language and *vice versa*. In this case, the translator must determine which of the inherent features of the morphosyntactic units in the source language are also relevant for the target language. (Cristea, 2007: 30)

For example, if number and definiteness should be reflected in the target language (Romanian) just as they appear in the source language (Arabic), when it comes to case, it is the translator – in this particular case the program – who first has to correctly identify the cases in the source sentence (in the source language) in order to understand the relations between the words in the sentence, then he has to know how to correctly use the cases in the target language so he would finally come with a correct translation. Since short vowels are, most of the time, not marked in Arabic, and since case only reflects in the final vocalization of nouns, adjectives and pronouns, Google Translate is prone to misunderstanding the relations between the words in a sentence, no matter how rich in hints the sentence or the piece of text is. If the relations between the words of the source sentence are not preserved as such in the target sentence the general meaning of the sentence is affected. The most common mistake Google Translate does in this respect is the switching of the subject with the direct object and *vice versa*.

Gender is an inherent feature for nouns, but only overtly appears in adjectives that agree with nouns. Both Arabic and Romanian work with flecational adjectives, while in English adjectives are invariable, as seen below.

walad ^{un} ḡamīl^{un}	bint ^{un} ḡamīlat^{un}
beautiful boy	beautiful girl
băiat frumos	fată frumoasă
'awlād ^{un} ḡamīlūna	banāt ^{un} ḡamīlāt^{un}
beautiful boys	beautiful girls
băieți frumoși	fete frumoașe

Since Google Translate has to go through English when translating from Arabic into Romanian, the program actually has to start from a variable adjective (Arabic), go through an invariable one and case with the determined noun. Here is where Google Translate fails most of the time, since no agreement criterion is a good enough argument in front of the statistical method.

As for the number, English and Romanian deal only with singulars and plurals, while Arabic also has duals for nouns, adjectives, pronouns and verbs. Most of the times, Google Translate translates duals as singulars, and sometimes also as plurals. The real challenge appears when adding an affix pronoun to either a dual noun or a dual verb, in which case the software fails most of the time by not translating these forms and actually rendering them using the Latin alphabet, first letter capitalized – as if it were a proper noun. The same goes for prepositions added to dual nouns.

- 1) qaddamat lī fāṭima tuḡāḡatan min tuḡāḡatayhā.
[Fatima gave me one of **her two apples**.]
Fatima gave me an apple from **Tvahtiha**.
Fatima mi-a dat un măr de la **Tvahtiha**.
- 2) ta'āraka ṡ-ṡadīqāni bi-sababi mra'atⁱⁿ 'aḡabbāhā kilāhumā.
[The two friends quarreled because of a woman **they both loved**.]
The two friends quarreled because of a woman **Ohbaha** both.
Cei doi prieteni certat din cauza unei femei **Ohbaha** ambele.

Google Translate doesn't deal so much better with personal and relative pronouns either. First, I must mention that both Arabic and Romanian are pro-drop languages, instead English is not a pro-drop language. While in both Arabic and Romanian the person of the subject is overt in the form of the predicate, so it can be omitted, in English the overt subject is compulsory. So if Google Translate is given to translate a sentence that does not have an overt subject in Arabic, he will sometimes translate it in English as such, which is incorrect.

- 3) katabtu r-risālata **bi-**‘ibrⁱⁿ ‘aḥmara.
 [I wrote the letter **with** red ink.]
 * Wrote the letter red ink.
 scris scrisoarea cerneală roșie.

When a relative clause in Arabic and Romanian refers back to a noun or noun phrase in the main clause which is the object of a verb or a preposition (e.g. “the book that I read”), a substitute pronoun, resumptive pronoun, must be inserted in the relative clause to serve as the object of the verb or preposition, referring back to the object noun in the main phrase (e.g. “al-kitābu llaḏī qara’tu**hu**”, “cartea pe care am citit-**o**”, “the book that I read [**it**]”). In English, resumptive pronouns are not used in shallow relative clauses, but are required in certain more deeply embedded clauses. With resumptive pronouns, Google Translate actually has to go from pronoun, in the Arabic sentence, through no pronoun, in the intermediate English translation, to pronoun, the final Romanian translation, which most of the times ends up with incomplete and incorrect sentences.

As for the relative pronoun, if its presence in Romanian and English (with some exceptions) is always compulsory, in Arabic, relative pronouns can appear or not: definite clauses are introduced by a relative pronoun, while indefinite relative clauses do not include a relative pronoun. Whenever Google Translate has to translate an indefinite relative clause it actually needs to bring the relative pronoun “to light” so it ends up overt in both English and Romanian, which most of the times doesn’t happen.

Personal pronouns determine the appearance of a very interesting yet constant phenomenon when they are subjects in equational sentences, that is Google Translate perceives and translates the pronoun as the verb “to be”, leaving, in most cases, the subject position empty, which is incorrect in English.

- 4) **hum** ‘aḏ‘afu mimmā tataṣawwaru.
 [**They** are weaker than you think.]
 * Are weaker than you think.
 Sunt mai slabe decât crezi.

As expected, if the subject is a noun, the verb “to be” is barely ever “brought to light” in the English and Romanian translations.

Some Google Translate users wouldn’t be so picky as to consider some of the aspects mentioned above, but instead they just expect translations that can provide them some hints about the text they are trying to read. By hints I mean correct translations of the verbs, of some key words and some (meaningful) connections between these key words.

Google Translate is quite inconstant when it comes to verbs. Some of them just get lost in the process of translation till actually vanishing, as for those which do benefit from a translation, some VIth form reflexive verbs lose their reflexive meaning, some passive verbs are translated in the active voice (regardless of the presence of the logical subject introduced by “min qibali”, “by”), some affirmative verbs end up preceded by “doesn’t”/ “nu”, while some verbs really don’t follow the sequence of tenses.

As for the lexical level, this is where things get spectacular when Google Translate attempts a balanced translation. By far, the biggest challenge for the software is choosing the right meaning for a certain context. Besides very few cases in which a word from a language has an exact equivalent in another language (e.g. technical terms), the rest fall under the category of divergent polysemy. Not only are there words in Arabic coming from the same consonant root that have more than one meaning, but there are also words whose consonant radical look the same, but they are built from a different consonant root and on a different pattern.

	m_n_h_l ^{un}	
	maḥal ^{un}	muḥall ^{un}
Consonantic root	n, ḥ, l	ḥ, l, l
Pattern	maf‘al ^{un}	munfa‘l ^{un}
Meaning	apiary	dissolved

Once again, Google Translate uses not logics, but the statistical method, so no matter how many hints that should help the program decide which meaning to pick, it will choose the most used meaning (in certain word combinations).

5) **al-manḥalu** baytu n-naḥli.
[**The apiary** is the bees’ house.]

The dissolved house of bees.

This example above also explains why the program chose “cream” instead of “kind”, “excitat” (“sexually aroused”, “horny”) instead of “confectionat din corn” (“horny”), Perotty (Argentinian football player) instead of “from Beirut”, Gedda (probably the city in Saudi Arabia) instead of “grandmother”, so on and so forth.

Sometimes, Google Translate does not translate some words at all, sometimes it improvises on its own, it inserts words randomly:

ṣ-ṣadīqatayni **l-qadīmatayni** llatayni kānatā tattahimāni ba‘aḍuhā l-ba‘aḍa.
[Angry voices rose from the fight that took place between the two **old** (female) friends who accused one another.]

Voices of anger Almarkp that took place between the two **friendly countries** ancient were accusing each other.

Voci din Almarkp furie care a avut loc între cele două **țări prietene** vechi acuzandu-se reciproc.

versus

- 7) ta‘ālat ‘aṣwātu l-ġadabi min^a l-ma‘ārakati llatī ġarat bayna ṣ-ṣadīqatayni **l-qadīmatayni** llaḍayni kānā yattahimāni ba‘aḍuhu l-ba‘aḍa.
[Angry voices rose from the fight that took place between the two **old** (male) friends who accused one another.]

Voices of anger Almarkp that took place between the two friends who were **old foes** accuse each other.

Voci din Almarkp furie care a avut loc între doi prieteni care au fost **dusmani vechi** se acuză reciproc.

Sometimes, Google Translate also makes suggestions:

- 8) mawqifu r-ra‘īsi l-‘amrīkiyyi ‘izā’a **t-tawrati l-miṣriyyati** muṭīr^{un} li-l-ġadali.
[The American president’s position on the **Egyptian Revolution** is controversial.]
The position of the American President at the **Egyptian revolution** is controversial.

Poziția președintelui american la **revoluția egiptean** este controversată.

Did you mean:

- mawqifu r-ra‘īsi l-‘amrīkiyyi ‘izā’a **t-tawrati s-sūriyyati** muṭīr^{un} li-l-ġadali.
[The American president’s position on the **Syrian Revolution** is controversial.]
The position of President at the American Revolution Syria is controversial.
Poziția de președinte la **Revoluției Americane Siria** este controversată.

Word order is, as well, a problematic field for Google Translate, as the following examples show:

- 9) nazzārātu l-mudīri hiya kabīrat^{un}.
[The director’s glasses are big.]
Sunglasses are a great Director.
Ochelari de soare sunt un mare director.
- 10) ġaddatu Muḥammad hiya ‘aġūz^{un} laṭīfat^{un}.
[Muhammad’s grandmother is a gentle old woman.]
Jeddah, Mohammed is a nice man.
Jeddah, Mohammed este un om frumos.
- 11) dammara raġulāni qawyyāni sayyārata ṣadīqī.
[Two strong men destroyed the car of my friend.]
Two men destroyed the powerful car my friend.

Doi bărbați a distrus mașina puternică a fratelui meu.

The purpose of this article was to shortly highlight the flaws in the translations made by the statistical machine translation, Google Translate, and also to raise awareness over its limits, given the fact that Google Search is the most used search engine worldwide and that Google Translate is one click away from its homepage, and even more because, since it is a free service, more and more websites, blogs, governmental websites have started and will start using it. For sure that Google Translate proves itself useful for many Internet users, especially for those who only need it for basic activities, but for those who actually expect a medium to a high level translation, Google Translate can be, at most, a helpful tool when it comes to understanding the main idea of a text and why not, a good source of laughter.

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CLASSIFICATION OF THE INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUN IN THE QUR'ĀN

Yehudit Dror
University of Haifa

Abstract. The independent personal pronoun *or*, in Arabic, *aḍ-ḍamīr al-munfaṣīl*, appears in verbal sentences and in nominal sentences, where it functions as the grammatical subject of the sentence or as pronominal copula. This paper presents the pragmatic function of the independent personal pronoun in the Qur'ān. It reexamines and clarifies some pragmatic functions that have been widely discussed in the research literature, as (for example) the most prominent function – which is *emphasis*. The research literature gives some examples for this function; however, this paper presents all cases in which the independent personal pronoun has this function by referring to the context of the sentence and to its syntactical structure. Additionally, it provides new functions of the pronoun, such as expressing contrast or identifying an interruption of sequence.

Keywords: independent personal pronoun, pleonastic pronoun, emphasis, copula.

1. Introduction

The grammatical description of Arabic presents two kinds of personal pronoun. The personal pronoun is either separate (*munfaṣīl*), i.e., independent personal pronoun which stands by itself in the sentence, or it can be connected (*muttaṣīl*) to a verb or a noun. This article discusses the following independent personal pronouns that are found in the Qur'ān:

First-person singular	'anā
First-person plural	naḥnu
Second-person singular masculine	'anta
Second-person singular feminine	— ('anti does not appear)
Second- person plural	'antum
Second- person dual	'antumā
Third-person singular masculine	huwa
Third-person singular feminine	hiya
Third-person plural feminine	hunna
Third-person plural masculine	hum
Third-person dual	— (does not appear)

1.1 The independent personal pronoun according to the Arab grammarians

In their discussion of the pronouns, the Arab grammarians start with the distinction between separate pronoun and connected pronoun and explain that the separate pronoun can be divided into two categories. The first is nominative pronoun (*al-muḍmar al-marfū'*), as for example: *naḥnu*, 'antum. These pronouns can function as the subject (*mubtada'*), as in *huwa qā'imun* "he stands" or *huwa māta* "he died" (Ibn Ğinnī 1976:40–41).¹ According to Sībawayhi (1999/2:370–371), the independent personal pronoun that precedes the verb, as in 'anā fa'altu "I did" or 'antumā fa'altumā "both of you did", does not take the place of the suffixed pronouns of the verb: *lā yaqa'u ((anā)) fī mawḍi' at-tā' llatī fī ((fa'altu))* "the independent personal pronoun does not replace the suffix –tu in the verb fa'altu, because it is impossible to say fa'ala 'anā."

The second category is the accusative pronoun (*al-muḍmar al-manṣūb*), 'iyyā, e.g. 'iyyāka na 'budu (Q 1:5) "thee only we serve." In this case, the accusative suffix -ka which refers to Allah, precedes its regens ('āmil); therefore it must be separate from its regent by the separate pronoun 'iyya (Ibn Ğinnī 1976:40–41).²

Regarding the use of the independent personal pronoun, Sībawayhi (1999/23:372) says that it does not occur wherever the suffixed pronoun can be used, as in *kayfa 'anta?* "How are you" *naḥnu wa-'antum dāhibūna* "we and you are going" or *fihā 'antum* "you are in it". In the last sentence, for example, Sībawayhi explains it as follows: *wa-taqūlu ((fihā 'antum)) li-'annaka lā tuqaddiru 'alā at-tā' wa-l-mīmi llatī fī ((fa'altum)) hāhunā*. "You (can) say 'you are in it' because in this case you do not assume (or imagine) that -tum in 'antum corresponds with the verb suffix -tum in fa'altum."

Ibn Ya'īš (n.y/3: 108-109) explains that an independent personal pronoun must be used in order to prevent obscurity in adjectives or participles – e.g., *ḍārib* 'hits' is unmarked and it is not clear who is the agent of the action; therefore, the participle should be preceded by an independent personal pronoun or a noun.

An additional function mentioned by Sībawayhi (1999/2:407) is that the independent personal pronoun can be *ṣifa* of a suffixed pronoun in nominative, accusative or genitive, as in *marartu bika 'anta* "I passed on you", *ra'aytuka 'anta* "I saw you" and *intālaqta 'anta* "you went." The pronouns, however, are not in the same position as *ṭ-ṭawīl* in *marartu bi-Zaydin ṭ-ṭawīl* "I passed the tall Zayd", but in the same position as *naḥs* – as in, for example, *ra'aytuhu huwa naḥsahu* "I saw him, himself", which is used here for emphasis. In contrast to a "real" adjective, however, the independent personal pronoun that is used as an adjective does not indicate a certain character. The function of the independent

¹ Cf. Ibn Ya'īš (n.y/3: 83–84), Suyūṭī (1989/1: 194-206).

² Cf. Ibn Ya'īš (n.y/3: 83-84).

personal pronoun is considered adjectival because like the adjective, it agrees with the modified noun in number, person, gender and case mark.

The Arab grammarians typically discuss the morphology of the independent personal pronoun and its syntactic function in the sentence. Their discussion of the independent personal pronoun that functions as separate pronoun (*ḍamīr al-faṣl*)³ has a broader consideration in their books.

The first issue in their discussion is regarding in which cases or conditions the independent personal pronoun can be used as a pronoun of separation:

a. The component that precedes the separation pronoun must be the grammatical subject (*mubtada'*), as in the following:

(1) *wa-'ulā'ika ḥumu l-mufliḥūna* (Q 2:5)

“and it is those who are the successful.” (Ibn Hišām 1991/2:172)

In this sentence the demonstrative pronoun *wa-'ulā'ika* functions as the subject, but when it is deleted the independent personal pronoun can take its place and function as the subject.

Additionally, in circumstantial clauses the subject or, as it is called in such clauses, *ṣāhib al-ḥāl*, precedes the separation pronoun, as in.:

(2) *ḡā'a Zaydun ḥuwa dāḥikan*

“Zayd came laughing.” (Ibn Hišām 1991/2:172)

b. The component that precedes the separation pronoun is definite, but it can be also indefinite, as in the following:

(3) *kāna raḡulun ḥuwa l-qā'im*

(Man was-he was the standing) “Man was the one who stands”.

(Ibn Hišām 1991/2:172)

c. The component that follows the separation pronoun must be the predicate (*ḥabar*) and it can be definite or indefinite, such as the predicate in comparative form like *ḥayr* or *'aqall*. It is also possible to find a separation pronoun before a verb, as in:

(4) *wa-makru 'ulā'ika ḥuwa yabūru* (Q 35:10)

“and the plotting of those – it will perish.” (Ibn Hišām 1991/2:173).

d. The separation pronoun must be in nominative form and cannot be in accusative, e.g., **'anta 'iyyāka l-'ālimu*. Thus the correct sentence is *'anta ḥuwa l-'ālimu* “you are the knowing one.”

³ The term *ḍamīr al-faṣl* “the pronoun of separation” was used by the grammatical school of Baṣra. The term *'imād* “the pronoun which serves as a prop or supports (to the sentence)” was used in the grammatical school of Kūfa. (Ibn Ya'īš n.y/3: 110).

e. The separation pronoun agrees with the component that precedes it. A sentence like **kunta huwa l-fāḍil* is incorrect, and it must be *kunta 'anta l-fāḍil* “you are the virtuous.” (Ibn Hišām 1991/2:173).

The second topic discussed by the grammarians is the use of the separation pronoun:

f. The separation pronoun usually stands between two definite nouns, while it indicates that the component following it is the predicate and not an adjective and that is why it is called *ḍamīr al-faṣl* - it separates the subject and the predicate, e.g.:

(5) *Zaydun huwa l-qā'im*

“Zayd is the one who stands.”

Without the separation pronoun, one might think that *l-qā'im* is the adjective for Zayd. By using the pronoun *huwa*, the obscurity is removed because a pronoun cannot stand between the noun and its adjective; it can, however, appear between the subject and its predicate. (Ibn Ya‘īš n.y/3: 110-111)

g. Using the separation pronoun for emphasis (*ta'kīd*) when the noun is implicit (*muḍmar*) in the verb, e.g.:

(6) *qumtu 'anā*

“I stood.” (Ibn Ya‘īš n.y/3: 110)

h. The separation pronoun also is used for specification (*iḥtišāṣ*), as in

(7) *wa-'ulā'ika humu l-muflihūna* (Q 2:5).⁴

“Those are the successful”. (Ibn Hišām 1991/2:175)

i. In some cases the separation pronoun has a double function, as in sentences including the verb *kāna*, e.g.:

(8) *kāna Zaydun huwa l-qā'imā* (Accusative)

“Zayd was the one who stands.”

In this sentence *l-qā'imu* is the predicate (*ḥabar kāna*), while *huwa* serves as separation pronoun. However, in the following sentence the syntactical analysis is different:

(9) *kāna Zaydun huwa l-qā'imū* (Nominative)

The clause *huwa l-qā'imū* serves as the predicate of *kāna l-qā'imū*, while *huwa* is the subject (*muḥtada'*) of the clause and *l-qā'imū* functions as the predicate (*ḥabar*) (Zağğāğī 1957:153).⁵

1.2 The independent personal pronoun according to the western grammarians

Their discussion of the independent personal pronoun is not different than the discussion by the traditional Arab grammarians. Thus, for example,

⁴ Cf. Ibn Ya‘īš (n.y/3: 110). The term *iḥtišāṣ* is discussed in section 3.2.1.

⁵ Cf. Ibn Hišām (1991/2:175)

Reckendorf (1898: §134, 375) mentions two functions of the independent pronoun that are discussed by the Arab grammarians. The first function he mentions is the emphatic independent personal pronoun, e.g. *hum qatalū 'amīr l-mu'minīna 'Uṭmān wa-hum ḥala'ū 'amīr l-mu'minīna 'Abd l-Malik* “They killed the caliph ‘Uṭmān and they dismiss/depose/expel the caliph ‘Abd l-Malik.” According to Reckendorf, the independent personal pronoun emphasizes the suffix of the verb that already indicates who is the agent of the action.⁶ The use of the independent personal pronoun as copula, that is, as a separation pronoun, is also mentioned by Reckendorf (1898: §136, 386-388), while he refers to the different explanations that are presented by the traditional Arab grammarians (see section 1.1). The third function mentioned by Reckendorf might be considered an innovation because he presents the pragmatic functions of the independent personal pronoun in verbal clauses.

The Arab grammarians speak more about the syntactic function of the independent personal pronoun and less about its pragmatic functions. This lack of information is filled in by the western grammarians. Thus, for example, Reckendorf (1898: §135, p. 380) speaks about *orientirendes Subjektszeichen* “an orienting subject mark” that can be found in different verbal sentences and does not function as an emphatic pronoun. Reckendorf’s explanations will be discussed in section 2, yet one example should be mentioned here: *'adrakanī 'Abū 'Abs wa-'anā 'aḥabu'ilā l-ḡum'ati* “he came to me while I was on my way to Friday service.” Here, the independent personal pronoun signals a new action that is not connected to the first action *'adrakanī*.

1.3. The objective of the article: Classification according to syntactic and pragmatic functions

This article presents the usages of the independent personal pronoun in the Qur’ān. After examination of 300 sentences including independent pronouns, some new observations were made in addition to the observations described in the research literature. To present clearly the findings, the sentences were classified in three groups:

The first group includes nominal sentences; that is, a verbless clause in which the independent personal pronoun is considered an obligatory clause component because it serves as the subject.

The second category includes verbal sentences. According to some grammarians, the independent personal pronoun in these sentences is redundant or pleonastic. Others refer to the term “emphasis,” but most researchers say that this

⁶ Cf. Fischer (2002: §265, §266, 125).

explanation is not always sufficient and even is vague, because there is no precise and clear definition of this term (Muraoka 1985:47).⁷

The third category presents the independent personal pronoun used as copula or in Arabic is known as the “pronoun of separation” (*ḍamīr al-faṣl*).

In each group there are also sub-categories determined according to the syntactic structure of the sentences, their context and the pragmatic function of the independent personal pronoun.

2. Classification of the Independent Personal Pronoun

2.1 Independent Personal Pronoun in Verbless Clauses

From a syntactical aspect, the independent personal pronoun in this group serves as the subject of the sentence, where it stands instead of the name of the person or a thing (Jespersen 1935:82).⁸

Deletion of the independent personal pronoun would create a hole in the syntactic structure, which might also harm the semantic meaning of the sentence, as in the following example:

(10) *'anta mawlānā fa-nṣurnā 'alā l-qawmi l-kāfirīna* (Q 2:286)

“You are our Protector; help us against the people of the unbelievers.”⁹

When the independent personal pronoun is omitted as in: **mawlānā fa-nṣurnā 'alā l-qawmi l-kāfirīna*, the sentence is unclear. Therefore, as the Arab grammarians explain, the independent personal pronoun prevents obscurity (see section 1.1), particularly when the predicate is unmarked, as in Q 2:286, where the predicate *mawlānā* can refer to 1st person singular masculine, 2nd person singular masculine or 3rd person singular masculine. By using the pronoun *'anta*, it becomes clear what is the subject of the sentence.

Examination of the verbless sentences revealed that it is not always possible to identify any pragmatic function of the independent pronouns, as in the following syntactic structures:

Independent personal pronoun after the exceptive particle *'illā*:

(11) *'innanī 'anā llāhu lā 'ilāha 'illā 'anā* (Q 20:14)

“Verily I am God; there is no god but I.”

Additional examples: 2:3; 2:255; 7:187; 20:14; 21:25; 21:87

This structure is used to express the idea that there is only one God, and he is Allah. This statement clarifies to the person that believing in other idols or the

⁷ Cf. Waltke, B.K. & M. O'Connor (1990: §16.3.2, 293).

⁸ Cf. Fleischer (1968/1: 161).

⁹ The translations of the verses are based on the translation of Arberry (1964). Some changes have been made in the cited translations.

association of other gods with Allah (*širk*) is unacceptable and wrong. In their discussion of the usage of the independent personal pronoun, the Arab grammarians mention that after the exceptive particle *'illā* only an independent personal pronoun can be used without explaining whether there is any other function for this use.¹⁰

Independent personal pronoun in circumstantial clauses (*ḡumlat ḥāl*):

(12) *wa-lā tubāširūhunna wa-'antum 'ākifūna fī l-masāḡidi* (Q 2:187)

“And do not lie with them while you cleave to the mosques.”

One of the circumstantial clause structures is a nominal clause and the subject is an independent personal pronoun (Reckendorf 1898: §179, 562).

Independent personal pronoun in sentences in which the predicate is in comparative form:

(13) *qāla 'anā ḥayrun minhu ḥalaqtanī min nārin wa-ḥalaqtahū min tīnin* (Q 7:12)

“Said he: I am better than he; Thou created me of fire and him Thou created of clay.”

It seems that in these examples¹¹ the independent pronoun has only a syntactic function – that is, it serves as the subject of the sentence or of the clause. Different pragmatic functions such as the use of the pronoun for the sake of brevity, to avoid repetition of a noun, indicate an interruption of sequences, or return to a referent that was mentioned previously could not be amplified in the above examples. In contrast, in the following example one can identify the pragmatic function of the independent personal pronoun.

The first function identified is emphasizing the identity of the speaker or of the agent. This function was found in the following structures:

a. The independent personal pronoun *'anā* referring to Allah:

(14) *fa-'ulā'ika 'atūbu 'alayhim wa-'anā t-tawwābu r-raḥīmu* (Q 2:160)

¹⁰ See Ibn Ya'īš (n.y/3: 103).

¹¹ For additional examples, see: Q 7:107 where the independent personal pronoun appears after the *'idā l-mufaḡa'a* (*'idā* indicating something unexpected); in the following relative clauses: 3:179, 24:64; Independent personal pronoun after the particle *bal*: Q 5:18, 7:81; in verses 2:68, 2:189, 2:271, 3:167, 6:165, 9:51, 9:61 and the independent personal pronoun after *'innama*, as in Q 2:11, 19:19.

According to Reckendorf (1898: §138, p. 383), the independent personal pronoun has no emphatic usage. For emphasis (the agent of the action), one should use a suffixed pronoun instead of the independent pronoun, as in: *'innaka lā taḡribu* “surely you will not hit him”.

“Toward them I shall turn; I turn, All-compassionate.”

In the Qur’ān there are several syntactic structures describing Allah in which the noun “Allāh” or “rabb” is explicit in the structure, as, for example, in Q 5:95. However, in other sentences the independent personal pronouns *’anā*, *’anta*, *huwa* and *nahnu* refer to Allah, as in Q 2:160. This verse is divided in two parts, *fa-’ulā’ika ’atūbu ’alayhim*, where the main information – what is the action and who is the agent – is clear. The second part, which does not provide any new information, emphasizes what previously was said about God by clarifying that Allah is the one who turns and he is the All-compassionate. Additional examples are: Q 21:92; 23:52; 29:42.

b. Independent personal pronoun in negative sentences in which *mā* or *’in bi-ma’nā laysa* appears:

(15) *qul lā attabi’u ’ahwā’akum qad ḍalaltu ’īdan wa-mā ’anā mina l-muhtadīna* (Q 6:56)

“Say: I do not follow your caprices, or else I had gone astray and would not be of the right-guided.”

The negative particles *mā* and *’in* are used in the signification of *laysa*. The predicate is placed after the subject, which is usually in the form of an active participle or an adjective in the form of *fa’īl*. The question is why this structure was used in this context and not the common structure with *laysa*: * *qul lā attabi’u ’ahwā’akum qad ḍalaltu ’īdan wa-lastu mina l-muhtadīna*.

By using the independent personal pronoun the speaker not only rejects the claim that he follows the bad caprices of the people, but he wants to emphasize that if he would do so, he could not be considered right-guided. Additional examples are: Q 2:8; 3:78; 6:104; 7:188; 11:33; 14:17; 14:22.

c. Independent personal pronoun after *’am t-taswiyya* (and interrogative sentences):

(16) *qālū ’a-ǧi’tanā bi-l-ḥaqqi ’am ’anta mina l-lā’ibīna* (Q 21:55)

“They said: What hast thou come to us with the truth, or art thou one of those that play?”

The effect of using the independent personal pronoun can be clarified by omitting it, as in the following sentence: *qālū ’a-ǧi’tanā bi-l-ḥaqqi ’am tal’abu*. Here the focus is on the action, while the use of the independent personal pronoun focuses on the agent by calling in question whether he is the one who brings the truth or belongs to those who play with the truth.¹² For additional examples of nominal interrogative sentences, see: Q 14:21; 19:46; 21:80; 21:108.

¹² For a broader explanation see section 2.2.1/c, where additional example like Q 56:59; 56:64; 56:69; 56:72 are mentioned.

d. In the following relative clauses:

'iḏ qāla li-'abīhi wa-qawmihī mā hāḏihi t-tamātīlu llatī 'antum lahā 'ākifūna (Q 21:52)

“When he said to his father and his people: What are these images, to which you are devoted?”

To understand the function of the independent personal pronoun one should ask if there is any difference between this verse and the following verse: *'iḏ qāla li-'abīhi wa-qawmihī mā hāḏihi t-tamātīlu llatī ta 'budūnahā / ta 'kifūna lahā*. The last question seems to be without any rhetorical affect, while in the first question with the independent personal pronoun there is guilt and contempt against the people who worship the images, as Bayḏāwī explains in his exegeses:

('iḏ qāla li-'abīhi wa-qawmihī mā hāḏihi t-tamātīlu llatī 'antum lahā 'ākifūna) taḥqīr li-ša'niḥā wa-tawbīḥ 'alā 'iḡlāliḥā, fa-'inna t-timṭāl suratun lā ruḥ fiḥā wa-lā yaḏurru wa-lā yanf'u

“(When he said to his father and his people: What are these images, to which you are devoted?)’ [The aim of the question is] to express contempt for this act and to scold the people about their admiration for the images, because the images are shapes without soul and spirit, they cannot neither harm nor benefit.’ (Bayḏāwī 1996/4: 97)

Additional examples are: Q 5:88; 60:11.

e. Different sentences without any syntactic feature:

(17) *qālū 'a-'innaka la-'anta yūsufu qāla 'anā yūsufu wa-hāḏā 'ahī* (Q 12:90)

“They said: Are you indeed Joseph? He said: I am Joseph...”

The use of the independent personal pronoun might be explained as emphasizing because the answer to the question of whether or not he is Joseph would simply be “yes” or “no.” However, Joseph’s answer leaves no room for doubt when he answers “I am Joseph.”

For additional examples, see Q 2:286; 3:7; 3:52; 5:18; 7:155; 12:77; 2; 27:39; 41:31; 63:4.

The second pragmatic function of the independent personal pronouns is to express contrast, as in the following example:

(20) *wa-'in kaḏḏabūka fa-qul lī 'amalī wa-lakum 'amalukum 'antum barī'ūna mimmā 'a'malu wa-'ana barī'un mimmā ta'malūna* (Q 10:41)

‘If they cry lies to thee, then do thou say; I have my work, and you have your work; you are quit of what I do, and I am quit of what you do.’

The contrast in this verse is explicit; that is, the two contrasting elements appear in the sentence, as opposed to implicit contrast, in which one must seek in the context the contrasting element that is missing.¹³ In Verse 41 Sura 10, the independent personal pronoun appears in both of the contrasting components: the pronoun *'antum* refers to the unbelievers and the pronoun *'anā* refers to Allah. In other verses, the contrast is between the prophet and the unbelievers (Q 109:3-5), husbands and their wives (Q 2:187), Allah and the infidels (Q 3:181; 4:142; 6:14; 6:103; 35:15; 47:38), and believers and infidels (Q 8:42).

2.2 Independent Personal Pronoun in Verbal Clauses

There are two explanations for the appearance of the independent personal pronoun in a verbal clause. According to the first, the independent personal pronoun is considered redundant or pleonastic because according to the Arab grammarians, a finite verb in Arabic includes a third- person pronoun denoted by the suffix of the verb (Levin 1985: 119).¹⁴

As a second explanation, the research literature presents the emphatic use of the independent personal pronoun in verbal clauses. The main problem with this explanation is that a precise explanation of the term “emphasis” or a list of the conditions in which the independent personal pronoun is used as an emphatic pronoun cannot be found (Muraoka 1985: 47).¹⁵ In spite of the general vagueness regarding the determination, an examination of the verses’ context showed that the independent personal pronoun in the Qur’ān functions as an emphatic pronoun –, that is, it clarifies and emphasizes the identity of the agent, as it will be shown in the following subcategory.

2.2.1 The emphatic use of independent personal pronoun

a. Independent personal pronoun in Q 12:51, 12:26

(18) *qāla hiya rāwadatnī 'an nafsī* (Q 12:26)

“Said he: It was she who solicited me”

(19) *qālati mra'atu l-'azīzi l-'āna ḥaṣḥaṣa l-ḥaqqu 'anā rāwadtuhū 'an nafsihī wa-'innahū la-mina ṣ-ṣādiqīna* (Q 12:51)

¹³ Cf. Muraoka (1985: 54-55) cf. Waltke & O'Connor (1991: § 6.3.2d, 295).

In explicit contrast, which Muraoka calls “Antithesis,” the two contrasted terms represent the positive and the negative side of an idea common to both of them.

¹⁴ cf. Goldenberg (1994: 100). According to Goldenberg, the verb in Semitic languages is a complex including personal pronoun, attribute and the attributive relation between them. The personal pronoun is represented by the suffix of the verb; the attribute is given in the lexeme involved, while the morphological form of the verb marks the implied attributive relation between the personal pronoun and the lexeme.

¹⁵ Cf. Eid (1983: 287).

“Potiphar’s wife said: ‘Now the truth is at last discovered; I solicited him; he is a truthful man’.”

These two verses belong to the story of Joseph, which is described at length in Sura 12. The story of Joseph has all the syntactic characters that make a story: the story is built by chronological events and dialogues. In the case of Sura Joseph, a series of dialogues have great importance because they function as an organizational principle. It is through dialogue that the plot of the story advances (Mustansir (2002/1: 532-533). The word order in the sentences that belong to the main line of the narratives is usually VS (verb-subject). The most frequent narrative tense is the past tense. This represents chronological succession of events and actions, or logical sequence of what has occurred.

Verses 26 and 51 are part of this narrative, but they do not belong to the chronological events of this story or what is known as the “foregrounded events” that succeed one another in the narrative in the same order as their sequence in the real world. These two verses are considered the “backgrounded events” of the narrative. They are not in sequence to the foregrounded events, but are concurrent with them. Due to this feature of simultaneity, backgrounded events usually amplify or comment on the events of the main narrative (Hopper 1979: 214). In the case of verses 26 and 51, these backgrounded events comment on the events that occurred between Potiphar’s wife and Joseph. In verse 26, Joseph defends himself and emphasizes that Potiphar’s wife was the one who seduced him, as Ṭabarī explains in his exegeses:

qāla Abū Ğa’far: yaqūlu ta’ālā dikruhu: qāla Yūsuf, lammā qaḍafathu mra’atu l-’Azīz bi-mā qaḍafathu min irādatihi l-fāḥiṣati minha, mukkaḍiban laha fī-mā qaḍafathu bihi, wa-daf’an lima nusiba ’ilayhi: ma ’anā rāwaduha ’an nafsīha, bal hiya rawadatni ’an nafsī. (Ṭabarī 1968/16: 53).

“When Potiphar’s wife says the slanderous words of calumny (that is, she mentions the indecent act that Joseph did to her), Joseph denies committing such an act and defends himself against the complaint of Potiphar’s wife by saying: “No I’m not the one who seduced her, but she was the one who seduced me.” In Verse 51, Potiphar’s wife finally confesses and admits that it was she who seduced Joseph, and not the reverse.

b. The independent personal pronoun *’anā*, *huwa* and *naḥnu* referring to Allah

(20) *qāla ’ibrāhīmu rabbiya lladī yuḥyī wa-yumītu qāla ’anā ’uḥyī wa-’umītu*
(Q 2:258)

“When Abraham said: My Lord is he who gives life, and causes death, he (Allah) said, I give life and cause death.”

The aim of the cited verses is to express the uniqueness of Allah. According to the verses, Allah (and no other than he) is the one who can give life and cause death. Additional examples are:

Q 10:56, 11:61, 56:57.

c. Independent personal pronoun in interrogative sentences

(21) 'a-'antum 'anzaltumūhu mina l-muzni 'am naḥnu l-munzilūna
(Q 56:69)

“Did you send it down (the water) from the clouds, or did we send it?”

In dealing with this structure, one should turn to Ğurġānī (1964: 76-78), who provides in his book *dalā'il l-'i'jāz* a detailed explanation of the appearance of the independent personal pronoun immediately after the interrogative or negative particle.

Regarding the questions 'a-fa'alta? and 'a-'anta fa'alta?, Ğurġānī explains that the first sentence asserts that the action described by the verb has been performed by the addressee, clearly denoting the identity of the performer. In contrast to this sentence, in the second sentence the aim is to assert that it is the addressee who has performed the action referred to by the verb. The action in this sentence is a manifest fact, i.e., there is no doubt that the action did indeed happen (Peled 1997: 131). A similar explanation for the word order SV in negative sentences is presented by Ğurġānī in his discussion of word order in negative sentences, such as the next example in the following category.

d. Independent personal pronoun in negative sentences

(22) 'udḥulū l-ġannata lā ḥawfun 'alaykum wa-lā 'antum
taḥzanūna (Q 7:49)

“Enter Paradise; no fear upon you, nor shall you sorrow”.

Similar to his explanation for the different word order in interrogative sentences, Ğurġānī (1964: 96) presents two possible structures for negative sentences. The first one is: *ma fa'altu* or *mā ḍarabtu Zaydan*. According to Peled (1997: 127–128), these sentences negate the link between the speaker and the action described by the verb. In other words, in this case it is not certain whether the action (hitting Zayd) did happen. The second structure is *ma 'anā fa'altu* or *mā 'anā ḍarabtu Zaydan*. In this structure, according to Ğurġānī the action did happen, but the speaker negates the fact that he is the agent of the described action.

In Q 7:49 the relevant component of the negative sentence is the independent personal pronoun. It is implied that not you, i.e., the believers, will sorrow, and one can complete this sentence by saying “but the infidels will be sorrowful.”¹⁶

e. Independent personal pronoun after the particle *tumma*

(23) *tumma 'antum hā'ulā'i taqtulūna 'anfusakum wa-tuḥriḡūna farīqan minkum min diyārihim* (Q 2:85)

“Then there you are killing one another, and expelling a part of yourself from their habitations.”

The emphatic use of the independent personal pronoun in Q 2:85 can be understood only by referring to the context. In the previous verse (48), it is said: “Allah took their covenant: You shall not shed your own blood, nor expel your own from your habitations; and then you confirm it and yourselves bear witness.” *tumma*, which is used as an adversative particle meaning “but”, starts a new sentence saying: in spite of the alliance between the people and God, you are those (and not Allah or someone else) who are killing and expelling the people. Here again the most important component of the sentence is the independent personal pronoun that indicates the identity of the agent.

f. Additional verses in which the independent personal pronoun is used for emphasizing the agent of the action: Q 3:101; 12:3; 17:31; 38:60; 52:15; 18:38.

2.2.2 Co-ordinate subject constructions with the independent personal pronoun

An additional structure is seen where an independent personal pronoun is followed by a second agent, as in the following example:

(24) *qul hādīhī sabīlī 'ad'ū 'ilā llāhi 'alā baṣīratīn 'anā wa-mani ttaba'anī* (12:108)

“Say this is my way. I call to God with sure knowledge, I and whoever follows after me.”

Bloch A. (1986:1-2) calls this phenomenon “pronoun reduplication” and explains it as follows:

“In Arabic, as well as in other Semitic languages, a free personal pronoun may reduplicate a preceding bound pronoun. i.e., suffix or pronoun inherent in a finite verb. This device, which in all likelihood harks back to the earliest stages of this family of languages, will be referred to as ‘pronoun reduplication’ (...) A second use of pronoun reduplication is

¹⁶ Peled (1997: 129) explains that according to Ğurġānī, the SV construct is semantically ill-formed, insofar as it yields a contradiction. It should be continued by a coordinate sentence - e.g., *mā 'anā ra'aytu kulla n-nāsi wa-lākinna × ra'ā kulla n-nāsi*. The coordinate sentence implies the existence of a person other than the speaker who has taken the action (seen the people).

the subject of this chapter. A bound pronoun in Arabic will typically be reduplicated when coordinated with a following substantive or pronoun (...) e.g., *daḥaltu anā wahiya* (I-entered I and-she) I and she entered”.

In the cited verse and in Q 5:24, 7:19, 11:49, 20:42 and 23:28, the independent personal pronoun shows the same agreement (person, gender, and number) as the predicate.¹⁷ There are different explanations for the word order: Verb+ Independent personal pronoun in the co-ordinate subject structures:

A. The first reason for the appearance of the pronoun after the verb involves a syntactic hole in the language. Here the use of the independent pronoun is neither pleonastic nor emphatic.¹⁸ According to Waltke & O'Connor (1990:294), “A hole in the syntactic system arises because the verb need not be fully marked for the subject.” According to this explanation, a deletion of the independent personal pronoun will create a syntactic hole, as in the following:

(25) *wa-yā- 'ādamu skun 'anta wa-zawḡuka l-ḡannata fa-kulā min ḥaytu ši 'tumā* (Q 7:19)

“O Adam, dwell, you and your wife, in Paradise and eat from wherever you will but do not approach this tree.”

* *wa-yā- 'ādamu skun (X) wa-zawḡuka l-ḡannata*

“O Adam, dwell and your wife, in Paradise.”

B. The reduplication of the pronoun comes for semantic reasons. In the sentence *skun 'anta wa-zawḡuka*, the meaning is “dwell you and your wife” while *wāw* functions as *wāw l- 'atf* (connective particle). The sentence *skun (X) wa-zawḡuka* can be understood and thus translated as “dwell you with your wife,” although the noun is in nominative and not accusative, as it is after *wāw l-ma 'iyya* – the *wāw* of simultaneousness. Thus, the use of the independent personal pronoun prevents any semantic ambiguity in the sentence.

C. When another grammatical element intervenes before a subject, it is necessary to add the presumptive personal pronoun (Waltke & O'Connor 1990:295).¹⁹ In Q 12:108, for example, a prepositional phrase follows the verb: *'ad 'ū 'ilā llāhi 'alā baṣīratin 'anā wa-mani ttaba 'anī*. Deletion of the independent personal pronoun will create an “ill” syntactic structure which additionally will not be semantically completed: * *'ad 'ū 'ilā llāhi 'alā baṣīratin wa-mani ttaba 'anī* “I call to God with sure knowledge and whoever follows after me.”

¹⁷ Cf. Noudé (1990:76-78). See on pp. 76-80 additional types of co-ordinate subject construction with the independent personal pronoun in Biblical Hebrew. Some types in Arabic are presented by Bloch A. in his discussion of “pronoun reduplication in Coordination”. See: Bloch (1986: § 3.5, 4).

¹⁸ Reckendorf (1898: § 134, 378) mentions some examples of this structure, explaining that the independent personal pronoun is emphatic.

¹⁹ Cf. Noudé (1990:78).

2.2.3 Independent personal pronoun marking the subject of the sentence

The following structures are mentioned by Reckendorf (1989: §135,379-380) as cases in which the independent personal pronoun in verbal sentences is not used for emphasizing purpose. According to Reckendorf, if one wants to understand the function of the pronoun in verbal sentences, one should refer first to the doctrine of these sentences. Usually, in verbal sentences there is a tendency to place the verb as far forward as possible from the subject, while the verb precedes the subject. Thus, in the space which is created between the locations of the subject and the predicate, the occurrence is described, i.e., the action performed by the subject of the sentence. However, there are verbal sentences including, for example, different particles that may affect the word order and thus the subject will be placed at the head of the sentence, while the verb will be located far after the subject. In such cases the independent personal pronoun actually appears where the subject had to be placed. The lack of independent personal pronoun in this kind of sentences will require finding a new marker in the sentence that enables identifying the element structure of the sentence –, i.e., the subject and the predicate.

Reckendorf (p.380) mentions first the circumstantial clauses, where the story described in the sentence is “torn,” because a new clause beginning with the particle *wa* is introduced. This clause is called in Arabic “a circumstantial clause.” The independent personal pronoun indicates that a new occurrence has now occurred; moreover, it signals a switch of references, e.g.:

(26) *'adrakanī 'Abū 'Abs wa-'anā 'aḏhabu 'ilā l-ḡum'a*

“Abū ‘Abs reached me, while I’m going (making my way) to the Friday service.”

An additional structure mentioned by Reckendorf is clauses after *'idā al-fuḡa'iyya* including an independent personal pronoun:

(27) *wa-'awḥaynā 'ilā mūsā 'an 'alqi 'aṣāka fa-'idā hiya talqafu mā ya'fikūna* (Q 7:117)

“And we revealed to Moses: Cast thy staff, and lo, it forthwith swallowed up their lying invention.”

The typical word order after *'idā al-fuḡa'iyya* is subject-predicate; however, the independent personal pronoun replaces the real subject of the sentence, which is *'aṣāka* (Reckendorf 1898: 380).²⁰

²⁰ Reckendorf mentions in the same section structures in which an independent personal pronoun appears after *'innamā* (ex. Q 11:12) and *'ammā...fa* (ex. Q 80:5-6).

2.2.4 Independent personal pronoun indicating an interruption of sequences

Independent personal pronoun can be used when there is an interruption of sequences. The pronoun is then used to return to a referent that was mentioned before the interruption of the sequences, for example:

(28) *wa-qāla r kabū fihā bi-smi llāhi mağrāhā wa-mursāhā 'inna rabbī la-ğafūrun raḥīmun wa-hiya tağrī bihim fī mawğin ka-l-ğibāli wa-nādā nūhun-i bnahū wa-kāna fī ma 'zilin yā-bunayya r kab ma 'anā wa-lā takun ma 'a l-kāfirīna* (Q 11:41-42)

“He said: Embark on it! In God’s name shall be its course and its breathing. Surely my Lord is All-forgiving, All-compassionate. So it runs with them amid waves like mountains and Noah called to his son, who was standing apart, embark with us, my son, and be thou not with the unbelievers.”

In verses 38-48, the story of Noah ark is told, but it seems that the clause *'inna rabbī la-ğafūrun raḥīmun* interrupts the sequence. The pronoun *wa-hiya*, which refers to the *falak*, i.e. the ark, indicates a return to the sequence of the story. Additional examples for this pragmatic function are: Q 51:13 and Q 6:46.

2.3 Independent Personal Pronoun Functioning as Copula

Section 1.1 introduced in which condition an independent personal pronoun may be used according to the Arab grammarians as *ḍamīr al-faṣl*, while the Arabic term indicates the main pragmatic function of this pronoun, i.e., to separate the subject and predicate to prevent potential ambiguity in the sentence (Eid 1983: 203). In the modern research literature, the term *copula* often is used to indicate what the Arab grammarians identified as *ḍamīr al-faṣl*. The term *copula* has been a much-studied issue in Semitic studies and especially in the study of the Hebrew Bible. The researchers usually related the function of the *copula* in Semitic languages to the Indo-European *copula*, as, for example, Zewi Tamar (1996:41) defines (in her article) the term *copula* in the Semitic languages as follows:

“The term copula is generally used in Indo-European languages for verbs or other words or morphemes that represent the predicative relation, or the so the so-called ‘nexus,’ according to Jespersen's terminology. The fundamental role of the copula is thus very clear and very specific. It represents, in various sentences types, one basic indispensable syntactic function, that is, the relation between subject and predicate, without which no sentence can be constructed. The sentence types of copula are

required for are those in which there is no other way of representing the predicative relation, for instance, by other verbal forms and so forth.”²¹

This section shows in which sentences in the Qur’ān the copula appears and if there is some special pragmatic function of the copula other than to clarify the relation between subject and predicate.

The independent personal pronoun which is used as copula in Arabic can be classified in two categories: sentences that can be constructed without copula, i.e., the independent personal pronoun is pleonastic; and sentences in which the copula is required, or it would be difficult to recognize the connection between the subject and the predicate (Eid 1991:40-41).

2.3.1 Redundant copula

The independent personal pronoun in the following structures can be omitted, but the sentence will be grammatically correct because the subject in these structures is well-marked, and thus it is easy to identify the subject and the predicate:

a. Copula which occurs after the verb *kāna*, for example:

(29) *wa-kunnā nahnu l-wāriṭīna* (Q 28:58)

“And it is we who were the inheritors.”

The following are additional examples: 5:117, 7:113, 7:115 and 37:116.

b. Copula between the subject and the verbal predicate

(30) *'a-lam ya'lamū 'anna llāha huwa yaqbalu t-tawbata 'an 'ibādihi* (Q 9:104)

“Do they not know that God is he who accepts repentance from his servants?”

c. Copula between the particle *'inna* and the definite nominal predicate

(31) *qāla 'innī 'anā 'aḥūka* (Q 12:69)

“He said: I am your brother.”

d. Independent personal pronoun between subject and predicate in comparative form

(32) *wa-'aḥī Hārūnu huwa 'afṣaḥu minnī lisānan* (Q 28:34)

“My brother Aaron is more eloquent than I.”

According to the Arab grammarians, the separation pronoun in the above-mentioned examples has a dual function - it can be considered by the school of Baṣra a separation pronoun (*ḍamīr al-faṣl*), because it separates between the predicate and the adjective, while the school of Kūfa calls this pronoun *al-'imād*, because this pronoun “supports” the meaning of the sentence. As a second function, the Arab grammarians mention that it can be an emphasizing pronoun

²¹ Cf. Khan (2006:156–157).

(*ta'kīd*), i.e., it emphasizes the subject (Ibn Ya'īš n.y/3: 110)²². An independent personal pronoun can follow the *mudmar* (suffixed personal pronoun) for the purpose of emphasis. (Ibn Ya'īš n.y/3: 111)²³

2.3.2 Required copula

2.3.2.1 Identifying clauses

According to the Arab grammarians the pronoun separates the subject and its predicate. Without using the separation pronoun, one might refer to the nominal predicate as an adjective. The Arab grammarians do mention the pragmatic function of the separation pronoun by saying that it is used for *iḥtišāṣ* 'identification'. This phenomenon also is known as *qaṣr*, *ḥaṣr* or *taḥṣīṣ*. Suyūṭī (1973/1 part 2: 49–50) explains this term as follows:

'ammā l-ḥaṣr wa-yuqālu lahu l-qaṣr fa-huwa taḥṣīṣ 'amr bi-'amr 'āḥar bi-tarīq maḥṣūs.

“as for the term *ḥaṣr* or *qaṣr* (both of the terms can be translated as 'limitation'), it means the specification of something with something else by using a specific grammatical structure (which Suyūṭī specifies in the chapter of *al-ḥaṣr*.)”

The sixth structure of *taḥṣīṣ* mentioned by *Suyūṭī* is a sentence consisting of subject and nominal predicate, while a separation pronoun stands between them, as, for example: *'ulā'ika humu l- muflīḥūna* (Q 2:5), where the subject is specified by the predicate (*taḥṣīṣ l-musnad bi-l-musnad 'ilayhi*) (Suyūṭī 1973/1 part 2: 50).

This usage can become more clear when sentences including a separation pronoun which are used for *iḥtišāṣ*, are compared with similar clauses taken from the Biblical Hebrew. According to Muraoka (1985), identifying clauses (Who or what is the subject?) with independent pronouns in a copula role have the word order subject-pronoun-predicate, as for example: *'ēśāw hū' 'ēḏwōm* “Esau is Edom” (Gen 36:8). Such sentences can be analyzed also as nominative absolute (focus or casus pendens) constructions; the initial noun (here, *'ēśāw*) is the focus marker and the clause proper has the order subject-predicate (here, *hū' 'ēḏwōm*), i.e., we might paraphrase this sentence as follows: “As for Esau, he is Edom.”

²² Cf. Suyūṭī (1989/1: 236) and Ibn Hišām (1991/2: 174-175).

²³ Bloch calls this phenomenon 'focusing' (see p. 1). He says that one of the uses of pronoun reduplication is as a focusing device, e.g., *wa-mā zalamnāhum wa-lākin kānū humu z-ḡālīmīna* (Q 43:76) “We never wringed them, but *they* did the wrong”. He explains this use as follows: "I call "focusing device" any linguistic means of which languages avail themselves in order to put into relief the item of the sentence that contains the new or contrastive information, thus making this item stand out against the rest of the sentence, which contains the presupposed or known information. An item so marked is the 'focus' of the sentence.”

This construction has a “selective-exclusive” force, in Muraoka's term; the subject focus is singled out and contrasted with other possible or actual alternatives. In some cases, the passages are concerned with the uniqueness of the subject/focus, as in: *yəhwā hū' hā'ēlōhīm 'ēn 'wōd miləbadwō* “YHWH is God; there is none beside him.” (Deut 4:35) (Waltke & O'Connor 1991: §16.3.3, 297).²⁴

In the Qur'ān, the identifying clauses – clauses in which the separation pronoun is used for *ih̄tiṣāṣ* – have specific goals. They clarify the question who is God and who are the believers or the infidels, while their positive or negative uniqueness is being focused, for example:

clauses referring to the believers and infidels:

(33) *wa-l-kāfirūna humu z-zālimūna* (Q 2:254)

“And the unbelievers – they are the evildoers.”

Clauses referring to Allah:

(34) *wa-llāhu huwa s-samī'u l-'alīmu* (Q 5:76)

‘God is the All-hearing, the All-knowing.’

2.3.2.2 Copula between definite subject and definite nominal predicate

In this category, the subject and the predicate of the sentence are definite, so without the pronoun of separation there is no way to tell which component is the subject or the predicate. In addition, the nominal predicate can be considered the adjective referring to the subject.

(35) *wa-kalimatu llāhi hiya l-'ulyā* (Q 9:40)

“God’s word is the uppermost.”

Without a pronoun, one can understand that is an adjective → * *wa-kalimatu llāhi l-'ulyā* ‘and the uppermost God's word (...).’

(36) *'inna hādā la-huwa l-qaṣaṣu l-ḥaqqu* (Q 3:62)

‘Indeed, this is the true narration.’

Without the pronoun, the sentence will be → * *'inna hādā l-qaṣaṣu l-ḥaqqu* “indeed this true narration”, whereas the sentence must be completed with a predicate (Reckendorf 1898: 388).

Noteworthy in this category is the case of *dālika huwa l-fawzu l-'azīmu* (Q 9:72) as opposed to *dālika l-fawzu l-'azīmu* (Q 13:4). Both of the verses can be translated as “that is the mighty triumph”. Brockelmann (1961/2: 99) mentions this example and explains that in these cases the copula can be omitted without

²⁴ The Arab grammarians analyze such structures as follows: According to the Baṣra School this pronoun is actually a particle. The grammarians of Kūfa school claiming however that its grammatical function is determined according to its position in the sentence, i.e. if it stands for example between the subject and the predicate of *kāna*, then its in nominative case (Ibn Hišām 1991/2: 175) (see also section 1.1i).

explaining the reason. The deletion of the separation pronoun can be explained by the function of the clause's subject. *dālika* here functions as a resumptive pronoun that refers to what previously was said, and therefore it is clear that *dālika* is the subject while *l-fawzu l-'azīmu* is the predicate which follows by its adjective.

3. Conclusions

The independent personal pronoun in the Qur'ān appears in three different structures: in nominal sentences, in verbal sentences and in so-called "tripartite nominal clauses", that is, nominal sentences including a pronoun copula.

In the nominal sentences the independent personal pronoun functions mainly as the grammatical subject of the sentence. The pronoun refers to or replaces the subject that was previously mentioned, without carrying an additional pragmatic rule, such as indicating subject switch. In specific cases, however, such as an independent personal pronoun after *mā* in the signification of *laysa*, in negative and interrogative sentences, the independent personal pronoun has the significant function of emphasizing the identity of the agent. An additional function of the independent personal pronoun which was mentioned is the use of the pronoun for expressing contrast between two sides – usually between God and the believers, God and the devil and between Muḥammad and the infidels.

In verbal sentences, the independent personal pronoun has three functions. First, the independent personal pronoun is an emphatic pronoun – i.e., emphasizes or clarifies the identity of the agent. This use can be found in Q 12:51, 12:26, in sentences in which the pronouns *'anā* and *huwa* refer to Allah, and when the independent personal pronoun appears immediately after the interrogative and negative particle or after *tumma*. Secondly, the independent personal pronoun can be reduplicated. The primary reason for the creation of the co-ordinate subject structure is to avoid creating a syntactical hole in the sentence and for semantic reasons, i.e., deletion of the pronoun can change the meaning of the sentence – the particle *wa* that stands between the pronoun and the second subject can be understood as "with" and not as "and." As a third function, the independent personal pronoun marks the subject when there a gap between the subject and the predicate was created due to the introduction of some particles, as, for example, *'ammā...fa*. The independent personal pronoun that is placed after the particle *fa* function as a marker which enables us to identify the subject and the predicate. Using the independent personal pronoun after interruption of the sequence is the fourth function which was found.

The independent personal pronoun as copula can be either pleonastic but with emphatic force, as when it follows *kāna* and *'inna*, or be necessary for understanding the meaning of the sentence because it separates a definite subject and predicate, and thus identifies the link between the subject and the predicate.

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***IFRANĜĪ / FIRANĜĪ*: WHAT LANGUAGE WAS PAUL OF ALEPPO REFERRING TO IN HIS TRAVEL NOTES?**

Ioana Feodorov
Institute for South-East European Studies
Romanian Academy

Abstract. Būlos Ibn al-Za‘īm al-Ḥalabiyy, or Paul of Aleppo, an archdeacon of the Greek Orthodox Church of Antioch, travelled in 1652-1659 through Turkey, Wallachia, Moldavia, Ukraine, and Russia, accompanying his father, Patriarch Makarios III Ibn al-Za‘īm. His testimony regarding all that he saw and learned on this long voyage is preserved in a 662 pages Arabic manuscript belonging to the BnF in Paris (longest known version). Among many significant topics, the language data provided by this text is outstanding. This paper surveys the meanings of the words *Ifranġī / Firanġī* (‘Frankish’) in Paul’s notes as referring to ‘language’ and ‘writing’, with comments on the various interpretations of the Arabic terms *Firanġ* / *Ifranġ*, loanwords that originated in the European word ‘Frank’.

Keywords: Paul of Aleppo, travels, East-Europe, 17th century, *Ifranġī*, *Firanġī*, Frank, Frankish, Arabic loanwords.

Būlos Ibn al-Za‘īm al-Ḥalabī, or Paul of Aleppo, an archdeacon of the Greek Orthodox Church of Antioch, travelled through Turkey, Wallachia, Moldavia, Ukraine and Russia in 1652-1659. He was accompanying his father, Patriarch Makarios III Ibn al-Za‘īm, who left his seat in Damascus for a long and perilous journey in search of financial and political help from the Orthodox princes of Eastern Europe.

All through his voyages Paul took notes that make up a manuscript of 322 folios (r/v) in the longest copy available, *Ms. Ar. 6016* of Bibliothèque Nationale de France, in Paris.¹ This manuscript is currently the object of a joint programme between the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy and the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St Petersburg, aiming at a complete edition of the Arabic text and an annotated English translation.

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¹ For information on all known copies see Feodorov 2012-a: 15-17.

Paul's journal, known to modern scholarship as *The Travels of Patriarch Makarius al-Za'im*, is rich in historical, political, religious, and cultural data (See Kilpatrick 1997; Walbiner 2003; Feodorov 2006; Feodorov 2010; Feodorov 2012-b, etc.). Among the aspects that were less commented upon, language features, have recently become the focus of increased attention², as vivid testimonies of the variety of language known as "Middle Arabic", and in particular – the version employed by Christian Arabs of Syria in the 16th-17th centuries (see Feodorov 2003; Feodorov 2011). The Syrian traveller was highly interested in languages spoken by all the ethnic groups which the Arab hierarchs met. He often makes comments concerning the way they spoke or wrote: e.g., when reporting the story of a christened Jew, Paul is astonished at similarities in the Jews' and the Arabs' languages:

والعدد بالعبراني مثل العربي ، واذا رأي احدنا رفيقه وسلم عليه، قابلا، السلام عليكم، بالعبراني هي،
عليخوم (sic) سلام ، ومثل هذا شي كثير .

"Numbers are the same in Hebrew and in Arabic. When one of us sees a friend, he salutes him with *As-salāmu 'alay-kum!*, while in Hebrew it is *'Alay-hum salām!* And there are many similar situations" (fol. 279v).

Paul often explains the foreign words that he considered useful for his Syrian readers, especially the church vocabulary, e.g.:

الصابور اي الكنيسة العظمي ومضي الصابور بلسانهم الكاتوليكي او الجامعه

"[...] *sobor*, i.e. 'the great church', for *sobor* in their language [i.e., in Russian] means *al-kātūlīkī* or 'the place of gathering'" (140v).

The present contribution focuses on a single one of the plentiful lexical items that are likely to attract philologists' attention when our project is completed: the interpretation of the terms *Ifranġī* / *Firanġī* when referring to "language" and "writing".³

As a derivative of the 4-consonant root *f-r-n-ġ*, established in Arabic through a loan, from a non-Semitic language, the origin of the word *Ifranġ* in the term *Franc* is generally evoked. However, it is not unanimously accepted whether it was borrowed from Latin, Italian, Greek, or the *Lingua franca* spoken in the early Middle Ages all around the Mediterranean shores. Fr Samir Khalil Samir, an expert editor, translator and commentator of Christian Arabic works, suggested to me that the word was borrowed by Arabic from either Italian or Greek: "[*Firanġ* is] simply a transcription of *Franc*, the [ġ] at the end being pronounced /g/ (like in the Cairene pronunciation)". Cyril Aslanov favours the Greek origin: "En vertu

² Basile Radu (Radu 1930-1949) was not particularly interested in the linguistic features of Paul's journal, while G. Z. Pumpyan (Pumpyan 1987) presented a small number of loanwords of Turkish origin employed by Paul while in Russia.

³ For other meanings and interpretations see Feodorov 2012-d.

d'une habitude linguistique qui remonte aux contacts entre l'Empire carolingien et Byzance, les Occidentaux étaient appelés du nom de Φράγκοι par les Grecs. Cet ethnonyme hellénisé fut adapté sous la forme *ifranĝ* / pluriel *faranĝ* en arabe, *fruĝu* / pluriel *fruzi* en vieux-slave, *frjag* / pluriel *frjagi* en vieux-russe" (Aslanov 2002: 13).

Crusaders were called *Ifrank* or *Ifranĝ* both by Muslims and Christians: the words *ṣalībī* and *ṣalībīyyūn* appear in written texts in the 19th century, when they were probably translated from modern European languages. Given their role as a bridge between the Greek and the Muslim cultures, Christian Arabs of the Levant may have been the transmitters of the term *Ifrank*. The history of the Arabic root *f-r-n-ĝ* is definitely connected to the Crusaders' presence in the Levant, which allowed Arabic-speaking populations a closer contact with the motley languages of the European armies. Aslanov attributes the origin of the phrase *lingua franca* to this period: "Comme les locuteurs des langues romanes constituaient la majeure partie des effectifs croisés, l'ethnonyme Φράγκοι en arriva à désigner indistinctement les différents idiomes romans parlés par ces envahisseurs occidentaux: parlers d'oïl, occitan, catalan, dialectes italiens. C'est cette bigarrure linguistique à dominante romane qui est à l'origine de l'appellation *lingua franca* [...]" (*ibidem*). However, this author does not equal *lingua franca* to *lisān al-faranj*, "qui peut nommer n'importe quelle langue parlée par des Francs (Occidentaux) perçus d'un point de vue levantin⁴".

In his article in *EI2* devoted to the word *Ifranĝ* (*EI2* 1965: 1044-1046), Bernard Lewis asserts that the term was transmitted to Muslims by the Byzantines and that the first authors who mentioned it, in its geographical sense, were Muslim geographers of the 8th-9th c., in particular Al-Mas'ūdi, who used it to refer to France and sometimes to the British Isles, inhabited by "Franks". The Franks (< Latin pl. *Franci*, *gens Francorum* < sg. *Francus* < German "javelin" > Old Eng. *franca*?) were Germanic tribes that populated in the 3rd c. AD a wide territory in the Rhine River Valley. The word is documented from the 3rd century. Constantine the 1st executed 'Frankish prisoners' in Trier, in 306.⁵ The name was not an ethnonym, but an endonym, because the tribes had each a different name and the term was interpreted as "free, honest, bold, fierce [people]", in a social and political sense (with Adj. *feroces*). In the 3rd-5th c. some of the Franks attacked the Roman armies, while others joined them, fighting in Gaul. Frankish tribes united in the 5th c. under the Merovingian dynasty and conquered almost the

⁴ See Jocelyne Dakhlia, *Lingua franca: histoire d'une langue métisse en Méditerranée*, Aix-en-Provence, 2008, who argues that "la langue franque" reached beyond a versatile pidgin or a "jargon de fortune", as Claude Hagège had described it.

⁵ See Wolf Liebeschnetz, *The Debate about the Ethnogenesis of the Germanic Tribes*, in *From Rome to Constantinople*, Peeters, 2007, pp. 341-356.

whole Gaul. Thus, the Franks' kingdom was established, spreading Christianity in Western Europe. By the end of the 8th c., under the Carolingian princes, their Empire dominated all of Western Europe, later to be divided into France and the Holy Roman Empire. The Franks were strongly connected, spiritually and politically, to the Latin Church, therefore the name *Frank* was often used in the Middle Ages as a synonym for 'Roman Catholic'.⁶ Ines Županov surveyed the Asian adventure of this word, in its Indian version – *Parangui*, concluding that it “is a generic, xenophobic term for a European. In its many regional phonetic, semantic, and spelling variants (Frangui, Farangui, Firinghee, Ifranġi, Parangi, Prangue, etc.), it was used throughout Asia and the Middle East from the medieval period (designating Franks, ‘European Christians’, crusaders, etc.) until today”⁷. The perspective of any survey is definitely instrumental in the survey of the notion of ‘Frank’ or *Firangġ*: in his discussion of Jocelyn Dakhliā’s above-mentioned book, Cyril Aslanov notes that “[...] même les Occidentaux cessaient d’être des *faranj* dès lors qu’ils étaient perçus depuis les horizons barbaresques ou marocains. Vus de Tunis, d’Alger ou de Salé, ceux qu’on appelait ‘francs’ à Constantinople, Beyrouth ou Alexandrie devenaient des Roumis, c’est-à-dire des ‘Romains’” (Aslanov 2010: 105).

Detailed philological comments on the etymology, history and form of the Arabic terms derived from the root *f-r-n-ġ* (orthographic variations, phonology, morphology), established through a loan from a non-Semitic language, require a survey of the earliest documents where this term can be traced, of the subsequent changes of pronunciation and meaning that it experienced, and of its first recording and definitions in dictionaries of the Arabic language. My research of this topic started with a survey of relevant entries in dictionaries and vocabularies of the Arabic language – Muslim and Christian, classical and modern. In the absence of a historical dictionary of the Arabic language, data is gathered by modern commentators from the great Muslim lexicographers. Since this research is still in progress, only brief notes are presented hereafter, focusing on the significance of Paul of Aleppo’s notes as a source for this language survey.

The momentous *Lisān al-‘arab* of Ibn Manzūr Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl al-Miṣriyy⁸ does not mention this root.⁹ In the dictionary of Al-Fayruzabadi *Al-*

⁶ Metropolitan Dosoftei, the Romanian 17th c. translator of Herodot’s *History*, sees the Celts in the “Franks that inhabit the fringes of Europe”: see V. Căndea, “Franțozii în Bibliile românești din secolul al XVII-lea”, in *Limba română*, 2, XIX, 1970, p. 139.

⁷ Ines G. Županov, *Disputed Mission. Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-century India*, Oxford University Press, 2nd ed., New Delhi, 2001, p. 5, note 14.

⁸ Muslim lexicographer of the 14th c. (d. 1311, Cairo). First print 1882, Būlāq.

⁹ Passing from *f-r-n-b* to *f-r-n-d* (t. V, p. 3405).

*Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*¹⁰ the root *f-r-n-ğ* comprises a single term, *al-Ifranğat*, defined as: *al-’Ifraṅğat gīl^{mu} mu’arrab I frank*, while *ğīl^{mu}* is interpreted as *al-şinf min al-nās* (‘a sort of people’), and *’iqlīm^{mu} bi-l-’ağamī* (‘a territory in foreign lands’) (*s. v.*, 3rd Part, p. 364). For ’Aḥmad bin ’Ālī Al-Qalqaşandī (*şubḥ al-’a’şā fī s}inā ‘at al-’inşā*)¹¹, one of the major encyclopaedists of the Medieval Orient, the Greek were part of the *Firanğī* lands:

وملك القسطنطينية وسائر ملوك الفرنج وحكامهم بجزائر الروم

“The emperor of Constantinople and the other emperors of *Al-Firanğ*, whose rule extends over the Greeks’ islands...” (Ch. 2).

The first Christian Arab author to provide a lexicographic record of the term was probably the Maronite Gabriel Farḥāt in his *Bāb al-’i’rāb fī luğat al-’a’rāb*¹²:

الافرنج والافرنجة معرّب افرنك. يفوقونا غيرهم ذكاء وصناعة.

“*Ifraṅğ* and *Ifranğat* come from *I frank*. They [the Franks] surpass the others in intelligence and craft.”

In Lane’s *Arabic-English Lexicon* (*s. v.*), the article on *Al-Firanğ*, rich in examples from the Qur’ān, *Al-Mufradāt fī ġarīb al-Qur’ān*, *Lisān al-’arab*, *Tāğ al-’arūs min ġawāhir al-qāmūs*, etc., provides the definition: “A certain people; the Franks; an appellation given originally, by the Arabs, to the French; and afterwards to all Europeans except those of the Turkish Empire.”¹³ This exception is recorded with certain variations: in Buṭros al-Bustānī’s 19th century dictionary *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* the definition goes: *Ism li-sukkān ’Urubbā mā ‘adā al-’arwām wa-l-’atrāk*.¹⁴ The French diplomat and lexicographer Adrien Barthélemy gives: “*frandj*, n. coll. ‘Francs, Européens’; arl. [arabe littéral] *ifrandju*”¹⁵. Derived

¹⁰ Mağd al-Din Muḥammad bin Ya’qūb al-Fayrūzabādī, born in Feyrūzabād, near Shiraz (m. 1415). 1st part, Beirut, Dār al-ğīl, *s. a.*, p. 210.

¹¹ Egyptian writer, scientist, and lexicographer (1355/1356-1418). His fourteen-volume encyclopaedia is accessible on-line: <http://www.islamicbook.ws/adab/sbh-alaasha-001.html>.

¹² Edited by Rochaid Daḥdāḥ, *Dictionnaire arabe par Germanos Farhat, Maronite, évêque d’Alep. Revu, corrigé et considérablement augmenté sur le manuscrit de l’Auteur*, Marseille, Barras et Sournin, 1849.

¹³ My colleague Octav de Lazero shared his opinion with me that there are precedents for the transfer and subsequent semantic development of ethnonyms, e.g., the West Semitic *y-w-n* > ‘Ionian’ > ‘Greek’. I am grateful to him for this comment.

¹⁴ Unlike other Eastern lexicographers, he explains it in connection with the Latin *francus*: “*wa-ma’ nā-hu ḥurr*”.

¹⁵ A. Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire Arabe – Français. Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas Liban, Jérusalem. Quatrième fascicule, publié par H. Fleisch*, Paris, 1950, p. 605. Adrien Barthélemy (1859-1949) was a French consul in Lebanon, Syria, and Persia, a Professor at École des Langues Orientales and École pratique des Hautes Études in Paris. He published three fascicules of his

forms all refer to the geographical concept: *al-Ifranġ*, ‘the Europeans’, *Ifranġi*, ‘European’, *Firanġa*, ‘Land of the Franks’, ‘Europe’. In his *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Wehr 1994: 832), Hans Wehr gives: *al-ifranj*, ‘the Europeans’, *ifranjī*, European, *bilād al-ifranj* and *firanja*, ‘Europe’, ‘Land of the Franks’, and *al-ifranjā*, ‘syphilis’. The derived verb, absent from Paul of Aleppo’s journal, was presumably recorded only in later-date dictionaries, with the meanings given by Wehr’s *Dictionary (ibidem)*: *tafarnaja*, ‘to become Europeanized, adopt European manners, imitate the Europeans’, with the derived noun *tafarnuj*, ‘Europeanization’, ‘imitation of the Europeans’, and the participle *mutafarnij*, ‘Europeanized’. While quoting a magazine article of 1860 (although “it may be older”), Bernard Lewis proposes the definition: “*TAFARNUDJ*, from *Ifranġi*, lit. ‘adopting, imitating or aping the manners and customs of the Franks, i.e. the ‘Europeans’” (*EI2* 2000: 81). Instead, Paul of Aleppo uses the expression *sāra Ifranġī*:

انهم للحال يمسونه قايلين له . انك دخلت لتصير افرنج .

“They grabbed him at once, saying to him: ‘You entered [the house of the Europeans] to become a European [A Catholic? A Protestant?]¹⁶.”

In Paul of Aleppo’s time the terms *Ifranġā* / *Firanġā* were well established in Syrian Arabic as the name for ‘Europe’, more particularly ‘Western Europe’, while *Ifranġī* / *Firanġī* referred to everything ‘European’, ‘Western’, ‘foreign’, ‘new’ or ‘of superior quality’, and specifically ‘Catholic’, although Protestants (German, Dutch, or English) are also included in the general notion of ‘Franks’. Rather than *Ifranġ*, Paul uses the expression *tābi‘ūn al-bābā*, ‘followers of the Pope’ (fol. 66r, 255v), to indicate the Latin faithful, and quite seldom *Rōmānī* (fol. 85r).¹⁷

For Paul, the *Ifranġ* could be of many ethnic groups:

وفي هذه المدينة افرنج كثير من النمسا . ومن سفاتصا . ومن الانكلاز تجار

“In this city there were many Frank tradesmen from Austria, Sweden, and England.” (fol. 157v)

Other European peoples mentioned in his notes are the Greek (*Al-Rūm*), the Flemish (*Al-Falmand*), the Germans (*Al-’Almān*), the Venitians (*Al-Bunduqiyya*), the Genoese (*Al-Ġanūwiyya*), and the ‘Sas’ (*Al-Ṣās*)¹⁸.

A particular meaning of the word *Ifranġī* in Christian Arabic works, widely overlooked by dictionaries, is ‘Latin’ or ‘foreign’ with reference to the language, writing and alphabet of the ‘Franks’. As documented in Christian

outstanding work in 1935-1942, then H. Fleish published in 1950 and 1954 the following two, and a *Fascicule complémentaire* in 1969.

¹⁶ Possibly also in the sense of ‘to join the heretics’.

¹⁷ See details in Feodorov 2012-b: 231-232.

¹⁸ German communities settled in Transylvania, see Feodorov 2012-b: 236.

Arabic works, this usage seems to have been widespread, often without a clear reference to the particular language of the ‘Franks’ implied. To offer but two examples, in his study of graphic systems, while exemplifying with the inscriptions on Frankish swords, Ibn al-Nadīm quotes Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, who had translated in 906 from Greek into Arabic Queen Bertha’s message to Caliph Al-Muktafi bi-Llāh, in Baghdad: the message had previously been translated into Greek by a Frank who mastered “the Frankish script, resembling the Greek writing, but straighter” (*Fihrist*, 20, apud B. Lewis, *loc. cit*). Much later, in a letter addressed by Pope Alexander VII to the Maronite Church in 1665, a mention is made to the school that the future patriarch Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī founded in Aleppo *li yata‘allam al-luġat al-‘arabiya wa al-faranġiyya*.¹⁹ If other sources clearly indicate that the reference here is to the Italian language²⁰, in other texts the *Lingua franca* spoken along the Mediterranean coasts was implied. References to the Franks’ language are also present in Paul of Aleppo’s notes. What language or writing he is referring to in each and every circumstance remains to be ascertained.

When describing the church of the Catholic community in Constantinople, destroyed by a recent fire, Paul reports:

وكل كتابتها افرنجيه .

“All the writing on the walls was *Ifranġī*” (fol. 20r), i.e., most probably Latin. Basile Radu translates « European », while F.C. Belfour states: “All the inscriptions were in the Frank language” (Belfour I: 28).

In rare occasions, Paul uses the word ‘Latin’ to refer to the language spoken by Europeans, not mentioning by whom:

فخرجت هذه الأمة اعني اللآه من بلاد الافرنج ، واستحدت علي هذه البلاد كلها ، ودليل ذلك ظاهر // لان معني اسم لاه باللغة اللاتيني اسد ، واسم بلاد اللآه باللغة اللاتيني ابولونيا ،

“This nation, I mean the *Lāh* [Poles], emerged from among the lands of Europe and conquered all of these territories, and the proof of this is quite evident, for the meaning of the name *Lāh* in the Latin language is ‘lion’, while the name of the Land of the *Lāh* in the Latin language is *Abūllūniyā*” (fol. 65v-66r).

¹⁹ *Poslaniye maronitov Haleba pape rimskomu Aleksandru Sedmomu. Publikatsiya arabskogo teksta po rukopisi iz sobraniya MGU im. M.V. Lomonosova* (« *Epistola Arabica ab Halebensis Maronitis Romanae Ecclesiae addictis scripta ad Alexandrum Septimum, Pontificem Maximum*. Publication of the Arabic text according to a manuscript from the collection of the Moscow State University *M.V. Lomonosov* »), in *Manuscripta Orientalia Universiteta*, 1, Moscow, 2005, p. 11. I am grateful to Constantin Panchenko for this information.

²⁰ In his PhD thesis, *Le Christianisme oriental (XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles). Essor de l’orientalisme catholique en Europe et construction des identités confessionnelles au Proche-Orient*, presented in November 2011 in Paris, at École pratique des Hautes Études, and yet unpublished, Aurélien Girard comments on this event and the interest of Christian Arabs for the Italian language in the 17th century.

Without a precise indication, *Ifranġī* is interpreted as ‘European’ and definitely different from Greek (as well as Arab) in such instances as:

ومن بعد هولاي لم عدنا وقفنا لبطاركة انطاكيه علي تاريخ ، لا في كتب والتواريخ الافرنجيه ، ولا في الروميّه ولا العبريه

“We could not find any mention of the subsequent Patriarchs of Antioch in any chronicle: neither in the European books and chronicles, nor in the Greek or the Arab ones.” (3r)

In several other passages the interpretation of *Ifranġī* is not clear, suggesting rather more “Italian” or “Greek”:

“There was a scholar with us, born in Moscow, who was knowledgeable in twelve languages, [including] Arabic: Egyptian, Turkish, Greek, and *Ifranġī*.” (fol. 158r)

وكان مواضب عندنا واحد يعرف باثني عشر لسان. عربي مصري وتركي ورومي وافرنجي اصله مصكوفي

“And when the news and his answer reached him, he could not answer to him because he did not know the Russian language, for the language of the people of Rome is *Ifranġī* or Greek.”²¹ (fol. 218r)

فلما بلغه الخبر جاء اليه وكلمه ، فلم يقدر يرد عليه لعدم معرفته اللسان الروسي ، لان لسان اهل روميه افرنجي او رومي

Al-Qalqašandī makes a clear distinction between the *Firanġī* language and that of the Greek:

أن يعمل فهرستا لترجمة ما يترجم من الكتب الواردة على الديوان بغير اللسان العربي من الرومي و الفرجي وغيرهما

“[...] to prepare two records of whatever was translated from the books which are mentioned in the *Divan* [as written] in other languages than Arabic: in Greek, in *Al-Firanġī*, and in others” (*op. cit.*, Ch. 12.1).

The list of foreign languages that he provided earlier also differentiates between Greek and the “language of the Europeans”:

المعرفة باللغة العجمية وهي كل ما عدا العربية من التركية والفارسية والرومية والفرنجية والبربرية والسودان وغيرهم

“Knowledge of the foreign languages, which are all others beside Arabic: Turkish, Persian, Greek, *Firanġīyya*, Berber, Sudanese, and all the others”.

Ifranġī may have been used by Paul to refer to the Venetians, or the Italians – in more general terms.²² A contemporary of Paul, the equally famous

²¹ Belfour (II, 192) translates: “[...] for the language of the people of Rome is the Frank or Greek”.

²² See *An Ottoman Traveller. Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi*, translation and commentary by Robert Dankoff & Sooyong Kim, London, 2010, pp. 166-167, reviewed in “Revue des Études Sud-est Européennes”, Bucharest, t. L, 2012, no. 1-4, pp. 374-375 (I. Feodorov).

traveller Evliya Çelebi, reported that the language spoken by the Franks was Italian – *Talyan* – although in the following passage he mentions a number of non-Italian speaking countries: Spain, Portugal, Holland, England etc. “And the Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Wallachians and Moldavians all have different languages”. Although the term *Al-Bunduqiyya* is present in Paul’s journal, in some passages the author designates Venetians by the word ‘Frank’. He relates, for example, a dialogue between Sultan Mehmed IV and the Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed-Pasha who, while commanding the battle against the Venetians’ blockade of the Dardanelles in July 1657, had requested an increase in taxes to the Wallachians:

وانتهره زاجرا له وقايلا نحن بعد ما تخلصنا من الحرب مع الافرنج، فمراكك تحرك علينا ايضاً حرب تاني

“And he called and admonished him, saying: ‘No sooner did we end the war with the Franks (*Al-Ifranğ*) than you wish to bring another war upon us!’” (fol. 283v).

When reporting about the Council of Florence, whose decisions were not accepted by the Antiochian Church, Paul refers again to the *Ifranğ*, either as ‘Italians’ or as ‘Catholics’:

وفي حياته صار المجمع الثامن عند الافرنج في مدينه فلورانصا .

“During his life the 8th Council took place with the Italians [or the Catholics?] in the city of Florence” (fol. 4r).

For Paul, ‘France’, *Firansā*, is a particular country in Western Europe (*Bilād al-Ifranğ*), while the ‘French’ are called *Firānisa*, e.g.:

ويجلبون الي المصكوف كل البضايح [...] من سبانيا ومن الفرنسا

“And they brought to Moscow all the merchandise [...] from Spain and from France” (fol. 158r).

ثم رجعنا تفرجنا علي مراكب الانكلاز والفرانساه العجيبه

“Then we returned and we admired the wonderful boats of the English and the French” (fol. 19v).

Nevertheless, French seems to be implied sometimes in the usage of the term *Ifranğ*:

لان كما ان ملك الترك لا يسترضي ان يدعي احداً من ملوك المسيحيين ملك ، وعندهم ذلك اثم ، هكذا وملك المصكوف ، لا يسترضي يدعيه بلسانه ملك ، ولكن بلسان التركي كما ذكرنا ، حتي ولا ملوك الافرنج يدعون ملك الترك ملك ، ولكن بلغتهم غراندو توركو ، اي كبير الترك

“Not even the kings of the Europeans (*mulūk al-Ifranğ*) call the Turks’ emperor “an emperor”, for in their language [i.e., in French?] they say *Grandū Tūrķū* (*Grand Turc*), i.e. “The Head of Turks” (*Kabīr al-Turk*)” (245v).

However, when he wished to be clear about ethnicity, Paul used specific adjectives that do not leave room for interpretation, like *Firanğ al-Firansāwiyya*:

اللذان صاروا بطاركة بانطاكيه لما فتحوها فرنج الفرنساويه

“[...] those who were appointed Patriarchs in Antioch when the French ‘Franks’ conquered it” (fol. 3r).

The same intention of precision is obvious in passages where Paul refers to *الافرنج النمساوي* (*Al-Ifranġ al-Nimsāh*, ‘the Austrian Franks’) and *الافرنج الانكلاز* (*Al-Ifranġ al-Inklāz*, ‘the English Franks’).

The indication to a specific writing may give us a hint to what Paul understood by *Ifranġī* language. Thus, he notes that he saw, among many relics treasured in Moscow, a ritual spoon that had a date written on it *bi-l-Ifranġī*, i.e., in Latin [numbers]:

وتباركنا من بعض الحوايج التي كانت في ذلك البرميل ، وهم كاس وصينييه وقبه وملعقه بحجاره نفيسه ،
ومكتوب علي الملعه تاريخ بالفرنجي ، لها اكثر من خمسمائة سنه

“We worshipped several [holy] vessels that were in that barrel, i.e., a cup, a plate, a chalice and a spoon adorned with precious stones. A date was written on the spoon in *Firanġī*, and it was more than five hundred years old” (218v).

In his above-mentioned work, Al-Qalqašandī explained the difference between alphabets of different languages mentioning *Firanġiyya*, but again without any indication of what he considered this language to be:

ثم اللغات العجمية على ضربين أحدهما ما له قلم يكتب به في تلك اللغة كاللغة الفارسية واللغة الرومية
واللغة الفرنجية ونحوها فان لكل منها قلما يخصه يكتب به في تلك اللغة

“Then the foreign languages are divided in two categories, the first being those that have a particular alphabet in which people write in that specific language, e.g. Persian, Greek, *Firanġiyya* and similar ones, for each one of them has an alphabet with which they write in that language.” (*op. cit.*, Ch. 12.1)

To sum up my brief comments, information on the meaning of *Ifranġī* / *Firanġī* as a language is not specific in Paul of Aleppo’s notes. The meaning of these terms may be ascertained in specific contexts, and only to some extent, depending on the particular community or devotion that the author refers to. Some passages indicate the meaning “Latin”, while in other instances the term *Ifranġī* can be interpreted as “foreign”, or vaguely referring to the “Europeans’ language”. Considering the large number of peoples and communities that Paul and the other Syrian hierarchs met on their journey – Romanians, Russians, Cossacks, Greeks, French, Turks, Armenians, Georgians, Tatars, Qizilbash, etc. – it is not surprising that precision is not always found, in terms of a definition of the languages they each spoke. Further research based on a comparison with other contemporary Christian Arabic works, such as those written by Patriarch Makarios III Ibn al-Za‘īm, Paul’s father, will shed more light on the Levantines’ views of the Europeans at the middle of the 17th century. Beside the special interest in defining this aspect of Paul’s reports, grasping his curiosity for the specific features of the ethnic groups that he encountered helps us to better assess the reach of this outstanding journal.

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QUELQUES GRAPHÈMES LATINS POLYFONCTIONNELS QUI NOTENT LES CONSONNES DU PARLER ARABE DE SIIRT DANS UNE COLLECTION DE PROVERBES

George Grigore
Université de Bucarest

Abstract. Our study is based on a corpus of proverbs or sapiential sayings in the Arabic dialect of Siirt (Turkey), published in a written collection, using the Latin alphabet, having the Turkish writing as point of reference, to which some adaptations have been made.

Starting from these texts, we will try to point out the main phonological, morphological and syntactical features of the Arabic of Siirt, as well as the analysis of classical Arabic insertions. Furthermore, we shall analyse the solutions suggested by the text gatherers, regarding the reflection of some sounds in the used graphemes.

Keywords: Arabic of Siirt, Mesopotamian dialects, Arab dialectology, proverbs, phonetics.

I. Introduction

Cette étude se fonde sur un corpus de proverbes, notés en alphabet latin, dans le parler arabe de la ville Siirt (désormais, le *siirti*), située dans le sud-est de la Turquie. Ce parler appartient à la branche anatolienne de l'arabe mésopotamien de type *qəltu* (Jastrow 1994 : 121) qui se caractérise, entre autres, par la réalisation de l'ancienne consonne /q/ telle quelle /q/, et par la présence de la voyelle finale /-u/, à la première personne du singulier de la conjugaison suffixale (Blanc 1964 : 5-11 et 160-171 ; Jastrow 1978).

Le corpus de proverbes a été publié sur le site : www.siirtim.com/Gezi_Rehberi_Siirtin_Arapca_Atasozleri.htm.

Les graphèmes employés pour noter ce texte sont ceux employés pour la langue turque, ainsi que les phonèmes du *siirti* qui n'ont pas d'équivalent en turc ont été notés, parfois, par des graphèmes qui ont une valeur différente en turc et, souvent, un graphème couvre deux ou trois phonèmes du *siirti*. Dans ce travail, on va analyser seulement les graphèmes plurifonctionnels qui notent des consonnes.

II. Les graphèmes monofonctionnels

Les graphèmes suivants notent une seule consonne:

[b] note l'occlusive bilabiale sonore /b/ : *bint* / *bənt* « fille » ;

[c] note l'affriquée palatale sonore /ǧ/ : *ceybu* / *ǧayb-u* « sa poche » ;

[ç] note l'affriquée palatale sourde /č/ : *izyeç* / *zyēç* « clôture » (v. AC : *siyāğ*) ;

[g] note l'occlusive vélaire sonore /g/ : *yǧabbor* « il accroît » ;
 [ǧ] note la fricative vélaire sonore /ǧ/ : *ǧebet / ǧābat* « elle est disparue » ;
 [l] note l'apicale latérale /l/ : *laška / lašqa* « tache » ;
 [m] note la nasale bilabiale sonore [m] : *karm* « vigne » ;
 [n] note la nasale apico-alvéolaire sonore /n/ : *nar / nār* « feu » ;
 [p] note l'occlusive bilabiale sourde /p/ : *kıppan / qabbān* « balance », « bascule » ; [š] note la fricative palatale sourde /š/ : *šeyatin / šeyāfīn* « diables » ;
 [y] note la constrictive palatale /y/ : *iye / īye* « elle ».
Observations : deux consonnes, la pharyngale sourde /ʕ/ et l'occlusive glottale sourde /ʔ/ ne sont pas notées dans le corpus analysé que dans la position médiale où elles sont marquées par un espace libre.

III. Les graphèmes polifonctionnels

III. 1. Le graphème [d]

Le graphème [d] note à la fois, l'occlusive dentale sonore /d/ et l'emphatique /ḏ/. La dentale sonore /d/ est héritée de l'ancien arabe :

dinyit il fene, mefiye le farha ule hene
/dānyət əl-fəne, mā fīye lā farḥa w lā həne/

Le monde du néant (le monde périssable) ne renferme ni joie, ni aise.

La consonne emphatique /ḏ/ n'est pas héritée de l'ancien arabe (celle-la est devenue /ɣ/ en siirti), mais elle provient des emprunts :

le maldar u le deyndar
/lā maldār w lā daynḏār/
 Ni aisé, ni débiteur.

III. 2. Le graphème [f]

Le graphème [f] note la labiodentale sourde /f/ qui peut provenir de l'ancien arabe, étant héritée telle quelle (ex. : *farq* « différence »), de la transformation de l'interdentale /t̪/, de l'emprunt aux langues voisines (ex. : *fabrīqa* « fabrique », du turc *fabrika*), et la labiodentale emphatique /ḏ̪/.

La labiodentale /f/ qui est le résultat de la transformation de l'interdentale /t̪/ (*fūm* ← *tūm*) :

fumeye it eyyep el basele
/fūmāye t'ayyəp 'a-l-bašale/

Une gousse d'ail fait honte à un oignon.

La labiodentale emphatique /ḏ̪/ est le résultat de la transformation de l'emphatique /ɣ/ qui provient à son tour de l'ancienne emphatique interdentale /ḏ̪/ qui, à son tour, couvre deux anciennes phonèmes la fricative emphatique /ḏ̪/ et

l'occlusive emphatique /d̥/:

a) dans la position finale :

kelb il esved moyibyaf
/kalb əl-aswad mō yəbyaf̥ f̥/

Le chien noir ne devient pas blanc.

b) au commencement du mot, parfois, sur l'influence de la consonne sourde suivante :

harami fehhek
/ħarāmī f̥ħħēk/

Un voleur ridicule.

fihk bele sebep, min nakos il/edep
/f̥ħk bala sabap, mən naqos əl-adap/
Le rire sans motif c'est un manque de bienséance.

III. 3. Le graphème [h]

Le graphème [h] note beaucoup de phonèmes :

a) la fricative glottale sourde /h/

La fricative glottale sourde /h/ a une position faible en *siirti*. Après une autre consonne, le /h/ initial des pronoms affixés – est systématiquement éliminé : *qalb-u* « son cœur à lui » ; *qalb-a* « son cœur à elle ». Aussi, le /h/ initial des démonstratifs, pronoms et adverbes est systématiquement éliminé lorsque celui-ci suit un mot terminé en consonne : *ava* « ce » (cf. AC *hādā*) ; *avi* « cette » (cf. AC *hādīhi*) ; *uwe* « il » (cf. AC *huwa*) ; *iye* « elle » (cf. AC *hiya*) ; *awn(e)* « ici » (cf. AC *hunā*) etc. :

beyt il-atik uve ma mor
/bayt əl- 'atīq ūve ma 'mōr/

La vieille maison est habitée (pleine de vie).

À mon avis, la disparition du /h/ en cette position est passée par une phase intermédiaire, connue aussi dans beaucoup d'autres dialectes arabes, qui consiste dans la réduction du /h/ à l'occlusive glottale, /ʔ/. Ensuite, l'occlusive glottale a été omise, ce qui ne serait qu'une illustration supplémentaire de la disparition quasi-généralisée de ce phonème en *siirti*.

La consonne /h/ est encore préservée à l'intérieur des mots arabes hérités (*vahap* ← *dahab*):

litrap sar bidu vehep
/lə-trāp sār b-īd-u vahap/

La poussière a de l'or dans sa main.

et aussi dans les mots empruntés (*ham*, cf Turc *hem*):

hem minne, hem aleyne

/ham mænna, ham ‘alayna/

Il est de nôtres et en même temps contre nous.

b) la fricative vélaire sourde /ħ/

ilhayr yi rof sahibu

/əl-ħayr yə ‘rof sãħəb-u/

Le bien connaît son maître.

hammis hımsara

/ħammiş ħəmşāra/

Torréfié la grêle.

kahve bele tattun, nome bele hatun

/qaħwe bala tattūn, nōme bala ħātūn/

Café sans tabac, sommeil sans dame

c) la pharyngale sonore /ħ/

La pharyngale sonore /ħ/ est le résultat aussi de la sonorisation de la pharyngale sourde /‘/ en finale absolue (*talaħ ← ‘tala‘* ; *yəsmahə ← yəsmə‘*) :

inbağaş ceybu, talah eybu

/˞nbağaş ğayb-u, ‘talaħ ‘ayb-u/

On a fouillé dans sa poche, et son défaut s’est révélé.

le-yismeh u le-ytiş

/lā yəsmahə w lā y‘təşš/

il n’entend pas et il ne voit pas.

Sauf la réalisation de pharyngale sourde /‘/ comme sonore [ħ] en finale absolue, les deux phonèmes commutent souvent dans les positions initiale et médiane : le /‘/ étymologique est remplacé par /ħ/ : *‘a‘ta – yəħti* « donner » (mais la racine est *‘tw*), *zaħtar* « thym » – *şörbat zaħtar* « soupe au gruau et au thym » – (mais la racine est *z‘tr*) ; le /ħ/ étymologique est remplacé par /‘/ : *na‘ne* « nous » (mais la racine est *nħn*), *sa‘lab* « boisson du salep » (mais la racine est *sħlb*). La distribution de /‘/ et de /ħ/ ne répond, en apparence, à aucun conditionnement. Parfois, le /‘/ et le /ħ/ semblent être l’un l’allophone de l’autre : *fnaħš – fna‘š* « douze ». Cette variation est aléatoire chez les mêmes sujets parlants.

III. 4. Le graphème [k]

Le graphème [k] note, à la fois, l'occlusive vélaire sourde /k/ et l'uvulaire, l'occlusive sourde /q/, toutes les deux provenant de l'ancien fonds arabe :

ši le moyici mil kalp, yijbe hara kelp
/šī lā mo-yəǧī mǝ-l-qalp, yizbe ɣara kalp/

La chose qui ne vient pas du cœur ressemble à une merde de chien.

kırş fi kırş, yintitil kırş
/qərş fi qərş, yəntilī l-kərş/
Piastre sur piastre, le ventre se remplit

keysir şems, meke yızrok ele ehed.
/ka-yşīr şams, mǝ-kǝ-yəzroq 'ala aḥad/
S'il devient un soleil, il ne se lèvera pour personne.

L'uvulaire /q/ est maintenue telle quelle dans le langage des hommes. Parfois elle peut apparaître dans le langage de ceux-ci au lieu de l'ancienne glottale sonore dans la position initiale : *qarnabe* « lièvre » (cf. AC 'arnab), *qarf* « terre » (cf. AC 'ard) :

nasip, ye karnabe, ye vip
/našīp, yā qarnabe, yā vīp/
C'est la chance: soit le lièvre, soit le loup

III. 5. Le graphème [r]

Le graphème [r] note la vibrante apicale /r/ héritée de l'ancien fonds arabe et sa correspondante emphatique /r̥/ qui est une innovation.

dirtu ele meksebi, hisirtu ras meli
/dǝrtu 'ala maksab-i ɣəʂǝrtu rās mēl-i/

J'ai cherché à gagner, mais j'ai perdu mon capital.

La présence du /r̥/ – comme celle de toute emphatique et consonne d'arrière – est mise en relief par la voyelle /a/ (ou /ā/, en variante longue) qui ne recule que juste un peu son point d'articulation (devenant plus grave), ce qui empêche sa transformation par *imala*. Donc, dans ce contexte, les voyelles /ā/ médiale et /a/ finale n'évoluent jamais vers /ē/ ou /e/ :

virra iye mirra.
/vǝr̥ra īye mǝr̥ra/
La co-épouse est amère.

III. 6. Le graphème [s]

Le graphème [s] note l'apicale sourde /s/ et sa correspondante emphatique /s/, toutes les deux héritées de l'ancien fonds arabe :

alla me yhelli nefis fi-ş-şidde, apt fi-n-vika
/aʎla mā yħalli nafs fī š-šidde, 'apt fī n-yīqa/

Dieu ne laisse pas une âme dans le malheur, un serviteur, dans le chagrin

On note ici l'assimilation partielle de /l/ de l'article qui devient /n/.

armale imme tipki, sahbət iz zovceyn imme tipki
/armale əmme təpki, şāħbət əz-zowğayn əmme təpki/
La veuve pleure, celle qui a deux époux pleure aussi

III. 7. Le graphème [t]

Le graphème [t] note, à la fois, l'occlusive dentale sourde /t/ et l'occlusive dentale emphatique /t/ :

harezeyə mo tıпка fi sandok il attar.
/ħarazāye mō təpqā fī şandoq əl- 'aṭṭār/

Ni même une rasade ne reste dans la boîte du parfumeur (le vendeur de choses pour les femmes).

eğzer minnok keme şeyatin.
/ağzar mənnok kama şayātīn/.

Les plus petits que toi sont comme les diables.

On note ici la métathèse *ağzar* ← *azğar*.

La dentale sourde /t/ peut provenir aussi de l'assourdissement de la dentale sonore /d/, en finale absolue :

akol yilzem mil meht heyysel leht.
/'aqol yilzem mə-l-maht heyye l-laħt/

L'intelligence est nécessaire du berceau jusqu'au tombeau

fī indu izbip sut
/fī 'ənd-uⁱzbīp sūt/

Il a des raisins secs noirs.

III. 8. Le graphème [v]

Le graphème [v] note la labiodentale /v/, la labiodentale emphatique /v/ et la constrictive /w/.

La labiodentale /v/ provient des emprunts aux langues voisines et de la transformation de l'ancienne interdentale /d/ (*əvayne* ← *'udayna* « petite oreille »;

'avrā ← 'adrā' « vierge »):

ışkat tıgbar il iveyne, tismeh kileyme.
/əʃqat təgbar əl-əvayne, təsməh kələyme/
Plus l'oreille grandit, plus elle entend la moindre parole.

bint il-beyt iye avra.
/bānt əl-bayt iye 'avrā/
La fille de [bonne] famille est vierge.

la constrictive bilabiale /w/ héritée de l'ancien fonds arabe (*hawā* « air ») :

aşfor fi ibbi, u le başok fil heve
/'aşfōr fi 'ibb-i, w lā bāşōq fi l-hawa/
Un moineau dans ma manche et pas d'aigle dans l'air.

L'emphatique /y/ est le résultat de la transformation de l'ancienne emphatique /d/ qui, à son tour, couvre deux anciennes phonèmes la fricative emphatique /d/ et l'occlusive emphatique /d/ (*bayya* ← *bayda* « œuf »; *hayyar* ← *haḍḍar* « préparer ») :

bayvit hamra bid yetim
/bayyat ḥamrā b-īd yatīm/
L'œuf rouge est dans la main de l'orphelin.

bayvitu iye safaraneyn
/bayyat-u iye şafarānayn/
Son œuf a deux jaunes.

havvor il mi lef kablıl faras
/ḥayvor əl-mə 'laf qabl əl-faras/
Prépare l'écurie avant [d'avoir] le cheval !

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ZANKA FLOW: RAP EN ÁRABE MARROQUÍ

Jairo Guerrero
Universidad de Cádiz

Abstract. This paper deals with the topic of rap in Moroccan Arabic. We present a rap group from Tangiers (*Zanka flow*) and four of its songs. Each song has been transcribed and translated into Spanish. Finally we conduct a linguistic analysis of the songs lyrics and we consider the possible transformation undergone by the dialect of Tangiers.

Keywords: rap, protest songs, Linguistics, Arabic dialectology, pre-Hilali dialects, Moroccan Arabic, Tangiers

Del 19 al 20 de noviembre de 2009 se celebró en la Facultad de Letras y Filosofía de la Universidad de Cádiz el coloquio internacional “Creación artística en árabe dialectal: de Egipto a Mauritania”, en dicho coloquio participé con una ponencia titulada “Rap tangerino: Zanka flow”. El trabajo que sigue más abajo se corresponde con el tema de esa ponencia.

Quisiera agradecer al profesor George Grigore y a todo el departamento de árabe de la Universidad de Bucarest por invitarme a publicar en esta revista.

1. Introducción

Con este trabajo pretendo dar a conocer el rap marroquí en árabe dialectal en tanto que fuente susceptible de aportar valioso material de carácter socio-lingüístico. A título de ejemplo, he seleccionado un grupo de rap marroquí sobre el que daré una breve introducción para proceder después a la transcripción, traducción y análisis lingüístico de cuatro de sus canciones.

El rap es un estilo musical emparentado con el hip hop que surge a mediados del siglo XX entre la comunidad negra de los Estados Unidos. Consiste en cantar una determinada composición en verso utilizando como base una pista rítmica denominada *beat*¹.

Es muy probable que el rap fuera introducido en el Magreb de manos de los magrebíes inmigrantes en Europa y principalmente de los inmigrantes en Francia. Casi con toda certeza fue en las *banlieux* parisinas y marselesas donde se

¹ Sobre el rap, véase Krims, *Rap music and the poetics of identity*.

empezó a rapear en árabe por primera vez. Luego, estos inmigrantes o sus hijos habrían llevado este nuevo estilo musical a sus países de origen².

Hacia la década de los años ochenta aparecen en la escena musical marroquí los primeros grupos de rap del país. En un principio sólo cantarán en inglés, pero luego acabarán haciéndolo en francés, árabe marroquí o en una mezcla de estas tres lenguas, lo cual constituye un verdadero ejemplo de lenguas en contacto³. En un primer momento el fenómeno del rap no tendrá mucha acogida entre la población y no será hasta finales de los años noventa cuando empiece a hacerse un hueco en el panorama musical marroquí. A día de hoy el rap marroquí posee numerosos fans entre la juventud del país. Estos jóvenes escuchan a grupos de la talla de *Bigg*, *Casa crew*, *Gamehdi*, *el7a9ed* (los cuatro de Casablanca), *H-kayn* (Marrakech) o *Fez City Clan* (Fez).

El grupo *Zanka flow*⁴ nace en Tánger en 1998 de la mano de Mohamed el Hadi, alias Muslim y Jamal, alias L3arbi. Mohamed el Hadi nace en Tánger en 1981 y ya por el año 1995 empieza a componer sus primeras canciones de rap. En 1996 conoce a un grupo de nigerianos con los que compartía el mismo estilo y con los que decide crear una agrupación que no tarda en desintegrarse.

Más tarde Muslim se encuentra con L3arbi y Made Killah junto a los que funda el grupo *Out-life* que llega a editar un álbum. Esta formación desaparecerá pronto.

Pasado un tiempo, Muslim se une de nuevo con L3arbi para fundar *Zanka flow*. Pese a la práctica ausencia de recursos materiales, el grupo logra componer varios títulos en los que se aprecia un estilo *hardcore* de crítica y denuncia de las injusticias sociales⁵. Las letras de sus canciones emplean un argot propio que ellos denominan *zanqāwi*⁶ “callejero” y con el que pretenden llegar a los jóvenes⁷.

² Otra fuente de la cual bebe el rap marroquí es el rap norteamericano, y en el caso de Tánger el rap español, lo cual se constata en el empleo de préstamos españoles relativos al campo léxico del rap: *rāpēro* “rapero”, *rīma* “rima”.

³ Para otro ejemplo de discurso mixto en representaciones artísticas musicales véase el artículo de Meouak, & Aguadé; “La rhorhomanie et les beurs: l'exemple de deux langues en contact”.

⁴ También puede encontrarse escrito *zan9a flow* [*zənqɑ flōw*], cuya traducción literal es “el fluir de la calle”, pero el propio grupo suele traducirlo como “los reporteros de la calle”.

⁵ http://www.casafree.com/modules/newbb/viewtopic.php?topic_id=14604

⁶ A título de ejemplo pueden citarse expresiones como: *žmāš kəřrək* “muévete, despierta” (lit. recoge tu culo), *l-hāyāt mqāwwda* “la vida es una mierda” (lit. la vida está prostituida), *səlsa d-əl-bāqq* “escoria” (lit. partida de chinches).

⁷ En el siguiente fragmento de la canción nº 14 del álbum *Tanjawa daba*, puede observarse cómo se intenta que cualquier joven del barrio del cantante se vea representado en la letra de la canción: *d-drāri bla ma nsəmmi* “los chavales, no hace falta que diga sus nombres”, *lli f-əl-ğurba yfəttəš ʕla šlāhu* “el que haya emigrado que busque aquello que le conviene”, *lli f-əl-hābs mətlūq sṛāhu* “el que se encuentre en la cárcel, que sea puesto en libertad”, *w-lli māt xālla f-əl-qālb žrāhu* “y el que murió, en el corazón dejó sus heridas”.

Según Muslim, el tono de voz del estilo *hardcore* permite al artista expresar sus sentimientos de rabia ante las injusticias que ve.

En cuanto a los temas más frecuentes de las letras de sus canciones, caben destacar:

-La exaltación de la ciudad de Tánger y el orgullo de pertenencia a la misma.

-Exaltación de los barrios de donde proceden los integrantes del grupo.

-Crítica a raperos “enemigos”: *Rofix* (barrio de *Beni Makada*, Tánger), *Bigg* (Casablanca).

-Agradecimiento a las figuras del padre y la madre.

-Denuncia del neocolonialismo y del capitalismo en tanto que sistema opuesto a los valores del Islam.

-Denuncia de la política de marginalización que ha sufrido hasta ahora la región del norte de Marruecos.

-Denuncia de la corrupción que infesta las administraciones e instituciones del Estado, especialmente la corrupción de la policía y del Ministerio de Justicia.

-Denuncia de las injusticias y la pobreza que sufre la masa de la población en contraposición a la opulencia en la que vive la clase acomodada.

-Crítica de la emigración ilegal, la prostitución y las drogas como supuestas soluciones a la “tragedia” que vive el pueblo.

-Exhortación al arrepentimiento y a la observancia de la religión con la esperanza de una vida mejor en el Más allá⁸.

El primer álbum *Tanjawa daba*⁹ [*tānžāwa dāba*] “tangerinos ahora” ve la luz en 2001. A éste le seguirá *Jebha* [*ž-žəbha*] “el frente” en 2004, un maxi single de Muslim *9atera* [*qāṭra*] “gota” en 2005, otro single *Strictly for my souljaz*

⁸ En muchas canciones se le pide perdón a Dios por la vida de crimen y drogadicción que algunos de los integrantes del grupo llevaron en el pasado.

⁹ Los nombres de los discos y de las canciones suelen aparecer escritos en lo que Montserrat Benítez denomina “transcripción popular” (véase, Benítez, “Transcripción al árabe marroquí de mensajes de teléfono móvil”, p. 158). Los fonemas del árabe marroquí se transcriben con los siguientes caracteres latinos y números árabigos: /ʔ/= 2; /b/= b; /t/=t; /ž/=j; /ħ/=7, h; /x/=5, kh; /d/=d; /t/=r; /z/=z; /s/=s, ss; /š/=ch; /s/=s; /d/=d; /t/=t; /ʕ/=3; /ǧ/=gh, r; /f/=f; /q/=9, k; /k/=k; /l/=l; /m/=m; /n/=n; /h/=h; /w/=w; /y/=y; /č/=tch; /p/=p; /ā/=a; /ī/=i; /ū/=ou; /a/=a, e; /i/=i; /u/=u. Esta “transcripción popular” se basa principalmente en la ortografía de la lengua francesa (a saber /ǧ/=r; /ž/=j; /s/=ss; /ū/=ou), sin embargo la utilización de números suele preferirse a la hora de transcribir fonemas inexistentes en francés, por ejemplo: *zanka-zan9a, kachela-9achela*.

“exclusivamente para mi *soul jazz*”¹⁰ y el álbum *Dem w dmou3* [dəmm w-dmūf] “sangre y lágrimas” en 2006.

Más tarde, la formación *Zanka flow* se unirá permaneciendo autónoma a otros artistas del rap tangerino para crear la agrupación *Kachela* [qāšla] “cuartel” que en 2006 edita su primer álbum *Jib l3ez wəlla khez* [žīb l-šāzz wəlla khāz] “lo que vales muéstrame y si no, apártate”. En este mismo año Muslim edita su nuevo single *Bghini wəlla kraħni* [bġīni wəlla krəħni] “quiereme u ódiame”. En 2007 Muslim anuncia su retirada, pero en 2008 sorprende a sus seguidores con su nuevo maxi *Mor Ssour* [mūr š-šūr] “detrás de la muralla”. Su último disco es *Mutamarrəd* [mutamarriḍ] “rebelde”, editado en 2009-10.

Muslim es muy conocido y escuchado en el norte de Marruecos¹¹, lo que se debe en parte a su origen tangerino. Sin embargo en los últimos dos años su fama se ha extendido a ciudades tales como Rabat, Casablanca o Fez.

2. Transcripción y traducción de las canciones¹²

Canción: *7yat lmesjoun* [ħāyāt l-məšžūn] “La vida del preso”.

Artista: Muslim.

Album: *Mor Ssour* (2008).

<i>šālam xbīt bīn lə-ħyūt</i>	Un mundo cruel entre muros.
<i>bāš s-sāfa fūt xāšša sətīn dqīqa fīha tmūt</i>	Para que una hora pase hacen falta sesenta minutos en los que te mueres.
<i>w-l-məšžūn yšūt</i>	El preso suspira.
<i>fūkk w-xābbəl f-əl-xyūt</i>	¡Deshaz y enreda los hilos!
<i>l-wāqt māt w-l-ħābs dxāl w-l-qālb māxrūt</i>	El tiempo se ha detenido, la cárcel ha penetrado y el corazón está destrozado.
<i>l-wāqīf wəžhu məkħūt</i>	El rostro de la realidad es voraz ¹³ .
<i>l-ħāyāt bla malāmiħ w-l-mūt məbhūt</i>	Una vida sin alegría ¹⁴ , la (mismísima) muerte está desconcertada.
<i>Iblīs mšōkē¹⁵ məšlūt¹⁶</i>	El demonio está atónito, asombrado

¹⁰ El *soul jazz* es un estilo musical procedente del jazz que se caracteriza por melodías pegadizas, ritmos repetitivos e improvisación.

¹¹ Muchas de las canciones de *Zanka flow* denuncian la dejadez y la marginalización que sufrió la región septentrional de Marruecos durante el reinado de Hassan II.

¹² Todas las canciones aquí transcritas pueden escucharse en la web www.alallzik.com. Quiero agradecer aquí la ayuda prestada por Ibrahim, Salim, Omar y Mohamed a la hora de transcribir las letras de las canciones.

¹³ Es decir que no presagia nada bueno.

¹⁴ Lit. “sin rasgos, sin facciones”.

<i>fə-bani Ādam kīfāš wəlla məšxūt</i> ¹⁷	de cómo los seres humanos se han convertido en unos indeseables.
<i>s-sbūʕa d-əz-zənqa hnaya qtūt</i>	Los leones de la calle son aquí unos gat(it)os.
<i>qlīl lli bāqi rāžal w-l-bāqi qāwm Lūt</i>	Raro es quien aún preserva su hombría ¹⁸ y el resto son unos sodomitas.
<i>š-šāhḥa w-l-ʕunf məšrūt</i>	(Aquí) se imponen la fuerza y la violencia.
<i>bāš ʕa-džīb rāšək īda kūnti dʕīf məzłūt</i> ¹⁹	¿Cómo vas a hacerte respetar si eres débil y estás sin blanca ²⁰ .
<i>plānto</i> ²¹ <i>f-əl-kābrān</i> ²² <i>mərḃūt</i>	El esbirro depende del jefe de celda.
<i>flān dəxxəl flān xərrəž flān šbəḥ məxbūt</i>	Fulano ha metido (algo), fulano ha sacado (algo) ²³ y fulano ha amanecido abatido (sobre el suelo).
<i>š-šətwā l-brūda w-š-šāyf š-šhūt</i>	En invierno el frío y en verano la calor.
<i>ḥāyāt l-məšzūn ktāba bla nqūt</i>	La vida del preso es una escritura sin puntos ²⁴ .

¹⁵ *mšōkē*: conmocionado, atónito. Se trata de un préstamo del francés *choquer*, adaptado al esquema morfológico del participio en árabe.

¹⁶ *məšlūt*: boquiabierto, pasmado, asombrado, estupefacto. El verbo *šləṭ* significa degollar con un corte limpio y de una vez; jugarle a alguien una mala pasada cogiéndole desprevenido, cf. Marçais, *Tanger*, p. 348.

¹⁷ Se dice de un mal hijo quien, a causa de su desobediencia, ha sido maldecido por sus padres. Su antónimo es *mərḃi*.

¹⁸ Lit. “pocos son todavía hombres”.

¹⁹ *məzłūt*: sin dinero, sin blanca, sin un duro, indigente, cf. Aguadé, *Diccionario*, p. 98. En árabe clásico la raíz *لج* significa “desnudar, despojar”.

²⁰ Aquí se hace referencia al soborno de los carceleros y jefes de celda para disfrutar de un trato de favor.

²¹ *plānto*: secuaz, esbirro; chivato. Se trata de un personaje carcelario que hace las veces de confidente. Aunque desconozco la etimología, el plural con *-s* me hace pensar en un préstamo de origen romance.

²² *kābrān*: mandamás de la celda. Con este mismo significado se emplea en Túnez, cf. Khémais Ksila, “Les prisons tunisiennes vues de l’intérieur”. Según Harrell, *kābrān* significa originalmente “cabo militar, capataz de obra”, cf. Harrell, *Dictionary*, p. 59. Para Marçais se trata del francés *caporal*, donde el fonema lateral /l/ habría pasado a /n/, vid. Marçais, *Esquisse*, p. 22.

²³ Se hace referencia aquí al tráfico de drogas, armas y otros objetos que tiene lugar entre la prisión y el exterior.

²⁴ En el alfabeto árabe los puntos son empleados para diferenciar distintas letras que tienen un mismo soporte gráfico, así el hecho de no escribir los puntos hace que las palabras se tornen ininteligibles.

Estríbillo x2	
<i>ḥāyāt l-māšzūn bla lāwn</i>	²⁵ (En) la vida del preso no hay color
<i>fə-rāwḍət l-ḥāyy mādḥūn</i>	Enterrado en el cementerio del módulo ²⁶ .
<i>bəyn arḥḥa d-əl-ḥyūt mārḥkūn</i>	Arrinconado entre cuatro paredes.
<i>māskīn yəḥsən yḥāwnu Mūl l-Kūn</i>	Pobrecillo, lo mejor es que le ayude el Señor del Universo.
<i>l-qlīl lli yāḥḥāf ydūwwəz ḥābsu</i>	Raro es quien sabe sobrellevar su condena,
<i>xāllāh f-əl-faṣal dāxəl ḥlīh l-wāqt gāləs məhmūm f-əl-qānt yḥāsəb nəfsu</i>	(condena) que le ha dejado fracasado. El tiempo ha podido con él. Sentado y apenado en una esquina se remuerde la conciencia
<i>k-yšūf snīn mə-ḥāyātu dāyḥa mūr l-grīyya²⁷</i>	al ver años de su vida desperdiciados tras las rejas.
<i>ḥṣīri rāk māšzūn ḡi nsa l-ḥurḥīyya</i>	Amigo mío eres un preso, simplemente olvida la libertad.
<i>ma kāyən lāš ddūwwəz ḥābsək nādəm</i>	No merece la pena que pases tu condena arrepentido,
<i>Rəbbi ḥāləm rāk məḍlūm walla ḍāləm</i>	bien sabe Dios si eres víctima o culpable,
<i>ḡi təkka ḥla l-mūntīf²⁸ dyālək</i>	simplemente asume tu delito.
<i>ḥāskri f-əš-šambre²⁹ w-mīyyəz xyālək mən ḥādyānək</i>	(Cual) soldado en la celda ³⁰ , has de imaginarte quiénes son tus enemigos

²⁵ Lit. “la vida del preso está sin color”.

²⁶ Los distintos módulos que conforman la prisión se denominan *ḥāyy*, pl. *ḥāyā*? y están numerados alfabéticamente. Este verso puede esconder un juego de palabras si traducimos *ḥāyy* por “vivo”: *fə-rāwḍət l-ḥāyy mādḥūn* “enterrado en el cementerio del vivo”, es decir la cárcel como cementerio de los vivos. En la canción *si lkadi* del álbum *Jebha* se dice de la cárcel que es *māqbārət l-ḥāyā*? “el cementerio de los vivos”.

²⁷ Francés *grille*.

²⁸ *mūntīf*: causa legal, cuentas pendientes con la justicia. Puede que se trate del francés *motif* “alegato, motivo”. No habría que descartar una relación con *məndəf* “mala pasada” y el argelino-tunecino *məndāf* “trampa”. La forma de plural /CCāCīC/ que presenta *mnāṭīf*, a saber: *mārḥək* pl. *mārḥəkəb*, *midḥāḥ* pl. *mdāḥāḥ*, etc...

<i>ʕrəf kīfāš dʒīb mʕāhūm rāʕək qīs lli qāsək</i>	y saber cómo imponerte a ellos: toca a quien te toque,
<i>w-lli bāgi yqīsək sqīh səmm lli fə-kāsək</i>	y al que quiera tocarte sacúdele.
<i>la kānt z-zənqa fīha l- hūgra hnāya trīplē</i>	Si en la calle hay abuso, aquí es el triple,
<i>w-īda l-māxzən f-əz-zənqa hāggār hnāya rīglē³¹</i>	y si en la calle la policía ³² abusa, aquí las malas pasadas (no tienen parangón).
<i>ma nta gīr māsžūn w-d- dawla xāʕra ʕlīk mīzānīyya</i>	No eres más que un preso en el que el Estado se gasta un presupuesto.
<i>f-əl-hābs tōpī³³ l- hūgrānīyya</i>	En la cárcel el abuso es enorme.
<i>wāləf w-tsānəs w-hābbəs l-ʕāqlīyya</i>	Acostúmbrate y hazte a la idea de que estas en la cárcel,
<i>r-rāhma mən ʕānd r-Rəbb w-l-ʕāffa³⁴ bārṛānīyya</i>	la misericordia se halla junto a Dios y la clemencia se encuentra fuera.
Estribillo x2	
<i>hāyāt l-māsžūn bla lāwn</i>	(En) la vida del preso no hay color.
<i>l-hāḍər mkəttəf w-l- müstāqbāl mātʕūn</i>	Un presente ante el que no se puede hacer nada, un futuro marcado ³⁵ (por las cicatrices del pasado)
<i>w-l-māḍī mātʕūn</i>	y un sucio ³⁶ pasado.
<i>bīn lə-hyūṭ mənṣi</i>	Entre paredes olvidado,

²⁹ Francés *chambre*.

³⁰ En Marruecos las celdas (en teoría individuales) albergan a más de un recluso, por lo que hay que ser duro y severo como un soldado para hacerse respetar por los compañeros de habitación y ganarse, entre otras cosas, una cama.

³¹ *rīglē*: travesuras, malas pasadas. Existe igualmente el verbo *trəygəl, ytrəygəl ʕla* “tomar el pelo”. Pudiera tratarse del francés *rigoler* “bromear”.

³² El vocablo *māxzən* hace referencia al Estado y al conjunto de su estructura administrativa, cf. Aguadé & Benyahia, *Diccionario*, p. 98. No obstante, en este caso se refiere a la policía. Sobre el origen de este término y su evolución semántica, véase Buret, “Makhzan”, *E.I.*², VI, pp. 131-135. Comparar con el argelino *hukūma* y el tunecino *hākem*, los cuales se refieren tanto al Gobierno como a la policía.

³³ Español *tope*.

³⁴ Cuando un hombre mira a una mujer con ojos lascivos o descaradamente se dice de él que es *qlīl l-ʕāffa*. Comparar con el árabe clásico عفة “continencia, castidad, honestidad, sobriedad, virtud”.

³⁵ Se dice *mātʕūn* de todo individuo que presenta una cicatriz en su rostro. También se emplean *māšhūṭ* y *mədrūb f-wūžhu*.

³⁶ Lit. “podrido”.

<i>škūn ysāl škūn yšāqsi</i>	¿quién pregunta (por ti)? ¿quién se interesa?.
<i>ħta lli f-əz-zənqa b-ṛəzqək məksi</i>	Ni siquiera aquel que en la calle vive de tu sustento ³⁷
<i>blāš tətənnə mənnu t-tilifūn</i>	no (vayas a) esperar de él una llamada.
<i>nsa lli nsāk w-ma yīnsāk Mūl l-Kūn</i>	El que te olvidó te olvidó, pero el Señor del Universo no te olvidará.
<i>l-ħābs məḍṛāša</i>	La cárcel es una escuela
<i>təqra fīha ħla bnādəm w-l-qlūb l-ħāyāt w-ħālam l-ħābbāsa³⁸</i>	en la que estudias la gente, (sus) corazones, la vida y el mundo de los presidiarios.
<i>šħāl mən məšzūn ṛəbba l-kəbda</i>	Cuántos presos hay que se han acostumbrado,
<i>ħāyātu f-əz-zənqa ħāšya f-əl-ħābs ħāyātu zəbda</i>	en la calle sus vidas eran difíciles, pero en la cárcel sus vidas se tornaron hermosas ³⁹ .
<i>l-bīf w-š-šṛa drōga⁴⁰ w-ğəbra⁴¹</i>	Compra-venta, droga, cocaína
<i>w-āyy ħāza āxra</i>	y cualquier otra cosa,
<i>l-ħāyāt mqābbṛa</i>	una oscura vida,
<i>w-ṛāh kull ši dāyəz</i>	(pero) todo pasa
<i>w-lli tāb w-ṛžāf insān ždīd ħūwwa lli fāyəz</i>	y el que se arrepienta y se convierta en una nueva persona, ese es el que saldrá ganando.
<i>w-d-ḍāri Lləh yītlāq srāħūm</i>	Que Dios conceda la libertad a los chavales,
<i>Ṛəbbi b-wūħdu ħālam bə-ħūmq žrāħūm</i>	tan sólo Él conoce la profundidad de sus heridas.
Estribillo x2	
<i>ħād š-ši ma ħəštu-ši āna</i>	Esto no lo he vivido yo
<i>ħād š-ši ħāsu d-ḍāri</i>	esto lo han vivido los chavales,
<i>š^wħābi wlād l-ħāwma</i>	mis amigos de mi barrio.

³⁷ Lit. “visten con tu sustento”.

³⁸ Según Marçais esta palabra siempre se emplea en plural (*ħābbāsa*) y nunca en singular (*ħābbās*), y hace referencia a la “gente de la cárcel”, cf. Marçais, *Tanger*, p. 259.

³⁹ Lit. “su vida es mantequilla”.

⁴⁰ Español *droga*.

⁴¹ *ğəbra*: polvo, cocaína.

<i>dyāli</i>	
<i>hūma lli ṣāwdu li ṣla l- ḥūgra w-l-ṣunṣuriyya w-d-ḍūlm lli kāynīn tamma</i>	Ellos son los que me han contado acerca del abuso, la discriminación y la injusticia que allí hay,
<i>l-krīmi⁴² lli dāyər tamma</i>	el crimen que allí se comete.
<i>hē ida daxlat ṣ-ṣḥāfa l- kāmeṛa ṣa-twəswəs žmīṣ anwāṣ d-dṛōga w-l-muxaddirāt kāynīn tamma</i>	Si entra la prensa las cámaras no se lo van a creer, allí se encuentran toda clase de drogas y estupefacientes,
<i>fḥāl lli f-əz-zənqa</i>	como si estuvieras en la calle,
<i>w-bnādəm lli mdəbbər</i>	y el que sabe buscarse la vida
<i>ṣāyəs fḥāl lli f-əḍ-dār</i> <i>dyālu</i>	vive como si estuviera en su (propia) casa.
<i>l-mūhīmm āna bgūt nwəṣṣəl hād š-ši hāda</i>	En fin, yo quería transmitir todo esto
<i>w-fə-nəfs l-wāqt nəḥḍər mṣa d-dṛāri lli ka-yfəhmūni: ṣ-ṣlā w-r-ryāda</i>	y al mismo tiempo hablar con los chicos que me entienden: rezad y haced deporte.
<i>žīb l-ṣāzz wəlla khāz⁴³</i>	Lo que vales muéstrame, y si no apártate.

Canción: Lewa9i3 Lmehyab [*l-wāqiṣ l-məhyāb*] “La horrible realidad”.

Artistas: Muslim & Mojahed

Album: Strictly For My Souljaz (2005)

<i>mən bīn znāqi xārəž ṣāwti l-yūma yṣūqq l-ḥāyt</i>	De entre las calles sale mi voz, hoy que-brando los muros.
<i>bə-lsān kāṣi⁴⁴ nrāpi⁴⁵ ma ḥāddu bāqi bla qāyd</i>	Con la lengua enfadada rapearé mientras siga sin ataduras.
<i>qālu ṣāyṣīn fə-ḡāba w-ma qālū-ši bəlli ḥnāya ṣ-ṣāyd</i>	Han dicho que vivimos en una selva, pero no han dicho que nosotros somos la caza.
<i>kāmlīn ḍḥāya ṣāmlīn mustanqaṣ mgəlləs</i>	Todos somos víctimas (mansas) cual pantano (de aguas) estancadas,
<i>ḍāw š-šəms fih msəlləs⁴⁶</i>	en el que la luz del sol es oscura.

⁴² Francés *crime*.

⁴³ Sobre este verbo, véase Marçais, *Tanger*, p. 446.

⁴⁴ *kāṣi*: estreñido. En la jerga de la calle significa enfadado.

⁴⁵ Francés *rapper*.

<i>fīh sāḫāt ṭwīla tgūz bə-zəṛba</i>	En él, las largas horas pasan rápidamente.
<i>qālu li fīh kīsān ktīra mən ġīr kīsān d-dəll</i>	Me dijeron que hay muchos vasos. A excepción de los vasos del oprobio,
<i>qūt⁴⁷ lūm škūn yšəṛba</i>	les dije que quién se los bebe.
<i>qālu li kāyən ḥrūf w-afḫāl w-asmā?</i>	Me dijeron que hay preposiciones, verbos y nombres
<i>ma yžūz tšəṛba qūt lūm ḫlāš bīn qšəṛ w-qšəṛ</i>	que no puedes declinar ⁴⁸ . Les dije que por qué entre palacio y palacio
<i>məlyūn xəṛba qālu li bīn šəḫḫ w-šəḫḫ məlyūn kədba</i>	hay un millón de ruinas. Me dijeron que entre verdad y verdad hay un millón de mentiras.
<i>nās žārīn mūr l-wāqt w-nās ḥārbīn mənnu</i>	Gentes que corren tras el tiempo y gentes que huyen de él.
<i>nās ḫāyšin tāḫt ḍrāšu w-nās məḍḍāw lu sənnu</i>	Gentes que viven bajo sus muelas y gentes que le han afilado los dientes,
<i>nās mzarṛfīn⁴⁹ nās l-fūmm z-zmān lli ma yītməlləg</i>	gentes que se dejan influenciar y gentes que tienen labia. El tiempo que no bromea,
<i>bə-lə-xḍār bə-l-yābəs yīmḍəg ḫyīmṛəg?</i>	mastica lo verde y lo seco, ¿_____? ⁵⁰ ,
<i>fə-l-məskīn lli tāləf bīn rəžlīḥ yfəttəš yīžtām fə-barṛ l-āmān</i>	en el pobre, quien perdido busca entre sus pies (para) pisar tierra firme.
<i>w-nās zātmīn ḫlā l-məskīn w-lāḫqīn kṛāsa f-əl-barlamān</i>	Gentes que pisoteando al pobre consiguen un escaño en el Parlamento.
<i>l-yūma qāḍīt gūlsa lāḫḍt bəlli l-mīkro ka-yšūf fīyya bə-šəwfa məqhūra</i>	Hoy me senté y me percaté de (cómo) el micrófono me miraba angustiado,
<i>šəqšītu šənni kāyən šənni wqəḫ</i>	le pregunté: ¿qué pasa?, ¿qué ha ocurrido?
<i>rədd ḫlīyya bəlli l-ḫīša də-pōbrē fə-hād z-zmān rəžḫāt</i>	Me respondió que en estos tiempos la vida del pobre se ha vuelto despreciable.

⁴⁶ *msəlləs*: oscuro, tenebroso. En bereber encontramos *asəlləs* “oscuridad”.

⁴⁷ /qūlt/ → /qūt/ “yo dije”.

⁴⁸ Juego de palabras con el verbo del árabe clásico أعرَب “expresar; declinar”, para referirse a la ausencia de libertad de expresión.

⁴⁹ *zəṛṛəf*, *yəṛṛəf*: dejar al abandono, dejarse llevar; cf. Marçais *Tanger*, p. 319.

⁵⁰ No he logrado descifrar qué es lo que dice aquí.

<i>məhgūra</i>	
<i>ʕlāš dāyma ʕlīna bə-hād l-wāqiʕ</i>	¿Por qué nos toca siempre (hacer frente) a esta realidad?
<i>ʕlāš ʕlīna bə-hād ʕ-sūra</i>	¿Por qué nos toca (dar) esta imagen?
<i>dərwiš pōbrē ržāʕ ʕāyāš fə-xāyāl w-awhām məhdūda</i>	El pobre infeliz vive de fantasías e ilusiones limitadas,
<i>bībān ʕlīh mə-žmīʕ l-žihāt məšdūda</i>	en todas las direcciones se le cierran las puertas.
<i>hāda hūwwa z-zmān lli səmmāwāh zmān d-dəll</i>	Este es el tiempo al que llamaron “de la humillación”.
<i>lā-ʕšīr kīfma kān bātəl l- flūs yītbəddəl</i>	El amigo, por dinero deja de serlo.
<i>ʕ-tābāqa dyānna dāyman b-ən-nisba līlūm zāyda</i>	En lo que a ellos respecta nuestra clase siempre está de más.
<i>mšāt wəlla žāt nāqša zāyda šənni hūyya l-fāyda</i>	Que se vaya o venga, que falte o sobre, ¿Qué más da?
<i>dāyman yīlāʕbu bīna kīfma bgāw tlaš hāwwəd</i>	Siempre juegan con nosotros como quieren, sube o baja, ⁵¹
<i>dīma nšūfūh mqāwwəd⁵² ʕlāš ʕlīna bə-hād l-məktāb</i>	siempre lo vemos jodido, ¿Por qué nos ha tocado este destino?
<i>ʕlāš nwāžhu l-wāqiʕ l- məhyāb</i>	¿Por qué nos enfrentamos a la horrible realidad?
<i>ma nəʕrāʕ z-zmān lāʕʕāb yīmkən mʕa l-wāqt yəqdār yītbəddəl</i>	No sé, el destino es antojadizo, puede que cambie con el tiempo.
<i>ma nəʕrāʕ yīmkən l-ʕīša ž-ždīda dyānna ʕānd Allāh bdāt ka-ttʕāddəl</i>	No sé, quizás nuestra nueva vida junto a Dios (ya) ha comenzado a prepararse,
<i>wəlla ma nəʕrāʕ xəllīna nšūfu šənni māži gədda</i>	pero no sé, déjanos ver qué es lo que vendrá mañana.
Estribillo x2	
<i>š-šəməš təšrāq w-tgīb</i>	El sol sale y se oculta,
<i>lə-žbāl tāʕla w-trīb</i>	los montes se elevan y se hunden, ⁵³

⁵¹ En la jerga de la calle, *tlaš* y *hāwwəd* aluden a la acción de entrar y salir de la cárcel.

⁵² *mqāwwəd*: fastidiado, jodido; hecho un asco, estropeado. *qāwwəd*, *yqāwwəd* significa literalmente conducir a la persona prostituida hasta su cliente, o sea hacer de proxeneta.

⁵³ Este verso y el anterior recuerdan mucho a las señales del Día del Juicio Final que describe el Corán en la sura de “Los enviados”: “Cuando las estrellas pierdan su luz. Cuando el cielo se

<i>lā-qṛīb ywəlli ḡrīb</i>	el familiar se torna un extraño,
<i>w-l-ṣāfya</i> ⁵⁴ <i>ṛmād mən</i> <i>bāṣd l-lhīb</i>	y donde hubo fuego cenizas quedan.
<i>lli māzi w-lli kān</i>	Lo que está por venir y lo que fue,
<i>lli kān ywəlli zmān</i>	lo que fue se convierte en tiempo (pasado),
<i>w-z-zmān ywəlli nasyān</i> <i>w-yā kullu man ṣalayha fān</i>	el tiempo se convierte en olvido y todo aquél que está sobre la tierra es mortal ⁵⁵ .
<i>hādi hīyya l-ṣīša d-əb-</i> <i>bārəḥ l-yūma w-ḡadda dāyman</i> <i>ḡāllāba</i>	Esta es la vida de ayer, hoy y mañana, siempre difícil ⁵⁶ .
<i>ṣmāl fə-bālək bəlli d-</i> <i>dūnya dāyman fə-hād z-zmān</i> <i>lāṣṣāba</i>	Hazte a la idea de que, en estos tiempos, la vida siempre juega malas pasadas.
<i>lli bḡa yəṭḡa nīna b-</i> <i>yəddək wūrrī lu t-ṭṛīq</i>	Al que quiera rebelarse ⁵⁷ , muéstrale tú mismo el camino,
<i>hīt ḡārru rāsu ṣāš</i> <i>mḏāxxām</i> ⁵⁸	porque le ha seducido (la idea de) vivir en la opulencia.
<i>ḡhāk fə-šūḡru fə-kūbrū w-</i> <i>nsa škūn lli ṣa-ywəṣṣīh fə-qābrū</i>	Se reirá en su juventud y en su vejez, olvidando quien es el que va a recomendarle en la tumba.
<i>sbābna hīyya d-dūnya l-</i> <i>lāhhāya</i>	La vida mundana es la causa de (nuestra perdición).
<i>hādāk ṣāš malik w-ḡnāya</i>	Aquel lleva la vida de un rey y

hienda. Cuando las montañas sean reducidas a polvo”. Traducción de Julio Cortés, cf. Cortés, *El Corán*, p. 784.

⁵⁴ *ṣāfya* es uno de los muchos eufemismos que encontramos en árabe marroquí: *bayād* “carbón”, *tāsṣūd* “nuevo”, *msāhhla* “escoba”.

⁵⁵ Versículo 26 de la sura “El Clemente” que dice así: كل من عليها فان “Todo aquél que está sobre ella es perecedero” y sigue en el versículo 27 ويبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال والإكرام “Pero subsiste tu señor, el Majestuoso y Honorable”. Traducción de Julio Cortés, vid. Cortés, *El Corán*, p. 710.

⁵⁶ Marçais dice que la raíz *ḡlāb* combina los sentidos de victoria y derrota, es decir la victoria del vencedor y la victoria sufrida por el vencido, cf. Marçais, *Tanger*, p. 404. Teniendo en cuenta lo que dice Marçais podríamos traducir *l-ṣīša ḡāllāba* como “la vida que te derrota, que puede contigo”. La voz غوالب “dificultades” es lo que me ha llevado a traducir *ḡāllāba* por difícil, véase Corriente, *Diccionario árabe-español*, p. 560.

⁵⁷ El *ṭūḡyān* es la rebelión contra Dios; véase Prémare, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 8, p. 309.

⁵⁸ *mḏāxxām*: estupendo, fantástico, de maravilla. Marçais recoge la misma voz, pero con defaringalización de /d/, véase Marçais, *Tanger*, p. 294. Mientras que en el norte se usa *mḏāxxām*, en el centro y sur se prefiere *mxāyyār*.

<i>l-ʔabryāʔ hūma d-ḏahāya</i>	nosotros somos los inocentes, ellos son las víctimas.
<i>kull nhār yītzād w-l-ʕīša tqāwwəd</i>	La vida nos jode cada día que pasa. ⁵⁹
<i>kull nhār yītzād w-l-ḥāla thāwwəd</i>	Cada día que pasa la situación empeora ⁶⁰ .
<i>hādu hūma lli maktūb ʕlīhūm yītkəbbṛu yītzəbbṛu</i>	Se ha escrito que estos se enorgullezcan y abusen de su fuerza,
<i>w-ḥna maktūb ʕlīna gīr nṣəbṛu</i>	mientras que a nosotros se ha escrito que seamos pacientes.
<i>ḥta lāyən ʕa-nəbqāw hāyda</i>	¿Hasta cuando vamos a seguir así?
<i>bə-hād l-xāṭya lə-ḥzār nəṭqāt hā ḥīyya l-yūma nāyda</i>	(Hasta) las piedras hablan de este oprobio, hoy incluso se han levantado.
<i>w-ḥna bāqīn gālsīn tābʕīn l-matal lli ka-yqūl</i>	Mientras, nosotros seguimos sentados de acuerdo con el proverbio que dice:
<i>z-zmān lāʕʕāb fə-āyy wāqt yəqdār yītbəddəl b-bārəḥ līli l-yūma līlīh</i>	“el tiempo es caprichoso y en cualquier momento puede cambiar, ayer me tocó a mi y hoy le tocará a él”.
<i>ḥta bqīna ma fāhmīn wālu fə-hād l-ḥāyāt</i>	(Así), hasta quedarnos sin entender nada en esta vida.
<i>kull nhār nətsannāw l-mūt dżīna</i>	Cada día esperamos que la muerte nos llegue,
<i>ḥīt ʕrāfna bəlli l-ʕīša dyānna ma-ši fə-hād l-ʕālam ma-ši fə-hād lə-mdīna</i>	porque hemos comprendido que nuestra vida no está en este mundo, no está en esta ciudad.
<i>b-əl-ʕīn l-ḥāmṛa nšūf bə-dəmmi nəktəb lə-ḥṛūf</i>	Con los ojos enrojecidos miro, con mi sangre escribo las letras,
<i>fə-līl ṭwīl ma ʕāndu qmār</i>	en una larga noche sin luna,
<i>fə-ʕālam ṣgīr ḥəkmū š-šārṛ</i>	en un pequeño mundo dominado por el mal.
<i>l-wāqt ydīyyāʕna w-ḥna ndīyyəu l-wāqt</i>	El tiempo nos echa a perder mientras nosotros perdemos el tiempo.
<i>tlāta w-ʕəšṛīn sna gāzt wəlla fīha ḡrāqt</i>	Han pasado 23 años en los cuales me he hundido.
<i>ʕkəlt⁶¹ wəlla flətt wəlla</i>	Cayera preso o me escapara,

⁵⁹ Lit. “cada día que se añade”.

⁶⁰ Lit. “desciende”.

<i>fhəmt wəlla hməqt</i>	comprendiera o enloqueciera,
<i>škūn lli fīna fāhəm w-šni hūwwa l-məfhūm</i>	¿Quién de nosotros comprende y qué es lo que hay que entender?
<i>wāš l-məfhūm məfhūm wəlla gīr əl-fāhəm fāhəm</i>	¿Se comprende lo que había que entender? (Hoy) tan sólo el listo entiende.
<i>wəlla l-məfhūm ma məfhūm lli ma fāhəm məfāhəm</i>	(Hoy) lo que había que entender no se entiende, y el que no entiende hace como que entiende.
<i>qālu li blāš təfhām xāllīk mfa lli ma fāhəm sāhəm</i>	Me han dicho que no hace falta que entienda, que simplemente me quede con los no entienden.
<i>īda fhəmtu l-məfhūm ma yībqa fə-zyūb s-slāhəm drāhəm</i>	Si entendéis lo que hay que entender, (comprenderéis) que en los bolsillos de los <i>selhames</i> ⁶² no quedan dirhams. ⁶³
<i>dxūl fə-žwāk w-šūddu mlīh</i>	Métete en tus asuntos y no salgas de ahí.
<i>mūsīqa hāmqa fūqa nbīh</i>	Una música enloquecida por encima del ladrido,
<i>hākda wūsfūha</i>	así es como la han descrito,
<i>xāllāwha dāyman řāks r- rīh</i>	siempre la han dejado a contraviento.
<i>xāllīk fə-dlām l-līl žūwwāl</i>	Quédate vagando en la oscuridad de la noche.
<i>tāyr žrīh fə-qfāš yğānni l- wəlwāl</i>	En una jaula, un pájaro herido entona un gemido,
<i>mūwwāl hūwāl n-nās blāš txāllīh yītwāl</i>	no dejes que se prolongue el canto ⁶⁴ sobre la situación de la gente,
<i>řāh žnāhək məksūr řūmrək tkūn řla ř-tayra řāwwāl</i>	fíjate, tus alas están rotas. Nunca podrás volar.
<i>ğānni w-smāř lə-ğnāk ğnāk hāddu smāk</i>	Canta y escucha tu cante, tu cante cuyo límite es tu cielo,
<i>w-smāk hādda hnāk w- hnāk tšūfu hđāk w-hđāk ma</i>	tu cielo cuyo límite está ahí, y ahí lo ves junto a ti, y junto a ti no hay escapatoria

⁶¹ řkəl, yāřkəl: ser atrapado, ser capturado. En árabe literal existe el verbo عكل “poner trabas, retener”.

⁶² řalhām, pl. řlāhəm: Especie de poncho sin mangas y con capucha.

⁶³ Divisa del Reino de Marruecos. Un dirham equivale a unos diez céntimos de euro.

⁶⁴ El mūwwāl es una especie de balada o cantinela, cf. Prémare, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 11, p. 278.

<i>mānnu slāk</i>	alguna de él.
Estribillo x2	

Canción: 3aychin [*ʕāyšīn*] “Vivimos”

Artista: Muslim

Album: “Mor Ssour” (2008)

<i>ʕāyšīn w-l-wāqt dāgya māši</i>	Vivimos mientras el tiempo pronto pasa.
<i>w-ʕāyšīn kif l-bārəḥ kif l-yūma</i>	Vivimos como ayer como hoy,
<i>w-šāyfīn ḥwāl n-nās lli mən gādda xāyfīn</i>	viendo las circunstancias de las gentes que tienen miedo del mañana.
<i>nās lli mən ḥāyātum wallāw mgāylyfīn w-mwālyfīn...</i>	Gentes que se han acostumbrado a unas vidas que les dan asco.
<i>wāxxa ttənkəl fə-hād l-blād ḥāqq l-itāma w-žāʕu</i>	A pesar de que en este país los huérfanos pasen hambre y se coma lo que les corresponde por derecho.
<i>wāxxa yəxdəm fə-hād l-blād gīr lli mʕārəf dṛāʕu⁶⁵</i>	A pesar de que en este país solamente trabajen los que tienen contactos.
<i>wāxxa šbāb hād l-blād gīr fə-lə-bḥār dāʕu</i>	A pesar de que la juventud de este país se haya perdido en el mar ⁶⁶ .
<i>wāxxa bnāt hād l-blād gīr f-əṭ-ṭrīq yītbaʕu</i>	A pesar de que las chicas de este país se vendan en la carretera.
<i>wāxxa d-dṛōga tḏūr f-əl-ḥāwma dyānna ktər mə-l-ḥāšš</i>	A pesar de que en nuestro barrio la droga de más vueltas que un rumor.
<i>wāxxa n-nās lli nʕāṭru ʕlīhūm f-əz-zənqa nāʕsīn ʕla d-dāšš⁶⁷</i>	A pesar de la gente que nos encontramos en la calle durmiendo sobre el asfalto.
<i>wāxxa l-maʕīša lli glāt w-l-məskīn məzmūt</i>	A pesar de que la vida se encarezca y el pobre permanezca callado.
<i>wāxxa d-dṛāwəš lli fə-ṣpītārāt ka-tmūt</i>	A pesar de los pobres que mueren en los hospitales.
<i>wāxxa l-bārlāmān lli</i>	A pesar de que, del Parlamento se

⁶⁵ Lit. “los conocidos de su brazo”.

⁶⁶ Alusión a la trágica realidad de la inmigración ilegal.

⁶⁷ *dāšš* “hormigón de cal y arena machacado para cubrir el suelo”, cf. Prémare, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 4, p. 280.

<i>xārʒa mǎnnu rīht l-bōs</i>	desprenda un olor a Boss ⁶⁸ .
<i>wāxxa l-ma w-d-dāw lli ʕānd l-pōbrē kābūs</i>	A pesar de que el agua y la luz sean una pesadilla para el pobre.
<i>wāxxa š-šāht w-l-baht wāxxa d-damm w-d-dmūʕ</i>	A pesar de los reveses y los problemas con la justicia ⁶⁹ , a pesar de la sangre y las lágrimas.
<i>ʕāyšīn w-dāyman rāšna mǎrfūʕ</i>	Vivimos, siempre con la cabeza (bien) alta.
Estribillo x2	
<i>wāxxa l-faqr wāxxa ž-žūʕ ʕāyšīn</i>	A pesar de la pobreza y el hambre, vivimos.
<i>wāxxa d-damm wāxxa d- dmūʕ</i>	A pesar de la sangre y las lágrimas.
<i>wāxxa l-qāmʕ wāxxa d- daḡt ʕāyšīn</i>	A pesar de la represión y de la presión, vivimos.
<i>wāxxa l-kufr wāxxa š-šāxt w-ʕāyšīn</i>	A pesar de la impiedad y la maldición, vivimos.
<i>ʕāyšīn wāxxa dīnna wəlla mǎšbūh</i>	Vivimos, a pesar de que nuestra religión se haya vuelto sospechosa.
<i>wāxxa l-ləḡya f-wūžh l- muslim wəlla ši mǎkrūh</i>	A pesar de que la barba en la cara del musulmán se haya vuelto algo aborrecible.
<i>wāxxa bnādəm wəlla rxiš yītbaʕ w-yətfəžžār</i>	A pesar de que las personas se inmolen por poco dinero ⁷⁰ .
<i>wāxxa l-mužtamaʕ yəqṣāh w-l-qlūb təthāžžār</i>	A pesar de que la sociedad se vuelva más dura y de que los corazones se petrifiquen.
<i>wāxxa š-šulṭa yǎʕni l- qūwwa tsāwi thāggār</i>	A pesar de que el poder, es decir la fuerza, equivalga a despreciar.
<i>wāxxa š-šafb yǎʕni d-dūʕf tsāwi yītwanṭār⁷¹</i>	A pesar de que el pueblo, es decir la debilidad, equivalga a aguantarse.

⁶⁸ *Boss*: famosa marca de perfumes.

⁶⁹ *baht*: instrucción judicial.

⁷⁰ Alusión a los atentados que sacudieron la ciudad de Casablanca el 13 de mayo de 2003, los cuales fueron perpetrados por jóvenes procedentes de los barrios de chabolas.

<i>wāxxa ṣ-ṣāḥḥa tāḥt w-t-taqāʕud žūz dā-frānk</i>	A pesar de que (el servicio) sanitario sea deplorable y de que las pensiones sean de 2 francs ⁷² .
<i>wāxxa d-dyūr rābət w-xallītūna ġīr b-əz-zənk</i>	A pesar de que las casas se vengán a bajo y nos dejéis viviendo en chabolas ⁷³ .
<i>wāxxa ma šūfna wālu mən hādūk lli trəššḥu</i>	A pesar de que no hayamos visto nada de aquellos que se presentaron como candidatos (a las elecciones).
<i>wāxxa ma šūwwətnāhūm ma ʕrafna kif nəžḥu</i>	A pesar de no haberlos votado, no sabemos cómo (pero resulta que) han ganado.
<i>wāxxa l-mūnkār w-lā-ʕra wəlla ʕādi</i>	A pesar de que la injusticia y la desnudez ⁷⁴ se hayan convertido en algo normal.
<i>wāxxa r-rəšwa wāšla ḥta n-sīdi l-qādi</i>	A pesar de que los sobornos lleguen hasta el (mismísimo) señor juez.
<i>wāxxa l-wāqt ṣʕāb w-tārf d-əl-xūbz ʕāsi</i>	A pesar de que estos tiempos se hayan vuelto difíciles y cueste (conseguir) un trozo de pan.
<i>wāxxa ma bqāw šḥāb w-l-xāwa ywəlli qāsi</i>	A pesar de que ya no queden amigos y de que el colega ⁷⁵ se vuelva duro.
<i>wāxxa r-rəḥma wālu l-ʕāffa ma kāyna-ši</i>	A pesar de que no haya piedad alguna y el pudor no exista.
<i>ʕāyšīn w-l-wāqt dəğya māši</i>	Vivimos mientras el tiempo pronto pasa.
<i>ʕāyšīn</i>	Vivimos.
Estribillo x2	
<i>wāxxa l-faqr wāxxa ž-žūʕ ʕāyšīn</i>	A pesar de la pobreza y el hambre, vivimos.
<i>wāxxa d-dəmm wāxxa d-dmūʕ</i>	A pesar de la sangre y las lágrimas.

⁷¹ *twantār, yətwantār*: aguantarse, soportarse. Tiene su origen en el español *aguantar* y es un verbo típico de los dialectos del norte: Tánger, Ceuta, Tetuán, Chaouen, Larache, Arcila y Alcázarquivir.

⁷² 100 francs equivalen a 1 dirham.

⁷³ Lit. “y nos dejéis con zinc”, es decir uno de los metales con los que se construyen las *bidonvilles*.

⁷⁴ Cuando se ve a una chica que viste moda occidental (a saber: faldas cortas, pantalones ajustados, escotes altos, etc...), se dice de ella que va *ʕāryāna* “desnuda”.

⁷⁵ Lit. *xāwa* “hermano”.

<i>wāxxa l-qāmī wāxxa d-dagṭ ḥāyšīn</i>	A pesar de la represión y la presión, vivimos.
<i>wāxxa l-kufr wāxxa ṣ-ṣāxt w-ḥāyšīn</i>	A pesar de la impiedad y la maldición, vivimos.
<i>ḥāyšīn wāxxa l-ḥmār dāḥ bīn l-ḥyūt</i>	Vivimos, a pesar de que una vida se haya echado a perder entre paredes ⁷⁶ .
<i>ḥāyšīn wāxxa l-snīn tfūt w-l-kūll mašlūt</i>	Vivimos, a pesar de que los años pasen y todo el mundo se quede atónito.
<i>ḥāyšīn wāxxa l-mustaqbal fīna kāḥi</i>	Vivimos, a pesar de que el futuro esté enfadado con nosotros.
<i>ḥāyšīn wāxxa r-bīṣ r-raḥāya yārḥāha r-rāḥi</i>	Vivimos, a pesar de que la hierba del rebaño la padece el pastor ⁷⁷ .
<i>ḥāyšīn wāxxa ṣāxṭīn ḥa hād l-ārd</i>	Vivimos, a pesar de haber maldecido esta tierra.
<i>ḥāyšīn wāxxa zāṭmīn ḥa šūk l-wārd</i>	Vivimos, a pesar de estar pisando sobre las espinas de la rosa.
<i>ḥāyšīn wāxxa nyāb l-faqṛ ṭāḥna</i>	Vivimos, a pesar de que los colmillos de la pobreza sean trituradores.
<i>ḥāyšīn wāxxa yadd l-māḥna dābḥatna</i>	Vivimos, a pesar de que esta prueba es más fuerte que nosotros.
<i>ḥāyšīn wāxxa l-hmūm fa-qlūbna mzāḥma</i>	Vivimos, a pesar de que las preocupaciones se amontonan en nuestros corazones.
<i>ḥāyšīn wāxxa l-mūt yīmkan rāḥma</i>	Vivimos, pese a que tal vez la muerte sería una misericordia.
<i>ḥāyšīn wāxxa ḥyāmna ḡīr iḥāda</i>	Vivimos, a pesar de que nuestros días no sean más que una rutina.
<i>ḥāyšīn wāxxa dmūḥ ṣ-ṣāxt ḥāwwāda</i>	Vivimos, a pesar de que las lágrimas del rechazo corran (por nuestras mejillas).
<i>ḥāyšīn wāxxa dāmmna fa-az-znāqi mhārṛāq</i>	Vivimos, a pesar de que nuestra sangre se encuentre derramada por las calles.
<i>ḥāyšīn wāxxa ṭḥāṛna b-ād-dāqq mzārṛāq</i>	Vivimos, a pesar de que nuestra espalda esté amoratada por los golpes.

⁷⁶ Alusión a aquellos que se encuentran en prisión.

⁷⁷ Metáfora en la que el ganado sería el pueblo, el pastor el rey y la hierba las riquezas del país. Es también un juego de palabras ya que, en árabe literal, *raḥāya* significa tanto rebaños como súbditos.

<i>ṣāyṣīn wāxxa ḥāyātna māṭat</i>	Vivimos, a pesar de que nuestra vida haya muerto.
<i>ṣāyṣīn w-hādi snīn fātāt</i>	Vivimos, y ya hace años que esto pasó.
Estribillo x2	

Canción: Zna9i tanja [znāqi Ṭānža] “las calles de Tánger”.

Artistas: Muslim & La-N

Album: Strictly For My Souljaz (2005)

Estribillo x2	
<i>bīn znāqi Ṭānža nšūfu l-krīmi dālāṣ⁷⁸</i>	Entre las calles de Tánger vemos el crimen vagando.
<i>w-bīn znāqi Ṭānža bnādām n-əs-səmm bālāṣ</i>	Entre las calles de Tánger las personas ingieren veneno.
<i>bīn znāqi Ṭānža bnādām b-əž-žūf šābāṣ</i>	Entre las calles de Tánger las personas están saciadas de hambre.
<i>w-bīn znāqi Ṭānža bnādām mətbūṣ w-tābāṣ</i>	Entre las calles de Tánger las personas son perseguidas y persiguen.
<i>w-l-ḥāyāt vīw⁷⁹</i>	La vida loca,
<i>d-dṛāri təstāhlāha d-dṛōga ydallīw</i>	a los chicos les encanta. Engullen la droga,
<i>š-šṛāb ygallīw ḥūmāq ywullīw</i>	hierven el alcohol y se vuelven locos.
<i>b-bāyṭa l-kāhla ṣ-ṣāḥḥa qāṭla</i>	La blanca y la negra ⁸⁰ han destrozado la salud.
<i>l-wālīda ṣāqla xṛāž la</i>	La madre ha perdido la cabeza ⁸¹ .
<i>fə-bālūm hādīk ḥīyya ṛ-ṛūžla</i>	Para ellos, la hombría (consiste en) esto.
<i>d-dṛāri yšūmmu s-sīli⁸²</i>	Los chicos esnifan pegamento.
<i>l-ṣālam wəlla yšəmkəṛ⁸³ āṛa ši kābba⁸⁴ līli</i>	El mundo (entero) se ha puesto a drogarse, dame una dosis a mí.

⁷⁸ *dālāṣ, ydlāṣ*: vagabundear, errar; dejarse llevar, cf. Prémare, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 4, p. 320.

⁷⁹ Ha sido un informante quien me ha explicado el significado de esta extraña palabra.

⁸⁰ Metáforas de la cocaína (blanca) y la heroína (negra).

⁸¹ Lit. “a la madre se le ha salido su intelecto”.

⁸² *sīli < sīlīsyūn*: pegamento empleado como droga. Parece que se trata del francés *silicium* “silicio”, elemento químico empleado en la elaboración de adhesivos como la silicona.

⁸³ *šəmkəṛ, yšəmkəṛ*: esnifar, drogarse. Verbo denominativo de *šəmkār* “vagabundo; drogadicto”. En Fez me contaron que el origen de esta palabra pudiera ser la unión de *šəmm* “esnifar” y *kār*

<i>žəɾɾəbt l-ʕīša ɾāši wəlla tqīl kīf r-rīša</i>	Yo he experimentado (esta) vida ⁸⁵ , mi cabeza se volvió del peso de una pluma,
<i>dʕāft dxūlt fə-bāʕti ɾzāʕt kmīša</i>	Enfermé y me debilité (hasta) convertirme en muy poca cosa.
<i>ʕāmməɾ, lūwwi, ləʕʕāq, təɾtāq, sqi</i>	¡Rellena!, ¡lía!, ¡pega!, ¡explota!, ¡riega! ⁸⁶
<i>nqāʕdu t-tabīša zāʕma nšūmmu hwa nqi</i>	Nos dirigimos a las zonas verdes ⁸⁷ como si fuéramos a respirar aire puro.
<i>yā Lātīf ʕfu d-drāri zəʕmu f-əl-xāwya</i>	¡Dios mío, perdón! Los chicos han caído en la trampa ⁸⁸ ,
<i>bḡāw ywūllīw ʕla t-trīq təlfu</i>	quieren volver por el camino, (pero) se han perdido ⁸⁹ .
<i>ma lāhādtū-ši məlli ndūxu təfīān b-əl-fāšāl thāss b- ɾāʕək flōxo</i>	No os habéis dado cuenta que cuando nos mareamos te sientes impotente y flojo.
<i>r-rīh lli ža yiddīk ma təmma wālu</i>	El viento que llega te lleva, (como si) hay no hubiera nada.
<i>dāba ntūbu b-əl-ḥāqq ma-ši fhāl lli tāb wəlla mə-d- drāri yənfəɾ</i>	(Decís:) ahora nos arrepentimos, pero que no sea como aquel que tras arrepentirse huye de los chicos,
<i>ʕlīhūm ynəggəɾ yšrāh yḥālləl yfəssəɾ</i>	les critica, explica, analiza y se excusa (diciendo):
<i>ā ḥna ma kunna-ši nʕāɾfu bəlli žīn ysəkkəɾ</i>	¡Ah!, nosotros no sabíamos que el <i>Gin tonic</i> embriagaba.
<i>ka-nšūf sbāʕ yīgləs dbūʕa ybānu</i>	Veo un león sentarse, las hienas aparecen ⁹⁰ ,

“autobús”, ya que son muchos los que, para drogarse, inhalan el humo que desprenden los tubos de escape de los vehículos.

⁸⁴ *kābba*: ovillo de hilo o lana, cf. Prémare, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 10, p. 508. Por extensión se refiere también a la cantidad de pegamento que se apelothona en la mano para ser esnifado.

⁸⁵ Es decir, la vida de la drogadicción.

⁸⁶ Todos estos verbos en imperativo se refieren al consumo de distintos tipos de drogas: *ʕāmməɾ* se refiere a llenar con pegamento la bolsa en que se esnifa; *lūwwi*, *ləʕʕāq* y *təɾtāq* aluden a la acción de liar, unir y encender el porro; *sqi* hace alusión a llenar un vaso con una bebida alcohólica (probablemente provenga del árabe clásico اسقني خمرًا).

⁸⁷ Las zonas verdes de las ciudades marroquíes suelen ser los sitios en los que se esconde la gente para consumir drogas.

⁸⁸ Lit. “han pisado sobre el vacío”.

⁸⁹ O sea, que es demasiado tarde para dejar el vicio.

<i>ylāḥbu lu bīn bnānu yxāwwṣu⁹¹ lu snānu</i>	juguetean entre los dedos de sus pies y le limpian los dientes.
<i>ma ḥāddu sbāḥ gūwwəz zmānu klāḷət⁹² yəṯḥāllu tāḥt žnāḥu</i>	Mientras sea un león con un historial a sus espaldas los palurdos se pavonearán bajo su abrigo.
<i>l-mḏāxxām fihūm yīnḥās ḥla kəṣṣu</i>	El número uno de entre ellos duerme sobre su vientre, ⁹³
<i>w-l-māšya dyālu tḥərrṣu</i>	sus andares le delatan,
<i>yəṣbāḥ f-əl-ḥāwma yṯāḥṯāḥ</i>	amanece en el barrio gimiendo.
<i>dži tṣūfu qāṣu bāqi mlāḥlāḥ</i>	Si te fijas su culo aún está caliente.
<i>bə-klām Bilāl ygəžmu⁹⁴ zāḥma ḥābbāsa yfəḥmu</i>	Bromean con palabras de Bilal ⁹⁵ que tan sólo comprenden los presidiarios.
<i>ḥla d-dərwīš yzāḥmu mḥa s-sākat ynədmu</i>	Se atreven con el pobre, (pero) con el que callado se arrepienten. ⁹⁶
<i>ḥākda ḥīyya l-ḥāyāt lli žāri bīḥa l-ḥamal f-əz-zəṇqa l- ḥīša ḥāmqa</i>	Así es como funciona la vida en la calle, una vida loca.
<i>ma nḥārfū-ši bəlli d- dūnya ḥlīna gāmqa</i>	No sabemos que esta vida se nos ha echado encima.
<i>l-ḥāyāt xāṣṣa tətḥāwwəṯ l-insān xāṣṣu yḥīš tṯānkīlo</i>	La vida tiene que arreglarse y el ser humano tiene que vivir tranquilo,
<i>ma yəṯlāḥ ma yḥāwwəd āna ḥāṯəf z-zḥār mqāwwəd</i>	que no suba y que tampoco baje. Yo sé que la suerte es jodida.

⁹⁰En este contexto, *sbāḥ* y *ḏbūša* se refieren al matón del barrio y a sus secuaces. En la cultura marroquí el león es símbolo de fuerza y poder, mientras que la hiena simboliza la cobardía y la estupidez (ver Prémare, *Dictionnaire*, vol 6, p. 26; vol 8, p. 162).

⁹¹*xāwwəṣ*, *yxāwwəṣ*: limpiar los dientes con un mondadientes. Puede que provenga del árabe clásico *خوصة* “hoja de palma; trenza”, ya que hay un tipo de montadientes natural empleado en Marruecos, que se elabora a partir de la Ammi Visnaga (خلّة en árabe), y cuyo tallo forma un nudo que se va retorciendo. Igualmente se presenta en forma trenzada el *swāk*, una corteza seca de nogal que posee propiedades antisépticas contra la gingivitis.

⁹²*kəḷlēt*, pl. *klāḷət*: palurdo, estúpido, ignorante.

⁹³Es decir que se acuesta con él.

⁹⁴*gəžəm*, *yīgəžəm*: contar trolas, bromear, véase *qəžəm* en Prémare, *Dictionnaire*, vol.10, p. 239.

⁹⁵Chebb Bilal es un cantante argelino de Rai famoso en todo el Magreb. Hay quien dice que las letras de sus canciones no tienen mucho sentido, mientras que otros creen ver en sus temas un lenguaje metafórico.

⁹⁶Se arrepienten en el sentido de que cuando ven a la otra persona (aparentemente tímida y débil) enfadarse, se les baja la bravuconería y la fanfarronería.

<i>šanni tħān⁹⁷ ħna nšammru ʕla l-ħdīd īda sxān</i>	Bueno, nosotros clavamos clavos en el hierro que se ha calentado,
<i>ndārbūh bla ħrīq la dūxxān</i>	lo golpeamos sin fuego ni humo.
<i>žəṛṛbu yā lli ʕla bāʕtkūm tqāfzu</i>	Intentad(lo) vosotros que rivalizáis para ver quién es el más listo.
<i>ʔšāmlu fhāl l-pōbrē kīfāš yħāddār xubzu</i>	Haced como hace el pobre para procurarse su pan (de cada día).
Estribillo x2	
<i>fāḍət l-fāwḍa l-ʕāyn b- əl-ʕāyn s-sīf b-əs-sīf d-dəmm b- əd-dəmm l-fīnāl⁹⁸ f-əṛ-rāwḍa⁹⁹</i>	El caos ha estallado: ojo por ojo, puñalada por puñalada, sangre por sangre, el final (será) en el cementerio.
<i>z-zənqa fə-Ṭānża rəžʕāt mqāwwda</i>	La calle en Tánger se ha vuelto jodida.
<i>d-dṛāri gāmmtət ʕāyna w-xāllāt Iblīs mgūwwda</i>	Los chicos han cerrado sus ojos y han dejado que el Diablo les guíe,
<i>mṛāyyħa ʕla...¹⁰⁰ w- xāssa lli ynūwwda</i>	sentados sobre... necesitan alguien que les levante.
<i>bla ħta ši sabbā yttəṛtāq¹⁰¹ lə-mḍa¹⁰²</i>	Sin motivo alguno se abre una navaja.
<i>yttəšmāx¹⁰³ b-əd-dīn w-l- milla ʕ-šmāṭi¹⁰⁴ təthāll s-syūf təʕālla</i>	Se empieza a calentar la cosa con (insultos) a la religión y la comunidad musulmana ¹⁰⁵ . Los cinturones se abren y los

⁹⁷ Expresión empleada para mostrar aceptación o acuerdo.

⁹⁸ Español *final*.

⁹⁹ *rāwḍa*: cementerio En árabe clásico significa jardín. Podemos aventurarnos a decir que el símil entre ambos lugares es el que, diacrónicamente, produjo el corrimiento léxico. Traigo a colación el yemení *mağannāh* “cimitero” (Rossi, *Šan’ā’*, p. 200), el cual pudiera tener alguna relación con *جنة* “walled garden” (Lane, *Lexicon*, vol.1, p. 463), aunque tampoco hay que olvidar los significados de ocultar y cubrir que existen en esta raíz.

¹⁰⁰ En este trozo de la grabación se escucha un pitido, es decir que se trata de una especie de autocensura. Creo que la palabra omitida es *kəṛṛ* “culo”.

¹⁰¹ El empleo de *təṛtāq* “estallar, explotar, crujir” con el significado de abrir una navaja, pudiera deberse al sonido que se produce en el momento de la apertura.

¹⁰² Se trata del elativo del adjetivo *māḍi* “afilado”, Prémare lo define como “bon couteau”, cf. Prémare, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 11, p. 219.

¹⁰³ *šmāx*, *yīšmāx*: empezar a arder un fuego, alcanzar su intensidad máxima, cf. Prémare, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 7, p. 179.

¹⁰⁴ *šəmṭa*, pl. *šmāṭi*: cinturón. Posiblemente se trate del español *cinta*.

	machetes se elevan.
<i>bnādām bə-nəfsu ka-yīlāb ʃ-ʃūlla</i>	Las personas que tienen amor propio evitan (verse envueltos en semejante pelea).
<i>š-Šītān b-rāʃu dxāl lu l-xīndo</i> ¹⁰⁶	Al mismísimo Satanás le ha entrado el pánico.
<i>qāl lək fə-l-āwwəl kān ġīr ka-yītfəlla mʃa mən ka-ttfəlla?</i>	Al principio decía que tan sólo estaba bromeando, ¿con quién bromeas?
<i>w-d-dṛāri ʃ-ʃāhi fihūm məʃta d-əl-ħābba dəlla</i>	El más sobrio de los chicos se ha tragado una tableta ¹⁰⁷ de pastillas.
<i>l-məṛḍi fihūm iḡmāh l-ħābs mən dāra ḥsən la</i>	El que es más buen hijo de todos ellos, a su madre más le valdría que estuviera en la cárcel en vez de estar en su casa.
<i>ħūbba l-wəlda mən qālba zāl la</i>	Su amor por su hijo ha cesado en su corazón
<i>w-tqūl ʃlāš wlədtih l-żawāb dyāla mużarrad zəlla</i>	y (si) le dices: ¿por qué le diste a luz? su respuesta es: por un simple error.
<i>l-xāwa wāš fhəmti wəlla ħīt fik l-ħālla ʃa-tqūl la</i>	Hermano, ¿has comprendido? o porque eres un chulo vas a decir que no.
<i>l-ħāla fə-Ṭānza fə-ʃāynu ʃuqda škūn yħūlla škūn yħālla</i>	La situación en Tánger es por sí misma un problema que quién deshará, quién solucionará,
<i>d-dīn awlla l-ħukūma aħzāb b-yidda ʃāndna məħkūma f-əl-kūma</i>	¿la religión o el gobierno? Para nosotros los partidos políticos no tienen utilidad alguna, ¹⁰⁸
<i>fə-kəlmət l-ħāqq ka-təṛžāʃ məbkūma</i>	cuando hay que decir la verdad son silenciados,
<i>ħīt bə-gūma Made in l-</i>	porque con goma <i>Made in</i> el Estado

¹⁰⁵ En muchos insultos se maldice la religión de la familia del increpado, por ejemplo: *yənʃāl dīn būk* “maldita sea la religión de tu padre”, *yənʃāl dīn žəddək* “maldita sea la religión de tu abuelo” (cf. Boudot-Lamotte, “Malédiction”, p. 56).

¹⁰⁶ *xīndo*: miedo, cobardía. También existe el verbo *txīndār*, *yītxīndār* “asustarse, acobardarse”. Se trata de una palabra propia de la jerga juvenil y me consta que sólo es conocida en el norte. El profesor Federico Corriente me sugirió como una posible etimología para *xīndo* el caló *jindama*, que a veces se abrevia en *jinda* (véase Roper, “Gitanismos”, p. 47).

¹⁰⁷ *məʃta* “planchette disposée obliquement le haut dans la chambre”, cf. Prémare, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 11, p. 208.

¹⁰⁸ Lit. “los partidos están en estado de coma”.

<i>māxzən</i>	
<i>d-dāqqa z-zāṛqa ka-təbqa f-əṭ-ṭhār məršūma</i>	los cardenales se quedan dibujados en la espalda.
<i>ka-nṣāwəd nūzən l-ṣuqda də-Ṭānza ka-džbār l-māxzən āwwəl wəzha məthūma</i>	Hago balance de nuevo: (en lo que respecta) al problema de Tánger te encuentras con que el Estado es la principal parte imputada.
<i>šarikāt d-əl-xwād¹⁰⁹ w-fə-ṣūq</i>	Empresas de negocios sucios que aparecen
<i>l-būrša mšāxxša ḥīt tālṣa shūma</i>	en bolsa cuando suben las acciones.
<i>dāba hādi məfhūma žbərna ṣla mən ṣa-nḥūṭtu l-lūma</i>	Ahora esto está claro, hemos encontrado a quién echar la culpa.
<i>w-ntūma ṣa-təbqāw gambērros¹¹⁰ ḥāyātkūm kām̄la</i>	Y vosotros vais a seguir siendo unos gamberros toda vuestra vida,
<i>f-əz-zənqa pērros¹¹¹ xāyṣīn mə-l-ḥām̄la f-əl-ḥāwma hyērros¹¹² f-əl-ḥābs fīkūm zzzz...¹¹³</i>	en la calle unos perros temerosos de la redada (de la policía), en el barrio unos héroes, en la cárcel unos...

3. Estudio lingüístico

3.1 Fonología

3.1.1. La *qāf* del árabe clásico suele realizarse como /q/ oclusiva uvular sorda¹¹⁴. Ejemplos: *dqīqa* “minuto”, *qtūt* “gatos”, *qīs* “toca”, *qlūb* “corazones”, *qālu* “han dicho”, *qšār* “palacio”, *yšūqq* “él desgarrar”, *məqhūra* “angustiada, apenada”, *lāḥqīn* “alcanzan”, *ka-yqūl* “él dice”, *ṭrīq* “camino”, *qmār* “luna”, *ḥāqq* “verdad, parte, derecho”, *yəqšāḥ* “él se endurece”, *mzərṛāq* “amorado”, *dāqqa* “golpe”. Hay algunas palabras en las que /g/ aparece como reflejo de /q/: *ḥūgra*, *ḥūgrānīyya* “desprecio, abuso”, *ḥāggār* “que desprecia, abusón”, *məḥgūra* “despreciado, despreciable”, *ṭḥāggər* “ella desprecia, abusa” (< á.c. حقر), *ynəggər* “él picotea, critica” (< á.c. نقر), *yğəllīw* “ellos fríen” (< á.c. فلى), *mgūwwəd* “él ha

¹⁰⁹ *xwād*: estado de algo que se encuentra turbio o confuso; lío, enredo; *xwādāt* “negocios sucios”, cf. Prémare, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 4, p. 173.

¹¹⁰ Español *gamberro*.

¹¹¹ Español *perro*.

¹¹² Inglés *heroes*.

¹¹³ Creo que la palabra que sigue y que no llega a pronunciar es *zəmla* “amaneramiento, afeminamiento”.

¹¹⁴ Esta es la realización normal de *qāf* en los dialectos sedentarios mientras que en los beduinos se realiza como [g] oclusiva velar sonora, c.f. Aguadé, “Fonemas”, p. 86.

conducido” (< á.c. قود). Estos vocablos en los que /g/ refleja /q/ no pueden ser considerados todos como préstamos beduinos y, como dice Colin¹¹⁵, habría que realizar un estudio detallado para determinar las condiciones de permutación de ambos fonemas en los dialectos del norte de Marruecos.

En la palabra *wāqt* “tiempo”, /q/ no se realiza /x/ tal y como lo recogen Marçais e Iraqui-Sinaceur para el dialecto de Tánger.¹¹⁶

3.1.2. El fonema /g/ puede representar á.c. /q/ y aparece también en préstamos de otras lenguas: español *droga* > *dṛōga*, español *goma* > *gūma*. Existe el siguiente par mínimo: *mqaḥwwad* “jodido” † *mgūwwad* “él condujo”.

3.1.3. Tal y como sucede en la mayoría de dialectos marroquíes, las interdentales han sido sustituidas por sus correspondientes oclusivas¹¹⁷: *talāṭatm* > *tlāta* “tres”, *baḥṭtm* > *baḥt* “instrucción”, *dilltm* > *dəll* “humillación”, *kiḍbtm* > *kədba* “mentira”, *ḍalāmtm* > *dlām* “oscuridad”.

3.1.4. He encontrado los siguientes ejemplos de ensordecimiento del fonema /ḍ/¹¹⁸: *ṣuhūdtm* > *ṣhūd* > *ṣhūt* “calor, bochorno”, *ḍahrtm* > *ḍhār* > *ṭhār* “espalda”, *yaṣdim^u* > *yəṣdəm* > *yəzḍəm* > *yəzṭəm* “él pisará”, *bayḍā^u* > *bāyṭa* “blanca”, *ḡammaḍat* > *ḡammṭət* “ella cerró los hojos”, *tataṣawwaḍ^u* > *təṭṣāwwəṭ* “ella se enderezará, se arreglará”.

3.1.5. El fonema /ǧ/ se realiza chicheante /ʒ/¹¹⁹: *ḥāǧatm* > *ḥāža* “cosa”, *raǧaṣa* > *rǧāṣ* “él regresó, él se volvió”, *ǧadīdtm* > *ʒdīd* “nuevo”, *ǧāʔa* > *ža* “él vino”.

3.1.6. Ocasionalmente la preposición *l* “para, por” se realiza *n*¹²⁰: *bnādəm n-əs-səmm bālāṣ*. El paso /l/ > /n/ es frecuente en dialectos con un sustrato o adstrato bereberes¹²¹.

¹¹⁵ Colin, “Taza”, p. 42.

¹¹⁶ Marçais, *Tanger*, p.492; Iraqui-Sinaceur, “Tanger”, p.134.

¹¹⁷ Aguadé, “Fonemas”, p. 67.

¹¹⁸ El ensordecimiento de /ḍ/ es un rasgo típico de los dialectos del norte de Marruecos (Aguadé, “Fonemas”, p. 69; Colin, “Taza”, p. 40; Iraqui-Sinaceur, “Tanger”, p.134 ; Assad, *Tanger*, p. 3) y de otros prehilalíes: Djidjelli (Marçais, *Djidjelli*, p. 7), maltés (*ʔarḍtm* > *art* “tierra”).

¹¹⁹ Esta es la realización normal de /ǧ/ en los dialectos magrebíes sedentarios, c.f. Vicente, *Manual*, p. 58.

¹²⁰ Esta preposición indica dirección y nunca va seguida de pronombre personal sufijado. En algunas ocasiones puede realizar las funciones de la preposición *l*, cf. Moscoso, *Larache*, p. 51.

¹²¹ Aguadé, “Fonemas”, p. 72.

3.1.7. La diptongación se conserva en las siguientes voces: *šāyf* “verano”, *lāwn* “color”, *řāwḍat* “cementerio”, *ḥāwma* “barrio”, *šāwt* “voz”, *ḥāyt* “muro”, *dāw* “luz”, *šāwfa* “mirada”, *ka-yqūl* “él dice”, *dāyman* “siempre”, *bāyṭa* “blanca”, *šāyn* “ojo”, *bāyn* “entre”. Sin embargo en estas otras palabras se ha perdido el diptongo: *mūt* “muerte”, *fūq* “encima”, *šāša* “vida”, *bīf* “venta”, *kīf* “como”, *gīr* “solo, solamente”, *sīf* “espada”, *lūma* “crítica, censura”, *rīḥa* “olor”.

3.1.8. Asimilaciones y disimilaciones:

-Por sonorización /t/+d/: [d]. *tdūwwəz* → *ddūwwəz*.

-Por sonorización /t/+ž/: [d]. *tžīb* → *džīb*, *tži* → *dži*, *ka-tžbār* → *ka-džbār*.

-Por sonorización /s/+ž/: [š]. *məšžūn* → *məšžūn*.

-Por sonorización /s/+d/: [z]. *yəšḍəm* → *yəzḍəm* → *yəzṭəm* “él pisará”¹²².

-Por nasalidad /l/+n/: [n]. *dyālna* → *dyānna*.¹²³

-Por bilabialización /l/+b/: [b]. *l-bāyṭa* → *b-bāyṭa*, *l-bārəḥ* → *b-bārəḥ*.

-Por faringalización /t/+r/: [r]. *trīq* → *rīq*.

-Por faringalización /s/+t/: [s]. *sāxt* → *šāxt*.

-Por defaringalización /t/: [t]. *tərtāq*: [tərtāq]

3.1.9. Relajación del fonema /h/ de los pronombres sufijos: *xāššha* > *xāšša* “ella necesita”, *qūt lhūm* > *qūt lūm* “yo les dije”.¹²⁴

3.1.10. Inserción de una vocal breve /ā/ entre la 3ª persona plural del verbo y algunos de los pronombres sufijos: *səmmāwh* → *səmmāwāh* “lo llamaron”.

3.2. Estudio de la morfología verbal

3.2.1. Empleo del preverbio *ka-*: *ka-yšūf* “él mira”, *ka-ttšāddəl* “ella se prepara”, *ka-yqūl* “él dice”, *ka-tmūt* “ella muere”, *ka-təbqa* “ella se queda”. Este preverbio es característico de dialectos de tipo prehilalí como los de Fez, Rabat, Tetuán, Larache o Tánger¹²⁵.

¹²² Sobre este verbo, véase Marçais, *Tanger*, p. 320.

¹²³ Es lo que Marçais denomina “accomodations de liquides”, *žbanna* por *žbālna*, *qunna* por *qulna*, cf. Marçais, *Tlemcen*, p. 27.

¹²⁴ En cuanto a este fenómeno, véase Moscoso, “Tánger”, p.189.

¹²⁵ Acerca de este preverbio, véase Aguadé, “Preverbios”, pp. 199-200 y Ferrando, “Preverbe *ka-*”.

3.2.2. La partícula *ʕa-* se antepone al imperfectivo del verbo para expresar el tiempo futuro: *ʕa-nəbqāw* “nos quedaremos”, *ʕa-tqūl* “tu dirás”, *ʕa-nḥūttu* “nosotros colocaremos”.¹²⁶

3.2.3. Las pasivas de los verbos se forman prefijando *t-* o *tt-* a la raíz verbal, por ejemplo: *yīṭfəžžār* “él explota”, *təṭḥəžžār* “ella se petrifica”, *yīṭwanṭāṛ* “él se aguanta”, *ka-ttʕāddəl* “ella se arregla”. Cuando se trata de un verbo cóncavo, la vocal radical débil pasa a /ā/: *yīṭbāʕu* “ellos se venden”, *yītzād* “él se suma, se añade”. El verbo *kla* “comer” construye la forma pasiva mediante el empleo de un doble reflexivo: *n-* + *tt-*: *ttənkəl*. El primer prefijo se corresponde con la forma VII (انفعل) del árabe clásico y el segundo a las V (تفعل) VI (تفاعل) formas.

3.2.4. Los verbos de las formas IX y XI presentan una vocal larga /ā/ entre la segunda y tercera radical: *yəqṣāḥ* “él se endurecerá”, *yəḥmāq* “él se volverá loco”.¹²⁷

3.2.5. El participio activo del verbo *ža* “venir” es *māzi*. Esto pudiera deberse a la analogía con *māši*, participio del verbo *mša* “ir, irse”.

3.2.6. Las oraciones verbales se niegan anteponiendo *ma* al verbo y añadiéndole el sufijo *-ši*¹²⁸. Ejemplos: *hād š-ši ma ʕəštu-ši ana* “esto no lo he vivido yo”, *ma qālu-ši* “ellos no han dicho”.

3.3. Estudio de la morfología nominal

3.3.1. El pronombre reflexivo se expresa mediante las voces *nəfs*, *yədd* o *rāš*¹²⁹: *ʕa-džīb rāšək* “tú te impondrás”, *yḥəsəb nəfsu* “él se arrepiente”, *š-Šīṭān b-rāšu* “el mismísimo demonio”, *aḥzāb b-yədda* “los partidos, ellos mismos”.

3.3.2. Hay que destacar el uso del adverbio *fḥāl* “como” con pronunciación de /f/ en lugar de /b/, rasgo típico de los dialectos del norte¹³⁰.

¹²⁶ Las partículas *ʕa-* y *māši* son características de los dialectos urbanos del norte de Marruecos. En el resto del país la partícula de futuro más común es *gādi* y sus variantes *gād* y *ga-*. En la región oriental fronteriza con Argelia se usa *rāyəḥ*.

¹²⁷ Sobre este tipo de verbos, véase Assad, *Tanger*, pp. 59-51.

¹²⁸ El sufijo de negación *-ši* es típico del norte de Marruecos, cf. Herrero, *Gramática*. Sobre la negación en árabe magrebí, véase Caubet, *Négation*.

¹²⁹ Se trata de un calco semántico del bereber para formar el reflexivo, así en Tašelhit tenemos *s-ugayyu-nnəs* “él mismo” (literalmente: “con su cabeza”), cf. Aguadé, “Preverbios”, p. 208.

3.3.3. Empleo del adverbio *bāqi*¹³¹ “todavía, aún”: *qlīl lli bāqi rāžəl , bāqi bla qāyd*.

3.3.4. La anexión del presentativo *rā* a los pronombres sufijos se emplea como una variante de los pronombres personales¹³²: *rāk mād̄lūm* “eres inocente”, *rāh kull ši dāyaz* “todo pasa”.

3.3.5. La expresión *bnādām* (persona, ser humano) se trata morfológicamente como una sola palabra y no dos como ocurría en árabe clásico: بنو آدم “hijos de Adán”, así en marroquí la palabra concuerda en singular, pero sigue haciendo referencia a un colectivo.

3.3.6. El pronombre personal de segunda persona singular es *ntīna*. Para la primera persona plural se emplea *hnāya*. En ambos casos se trata de formas aumentativas de *nti* y *hna*¹³³.

3.4. Sintaxis

3.4.1. La posesión puede expresarse de dos formas:

-mediante anexión directa: *dāw š-šams* “la luz del sol”, *šūgru* “su juventud”, *wāžh l-muslim* “la cara del musulmán”, *damm* “nuestra sangre”, *hāyātna* “nuestra vida”.

-mediante las partículas *dyāl* y *d-*: *l-müntif dyālək* “tu delito”, *l-ħwāmi dyānna* “nuestro barrio”; *s-sbūfa d-əz-zənqa* “los leones de la calle”.

3.4.2. En algunas ocasiones el verbo y los pronombres sufijos concuerdan en femenino singular con los plurales de los sustantivos masculinos. Ejemplos: *d-drāwəš lli fə-spītārāt ka-tmūt* “los pobres mueren en los hospitales”, *d-dyūr rābət* “las casas se han derrumbado”, *d-drāri xāllāt Iblīs mgūwwda* “los chicos han dejado que el demonio los conduzca”.

4. Conclusión

El habla empleada en la canción presenta los rasgos típicos del dialecto estándar de Tánger, es decir, un dialecto de tipo urbano con ciertas influencias

¹³⁰ El adverbio *fhāl* está atestiguado en los dialectos de Tánger (Iraqi-Sinaceur, “Tanger”, p. 137), Anjra (Vicente, “Anjra”, p. 127), Chefchaouen (Natividad, “Chefchaouen”, p. 117) y Tetuán (Singer, “Tetuan”, p. 263).

¹³¹ Según Marçais, este adverbio es de uso frecuente en Tánger, cf. Marçais, *Tanger*, p. 234.

¹³² Sobre el presentativo *ra-* en los dialectos magrebíes, véase Marçais, *Esquisse*, p. 74.

¹³³ Cf. Marçais, *Esquisse*, pp. 188-189.

rurales de la región de *Jbala*: ensordecimiento de /d/, conservación de la diptongación, etc...¹³⁴. Sin embargo hay ciertos aspectos descritos por W. Marçais que no se hallan presentes en las letras de las canciones analizadas: realización de /q/ como fricativa posvelar sorda: /x/ en la palabra *wāqt*, uso exclusivo del verbo *gāz*, *ygūz* (hoy día en Tánger se usan tanto *dāz* como *gāz*). Para explicar esto hemos de tener en cuenta la influencia que el éxodo rural viene ejerciendo desde hace casi dos décadas en el reino alawí. Ciudades como Casablanca, Marrakech, Fez, Salé, Larache, Tetuán y Tánger han visto cómo el crecimiento de su población se ha disparado a un ritmo vertiginoso¹³⁵. En el caso de Tánger, los inmigrantes proceden en su inmensa mayoría de la región de *Jbala*, pero también hay otros que vienen del centro y sur del país. Este conglomerado de población con orígenes diversos puede hacer que el dialecto de la ciudad se vaya transformando paulatinamente. Otro factor que hace que los dialectos locales se vayan diluyendo en una variante dialectal que podríamos calificar de estándar, es la acción de los medios de comunicación y de los centros de enseñanza. Hoy por hoy, el dialecto de Casablanca es la base de esta koiné dialectal.

En una de las canciones analizadas vemos que se hace uso de galicismos tales como *grīyya* “reja”, *šambre* “celda” o *mūntif* “causa legal”. El hecho de que se trate de préstamos de la lengua francesa y el campo léxico al que pertenecen (institución penitenciaria) pueden ser argumentos suficientes para afirmar que todo este vocabulario data, en Tánger, del periodo que sigue a la independencia de Marruecos, es decir, el periodo en el que se reunifica el Estado y en el que comienza una política de centralización que persigue someter todas las regiones al control de Rabat.

No obstante, la cercanía de Tánger con España y la emigración a este país, hacen que el número de palabras españolas en el dialecto tangerino aumente de manera progresiva. Ejemplo de estos préstamos recientes son: *xwīs* “juez”, *ṭālēgo* “cárcel”, *ēmēpētṛēs* “mp3”, *wəṛqa dā-lībro* “papel de fumar”.

¹³⁴ Muchos de estos rasgos son compartidos por otros dialectos nortños como son los de Anjra, Tetuán o Chaouen.

¹³⁵ A título de ejemplo, Casablanca pasa de tener 20.000 habitantes en 1907 a 680.000 en 1952. Hoy día se estima que la ciudad tiene unos 4.000.000 de habitantes. c.f. Aguadé “Textos marroquíes urbanos: Casablanca I”, p. 194.

6. Anexo: Fotos¹³⁶



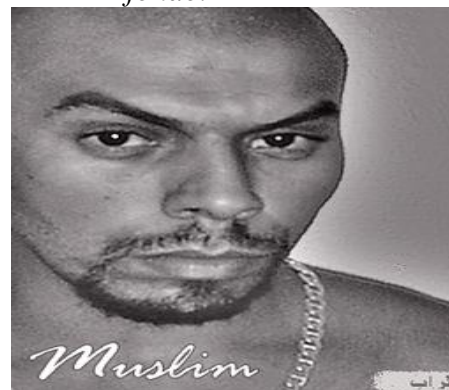
Entrevista de prensa a Muslim



Muslim y L3arbi con Tánger al fondo.



Carátula del disco Jebha



Carátula del disco 9atera.

¹³⁶ Todas las imágenes proceden del blog de Muslim: muslim-aka-mottamarred.skyrock.com
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Carátula del disco Strictly 4 my souljaz



Carátula del disco Tanjawa daba.



Carátula del disco Dem w dmou3.



Carátula del disco Jib l3z wlla khez.



Carátula del disco Mor Ssour.



Carátula del disco Mutamarred.

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UN CAS DE TÉRATOLOGIE DÉRIVATIONNELLE EN ARABE ? LE VERBE *ISTAKĀNA*

Pierre Larcher
Université d'Aix-Marseille

Résumé. Un verbe *istakāna* (« s'abaisser, se soumettre ») apparaît deux fois dans le Coran. Grammairiens et lexicographes arabes anciens hésitent entre plusieurs dérivations, privilégiant cependant une dérivation à partir de *miskīn*. Si cette dérivation est satisfaisante sur le plan sémantique, elle n'en pose pas moins un problème sur le plan morphologique, reconnu par les auteurs anciens qui voient dans *istakāna* l'« allongement » (*išbā'*) de VIII *istakana*, dérivé de I *sakana*, lui-même dérivé de *miskīn* lu comme *mif'īl*. On pourrait aussi bien voir dans cet « allongement » la « compensation » d'une hapologie à partir de X **istaskana*. Mais une phrase étonnante relevée dans le *Lisān al-'Arab* que *istakāna* est en fait un *istaf'ala* (donc une forme X) tiré de *sakana* suggère finalement d'y voir une forme « hybride », déguisant en formation trilitère une base quadrilitère *s-k-y-n*. *Istakāna* relève ainsi au premier chef de la dérivation « formelle », la forme même du verbe participant à la reconnaissance de sa base, et au second chef de la dérivation pivot, dans le mesure où en ont été dérivés régressivement IV *'akāna* (« abaisser, soumettre ») et I *kāna-yakīnu* (« être abaissé, soumis »). Ce faisant, l'arabe retrouve ce qui est peut être l'étymologie de l'akkadien, *muškēnu*, où se laisse reconnaître, à côté du préfixe *m-* de dérivé nominal, le *š* de la forme factitive et entre *k* et *n* une radicale faible.

Mots-clés : Arabe classique ; dérivation lexicale ; *istikāna* ; *miskīn* ; hybridation forme trilitère/base quadrilitère ; dérivation « formelle » ; dérivation « pivot » ; emprunt ; akkadien ; *muškēnum*

Wa-l-istikāna istif'āl min al-sukūn
(*Lisān al-'Arab*, art. SKN)

Par deux fois, on trouve dans le Coran, un verbe *istakāna*. Une première fois en 3,146 :

- (1) wa-mā ḍa'ufū wa-mā stakānū
« ils ne faiblirent pas et ne s'abaissèrent pas ».

Et une seconde fois en 23, 76 :

- (2) Wa-mā stakānū li-rabbihim wa-mā yataḍarra'ūn
« ils ne s'abaissèrent pas devant leur Seigneur et ne s'humilient pas ».

Le verbe est paraphrasé (*Tafsīr al-Ġalālayn*, p. 57 et 289) par *mā ḥada'ū* (à peu près « ils ne se soumièrent pas) en 3, 146 et *mā tawāḍa'ū* (à peu près « ils ne s'abaissèrent pas ») en 23, 76.

Ce verbe se désigne comme une forme X *istaf'ala* d'un verbe creux. On pense d'abord au verbe *kāna-yakūnu* (« être, exister, se trouver »). *Lisān al-'Arab* de Ibn Manẓūr (m. 711/1311) signale à l'article KWN (t. III, p. 316) « *al-istikāna* dans le sens de *ḥudū'* » (*al-istikāna al-ḥudū'*), mais sans autre forme de commentaire ni le relier au reste de l'entrée. On ne voit pas en effet comment on arriverait à un verbe X *istakāna* de ce sens. De *kāna-yakūnu* est seulement dérivé un II *kawwana* (« créer ») et de II un V *takawwana* (« être créé »). Wright (1896-1898, II, 304), il est vrai, cite un *lā kāna wa-lā istakāna* « may he not be (may he perish), and never come to life », mais une note de De Goeje nous apprend que « *istakāna* in this sense is of rare occurrence. The old expression was *lā kāna wa-lā takawwana*. In the *Chrestom.* of Kosegarten, p. 16, l. 12 *seq.* we must read with Dozy *lā kuntu wa-lā istakantu* would that I had never come to life ». Autrement dit, cet *istakāna* n'est rien d'autre qu'un doublet de *takawwana*. Il existe un autre *kāna-yakūnu*, *maṣdar kiyāna*, de sens « répondre pour quelqu'un, se porter caution pour lui », auquel correspond un VIII moyen *yaktāna-yaktīnu*. Il n'explique pas davantage le X *istakāna* avec le sens qui est le sien.

Les verbes creux peuvent avoir pour 2^{ème} radicale soit *w*, soit *y*, leur forme X étant homonyme. Or si l'on consulte *Lisān al-'Arab*, on trouvera une entrée KYN (t. III, p. 323) avec ceci : *istakāna al-raḡul ḥaḍa'a wa-dalla ḡa'alahu Abū 'Alī istaf'ala min ḥādā l-bāb* (« il s'est humilié et soumis et Abū 'Alī en a fait un *istaf'ala* relevant de cette entrée »). Par Abū 'Alī, il faut sans doute entendre Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī (m. 377/987). *Lisān al-'Arab* ne donne cependant pas de verbe *kāna-yakūnu*, mais seulement un nom *kayn*, paraphrasé par *lahma dāḥil farḡ al-mar'a* (« chair à l'intérieur de la vulve de la femme », i.e. clitoris) et un verbe IV *'akāna*, en citant un certain Abū Sa'īd (probablement al-Sīrāfī, m. 368/979) : *yuqāl 'akānahu llāhu yukīnuhu 'ikānatan 'ay 'aḥda'ahu ḥattā istakāna wa-'adḥala 'alayhi min al-dī/ull mā 'akānahu* (« c'est-à-dire il l'a soumis jusqu'à ce qu'il se soit humilié et l'ait affecté d'assez d'humilité pour l'abaisser »). X est donc compris comme le réfléchi de IV, même si celui-ci n'est pas compris comme un factitif de *kāna-yakūnu*, pourtant donné par d'autres dictionnaires arabes, comme le *Asās* de Zamaḥṣarī, m. 538/1144 (art. KYN, p. 401 : *kāna al-raḡulu yakīnu kaynatan wa-istakāna istikānatan 'idā ḥaḍa'a wa-'akāna-hu 'aḥaḍa'a-hu*) et, par suite, arabisants, par exemple celui de Kazimirski (art. KYN, t. II, p. 950 « *kāna*, f. i se faire humble et s'abaisser devant quelqu'un av. *li-* de la p. »).

Mais *Lisān al-'Arab* propose une autre étymologie : *wa-ḡayruhu yaḡ'alu ifta'ala min al-maskana* (« mais d'autres [i.e. que Abū 'Alī] en ont fait un *ifta'ala* tiré de *maskana* »). La même opinion est répétée un peu plus loin, comme venant

d'Ibn al-Anbārī¹, mais sous une forme différente : *ifta'ala min sakana* (« c'est un *ifta'ala* tiré de *sakana*). Il y a bien un article MSKN (t. III, p. 483-484) dans le *Lisān al-'Arab*, mais où n'est enregistré qu'un mot : *muskān* (« arrhes »). *Maskana*, lui, est à rechercher à SKN. La raison en est simple et apparaît à cette entrée (t. II, p. 176). *Maskana* est le nom tiré de *miskīn*, dont *Lisān al-'Arab*, un peu plus haut (t. II, p. 175) écrit : *al-miskīn wa-l-maskīn wa-l-'aḥīra nādīra li-'annahū laysa fī-l-kalām maf'īl* (« *miskīn* ou *maskīn*, mais ce dernier est rare, car il n'y a pas dans le langage de *maf'īl* »).

Pour les arabisants, *miskīn* n'est pas un mot arabe, mais un emprunt à une autre langue sémitique. Au vrai le mot est présent dans le domaine sémitique depuis longtemps puisqu'on le trouve en akkadien sous la forme *muškēnu(m)* (variante : *maškēnu*) (Black et alii, 2000 : 222) « dependant, bondsman of the palace ; poor man ». De ce dernier est dérivé un nom abstrait *muškēnūtu(m)* « dependence on the palace, status of a *muškēnum* » ; « impoverishment, poverty ».

Mais *miskīn* a été lu comme une forme *mif'īl*, c'est-à-dire une forme intensive d'adjectif avec deux augments *m* et *y* et, par suite, trois radicales *s*, *k* et *n*. Par suite, il a fait l'objet d'une double dérivation. La première, sur la base entière, avec outre *maskana*, le verbe *tamaskana*, cf. *Lisān al-'Arab* (t. II, p. 176), citant al-Layṭ (ibn al-Muzaffar, m. 131/748) : *maskana maṣdar fī'l al-miskīn wa-'idā ištaqqū minhu fī'lan qālū tamaskana al-rağul 'ay ṣāra miskīnan* (« *maskana* est le *maṣdar* du verbe de *miskīn*, mais quand on en a dérivé un verbe, on a dit *tamaskana*, c'est-à-dire il est devenu *miskīn* »). L'hésitation de *maskana* entre simple nom et nom verbal tient au fait qu'il a la forme d'un *maṣdar*, sans que lui corresponde de verbe. Cette situation se retrouve avec d'autres emprunts, cf., par exemple, *faylasūf* (« philosophe »), *falsafa* (« philosophie »), *tafalsafa* (« philosopher »).

L'autre dérivation se fait sur *miskīn*, lu comme *mif'īl* et donc analysé en augments et radicales. En a été tiré un verbe de base *sakana* (« devenir pauvre, misérable »). A ce verbe de base correspond un *'askana* avec deux emplois : l'un transitif, factitif du verbe de base de sens « rendre pauvre, misérable » (cf. *Lisān al-'Arab*, t. II, p. 176 : *yuqāl 'askanahu llāhu wa-'askana ġawfahu 'ay ġa'alahū miskīnan* « on dit *'askanahu llāhu* et *'askana ġawfahu*, c'est-à-dire il l'a rendu misérable ») et l'autre intransitif de sens « devenir pauvre, misérable », qui peut sans doute être considéré comme factitif, mais implicitement réfléchi (« [se] faire

¹ Il peut s'agir soit de Abū Bakr (m. 328/940), fils de Abū Muḥammad al-Anbārī (m. 304/916 ou 305/917), soit de Abū al-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī (m. 577/1181).

pauvre, misérable »). On trouve encore un V *tasakkana* « se montrer pauvre, misérable », de même sens que *tamaskana*.

Le verbe de base *sakana* est ainsi homonyme d'un autre *sakana*, bien connu, de sens « être immobile ». *Lisān al-'Arab* (t. II, p. 175) cite un certain Abū Ishāq (probablement al-Zağğāğ, m. 311/923-924) qui les relie : *al-miskīn alladī 'askanahu al-faqr 'ay qallala ḥarakatahu* (« le *miskīn* est celui que la pauvreté a immobilisé, c'est-à-dire dont elle a réduit le mouvement »). Mais *Lisān al-'Arab* ajoute : *wa-hādā ba'īd li-'anna miskīnan bi-ma'nā fā'il wa-qawluhu alladī 'askanahu al-faqr yuḥriḡuhu 'ilā ma'nā maf'ūl* (« mais cela est éloigné, parce que *miskīn* a le sens de *fā'il*, alors que son expression de « celui que la pauvreté a immobilisé » l'amène en direction de *maf'ūl* »). C'est l'occasion de rappeler que si la racine consonantique n'est pas pour les grammairiens et lexicographes arabes anciens la base de la dérivation, mais un principe de classement des dictionnaires, l'existence d'une même racine consonantique peut néanmoins être l'occasion de jeux de mots ou de fausses étymologies...

Si le rapprochement de *istakāna* avec *miskīn* est satisfaisant sur le plan sémantique, il n'en pose pas moins un problème sur le plan morphologique. Il ne suffit pas que *miskīn* ait été lu comme *mif'īl*, d'où le verbe *sakana* et ses dérivés. Encore faut-il expliquer le *ā*. Les partisans de cette étymologie le font de la manière suivante (*Lisān al-'Arab*, art. SKN, t. II, p. 176, cf. égl. art. KYN, t. III, p. 323) : *istakāna al-raḡul ḥada'a wa-dalla wa-huwa ifta'ala min al-maskana 'uṣbi'at ḥarakat 'aynihi fa-ḡā'at 'alifan* (« *istakāna al-raḡul* : il s'est abaissé et soumis ; c'est un *ifta'ala* tiré de *maskana*, dont la voyelle brève de la deuxième radicale a été allongée et est devenue ainsi un *alif* »). Cet « allongement » (*'iṣbā'*) est justifié par des exemples en poésie : *unzūr* (pour *unzur*), *šīmāl* (pour *šimāl*), *yanbā'* (pour *yanba'*)...

Mais le grammairien Raḡī al-dīn al-Astarābādī (m. 688/1289) a fait ici une juste observation. Il commente la *Šāfiya* d'Ibn al-Ḥāḡib (m. 646/1249), qui, au sujet de *istakāna* écrit (*Šarḥ al-Šāfiya*, I, 67) : *wa-istakāna qīla ifta'ala min al-sukūn fa-l-madd šādd wa-qīla istaf'ala min kāna fa-l-madd qiyāsī* (« *istakāna* : c'est soit un *ifta'ala* tiré de *sukūn* et l'allongement est irrégulier, soit un *istaf'ala* tiré de *kāna* et l'allongement est régulier »). Dans son commentaire, Raḡī al-dīn al-Astarābādī (*Šarḥ al-Šāfiya*, I, 69) écrit : *qawluhu istakāna qīla 'aṣluhu istakana fa-'uṣbi'a l-faṭḥ kamā fī qawlihi yanbā'u min difrā ḡaḍūbin ḡasratin / zayyāfatin miṭli l-fanīqi l-mukrami 'illā 'anna al-'iṣbā' fī istikāna lāzim 'inda hādā l-qā'il bi-ḥilāf yanbā'u* (« On a dit : il a pour base *istakana* et la voyelle *a* a été allongée, comme dans le vers de 'Antara : '[Lui] sourdant de derrière l'oreille : ire d'une / géante, altière, pareille au mâle mordu'. Sauf que l'allongement dans *istakāna* est

nécessaire², selon cette opinion, au contraire de *yanbā'*»). Autrement dit, *istakāna* n'est pas une variante conditionnée (par exemple métriquement comme *yanbā'* pour *yanba'* dans le vers de 'Antara) de *istakana* : au vrai *istakana* ne semble exister que comme base supposée de *istakāna* et doit donc être noté **istakana*.

Existerait-il, qu'on devrait se demander comment VIII *istakana* aurait le sens de « s'abaisser ». Il n'y a que deux solutions. Le verbe de base *sakana* étant de forme *fa'ala* d'une part, de sens « devenir *miskīn* » d'autre part, VIII *istakana* en serait alors un pur moyen (sur le modèle de *ġahada/iġtahada* « s'efforcer »). Une autre solution consisterait à faire de VIII *istakana* le réfléchi de IV *'askana-hu* (« abaisser quelqu'un »), par le phénomène que nous avons appelé « surdérivation sémantique » (Larcher 2003¹, 2012²). Il ne manque pas, en effet, de VIII qui sont les réfléchis de IV, et non de I : citons par exemple pour la langue ancienne *iqtana'a* (« se convaincre de quelque chose »), réfléchi de IV *'aqna'ahu* (« convaincre quelqu'un »), lui-même factitif de I *qani'a* (« être convaincu ») ou encore, dans la langue moderne, *iṭṭala'a* (« être informé »), réfléchi de *'aṭla'ahu* (« informer quelqu'un »).

Le problème morphologique posé par la dérivation de *istakāna* à partir de *miskīn* est bien résumé par cette phrase étonnante que l'on relève dans le *Lisān al-'Arab* et que nous n'avons pas résisté au plaisir de mettre en exergue. Aussitôt après avoir exposé l'hypothèse de *istakāna* comme allongement de *istakana* (art. SKN, II, p. 176), *Lisān al-'Arab* ajoute : *wa-l-istikāna istif'āl min al-sukūn*. Voir dans *istakāna* un *istaf'ala* tiré de *sakana*, cela revient à traiter *s* à la fois comme un augment et une radicale et par suite à compter dans une forme d'apparence trilitère, non pas trois, mais quatre radicales : *s-k-y-n*. C'est cette double anomalie qui nous a fait nous demander si nous n'étions pas devant un cas de tératologie dérivationnelle...

La phrase du *Lisān al-'Arab* est d'autant plus étonnante qu'un *istaf'ala* de *sakana* est parfaitement formable et interprétable : ce serait **istaskana*, à comprendre comme le réfléchi (« s'abaisser ») de IV *'askana-hu* (« abaisser quelqu'un »), lui-même factitif de I *sakana*. On pourrait alors faire l'hypothèse d'une haplogogie, due à la succession des deux *s* : au lieu que ce soit VIII *istakana* qui ait été allongé en *istakāna*, ce serait **istaskana* qui se serait « simplifié » en *istakana*...

² Ou inséparable. En bon logicien, Raḍī al-dīn al-Astarābādī entend sans doute ici *lāzim* au sens étymologique de *ġayr mufāraq* (« inséparable »), qui, avec son contraire *mufāraq* (« séparable »), qualifie l'accident ('*araḍ*).

On soupçonne que c'est une haplologie de ce type qui fait qu'on a à la fois X *istasqā* et VIII *istaqā* dans le sens de « demander à boire », même si le fait que I *saqā* est doublement transitif (« donner à boire quelque chose à quelqu'un ») permet la formation d'un moyen à sujet non agentif (« se faire donner à boire quelque chose »).

De manière générale, le phénomène de l'haplologie est bien attesté. On en rencontre un exemple célèbre, dans le Coran même, avec *iṣṭā'a* (pour *istaṭā'a*) en 18, 97 : *fa-mā ṣṭā'ū 'an yaẓharūhu wa-mā-ṣtaṭā'ū lahu naqban* « ils ne purent escalader ce rempart et ils ne purent y pratiquer une brèche ». Ici l'haplologie paraît garantie par le fait que le même verbe est répété dans le même verset, une fois sans *t* et une fois avec. On trouve le même verbe *iṣṭā'a* (pour *istaṭā'a*) dans la même sourate, en 82 : *dālika ta'wīlu mā lam taṣṭi' 'alayhi ṣabran* « c'est là l'explication de ce envers quoi tu n'as pu être patient ». Là encore, l'haplologie est suggérée par le fait que le verset est parallèle à 67, d'une part (*qāla 'inna-ka lan tastaṭi'a ma'ī ṣabran* « Il a dit : tu ne pourras avec moi être patient »), 72 et 75 d'autre part (*'a-lam aqul laka 'inna-ka lan tastaṭi'a ma'ī ṣabran* « ne t'ai-je pas dit que tu ne pourrais avec moi être patient ? »). Dans les deux cas, l'haplologie apparaît comme un *lapsus calami*, mais possible reflet graphique d'un *lapsus linguae*.

Dans le cas particulier de *istakāna* cependant, il n'y aurait pas seulement une haplologie (*istaskana* > *istakana*), encore cette haplologie serait-elle « compensée » par un allongement de la voyelle (*istakana* > *istakāna*). Là encore, ces phénomènes de « compensation » (*iwad*) sont bien attestés, mais l'un, tout particulièrement, nous intéresse. C'est celui, signalé par Sībawayhi (m. 179/795 ?) au début du *Kitāb* (I, 25), de *'aṣṭā'a-yuṣṭi'u* (à ne pas confondre avec *iṣṭā'a-yaṣṭi'u*, rencontré ci-dessus) et ainsi expliqué par lui : *wa-qawluhum 'aṣṭā'a yuṣṭi'u wa-'innamā hiya 'aṭā'a yuṭi'u zādū al-sīn 'iwaḍan min ḍahāb ḥarakat al-'ayn min 'af'ala* (« c'est en fait *'aṭā'a-yuṭi'u*, mais on a ajouté le *s*, pour compenser la disparition de la voyelle de la seconde radicale de *'af'ala* »). L'explication de Sībawayhi paraît quelque peu controuvée, ne se fondant sur aucun parallèle. Si *'aṣṭā'a/yuṣṭi'u* est bien une variante de *'aṭā'a/yuṭi'u*, on penserait plutôt à une forme hybride, croisement de l'ancienne forme factitive **saṭā'a* et de la nouvelle *'aṭā'a*, favorisé par le fait que la forme X *istaṭā'a* a gardé l'ancien préfixe factitif *s-* : *istaṭā'a*, à côté de son sens de « pouvoir », est bien enregistré dans le sens d'« obéir », sens dans lequel X apparaît comme un pur moyen de IV. Et ici on peut invoquer un parallèle : celui de *'ahrāqa* (« verser »), attesté à côté de *harāqa*, où apparaît l'autre préfixe factitif du sémitique *h-*, et de *'arāqa*. Si hybridation il y a, on voit en quoi son résultat nous

intéresse : on a, à la fois, un *s* et trois radicales *t*, *w*, '... Et l'ancien préfixe peut devenir une radicale dans le cadre d'une régularisation ultérieure, par exemple *'ahraqa* (< *'ahrāqa*) et *haraqā* (< *harāqa*) « verser ».

On comprend pourquoi Fleisch (1979 : 284) qualifie *'ahrāqa* d'« insolite » : bien que sujet à flexion (inaccompli *yuhrīqu*, *mašdar 'ihrāqah*), il n'est rapportable à aucune forme trilitère ni quadrilitère. Dans ce contexte, l'hypothèse que nous avons faite d'une haplogogie/compensation devient peut-être inutile. *Istakāna* pourrait être, plus simplement et plus directement, compris comme le réfléchi en *t*- d'un éventuel **'askāna*, régularisé ensuite en *'askana*, d'où *sakana*, et lui-même tiré de *miskīn*, lisible comme **muskīn*, c'est-à-dire comme le participe actif d'un tel verbe ³.

Avant de conclure, je voudrais revenir sur les deux autres dérivations proposées. Le grammairien Raḍī al-dīn al-Astarābādī, que l'on a vu sceptique sur l'hypothèse d'un **istakana* allongé en *istakāna*, donne en effet quelques détails : *wa-qīla istaf'ala min al-kawn wa-qīla min al-kayn wa-l-sīn li-l-intiqāl kamā fī istahğara 'ay intaqala 'ilā kawn 'āḥar 'ay ḥāla 'uḥrā 'ay min al-'izza 'ilā al-dilla 'aw šāra ka-l-kayn wa-huwa laḥm dāḥil al-farğ 'ay fī al-līn wa-l-dilla* (« On a dit : c'est un *istaf'ala* tiré de *kawn* et on a dit : de *kayn* et le *sīn* est pour le transfert, comme dans *istahğara*, c'est-à-dire il est passé à un autre être, c'est-à-dire à un autre état, i.e. de la puissance à l'abaissement ou bien il est devenu comme le *kayn*, qui est la chair à l'intérieur de la vulve, c'est-à-dire dans la douceur et l'abaissement »). La comparaison avec *istahğara* (« se pétrifier ») suggère que *X istakāna* est compris ici comme étant, morphologiquement, un dénominatif, et, sémantiquement, avec sa base dans la relation que Raḍī al-dīn al-Astarābādī appelle plus loin (*Šarḥ al-Šāfiya*, I, p. 111) « métamorphose » (*taḥawwul*).

Bien qu'apparaisse dans sa paraphrase le nom *kawn*, *mašdar* du verbe *kāna*, la paraphrase elle-même semble faire allusion au sens d'un nom particulier, *kīna*, enregistré avec le sens de « état, condition » d'une part, « adversité » d'autre part. Le premier sens s'explique aisément si on fait de *kīna* un *fi'la* lié au verbe *kāna-yakūnu*, *w* devenant *y* pour des raisons phonologiques. Et le second sens s'explique non moins aisément, si on admet que le mot *kīna* s'est « incorporé »

³ On soupçonne que *muskān* (« arrhes »), probable emprunt à une autre langue sémitique, est pareillement à l'origine de *kāna-yakūnu-kiyāna* (« être caution »), les arrhes étant une garantie. De même, si *sakana* (« être immobile ») provient de **sakāna*, ancien factitif de *kāna-yakūnu*, il faut passer par un **askāna*, régularisé en *'askana*, faute de quoi *sakana* et *'askana* devraient avoir le même sens, alors que le second est le factitif du premier.

(*taḍmīn*) celui d'une collocation, qui est *kīnat sū* ('« condition déplorable »). Si *kīna* fait une base possible sur le plan morphologique (comme pont entre *kwn* et *kyn*) et sur le plan sémantique (par *taḍmīn*), il y a néanmoins plusieurs arguments contre une telle dérivation. L'un est formel et est suggéré par un parallèle dans la langue moderne : *qīma* ('« valeur ») est à *qāma-yaqūmu* ('« se tenir droit ») ce que *kīna* est à *kāna-yakūnu*, mais le verbe qui en est dérivé est II *qayyama* ('« évaluer ») et a pour réfléchi V *taqayyama* ('« être évalué ») ⁴. On attendrait donc **(ta)kayyana*. L'autre est sémantique : dans les X dénominatifs de métamorphose, la base nominale est la désignation d'un objet, être ou chose, concret et, en outre, quand le nom a pour 2^{ème} radicale un *w* ou un *y*, celui-ci est maintenu. On attendrait donc **istakayna*.

Si la seconde condition n'est pas remplie par *kawn/kīna*, en revanche elle l'est par *kayn* « clitoris ». La paraphrase que donne Raḍī al-dīn al-Astarābādī vient rappeler que dans les X *istaf'ala* dénominatifs de métamorphose, le sens implique en fait une comparaison. *Istanwaqa*, dit du chameau, ou *istatyaasa*, dit de la chèvre, ce n'est pas se faire chamelle ou bouc, mais faire la chamelle ou le bouc, c'est-à-dire se comporter *comme* eux. Que penser d'une telle dérivation ? Bien sûr qu'elle est affreusement misogyne (mais ce n'est pas vraiment étonnant, s'agissant de ces latitudes !). Au delà, c'est elle que visait al-Fārisī, comme l'indique *Lisān al-'Arab* (art. SKN, t. II, p. 176), confirmant au passage que Abū 'Alī est bien al-Fārisī : *wa-ḡa' alahu Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī min al-kayn alladī huwa laḥm bāṭin al-farḡ* ('« Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī l'a considéré [i.e. *istakāna*] comme tiré de *kayn*, qui est la chair à l'intérieur de la vulve, parce que celui qui est soumis et humble est caché »), ajoutant *wa-ṣubbiha bi-dālika li-'annahu 'ahfā mā yakūnu min al-'insān* ('« et comparaison a été faite avec cela [i.e. *kayn*], parce qu'il est la partie la plus secrète de l'être humain »). Autrement dit, Fārisī voit dans *istakāna* un dénominatif de *kayn* de sens métaphorique, mais la liaison avec bassesse/soumission se fait par l'intermédiaire d'une autre idée, celle de secret.

Cette double idée se retrouve dans le *Asās* (art. KYN, p. 401) de Zamaḥṣarī, à propos de VIII *iktāna* ('« s'affliger »), ainsi paraphrasé : *iktāna 'idā 'asarra al-ḥuzn fī ḡawfihi* ('« On s'afflige, quand on tient secrète la tristesse en son sein »), ajoutant *wa-ṣtuqqa min al-kayn wa-huwa laḥm bāṭin al-farḡ* ('« et c'est dérivé de *kayn* qui est la chair à l'intérieur de la vulve »). Autrement dit, il y voit un terme métaphorique (tenir secrète la tristesse en son sein comme un clitoris dans sa vulve), ajoutant : *wa-qīla al-baṣr li-'annahu fī 'asfal mawḍi' wa-'adallihi*

⁴ Reig (1983) donne, dans le même sens que II, un X *istaqāma* : il s'agit d'un réfléchi indirect, de sens moyen.

(« et on a dit : le clitoris, parce qu'il se trouve à l'endroit le plus bas et le plus vil »). Ici, *baẓr* apparaît comme le nom propre du clitoris et *kayn*, à l'inverse, comme une appellation figurée.

Si l'idée de secret procède directement de la physiologie, la liaison clitoris/bassesse rappelle immédiatement à un linguiste lecteur d'Emile Benveniste un des plus célèbres « problèmes sémantiques de la reconstruction » évoqués par ce dernier (Benveniste, 1966) : celui du chêne (*drus* en grec) qui serait à l'origine de la notion de fidélité (anglais *trust*, allemand *Treue*), via l'idée du chêne comme symbole de la fidélité, l'évolution se faisant de la désignation concrète vers la signification abstraite. A l'inverse, Benveniste a montré que et la désignation concrète, qui n'est pas chêne en particulier, mais arbre en général (anglais *tree*) et la signification abstraite de fidélité (anglais *true*, allemand *treu*) proviennent d'une seule et même racine de sens général « être ferme, solide, sain » (le nom de l'arbre n'est donc qu'une qualification métonymique). Ceux des auteurs de langue arabe faisant une liaison entre clitoris et bassesse hésitent visiblement sur le sens dans lequel la relation est ordonnée : de la désignation concrète vers la signification abstraite pour les uns, mais de la signification abstraite vers la désignation concrète pour les autres...

Conclusion.

Dans leur majorité, grammairiens et lexicographes arabes ont rapproché *istakāna* du nom *miskīn*. Mais ils ont hésité entre un VIII **istakana*, allongé en *istakāna* (en ce cas, le *s* est radical et il faut expliquer l'allongement !) et un X *istakāna* (en ce cas le *s* devient un augment et le *alif* est la marque d'une radicale *w* ou *y*). C'est cette hésitation qui, pour nous, est révélatrice de l'hybridation de *istakāna* : tout en ayant l'apparence d'une forme X tirée d'une base trilitère, il déguise en réalité en formation trilitère une base quadrilitère : *s-k-y-n*. En ce sens, il relève d'abord de la dérivation « formelle » (Larcher 2003¹, 2012²), dans la mesure où la forme même du verbe participe à la reconnaissance de la base. Mais il relève aussi de la dérivation « pivot » (Larcher 2003¹, 2012²), dans la mesure où en ont été dérivés régressivement *'akāna* et, peut-être, *kāna-yakīnu*. Ce faisant, l'arabe retrouve ce qui est sans doute l'étymologie de l'akkadien : *muškēnum* se désigne comme le participe (*m-*) d'un verbe quadrilitère dont l'infinitif est *šukēnum* (radicales š-k-'-n), variantes *šukennu*, *šuka'unu(m)*, et qui signifie *to prostrate* « [se] prosterner » (Black et alii, 2000 : 381). Mais š peut être vu comme le préfixe de la forme causative et par suite *šukēnu(m)* rapproché de *kanu* « to bow down » (Jeffery 2007² : 265, n. 1).

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**LA ZABBŪBIYYA DE ‘ABD AR-RAḤMĀN AL-KĀFĪ.
UN POÈME OBSCÈNE DE L’ÉPOQUE DU PROTECTORAT EN TUNISIE**

Giuliano Mion

Université « G. d’Annunzio » de Chieti-Pescara

Résumé. Cet article présente l’analyse d’un poème du poète tunisien nationaliste ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Kāfī, un barde originaire du village de Jendouba qui militait, au début du XX^{ème} siècle, contre le Protectorat français en Tunisie. Composé en arabe dialectal, ce poème a circulé longtemps dans la clandestinité et, considéré comme obscène pour son langage et ses contenus, est souvent rappelé encore

aujourd’hui sous le nom de *Zabbūbiyya*. L’article propose un encadrement historique et culturel du poème, ainsi que sa transcription scientifique à partir du dialectal, sa traduction, et une analyse linguistique du dialecte employé.

Mots-clés: dialectologie arabe, arabe dialectal tunisien, littérature populaire, poésie dialectale, Protectorat français en Tunisie, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Kāfī.

Introduction

Les lignes qui suivent se proposent de présenter un exemple du rapport existant entre oralité, poésie et contestation politique, à l’époque du colonialisme français en Afrique du Nord et, en particulier, en Tunisie.

Ce rapport se concrétise dans le phénomène de la poésie populaire, c’est-à-dire une forme de poésie composée en arabe dialectal par des bardes et des chanteurs populaires, qui en Afrique du Nord appartiennent pour la plupart à des confréries mystiques et qui traditionnellement jouent dans des places publiques. L’exemple choisi ici est un poème du poète tunisien nationaliste ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Kāfī qui, en tant qu’obscène dans son langage et son style, est souvent rappelé sous le nom de *Zabbūbiyya*.

Comme il a été déjà souligné ailleurs¹, malgré la complexité formelle et stylistique de ces compositions, le caractère dialectal de la langue employée a toujours rejeté l’ensemble de cette production au-dehors des cercles littéraires considérés d’habitude comme « officiels ». En Afrique du Nord, la tradition de la poésie populaire est très ancienne et bien représentée par le genre du *mālḥūn*. Avec ce mot, on entend communément la poésie en arabe dialectal qui, en tant que rimée, est susceptible d’être à l’occurrence aussi chantée. Tandis que le mot *mālḥūn* est employé comme terme général pour désigner une composition dans une variété d’arabe différente de la *fushā*, les spécialistes distinguent aussi des sous-genres, souvent de type régional, comme par exemple le *ḥawfī* et le *zağal*.

¹ Cf., par exemple, Lagrange (2007 : 583).

Parmi les régions du monde arabe qui ont été étudiées de ce point de vue, la Tunisie n'a pas reçu jusqu'à présent une grande attention. La production moderne et contemporaine de ce pays, telle que les colonnes des journaux locaux ont rapporté, ne semble pas être liée au domaine strictement religieux, comme par exemple au Maroc, mais plutôt à la sphère sociopolitique en exaltant les aspirations nationales face au colonialisme français.

En ce qui concerne la production dialectale tunisienne, je crois qu'il est intéressant de reprendre le cas de la *qaṣīda* obscène de 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Kāfī présentée ici. Ce poème, techniquement une « *malzūma* », est bien connu jusqu'à nos jours dans les milieux tunisiens et algériens en général, au point d'avoir été repris plus récemment même par les bloggeurs de la « Révolution des Jasmins ». En outre, exception faite pour une traduction française fragmentée de Mustapha Khayati (1989) dépourvue de tout appareil philologique, ainsi que pour la mention très rapide de F. Lagrange dans sa présentation de la poésie dialectale contenue dans le manuel de littérature arabe moderne de Hallaq-Toelle (2007), ce poème n'a pas bénéficié d'une attention approfondie.

Le poème sera ici présenté dans une transcription scientifique de type dialectologique basée, à son tour, sur la version en écriture arabe tirée par le *Dīwān* d'al-Kāfī, publié à Tunis (sans date) sous la direction de Fayṣal al-Mansūrī. Les pages en écriture arabe originale, de toute façon, sont reproduites dans une *Annexe*. Finalement, pour signaler des petites variantes, je me suis servi aussi de la version du poème reproduite en Bilḥūla (1978 : 186-191).

Puisque l'emploi de l'alphabet arabe pour le dialectal rend difficile le décryptage du rapport graphème/phonème, pour la transcription je me suis basé sur une lecture du poème dans la variété citadine de Tunis dont je disposais et non pas dans la variété du village de Jendouba, dont le poète était originaire (ce qui peut rendre la lecture de certains aspects un peu différente).

Avant tout, cependant, quelques données sur le contexte historique et sur l'auteur du poème seront fournies ci-après.

1. Le contexte historique

L'instauration du Protectorat français sur la Tunisie, résultat de l'affaiblissement du pouvoir beylical, porte la date du 12 mai 1881, avec la signature du Traité du Bardo qui attribue la quasi-totalité des pouvoirs du Bey au Résident Général (*al-muqīm al-εāmm*). Deux ans après, le 8 juin 1883 le Bey et le gouvernement français signent les Conventions de La Marsa qui attribuent à la France la complète liberté de la gestion du Protectorat.

À la base de l'apparition d'un nationalisme autochtone organisé face au Protectorat, il y a la naissance, en 1907, du Mouvement des Jeunes Tunisiens (*Ḥarakat aš-Šabāb at-Tūnusiyyīn*). Le Mouvement des Jeunes Tunisiens se transforme ensuite, en 1921, en Parti Libéral Constitutionnel (*al-Ḥizb al-Ḥurr ad-Dustūrī*), au sein duquel en 1934 le *Néo-Dustūr* de Habib Bourguiba naît.

Toutefois c'est avec le Congrès Eucharistique de Carthage, au mois de mai 1930, que le nationalisme tunisien connaît un tournant dans l'histoire du pays². Organisé par l'archevêque de Tunis, Monseigneur Lemaître, le Congrès voit la présence à la session d'ouverture du Bey et du *šayx al-islām*, la charge religieuse la plus haute de la Tunisie, ce qui fait voir l'événement comme une ultérieure provocation croisée.

Mais les bases idéologiques du nationalisme tunisien qui a porté le pays à l'indépendance de la France en 1956 ne doivent pas être recherchées seulement dans la période du Protectorat, puisqu'elles enfoncent leurs racines dans une époque plus lointaine, lors des insurrections populaires de 1864 contre le redoublement de la *miğba*, l'impôt de capitation, décidé par Muḥammad aš-Šādiq Bey.

Dans ce climat de défaite pour les attentes et les espoirs des Tunisiens, le malaise se manifeste aussi à travers la contestation des poètes populaires. L'histoire littéraire de ce pays compte plusieurs poètes populaires comme, pour ne citer que quelques noms, 'Alī Bin Ġdāhum, 'Alī l-Gašrī, de la région de Gafsa, Ibrāhīm as-Sāsī et son fils Ḥasan as-Sāsī, Ḥamad Bin Sālīm al-Bargūtī et Aḥmad al-Bargūtī, et finalement le « prince du *malḥūn* » Qāsim Šaqrūn.

Il est d'ailleurs intéressant d'observer que la plupart de ces poètes étaient plus au moins originaires des mêmes régions du Sud et du Centre-Ouest où aujourd'hui la Révolution des Jasmins a pris son essor. À ce propos, il faut rappeler qu'à l'occupation de la France des tribus entières du Sud tunisien émigrèrent en Tripolitaine, comme si ce départ en masse était un acte de dissidence face aux autorités coloniales étrangères.

2. L'auteur

On pourrait affirmer que comme pour Ibn Khaldūn, par exemple, même 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Kāfī est un héros qui au Maghreb est revendiqué par deux pays. Dans notre cas, ce sont l'Algérie et la Tunisie à concourir pour être le pays d'origine d'al-Kāfī. Le comédien de théâtre algérien Menad SaliEcolo charge le 2 janvier 2010 sur YouTube³ une version de ce poème en parlant d'al-Kāfī comme d'un barde algérien originaire de la ville de Guelma, condamné et pendu en 1912 après la publication du poème⁴.

² Cf. Abun-Nasr (1987 : 360).

³ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h6qID2rxMIs> (dernière consultation : 04 septembre 2011).

⁴ En suivant le phénomène courant en littérature arabe du réaménagement arbitraire des trames littéraires déjà existantes, la circulation de ce poème doit avoir été tellement forte que la version chargée sur YouTube, bien qu'elle ait les mêmes contenus, présente une structure sensiblement différente de celle étudiée ici soit dans l'ordre des vers soit, dans plusieurs cas, dans le choix des mots utilisés. On ne dispose d'aucune information sur les sources employées pour réciter cette version.

Malgré sa célébrité dans les différents milieux qui commence surtout dans les années Vingt et continue jusqu'à nos jours, nous savons vraiment peu de sa vie⁵. Ayant recueilli en Tunisie des sources concernant al-Kāfī qui semblent être bien plus fondées par rapport aux sources algériennes, les données présentées ci-après sont évidemment en faveur d'une origine tunisienne du poète.

Connu sous les épithètes d'«*amīr šuʿarā' al-malḥūn*» 'prince des poètes du *malḥūn*' et de «*šayx al-ḡamāʿa*» 'cheikh du groupe', 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Kāfī est né probablement en 1885 dans le village de Jendouba, précédemment appelé Sūq l-Arb'a, dans le Nord-Ouest de la Tunisie, actuellement proche des frontières algériennes.

Il fait partie des Ulād Sīdi 'Abīd⁶, une tribu algérienne d'éleveurs spécialisés dans les échanges entre le Nord et le Sud, qui originellement se situe entre Tébessa et Souk Ahras, mais dont un certain nombre s'était fixé en Tunisie⁷. Caractérisée par un statut maraboutique, cette tribu s'appliquait dans des pratiques de type soufi où le chant et la poésie jouaient un rôle important. Aḥmad bin 'Abdallāh al-Malikī, par exemple, est le nom d'un autre poète appartenant aux Ulād Sīdi 'Abīd qui était contemporain d'al-Kāfī mais originaire de l'Algérie orientale. Le milieu culturel soufi reste donc bien évident dans toute l'œuvre d'al-Kāfī jusqu'aux poèmes considérés comme les plus communistes et rudes.

En 1911 il prend part au *ḡihād* libyen contre l'occupation italienne et abandonne ensuite la Tripolitaine pour la Turquie, où il travaille dans un *ḥammām* de Smyrne. Ses traces se perdent jusqu'à l'époque de la Première Guerre Mondiale, quand il rentre à Tunis et en 1921 commence à militer dans le Parti Communiste Tunisien (*al-Ḥizb aš-Šuyūʿī t-Tūnusī*), fondé en 1920. Il prend position très clairement contre le colonialisme français en publiant des poèmes patriotiques dans les journaux satiriques proches du Parti, comme *Ḡuḥā*, *Ḡaḥḡūḥ*, *an-Nadīm* et *al-Muḍḥik* qu'il arrive à diriger lors de l'arrestation en mai 1922 de son propriétaire 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maḥḡūb.

Il est arrêté la première fois pour désertion de l'armée française entre 1902 et 1906, tandis que la seconde fois lorsque la police découvre dans l'Imprimerie de Robert Louzon⁸ trois mille copies d'une *qaṣīda*, accompagnée d'une traduction française de Muḥammad Bilḥasīn al-Gībālī, incitant les Tunisiens à se révolter contre le Protectorat.

Nous savons, finalement, qu'il meurt à la mi-mars 1932, car le 21 mars de la même année le journal *az-Zamān* publie la nouvelle de son décès.

⁵ Cf. Khayati (1989), et la *Préface* de Maṣṣūrī au Dīwān. L'ouvrage de Bilḥūla (1978) ne consacre à sa vie que quelques lignes dans des notes en bas de page.

⁶ Bilḥūla (1978 : 147).

⁷ Pour quelques données sur les Ulād Sīdi 'Abīd, cf. le volume *Tunisie* (1896 : 448), et Valensi (1977 : 174).

⁸ Ingénieur de formation, R. Louzon (1882-1976) milita dans des différents mouvements syndicaux jusqu'à être arrêté et interné en Algérie durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale.

En conclusion, nous pouvons affirmer que le *dīwān* d'al-Kāfī représente un miroir des événements du mouvement nationaliste tunisien, notamment entre 1920 et 1926. Il diffuse des idées socialistes et s'exprime en faveur de la liberté du pays vis-à-vis de la France et contre la corruption du pays.

3. Le poème

Le titre de la *malzūma* de 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Kāfī qu'en principe est considéré comme « officiel » est *aṣ-Ṣabr li-Llāh* 'La résignation est de Dieu', c'est-à-dire les premiers mots du premier hémistiche qui normalement constituent une expression du langage de la piété populaire.

Elle est quand même communément connue aussi sous des noms différents, qui sont tous basés sur le mot-écho «*fi zābbi*» situé à la fin de chaque strophe. Elle est alors à la fois connue comme *Maqāma zābbiyya*, bien qu'au niveau stylistique elle ne soit évidemment pas une *maqāma*, ou comme *Malzūma zābbiyya*, ce qui s'adapte mieux à la réalité littéraire d'un poème. De toute façon, le nom avec lequel cette *malzūma* est plus souvent appelée et qui lui donne un air littéraire est sans aucun doute celui de *Zabbūbiyya*.

Le poème emploie donc ce qu'en littérature arabe on appelle *kalām fāḥiṣ* 'langage indécent' et qui, en arabe tunisien, passe plutôt à *klām zāyd*, à savoir une expression qui englobe aussi les insultes et en général les mots grossiers. Afin d'éviter le mot vulgaire, certaines versions du poème ont été publiées et/ou sont déclamées avec une substitution systématique du mot-écho «*fi zābbi*» avec «*fi l-ḡarbi*»⁹.

Il s'agit d'un poème de quarante-deux vers, dont chacun est composé de deux hémistiches. Le mot-écho «*fi zābbi*» délimite les strophes dont chacune, à l'exclusion de l'ouverture et de la clôture de la *malzūma*, est constituée de trois vers où la rime suit le schéma AA AB AB.

3.1. Les thématiques du poème

Selon le point de vue algérien, la *malzūma* aurait été publiée en 1912 lors de la promulgation de la loi sur l'enrôlement obligatoire de tous les Algériens dans l'armée française, pour être finalement réimprimée et diffusée en Tunisie.

Pour la version tunisienne, par contre, Bilḥūla (1978 : 191) écrit que («*fi aḡlab ad-dann* » !) le poème aurait été composé pendant la dernière période de l'administration de Lucien Saint (1867-1938), qui occupa la fonction de Résident Général de 1921 à 1929.

Le poème commence par la prière de confier en Dieu et une série d'injures contre l'Etat et les autorités politiques, notamment le Résident général et les autorités religieuses qui sont accusées d'être corrompues (vers 1-9). La

⁹ C'est le cas, par exemple, de la version contenue dans l'ouvrage de Bilḥūla (1978) où le mot-écho original n'apparaît jamais ni dans le texte ni dans les notes explicatives en bas de page.

critique touche ensuite les nouveaux riches et les parvenus (vers 10) pour arriver rapidement au système judiciaire (vers 11-12) et, successivement, aux agents de police et à tous ceux qui sont devenus des fonctionnaires du Protectorat en gagnant comme ça de l'argent facile (vers 13-18). Après la dénonciation d'une corruption qui à son avis serait arrivée jusqu'au système scolaire (vers 19), al-Kāfi reprend la liste des grands et des petits fonctionnaires de l'Etat, parmi lesquels il cite les Ministres de la Justice et de l'Armée, le Maire de la capitale, ainsi que toutes les autorités des affaires religieuses (vers 20-22). La cible des attaques virulents de la deuxième partie du poème est encore l'autorité coloniale, mais qui est maintenant accusée d'avoir corrompu même les confréries religieuses.

Le poète conclut alors en affirmant de préférer la mort plutôt qu'une vie de soumission et de silence face aux injustices, parce que le seul devant lequel il vaut la peine de se soumettre est exclusivement Dieu.

3.2. Transcription du poème

<i>rabbi</i>	<i>əṣ-ṣab^or li-llāh w-ər-rzūε ^ol-</i>	<i>amma d-dunya w-āh^olha fi</i>
	<i>ər-rzā fə-l-mūla</i>	<i>amma d-dunya w-āh^olha</i>
<i>dūla</i>	<i>žmīε əd-duwal əl-kull dūla</i>	<i>əlli dhar w-əlli bqa mətxabbi</i>
<i>şūla</i>	<i>b-riyyāsha bə-mlūkha b-əṣ-</i>	<i>b-tīzānhum b^o-erūšhum fi zəbbi</i>
	<i>b-əlli fīha</i>	<i>b-riyyāsha b-sultānha b-</i>
<i>qādīha</i>	<i>b^o-bbāyha b-muqīmha b-</i>	<i>babbāsha b-imāmha b-ər-</i>
<i>mufīha</i>	<i>b-šīx l-islām b-εudūlha b-</i>	<i>l-mudīr w-əl-murāqba fi zəbbi</i>
	<i>εali w-wāla</i>	<i>ḥukkāmha w-qiyyād kull</i>
<i>māla</i>	<i>əš-šīx w-əl-hīdūq w-əlli b-</i>	<i>w-əlli şandūqa b-əl-flūs</i>
<i>waşşāla</i>	<i>ət-tāžər w-əl-fallāḥ w-əl-</i>	<i>ən-nās əl-ğunya kas^obhum fi</i>
	<i>zīd əl-lūsi</i>	<i>zəbbi w-əlli yşaddər f-l-aḥkām ḥatta</i>
<i>dūsi</i>	<i>w-kull ma ysammi l-ḥākīm</i>	<i>brūsi ḥatta t-trībūnāl w-żūž əd-</i>
	<i>wkīl əd-dawla tūnsi aw sūsi</i>	<i>dəbbi ər-rayīs w-əl-aeḏā' ḥuk^omhum</i>
		<i>fi zəbbi</i>

<i>ma</i>	<i>nənsāw^əš</i>	<i>l-kāhiya w-waḏīftu w-əl-b□ āš šāwəš</i>
<i>w-kdālik əlli qrāw w-əlli ma qrāw^əš</i>		<i>w-əlli ḥməl ʔarbūš walla kippi</i>
<i>l-būlīs w-əž-žandarmi w-š-šāwəš</i>		<i>aewān l^ə-ḥkūma b-kullhum fi zəbbi</i>
<i>l-əāləm</i>	<i>w-əl-kātəb</i>	<i>w-əlli twaḏḏəf f-aela l-marātəb</i>
<i>w-əlli tsamma w-šār yāxud rātəb</i>		<i>w-əlli yhaḏḏəb f-l^ə-eqūl rabbi</i>
<i>w-muealləm əš-šəbyān fə-l-makātəb</i>		<i>w-əl-məḏḏbīn eqūlhum fi zəbbi</i>
<i>wzīr</i>	<i>l-əadliyya</i>	<i>w-mudīrha w-nāyəb əd-dāxiliyya</i>
<i>w-šīx l^ə-mdīna w-rayyəs əž-žameiyya</i>		<i>w-law kān ykūn žənsu earbi</i>
<i>wzīr əl-qlam w-qāyəd əl-ḥarbiyya</i>		<i>bə-slāḥhum bə-sṭūlhum fi zəbbi</i>
<i>əl-mətkabbər</i>		<i>əl-məstbədd fə-l-xalq w-əl-mətzabbər</i>
<i>w-əlli rkəb əla l-xyūl əlli əabbar</i>		<i>w-əlli yəskun f^ə-qšar wəlla qurbi</i>
<i>w-əlli xṭub b-əl-kəḏb fūq əl-manbar</i>		<i>āhl əs-siyāsa afkārhum fi zəbbi</i>
<i>əl-mudammər</i>		<i>w-əlli baetəttu frānsa mueammər</i>
<i>l-əawwād w-əl-qaššāb w-əlli yzammər</i>		<i>kdālik əd-dərwīs w-əl-mətnabbi</i>
<i>šīx əṭ-ṭarīqa īda bdā mətxammər</i>		<i>bar^əktu w-bnādru fi zəbbi</i>
<i>əš-šīx w-ət-talmūda</i>		<i>w-əlli lbəs āntīk walla mūda</i>
<i>w-əlli sammūha š-šābba l-xandūda</i>		<i>w-əlli əšaḡ umm l^ə-ḡtīt mžəbbi</i>
<i>w-kull īd ləl-būs hiya mamdūda</i>		<i>əawḏ^ə nqabbəlha nḥuṭṭha fi zəbbi</i>
<i>ḥāda</i>	<i>huwwa</i>	<i>w-əlli ma əžbūš yāxdu fə-š-šuwwa</i>
<i>rabbi xlaḡni līh əbdu huwwa</i>		<i>lā nxāf lā ndill wa-lā nxabbi</i>
<i>əšḡu klāmi yā drāri ḥawwa</i>		<i>w-īda ma fhəmtūši yəddkum fi zəbbi</i>
<i>əfham</i>	<i>tawwa</i>	<i>xiyār əl-ḥadīt qšāš mūš duwwa</i>

<i>īda tzi mən žānəb əl-uxuwwa</i>	<i>āna xdīm ʿabd līk ʾmrubbi</i>
<i>w-īda nti žāyni bə-l-quwwa</i>	<i>nqūl-lək tāxdu fi zəbbi</i>
<i>ḥāləf</i> <i>b-ymīni</i>	<i>lā naxdaε l-maxlūq law</i> <i>yəgnīni</i>
<i>l-mūt marra barka yā šāgīni</i>	<i>w-l^p-qsam ʾmsūgər fə-kfālət</i> <i>rabbi</i>
<i>əlli</i> <i>māt</i> <i>thənna</i>	<i>w-l-mūt aḥsan mən ḥyāt əl-</i> <i>mənna</i>
<i>l-εazz fə-n-nār w-lā d-dill fə-l-</i> <i>žanna</i>	<i>mūt əš-šraf w-lā ḥyāt əl-kubbi</i>
<i>ḥāda fəkri šəgt bīh əl-ğənna</i>	<i>šəḥḥaḥtha w-ṭbaet fiha zəbbi</i>

3.3. Traduction du poème

Résignation à Dieu, chez lui nous reviendrons Et cette vie et tout ce monde peuvent aller chez mon xxx
Je n'ai d'espoir qu'en Dieu Et de cette vie et de ses êtres,
De tous le pays, l'un après l'autre Celui qui existe déjà et celui qui doit encore naître
Avec leurs despotes, leurs rois et leurs autorités Avec leurs trônes et leurs sceptres, tous peuvent aller chez mon xxx
Avec tout ce qu'ils possèdent Les présidents, les <i>walis</i> et les sultans
Avec ses <i>beys</i> , le juge et le Résident ¹⁰ Les prêtres, les rabbins et les imams
Le <i>mufti</i> , les <i>εudūl</i> ¹¹ et le <i>šayx al-islām</i> Le Directeur et le Contrôleur Tous peuvent aller chez mon xxx

¹⁰ Le *muqīm al-εāmm* 'résident général' était la figure de l'administration coloniale française qui détenait concrètement tous les pouvoirs (cf. par. 1 de cet article).

¹¹ Dans le sens juridique, les *εudūl* (sg. *εadl*) sont des fonctionnaires qui assistent le *qāḍī* et/ou des témoins assermentés (en contraposition donc aux *šuhūd*).

Tous les <i>walis</i> Tous les princes, les <i>qā'id</i> et chaque province
Le <i>šayx</i> , le <i>hayduk</i> et le possédant Celui dont la caisse est remplie d'argent
Le marchand, l'agriculteur et les accointances Tous les riches, qu'ils aillent chez mon <i>xxx</i>
Et encore l'huissier Celui qui juge dans les procès
Tout ce que le juge appelle dossier Et encore le tribunal et le juge de paix
Le procureur, qu'il soit tunisois ou soussien, Le président, la cour, leur jugement, peuvent tous aller chez mon <i>xxx</i>
Et n'oublions pas Le <i>Kāhiya</i> et le Bach Chaouch
Et ceux qui ont étudié et ceux qui ne l'ont pas fait Ceux qui portent le <i>ṭarbūš</i> ou le képi ¹²
Le policier, le gendarme et le chaouch Les agents d'autorité, qu'ils aillent tous chez mon <i>xxx</i>
Le savant et le scribe Celui qui occupe les fonctions les plus hautes
Celui qui, une fois nommé, a commencé à toucher un traitement Celui qui forme les esprits et éduque les pensées
Les maîtres d'école Les <i>māddābs</i> ¹³ des écoles coraniques, leurs esprits dans mon <i>xxx</i>

¹² Le *képi* est le chapeau de l'armée française.

¹³ Le mot *māddāb* correspond au *mu'addib* de l'arabe classique, 'maître d'école coranique'.

Le Ministre de la Justice, Son Directeur, le représentant de l'Intérieur,
Le Maire de la ville, le président des biens <i>ḥabūs</i> Même s'il est de famille arabe
Le ministre de la plume et le chef des armées Avec leurs armes et flottes, qu'ils aillent chez mon <i>XXX</i>
L'orgueilleux, Le dictateur et le tyran
Celui qui monte les chevaux de race Celui qui habite un palais ou bien un <i>gourbi</i>
Celui qui ment du haut du <i>minbar</i> Tous les politiciens avec leurs idées : voilà mon <i>XXX</i>
Le destructeur Ceux que la France a envoyés coloniser
Le luthiste, le flûtiste et le cornemuseur Et aussi le derviche et le faux prophète
Le <i>šayx</i> de la <i>ṭarīqa</i> quand il entre en transes, Sa <i>baraka</i> et ses tambourines, qu'ils aillent chez mon <i>XXX</i>
Le <i>šayx</i> et les étudiants Celui qui s'habille à l'antique ou bien à la mode
Celle qu'on appelle une bonne fille Et celui qui est un amant
Et toute main tendue pour le baisemain, Au lieu d'un baiser je lui offre mon <i>XXX</i>
Voilà c'est tout Et celui qui n'est pas content peut se le mettre là où je pense
Dieu m'a créé pour être son esclave Je ne crains pas, je ne m'avilis pas et je ne cache rien

Ecoutez-moi bien enfants d'Eve! Et si vous ne comprenez pas, je vous offre mon xxx
Comprends vite maintenant Les meilleurs propos sont les plus courts et non pas des bavardages
Si tu arrives fraternellement, Je serai ton serviteur et ton esclave
Mais si tu arrives par la force Alors je te dirai : prends mon xxx !
Je le jure avec ma main droite Je ne me soumets pas devant une créature même si elle m'enrichit
La mort n'est qu'une fois, entendez ! Et mon destin est bien assuré par Dieu!
Celui qui est mort repose maintenant en paix Et la mort est mieux qu'une vie de soumission
L'honneur dans l'Enfer sera mieux que l'humiliation du Paradis Et une mort d'honneur plutôt qu'une vie de soumission
Voilà ma pensée en forme de poème Je l'ai signée et cacheté avec mon xxx !

3.4. Liste des variantes

Selon les versions (orales ou écrites), le poème connaît de menues variantes dont certaines sont reproduites dans la liste ci-après avec l'indication du vers entre parenthèses¹⁴.

	Lecture du Dīwān	Variante
3]	<i>əlli ḏhar w-əlli bqa</i> <i>mətxabbi</i>	<i>əlli ḏhar mənha w-əlli bqa</i> <i>mətxabbi</i>
	<i>wkīl əd-dawla tūnsi aw</i>	<i>wkīl əd-dawla tūnsi walla</i>

¹⁴ Les variantes de la version chargée sur YouTube, en étant trop différentes (cf. note 4), ne sont pas prises en considération.

13]	<i>sūsi</i>	<i>sūsi</i>
16]	<i>aεwān l^o-ḥkūma b-kullhum fi zəbbi</i>	<i>aεwān l^o-ḥkūma l-kullhum fi zəbbi</i>
28]	<i>šīx əṭ-ṭarīqa īda bdā mətxammər</i>	<i>šīx əṭ-ṭarīqa īda bdā ytxammər</i>
36]	<i>īda tzi mən žānəb əl- uxuwwa</i>	<i>kān žītni mən žānəb əl- uxuwwa</i>
37]	<i>w-īda nti žāyini bə-l- quwwa</i>	<i>w-īda žītni bə-l-quwwa</i>
41]	<i>l-εazz fə-n-nār w-lā d-dill fə-l-žanna</i>	<i>l-εazz fə-n-nār w-lā dill əl- žanna</i>

Une variante un peu plus importante est offerte par la version du poème reproduite en Bilḥūla (1978), dans la partie conclusive, après le vers 38. Pour cette version, les vers 39 et 40 sont les suivants :

<i>li'anni l-aḥad w-lā aḥad malik ymīni</i>	<i>w-əl-qsəm msūgər fi kfālət rabbi</i>
<i>l-mūt marra barka ya šāgīni</i>	<i>w-əlli yeārəḍni yzi ykalləm fi zəbbi</i>

Finalement, les derniers trois vers du poème correspondent dans toutes les deux versions mais, bien entendu, la seconde version devient ainsi un poème de quarante trois vers.

4. Observations linguistiques

Le dialecte employé par le poète, après un coup d'œil superficiel, semble être un tunisien assez koïnisé tant dans la morphologie que dans les choix lexicaux principaux¹⁵.

Cependant, des précisions majeures sont certainement possibles et, pour cela, les lignes qui suivent proposent des observations plus approfondies. La numérotation employée entre parenthèses indique les vers du poème auxquels l'analyse se réfère.

[14, 15]. Certains aspects graphiques dans ces vers nous révèlent des caractéristiques qui peuvent être reconduites aux variétés tunisiennes non-citadines. En effet, une isoglosse commune à tous les parlers préhilaliens est la consonantisation du suffixe pluriel *-w* (< **-ū*) à l'accompli comme à l'inaccompli des verbes défectueux (ex. : *mšāw*, *yəmsīw*), contrairement aux parlers hilaliens où la dernière radicale faible disparaît en faveur du même suffixe (ex. : *mšū*,

¹⁵ La brève analyse proposée dans ce paragraphe se limite, bien évidemment, au poème objet de cette étude. Pour tirer un bilan sur le(s) parler(s) employé(s) par al-Kāfi il faudrait naturellement étendre l'investigation à l'ensemble de sa production.

yəmšu)¹⁶. Ainsi, les verbes défectueux présents dans le poème alternent des traits préhilaliens à d'autres hilaliens.

Les verbes défectueux aux vers 14 et 15 ont une conjugaison typiquement préhilalienne : ainsi <قرأوش>, <قراو> et <ما نئساوش> se lisent respectivement «*ma nənsāw⁹-š*» 'n'oublions pas', «*qrāw*» 'ils étudièrent' et «*ma qrāw⁹-š*» 'ils n'étudièrent pas'. Bien entendu, cette conjugaison pourrait être aussi le résultat d'exigences de rime avec le mot *šāwəš*, notamment si nous pensons qu'à Tunis la voyelle épenthétique dans ce cas serait très rare, la solution *ma nənsāw-š* étant plutôt la plus ordinaire. Contrairement à ce trait préhilalien, au vers 30 ainsi qu'au vers 32, on trouve respectivement <اصغوا> et <سموها> qui suggèrent des lectures «*sammū-ha ~ səmmū-ha*» 'ils l'ont appelée' et «*ašgū*» 'écoutez', avec assimilation du suffixe personnel à la dernière radicale faible (cf. Tunis : *səmmāw-ha*, *ašgīw*)¹⁷.

[18]. Au vers 18 on trouve le verbe <ياخذ>, une graphie confirmée même dans la version du poème contenue en Bilhūla (1978), qui se lit bien évidemment «*yāxud*» 'il prend'. Il faut cependant rappeler qu'en tunisois, un parler typiquement préhilalien, *yāxud* s'alterne régulièrement avec la forme *yāxu*, cette dernière avec chute de /d/ au singulier (et donc : 1^{ère} *nāxu* et 2^{ème} *tāxu* ; impératif : *xū ~ xūd!*) et conservation au pluriel (*nāxdu*, *tāxdu*, *yāxdu* ; impératif : *xūdu!*)¹⁸.

[26]. Le verbe <بعاته>, au second hémistiche du vers 26, est problématique. À partir d'une prononciation tunisoise, dans notre transcription il a été lu «*baɛtətt-u*», mais il est évident que la graphie suggère une autre réalisation. En effet, la version du poème reproduite en Bilhūla (1978) contient <بعاتته> (p. 189) qui nous semble plus correcte de <بعاته> et se laisse lire «*baɛtāt-u*». Or, en tunisois, la 3^{ème} pers.sg.fem. de l'accompli se termine par *-ət*, un suffixe qui connaît un redoublement consonantique en présence de pronoms joints commençants par une voyelle (par ex. : *kətbətt-u*). D'après Marçais (1950), l'alternance *-ət/-āt* oppose généralement en Tunisie les parlers préhilaliens aux parlers hilaliens¹⁹, bien que surtout aux frontières avec l'Algérie la situation réelle soit beaucoup plus intriquée. Finalement, sur la base du modèle tunisois ainsi que de la graphie <ه>, le pronom suffixe de 3^{ème} pers.sg.masc. ici a été lu «*-u*», mais il est nécessaire de mentionner la possibilité d'une lecture en «*-a(h)*» liée plutôt aux parlers hilaliens. Cette lecture pourrait être confirmée aussi par la graphie <بئادره> 'ses tambourines' du vers 28, où la présence d'une *fathā*, s'il ne s'agit pas d'une

¹⁶ Cf. Mion (2004) sur le système verbal tunisois, et Durand (2007) pour une nouvelle analyse des données tunisiennes.

¹⁷ La version chargée sur YouTube, par contre, est récitée très clairement avec *ašgīw*.

¹⁸ On rappelle qu'à Malte la situation est tout à fait semblable, avec <*nieħu*, *tieħu*...>, <*nieħdu*, *tieħdu*...> et <*ħu!*, *ħudu!*>.

¹⁹ La situation du Maroc central citadin, qui maintenant connaît surtout *-āt*, est bien évidemment tout à fait différente.

intervention arbitraire du typographe²⁰, pousserait à postuler un pronom *-a(h)* de type hilalien. Bref, le syntagme <بعاتاه> ~ <بعاتاه> sera interprété comme «*baēlāt-a*», c'est-à-dire une lecture qui, étant donnée aussi l'harmonie vocalique de tout le vers, reste fort probable.

[29]. On observe l'emploi du <د> /d/ en *mūda* 'mode', tandis que toutes les variétés néoarabes intègrent cet emprunt toujours avec un /d/ (← <ض>). En tunisien /d/ se réalise normalement interdental [d̪] (← <ظ>), mais 'mode' est *mūda* (avec [d̪]), pour laquelle le tunisien ne peut pas s'appuyer sur le graphème correspondant de l'alphabet arabe.

[30]. L'adjectif *xandūda* est construit sur un schéma nominal *CaCCūC(a)* où, d'après la grammaire de Singer (1984 : 496), «finden ihren Platz [...] Diminutivadjektiva». Sur l'origine de ce mot, on pourrait s'interroger sur la possibilité d'un lien avec le classique *xindīd* (donc √*x-n-d*) qui, selon certains dictionnaires modernes²¹, est «*aṭ-ṭawīl aṣ-ṣulb*» ou «*aš-šugāε*»²².

[35]. Le mot *duwwa*, au second hémistiche du vers 35, se rattache à la racine √*dwy* qui par exemple donne, en restant toujours dans le domaine maghrébin, en arabe marocain *dawwāy* 'grand parleur, babillard, bavard' et *dāyy* 'bavardage, paroles, discours' signalés par le Dictionnaire Colin (vol. 3, p. 582).

Outre les aspects jusqu'ici abordés, il est intéressant de constater le nombre des emprunts présents dans le texte qui témoignent la perméabilité linguistique durant les phases historiques et politiques de la Tunisie moderne.

Sur la base de leur origine, les emprunts peuvent être partagés en deux groupes linguistiques appartenants à deux phases historiques différentes : lexique de l'époque précoloniale, et lexique de l'époque coloniale.

Les emprunts du premier groupe sont tous originaires de l'époque beylicale et sont ainsi d'origine turque :

[6]. *babbāṣ*, du turc *pāpāz*, à son tour du grec byzantin *παπάς papás*, où le mot tunisien a préservé la postériorité de la voyelle turque /a/ à travers l'emphase.

[9]. *hīdūq*. Il s'agit d'un mot d'origine problématique, souvent considérée comme turque. Du turc il serait arrivé dans les langues de l'aire balkanique où il indiquait une sorte de brigand/patriote qui combattait contre les Ottomans. Dans la Tunisie beylicale, ainsi qu'en Algérie et dans tout le Maghreb oriental, il doit être arrivé par influence ottomane en perdant son sens initial et en acquérant celui de combattant/condottiere (quelquefois même avec une nuance négative).

[14]. *kāhiya* est l'arabisation du turc ottoman *k'ahya*, un terme lié au *ketxudā* ottoman, à son tour d'origine persane. Dans la Tunisie de la domination

²⁰ La version contenue dans l'ouvrage de Bilhūla (1978), n'étant pas vocalisée, n'est d'aucune aide.

²¹ Par exemple, *al-Munğid fī l-luğa wa-l-aēlām*, Beyrouth, 1997.

²² Un informateur tunisien explique que *xandūda* se dit d'une fille lorsque «*qimmātha eālya*» et/ou de quelqu'un qui «*yaεmāl kull šay li-irḏā' l-mās 'ūl mәнnu*». Par contre, un autre informateur, algérois, me dit que ce terme est pour lui inconnu.

turque le *kahiya* était le subordonné du *qā'id*, ou le gouverneur d'une *kihāya* (sorte de division administrative). En général, le terme désignait aussi l'assistant d'un haut official et/ou d'un directeur.

[14]. *bāš šāwəš* est un terme qui se réfère commandant du corps des *šuwwāš* (sg. *šāwəš*), correspondant plus au moins au grade de sergent majeur. L'arabe tunisien *šāwəš* correspond au classique *šāwiš/šāwuš ~ šāwīš*, à partir du turc *čā'ūs* (turc moderne : *çavuş*). Il faut rappeler que *bāš*, en étant d'origine turque, se réalise avec *tafxīm*, tandis que *bāš* avec *imāla* (< **b-āš*, donc *b[ɛ:]š*) est la particule finale 'afin de'.

Les emprunts du second groupe, beaucoup plus nombreux, représentent des cas significatifs d'intégration de mots d'origine française :

[11]. *lūsi* < **l'huissier*, avec agglutination de l'article défini et catégorisation de /l/ comme première radicale d'une nouvelle racine $\sqrt{l-w-s-y}$ (à l'instar, par exemple, de fr. **la gare* > tun. *lāngār* et mar. *lāgār* 'gare').

[11]. *brūsi* < **procès*. En dialectal il présente la nouvelle signification, provoquée par déplacement sémantique, de 'amende' (consécutive à un procès-verbal).

[12]. *dūsi* < **dossier*. À l'instar des exemples précédents, il y a une rétraction de l'accent et en final de mot un passage de la voyelle moyenne française à voyelle haute /i/ en arabe.

[12]. *trībūnāl* < **tribunal*. Il s'agit d'un emprunt dont l'intégration n'a posé aucun problème dans toute l'aire maghrébine.

[12]. *žūž əd-dəbbi* < **judge de paix*. Il s'agit d'un cas intéressant de calque syntaxique du français à l'arabe, où le syntagme français /de paix/ est passé à l'arabe /dəbbi/ (avec une rétraction de l'accent et un haussement de la voyelle finale, comme en *dūsi*) qui, une fois déterminé par l'article (/ə/ → [əd]), a donné en arabe la possibilité de juxtaposer deux termes et de former ainsi un état construit. Si l'on pense à d'autres exemples maghrébins qui ne connaissent aucune intégration d'éléments en dental /d/, comme le tunisien *krīz rūmātīzm* (< **crise [de] rhumatisme*) ou le marocain *lākārt krīdi* (< **la carte [de] crédit*), le cas pris ici en examen se révèle assez singulier.

[12]. *būlīs* < **police* ; il s'agit d'un emprunt ordinaire dans toute l'arabophonie, tant dans l'Orient quant dans l'Afrique du Nord.

[12]. *žandarmi* < **gendarme*. L'arabe littéral connaît le collectif *ğandarma*, où l'unité s'indique par le syntagme «un agent de», tandis que le tunisois emploie plutôt *žadārmi* (pl. *žadārmiyya*) sans /n/. La présence du <n> dans la graphie pourrait donc représenter un cas d'interférence avec l'arabe littéral.

[15]. *kippi* < **képi*. En tunisois, la prononciation avec /p/ dépend de la capacité du locuteur de produire une bilabiale sourde, mais elle est de toute façon très courante. Le texte présente un double , mais il n'est pas possible de se prononcer sur sa réalisation aux temps d'al-Kāfi.

[29]. *āntīk* < **antique*. Le même vers contient aussi le mot *mūda*, déjà mentionné précédemment à propos de la question de <*d*> pour /ḏ/.

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Annexe

Les deux reproductions ci-après reportent le texte original arabe tiré des deux pages (64 et 65) du *Dīwān* de 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Kāfi, édité à Tunis (sans date) par Fayṣal al-Manṣūrī.

Première page

الصبر لله والرجوع إلى ربي
الرجاء في المولى
جميع الدول الكلدولة
بزياسها بملوكها بالصولة
بالي فيها
أينها بتقريبها بقاضيتها
بشيخ الاسلام بعدولها بمفتيتها
على واليه
الشيخ والهيدوث واللي بماله
التاجر والفلح والوصاله
زيد الكلوسي
وكل ما يسمى الحاكم دوسي
وكيل الدولة تونسي أوسوسي
منا تنساوش
وكذلك اللي قرأو واللي ما قرأوش
البوليس والجندرمي والشاوش
العالم والكاتب
واللي تسمى وصار ياخذ راتب
ومعلم الصبيان في المكاتب
وزير العدل
وشيوخ المدينة ورئيس الجمعية

أما الدنيا وأهلها في (...)
أما الدنيا وأهلها مجملوه
اللي ظهر واللي بقى متخبي
بتيجانهم بعروشهم في (...)
برياسها بسلطانها بوالها
أباصها بامانها بالربي
المدير والمراقبه في ...
حكاهما وقياد كل عماله
واللي صندوقه بالفلس معبي
الناس الغنيا كسبتهم في ...
واللي يصدر في الاحكام حتى يرؤسي
حتى «التربونال» و«جوج دبي»
الرئيس والاعضاء حكاهم في ...
الكاهية ووظيفته وباش شاوش
واللي عمل طربوش ولا كبي
أعوان الحومه بكلهم في ...
واللي توظف في أعلى المراتب
واللي يهدب في العقول يرؤي
والمؤدين عقولهم في ...
ومديرها ونائبه الداخليه
لو كان يكون جنسه عربي

وزير القلم وقائد الحرية
 المتكبر
 اللي ركب على الخيول العبر
 واللي خطب بالكذب فوق المنبر
 المدمر
 العواد والقصاب واللي يزمر
 شيخ الطريق إذا بدا متخمر
 الشيخ والتلموده
 واللي سموها الشابه الخندوده
 وكل يد لللبوس هي ممدوده
 هاك هـ
 ربي خلقني ليه عبده هو
 اصغوا كلامي يا ذراري حواء
 افهم توره
 اذا تجي من جانب الأخوه
 إذا إنت جاييني بالقوه
 حالف بيمني
 الموت مره بركه يا صاغييني
 اللي مـات تهنّي
 الغز في النار ولا الذل في الجنه
 هذا فكري بييه صعت الغيبه
 بسلاهم بأسطولهم في ...
 والمستبد في الخلق والمتجبر
 واللي يسكن في قصر والأقربى
 أهل السياسه أفكارهم في ...
 واللي بعاته فرانساً معمر
 كذلك الدرويش والمتنبي
 بركتته ويتأذره في ...
 واللي ليس أنتيكه ولا موده
 واللي عشق أم الغثيث مجبي
 عوض نقبلها نخطها في ...
 واللي ما عجبوش ياخذه في الصوه
 لا نخاف لا نذل ولا نخبي
 وإذا ما فهمتوش يدكم في ...
 خيار الحديث قصاص موش دوه
 أنا خديم عبد ليك مرّبي
 نقولك تاخذه في ...
 لا نخضع إلا مخلوق لو يغنيني
 والقسم مسوقر في كفالة ربي
 والموت أحسن من حياة المنه
 موت الشرف ولا حياة الكبي
 صحتها وطبعت فيها ...

TOPOGRAPHIE SACRÉE ET LÉGITIMATION SYMBOLIQUE DANS L'HAGIOGRAPHIE DE HACI BEKTAŞ VEL

Luminița Munteanu
Université de Bucarest

Résumé. L'hagiographie de Hacı Bektaş, faisant partie d'un ensemble d'ouvrages similaires qui synthétisent l'idéologie de la confrérie mystique des Bektaşî, met en lumière l'ampleur de l'héritage préislamique qui informe l'histoire, ainsi que les rituels propres à l'ordre susmentionné. L'évolution du santon éponyme de l'ordre dans la communauté où il commence son activité missionnaire est marquée par nombre de gestes fondateurs, dont le but est de prendre en possession, de sacraliser l'espace qui l'hébergera et de le marquer de ses signes spécifiques. L'aspect particulier de ces signes, qui ne sont pas sans contrarier la piété prudente du bon musulman, découle de l'influence exercée par les cultes préislamiques sur les croyances et les rituels du futur ordre mystique turc, en voie de cristallisation. Les cultes de la montagne, de l'arbre, du feu, des sources d'eau, des grottes jouent un rôle de premier ordre dans l'existence rituelle des premiers Bektaşî ; ces éléments seront occultés par la suite, au fur et à mesure que l'ordre régulier des Bektaşî sera mis sous la surveillance de l'État ottoman.

Mots-clés : islam, soufisme, Turquie, Hacı Bektaş, cultes préislamiques, animisme

Vers le milieu du XIII^e siècle faisait son apparition en Asie Mineure un personnage qui, pour des raisons plutôt obscures, relevant aussi bien des caprices de l'histoire que de la volonté de ses tenants et disciples (ce qui n'est pas rare dans l'histoire confessionnelle de l'humanité), allait marquer, sinon changer la géographie religieuse de la contrée et, surtout, du soufisme d'expression turque. Le protagoniste de cet épisode, également le protagoniste de notre article, deviendra célèbre sous le nom de Hacı Bektaş Veli et, suivant la tradition de la confrérie soufie qui s'en réclamera plus tard, venait du Khorasan iranien. (On ignore s'il était natif de la région susmentionnée ou s'il se trouvait parmi ceux qui fuyaient l'avancée mongole, comme le faisaient beaucoup de populations de l'Est à l'époque.) Le derviche de Khorasan, probablement d'origine turkmène, est évoqué de passage dans quelques sources contemporaines, intéressées surtout à d'autres milieux soufis¹ et, d'une manière plus prégnante, dans l'hagiographie qui

¹ Par exemple, dans *Manâqib al-‘arîfîn*, « Les légendes des gnostiques/initiés », ouvrage rédigé entre 1318-1353, en arabe, par Šams ad-Dîn Ahmad al-Aflakî (m. 1360). En voici une évocation de H. B. Veli, dans la traduction française de Cl. Huart : « L'émir Noûr-ed-dîn, fils de Djîdjâ, était l'ami intime et le lieutenant considéré du Perwânè et en même temps gouverneur de la province de Qir-chéhir. Il racontait un jour, en présence du maître, dont il était le disciple, les miracles de Hâdji Bektâch le Khorasanien : Je me rendis une fois auprès de lui ; il n'observait nullement les apparences extérieures ;

lui est vouée ; ces sources viennent corroborer, outre l'aura presque mythique qui l'entoure, la réalité historique du personnage dont il sera question plus bas.

L'hagiographie consacrée à Hacı Bektaş Veli, le santon éponyme de la confrérie mystique des *Bektaşî* (*Bektaşîyya*), dont l'histoire se confond, grosso modo, avec l'histoire de l'Empire ottoman, fait partie d'un ensemble de textes (connus sous le nom de *manâkîbnâme/ menâkîbnâme* ou *vilâyetnâme*) aux particularités relativement semblables, dédiés à des personnages réels ou imaginaires dont la congrégation s'est souvent servie pour soutenir sa propagande et ses activités missionnaires². Il va sans dire que le « bektashisme » proprement dit n'existait pas à l'époque en question, à savoir la seconde moitié du XIII^e et la première moitié du XIV^e siècle, et que ces *vitae* ont été élaborées plus tard, mais ce qui nous semble significatif c'est que les héros de ce genre d'ouvrages se font remarquer par toute une série de traits communs qui trahissent l'idéal de sainteté chéri par les milieux auxquels s'adressait l'ordre et où ils recrutait leurs adeptes. Par conséquent, le caractère réel ou fictif des protagonistes de ces récits exemplaires, débordant de merveilleux et le plus souvent touchants par leur naïveté intrinsèque, nous paraît peu important par rapport à l'idéologie ultérieure de la congrégation qui allait les revendiquer ; ils sont instrumentalisés, n'ayant pour but que d'illustrer et d'éclaircir cette idéologie souveraine.

De l'hagiographie de Hacı Bektaş Veli nous sont parvenues plusieurs variantes, soit en prose, soit en vers, comportant peu de différences en matière de contenu (épisodes s'agençant diversement, détails présents dans une certaine

il ne suivait pas la coutume du prophète, et n'accomplissait pas la prière canonique. J'insistai auprès de lui en lui remontrant qu'il fallait assurément s'acquitter de ce dernier devoir. 'Va, me dit-il, apporte de l'eau, pour que je procède aux ablutions, et que je me procure ainsi la pureté [nécessaire à la validité de la prière]'. Immédiatement, de mes propres mains, je remplis à la fontaine un gobelet de terre et je l'apportai devant lui. Il prit le vase et me le remit entre les mains, en me disant de lui verser l'eau sur les mains. Quand je le fis, l'eau pure se trouva changée en sang ; je restai abasourdi de ce phénomène. — Plût à Dieu, dit le Maître, qu'il eût changé le sang en eau, car il n'y a pas tant de mérite à souiller de l'eau pure. Le noble interlocuteur de Dieu [Moïse] a changé l'eau du Nil en sang pour un Égyptien (le Pharaon), et pour un des petits-fils a transformé le sang en eau pure ; c'était par suite de la perfection de son pouvoir, mais cet individu n'a pas tant de force. Cette transformation s'appelle du gaspillage. On a dit : 'Les gaspilleurs sont les frères des démons'. La transformation particulière, c'est quand ton vin devient du vinaigre, quand les difficultés sont résolues, quand le cuivre vil devient de l'or pur, quand l'âme incrédule devient musulmane et s'abandonne [à Dieu], quand le limon de ton corps prend la valeur du cœur'. Immédiatement Noûr-ed-dîn s'inclina, renonça à l'intention qu'il avait manifestée, et dit : 'Du moment que beaucoup de diables ont la figure d'hommes, il ne faut pas tendre la main à toute main'. » (Huart 1922 : 20-21)

² On pourrait en faire mention des légendes de Hacım Sultan, Abdal Musa, Kaygusuz Abdal, Seyyid Ali Sultan, Sultan Şucauddin, Otman Baba, Demir Baba, etc. ; un aperçu utile de ceux-ci se trouve dans Ocak 2000 : 25-50.

variante et absents dans d'autres, etc.)³. Il s'agit de copies réalisées d'après un original perdu, dont la conception est difficile à reconstituer aujourd'hui, vu notamment les altérations survenues dans le processus de transmission. La plupart des spécialistes du domaine (dont il sied de mentionner Ahmet Yaşar Ocak et Irène Mélikoff) sont fort enclins à accepter l'hypothèse avancée par Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, selon laquelle l'auteur de la première version écrite de cette *vita* (l'« original », tout relatif que puisse être ce terme dans notre contexte) serait le polygraphe ottoman Firdevs de Brousse/Bursa, connu également sous les pseudonymes de Firdevsi-i Rumi, Firdevsi-i Bursevi et Firdevsi⁴. Le même Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı apprécie que l'hagiographie remonte à la période 1481-1501, l'auteur en ayant fondé sa démarche sur les traditions orales qui circulaient à l'époque dans les cercles Bektaşî, ce qui suggère que ceux-ci lui étaient familiers et que, d'autre part, il y avait pleinement accès.

Les exégètes cités plus haut estiment que Hacı Bektaş Veli était un derviche du type *kalenderî*, arrivé en Anatolie à la suite des grandes invasions mongoles du XIII^e siècle, sur la vague des migrations des tribus turques établies au Khorasan ; Hacı Bektaş aurait pu se trouver, tout comme d'autres cheikhs turkmènes illustrant la même typologie, à la tête d'une tribu, en tant que chef temporel et spirituel (Ocak 2002 : 170). Ce portrait ne correspond assurément pas à la façon dont il est dépeint par ses détracteurs, voire rivaux, au moment de son arrivée en Anatolie : *çırçıplak bir abdal*, « un *abdal* tout nu » (MHBV⁵ 1995 : 10), ce qui renvoie tout de suite à l'aspect saillant des derviches errants *kalenderî*, présentés le plus souvent comme déguenillés, sinon nus ou presque nus. Mais, remarque Hamiye Duran (2005 : 131-132), les vocables *üryan* et *çıplak*, « nu » ne sauraient être interprétés au pied de la lettre, mais plutôt dans le sens de *garip*, *fakir*, *zavallı*, *tek*, « pauvre, pitoyable, infortuné, digne de pitié » ; le mot *çıplak* continue par ailleurs d'avoir, dans certaines régions de la Turquie, le sens de *fakir*, *züğürt*, « pauvre, misérable, démuné » (*Derleme Sözlüğü* III : s.v.). Il n'en reste pas moins vrai que le terme *abdal* était employé notamment pour désigner les derviches d'orientation *kalenderî*, quoiqu'en raison de l'impopularité des

³ Voir Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı 1995a : XXIII-XXXIX.

⁴ L'auteur, de son vrai nom Şerafeddin b. Hızır ou Şerafeddin Musa, était originaire de Brousse et fut contemporain des sultans Mehmed II Fatih, Bayezid II et Yavuz Selim (Selim I). Il devint fameux notamment pour son *Süleymânâme*, « Le livre de Süleymân », un vaste ouvrage à caractère encyclopédique, composé sur la demande de Bayezid II, qui comptait 81 « cahiers » ou parties. À part cet ouvrage monumental, on lui attribue à peu près 40 autres œuvres, parmi lesquelles *Davetnâme*, « Le livre de l'invitation », qui se propose de synthétiser les croyances populaires de tout le monde islamique et qui fut probablement illustré par l'auteur même (Aksel 1960 : 162-172 ; Biçer 2005 : 245-261) ; son profil intellectuel surpassait donc le domaine strictement historiographique.

⁵ Le sigle MHBV se réfère à l'édition préparée par Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı (voir *Bibliographie*).

confréries mystiques dans certaines zones ou certaines époques, il arrivait souvent à être employé dans le sens générique de « derviche » (Gölpınarlı 1977 : 5-8). Néanmoins, étant donné que l'existence de Hacı Bektaş semble interférer sans cesse avec celle des milieux *kalenderi*, l'emploi accidentel de ce qualificatif nous paraît peu probable. Il s'agit, à notre avis, d'une épithète péjorative dont le but est de mettre en évidence, d'une part, l'indigence du personnage et, d'autre part, son identité problématique, d'« étranger » ou, plus encore, de « sans-abri ». Un peu plus tard, lors de son arrivée à Sulucakarahöyük, Hacı Bektaş est décrit comme coiffé d'un bonnet (*tac*) rouge et vêtu d'un manteau léger (*Arabistan kerrakesi*), ce qui nous fait penser à une tenue décente, conforme au statut de maître spirituel qu'il revendiquait (MHBV 1995 : 28). Y a-t-il lieu de supposer un déguisement, ou bien une interpolation tardive, visant à amender le personnage initial ? On l'ignore ; reste que les deux portraits ne semblent point converger ou, du moins, émaner de sources assez différentes.

D'après Hamiye Duran (2005 : 133), rien dans l'hagiographie de Hacı Bektaş Veli ne serait de nature à prouver la pratique du rituel connu sous le nom de *çahar darb*, « quatre coups » (enlèvement des cheveux, des sourcils, de la barbe et de la moustache), spécifique des derviches *kalenderi*, et donc l'appartenance du santan khorasanien aux milieux hétérodoxes. Cette assertion nous semble assez étrange, car l'hagiographie revient à plusieurs reprises sur ce détail ; l'itération en serait tout à fait gratuite, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'un renvoi aux coutumes *kalenderi*.

Les ceremonies d'initiation s'accompagnent, sauf exception, de la « tonsure » ou, plus exactement, du « rasage ». En voici un exemple péremptoire :

[Lors de l'initiation d'un certain Bahaeddin Bostancı, « Bahaeddin, Le Gardien du potager »] :

« Hünkâr rasa les cheveux de Bostancı conformément au canon, bénit son bonnet, lui conféra le diplôme d'investiture, passa sa main sur ses yeux et son dos et lui dit 'tu a été initié'. » (MHBV 1995 : 23)⁶

Le fragment ci-dessus réunit la quasi-totalité des séquences de la cérémonie classique d'initiation Bektaşî, supposant l'imposition des mains, l'attribution d'une coiffure ou d'un vêtement nouveau (ici, le bénissement du bonnet ancien, portant le sens de renouveau) et le rasage/la tonsure rituelle.

À d'autres occasions, on apprend que Hacı Bektaş se trouve justement sur le point de se faire raser les cheveux (non pas se les faire couper !) par Saru İsmail, à la fois son disciple bien-aimé et, son *ibrikdar*, ou par d'autres disciples :

⁶ Voir, pour d'autres exemples similaires, MHBV 1995 : 52-53, 53, 54-55, 60, 70-71, 76, 89.

« À cette époque-là, dans ce jour-là, Hacı Bektaş habitait chez Kadıncık Ana. Il dit à Saru İsmail : ‘Mes cheveux ont poussé long, viens, allons dehors, pour que je te les fasse couper.’ Saru prit la pierre à raser et le rasoir à main. Il sortit avec Hünkâr. Ils s’assirent dans une place qui se trouvait en bas du village, devant le tumulus (*höyük*). Alors, Hünkâr dit à Sarı : ‘Vas-y, mets-toi à raser [mes cheveux] !’. Sarı se mit à raser les cheveux de Hünkâr. Il avait à peine rasé la moitié des cheveux de celui-ci, lorsque Hünkâr lui dit ‘arrête, ça suffit !’, et Sarı İsmail s’arrêta court. » (MHBV 1995 : 40)

« Hacı Bektaş dit un jour à ses califes ‘apportez le rasoir à main et la pierre à raser et rasez mes cheveux !’. Ils ont apporté le rasoir à main et la pierre à raser et se sont mis à raser [les cheveux de] leur santon. Lorsqu’ils étaient justement à la moitié du rasage, il leur fit un signe de sa sainte main, en leur montrant qu’il suffisait. Le barbier en retira sa main. » (MHBV 1995 : 68)

Nous considérons que ce genre de contextes ne sont pas sans trahir la véritable typologie du derviche khorasanien, voire son appartenance aux groupes et à l’idéologie *kalenderi*.

Dans la bonne tradition hagiographique, Hacı Bektaş Veli est crédité de nombreux miracles qui, de par leur nature, correspondent au schéma général des prodiges accomplis non seulement par les saints hommes de l’islam, mais par les saints de partout. Évidemment, la relation des merveilles attribuées aux les saints acquiert une fonction notamment utilitaire⁷, car elle a pour but de justifier et d’alimenter, entre autres, le culte qui les entoure. On ne va pas insister là-dessus, car l’analyse comparée de ces faits vaudrait du moins une étude à part. En échange, on va se concentrer sur un ensemble de motifs qui revient avec insistance dans l’hagiographie du santon turc ; bien qu’analysé à plusieurs reprises (voir en premier lieu Mélikoff 1996 et 2000 ; Ocak 2000 : 128-140), certains problèmes qu’il soulève restent, à notre avis, insuffisamment éclaircis, ce qui nous amène à remonter, une fois de plus, aux sources, à savoir le texte proprement dit de la légende.

À peine arrivé à Sulucakarahöyük, qui deviendra par la suite le centre de son culte, Hacı Bektaş a recours à toute une série de gestes fondateurs, précédés à chaque fois de rituels ascétiques par lesquels il « prépare » et sacralise l’espace qui l’hébergera. Ses actes sont destinés, d’une part, à le pourvoir de crédibilité aux yeux de la communauté à laquelle il s’adresse et, d’autre part, à jeter les fondements de plusieurs rites de substitution qui vont transformer

⁷ « Ce n’est pas pour le plaisir qu’on dénombre les souffrances, les aventures, l’héroïsme des saints, mais ‘dans un but d’édification’. À ce but large s’adjoint le but précis et local : convaincre les auditeurs de la puissance du saint et assurer ainsi à son culte des fidèles et des ressources. Ce double but, général et spécial, explique les grandes tendances de la formation des légendes hagiographiques. (Van Gennep 1912 : 127-128)

Sulucakarahöyük dans une « seconde Mecque ». Sa manière d’agir est loin d’être singulière dans le monde turc, notamment dans celui de l’Asie Centrale, dominée par la figure emblématique d’Ahmet Yesevi, « le *pîr* de Turkestan », dont le sanctuaire (*ziyaretgâh*) est assimilé, aujourd’hui encore, par les populations locales (Kazakhs, Kirghizes) à une « seconde Mecque » ; la visite rendue au sanctuaire d’Ahmet Yesevi est elle aussi assimilée à la visite au tombeau du Prophète de l’islam : « À Médine Muhammad, au Turkestan, Hoca Ahmet », affirment les autochtones (Yaman 2005 : 29). Autrement dit, à chacun son prophète, ou bien chacun avec son prophète. Les visites rendues aux tombeaux des nombreux saints locaux sont fréquemment associées à l’idée de « pèlerinage mineur » ; lors des visites pieuses, les autochtones adoptent souvent des rituels spécifiques du pèlerinage mecquois, par exemple la circumambulation ; qui plus est, ils font parfois ériger des répliques en miniature de la Ka’ba mecquoise, comme c’est le cas de Khorasan Ata Kesenesi, au Kazakhstan (Yaman 2005 : 29-30). Il est à noter que, dans toutes ces situations, le culte du saint se développe autour de sa tombe, plus ou moins authentique.

La vénération des saints locaux, entretenue peut-être par l’ancien culte des ancêtres, est omniprésente dans le monde turc, impliquant toute une série de manifestations communes, faciles à reconnaître, tels la présence des arbres votifs à proximité des sépultures, l’aumône associée aux visites pieuses, les sacrifices, la croyance dans les valences thérapeutiques de la poussière ou de l’eau prise sur les lieux du pèlerinage, les fontaines, les sources, les puits et les arbres sacrés, les bougies ou les flambeaux allumés à côté des sépultures. D’autre part, bien des tombeaux faisant l’objet de ce genre de pèlerinages sont placés dans des endroits plus élevés que le reste du paysage, à savoir des montagnes ou des collines. Outre sa dimension islamique déclarée, ce phénomène est étroitement lié à l’ancien animisme et au culte de la nature ; à l’époque préislamique, chaque tribu ou clan vénérât une certaine montagne ou colline, mais il y avait aussi des montagnes révérees par l’ensemble des populations turques, par exemple la montagne d’Ötüken, située sur le cours supérieur de l’Orkhone, en Mongolie septentrionale, qui était regardée comme un véritable centre du pouvoir, notamment aux VII^e-VIII^e siècles. Les esprits étaient investis de valeur bénéfique ou maléfique, leur puissance étant circonscrite à la zone où se trouvait la montagne respective. Les grottes étaient à leur tour employées en tant que lieux de culte et de prière ; on y offrait également des sacrifices (Uraz 1967 : 126-131)⁸.

⁸ Les sanctuaires balkaniques des Bektaşî revêtent des particularités similaires. Nathalie Clayer (1996 : 179-180) remarque, par exemple, au sujet des deux « hauts lieux du bektachisme albanais », c’est-à-dire la grotte de Sari Saltik, située au-dessus de Krujë, et le tombeau d’‘Abbâs ‘Alî, situé au sommet du mont Tomor : « De fait, il s’agit de sites qui semblent avoir été prédestinés à l’exercice d’un culte. Leur situation sur une hauteur peut permettre de les classer

Une grande partie de l'existence de Hacı Bektaş tourne autour des « hauts lieux » (montagne, colline) situés dans le voisinage du village de Sulucakarahöyük. L'arrivée du derviche de Khorasan dans la petite agglomération rurale, évoquant plutôt un hameau qu'une bourgade, est précédée de plusieurs épisodes d'ascèse sévère, qui semblent la préparer et sont désignées dans l'hagiographie par les vocables *çile*, *erbayin* et *riyâzat*, au sens d'« ascèse, mortification du corps »⁹. Une fois arrivé à Sulucakarahöyük et accueilli, puis hébergé par ses premiers disciples, à savoir Kadıncık Ana et son mari Idris, Hacı Bektaş se fait aménager une retraite (*halvet yurdu* ou *çilehane*), qui deviendra bientôt son refuge de prédilection ; cette cellule sera également appelée par la suite *kızılca halvet*, « la cellule rougeâtre » (MHBV 1995 : 35, 36-37, 43, 49, 62). La cellule, à laquelle s'ajoutera plus tard un « couvent » (*tekke*), suggère dès le début l'orientation spirituelle de l'étranger, qui préfère se recueillir et prier dans des endroits peu conventionnels, totalement différents à la formule prescrite par l'islam dogmatique¹⁰.

L'hagiographie fait souvent référence à la montagne d'Arafat (de fait, plutôt une colline), à la montagne du Manteau (Hırka Dağı) et à la montagne du Supplice (Çile/Çille Dağı), qui paraît être synonyme de la montagne du Manteau.

dans la catégorie des sanctuaires liés au culte de la montagne. » S'y ajoutent « l'atmosphère magique et mystérieuse » créée par la source dans le rocher, les forêts de chênes, la montagne, etc. Cette observation reste valable pour maints lieux de culte Bektaşî, dans les Balkans comme ailleurs.

⁹ Quarante ans d'ascèse sévère avant d'assumer son activité missionnaire (MHBV 1995 : 8), un *çile* de quarante jours en Badakhchan (MHBV 1995 : 11), des *erbayin* dans tous les lieux saints où il s'arrête à l'occasion de son pèlerinage aux hauts lieux de l'islam – La Mecque, Médine, Nadjaf, Jérusalem, Alep (MHBV 1995 : 17) –, un *erbayin* dans la caverne des « Sept Dormants » (*Ashab-ı Kehf*) en Elbistan (MHBV 1995 : 18), un *erbayin* avant de monter sur la « montagne » d'Arafat, où se trouve une grotte (appelée *çilehane*) devant laquelle il fait jaillir une source qui sera nommée ensuite Zemzem, et un nouveau *erbayin* après cet exploit (MHBV 1995 : 26-28), un *erbayin* initiatique (MHBV 1995 : 61-62). Suivant Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı (1977 : 80-82), les termes *çile* et *erbayin* désignaient, dans tous les cercles soufis, le même type d'épreuve, à savoir une période de quarante jours durant laquelle le derviche se retirait du monde (d'habitude, dans un espace spécialement aménagé dans ce but, à l'intérieur d'un *tekke*) et se consacrait à la prière, tout en réduisant progressivement sa nourriture et son sommeil ; il ne quittait l'espace de son expiation que dans des circonstances impératives ; la période d'épreuve pouvait se répéter à plusieurs reprises si le cheik qui évaluait les pensées et les rêves du derviche le jugeait nécessaire, en raison de la nature négative de ceux-ci. Cette formule radicale n'était pas prescrite par les confréries des Bektaşî et des Mevlevî, qui mettaient plutôt l'accent sur le service du supérieur ; pourtant, elle n'était pas interdite à ceux qui désiraient la pratiquer. Rappelons aussi, au sujet de la durée de cet exercice spirituel, que le nombre quarante « est le nombre de l'attente, de la préparation, de l'épreuve ou du châtiment. » (Chevalier / Gheerbrant 1974 : 70)

¹⁰ Lors de son arrivée à Sulucakarahöyük, il est découvert en prière, dans une mosquée ; il ne semble plus y revenir ensuite.

Le texte fait également mention d'une colline située tout près de Kırşehir, qui offre une belle perspective de la ville et au sommet de laquelle se retrouvent souvent, pour bavarder, Hacı Bektaş Veli et Ahi Evran, le saint patron des corporations anatoliennes (MHBV 1995 : 51). D'autre part, le nom du village Sulucakaraöyük, appelé parfois Kara (H)öyük, « Le tertre noir », s'avère hautement significatif du cadre symbolique où évolue le protagoniste de la légende ; le vocable (*h*)öyük, assez fréquent dans la toponymie anatolienne d'hier et d'aujourd'hui¹¹, désigne d'habitude un tertre artificiel, un tumulus¹², à savoir un lieu consacré aux inhumations ou, du moins, renfermant des vestiges d'ancienne date ; il est synonyme du vocable arabe *tell*, qui a le même sens. L'allusion impliquée par le toponyme Kara (H)öyük n'est pas très claire. Serait-ce question de la montagne d'Arafat, située à environ trois kilomètres du centre de l'agglomération actuelle ? Si oui, cela nous conduirait à l'idée que la soi-disant « montagne d'Arafat » était perçue par les autochtones comme une forme de relief artificielle, de longue date, associée peut-être à certains cultes immémoriaux, ce qui expliquerait le réflexe du derviche de Khorasan de se l'approprier et de lui conférer une fonction nouvelle, superficiellement islamique, selon le principe que « les gens prient toujours dans les mêmes endroits ».

La montagne (colline) d'Arafat est donc mise par l'hagiographie en connexion explicite avec son homonyme mecquois ; le caractère délibéré de cette connexion est confirmé par le nom attribué à la source captée par Hacı Bektaş sur la même montagne, qui sera appelée Zemzem. Hacı Bektaş se retire parfois dans une grotte située sur l'Arafat, que l'on désigne par le vocable *çilehane*, « gîte du supplice » ; cette grotte n'est pas sans rappeler la grotte de Hirâ, dans la montagne de la Lumière (Jabal an-Nûr), où le Prophète de l'islam avait l'habitude de se retirer et de méditer avant qu'il ne reçût la Révélation.

Les retraites pieuses sur les montagnes, les collines ou dans les grottes, de même que les prières ou les rituels accomplis dans de pareils endroits, constituent un motif courant dans les hagiographies vouées aux santons anatoliens, y compris

¹¹ Certaines de ces agglomérations sont devenues célèbres notamment grâce aux fouilles et aux sites archéologiques qui s'y trouvent – par exemple, Çatalhöyük et Karahöyük (région de Konya), Alacahöyük (région de Çorum), Çayönü Höyüğü (région de Diyarbakır), Arslantepe Höyüğü (région de Malatya), Alişar Höyüğü (région de Yozgat), Has Höyük (région de Kırşehir), etc.

¹² Voir, pour l'étymologie et les attestations de ce mot, Kâşgarlı Mahmûd 2005 : 383 (« yer seviyesinden yüksekte olan her türlü zemin, örneğin bir tepecik [Oğuz lehçesi] » – « tout terrain plus haut que le niveau du sol, par exemple une petite colline [dialecte Oğuz] » ; Clauson 1972 : 271-272 (« an artificial mound, cairn, and the like », « any piece of raised ground like an artificial mound », « artificial mound ») ; Eren 1999 : 181 (« toprak yığını, yapma tepe » – « élévation, monticule de terre, colline artificielle »). Le vocable, qui apparaît aussi sous d'autres formes (*iyyük*, *hüyük*, *öyek*), est attesté en moyen turc, plus exactement chez les Oğuz, sous la forme *öyük*, mais aussi chez les anciens Kiptchaques ; il provient de la racine *öy-*, au sens d'« empiler, entasser ».

celles consacrées à d'autres saints hommes assimilés par la tradition Bektaşi. Nous mentionnons, à titre d'exemple, quelques « témoins » albanais de cette pratique rituelle : la grotte de Sarı Saltık dans les parages de la ville de Krujë, le sanctuaire du même santon sur le sommet de la montagne de Pashtrik, la grotte de Balim Sultân dans la région de Martanech, le tombeau d'Abbâs 'Alî sur la montagne de Tomor, etc. Dans tout ces cas, il s'agit de sanctuaires situés dans des régions montagneuses, d'accès difficile, qu'on ne peut atteindre qu'en été et qui constituent le but de plusieurs pèlerinages, annuels ou pas, collectifs ou individuels. Ceux-ci ont lieu d'habitude aux approches des fêtes de Saint Georges (vers le 6 mai) et de Saint Élias (vers le 20 août). Les sanctuaires, ainsi que d'autres lieux de culte des Bektaşi, s'associent à certaines sources réputés sacrées, auxquelles on attribue des propriétés curatives, comme celle de la grotte de Sarı Saltık, d'où s'écoule, goutte à goutte, une eau rougeâtre, fait qui ne reste pas sans explication dans les légendes locales¹³ (Clayer 1996 : 169-172). Cette eau tirant sur le rouge n'est pas sans nous faire penser au refuge dit *kızılca halvet*, dont se servait Hacı Bektaş à Sulucakarahöyük.

La montagne polaire de la tradition Bektaşi reste cependant Hirka Dağı¹⁴, « la montagne du Manteau », mentionnée à plusieurs reprises dans l'hagiographie, et qui semble remplir un rôle central dans l'existence rituelle de la proto-communauté Bektaşi, en tant que montagne paradigmatique – un véritable « nombril du monde ».

Voici quelques contextes fort parlants, qui le mettent en exergue :

« [Hacı Bektaş] se dirigea vers la montagne du Manteau [Hirka Dağı]. Sur le sommet de la montagne se trouvait un genévrier. Hünkâr lui dit : 'Ô genévrier, cache-moi un instant avec tes branches, pour que je te cache, moi aussi, jusqu'au Jugement dernier'. Le genévrier prit la forme d'une tente, tout en dirigeant son branchage vers la *qibla*, et Hünkâr entra [dans cette tente] et se mit à prier. Il y resta quarante jours. Cet arbre-là est appelé de nos jours 'Devçik [Le Petit Géant]'. » (MHBV 1995 : 25)

Saru Ismail, le disciple préféré de Hacı Bektaş, s'adresse un jour à son maître comme suit :

« Ô seigneur des saints, les gens ont vu brûler deux cierges sur la montagne du Manteau'. Hünkâr lui dit : 'Ce sont les saints invisibles/cachés, ils sont venus nous voir. Ils se sont levés de leurs places et sont venus jusqu'ici, allons nous aussi [les rejoindre là-bas].' Il se leva de sa place et monta sur la montagne du

¹³ « La source jaillit lorsque Sarı Saltık frappe la roche de son bâton ; l'écoulement du liquide rouge proviendrait de la pastèque qu'il jeta en l'air lorsqu'on vint le prévenir des menaces qui pesaient sur lui. » (Clayer 1996 : 173)

¹⁴ Montagne volcanique culminant à 1683 mètres d'altitude, située à environ 15 kilomètres de la ville actuelle de Hacıbektaş (auparavant, Sulucakarahöyük).

Manteau, accompagné par Saru Ismail. Il bavarda avec les saints pendant trois nuits et rentra ensuite à Karaöyük. [Ses autres] califes/successeurs dirent à Saru Ismail: 'Où êtes-vous allés ? Car tu est rentré très vite !' Saru Ismail leur répliqua : 'Comment ça, vite ?! On est resté sur la montagne du Manteau, en causant avec les saints invisibles/cachés, ni moins ni plus que trois jours et trois nuits.' [Les autres] califes/successeurs [de Hacı Bektaş] rétorquèrent : 'Comment ça, trois jours et trois nuits ?! Vous êtes partis aujourd'hui, en début d'après-midi, pour revenir avant le coucher du soleil.' Saru Ismail se rendit compte qu'il s'agissait d'un miracle accompli par les saints, sur quoi il se tut. » (MHBV 1995 : 64-65)

L'épisode relaté plus haut présente un intérêt tout à fait particulier, car il met en œuvre quelques motifs de prédilection non seulement pour les hagiographies, mais aussi pour les contes de fées, les récits et les légendes toponymiques de Turquie : les saints invisibles, intercesseurs pour l'humanité, rattachés à l'impondérable des cieux et, partant, à l'ésotérisme et à la « nuit de l'ésotérisme », ayant de ce fait l'habitude de se réunir sur les sommets des montagnes, et encore la lumière associée à l'idée de sainteté. Irène Mélikoff (1996 : 134-135) considère que les entités désignées par le syntagme *ga'ib erenler* suggèrent, ou bien représentent les esprits tutélaires des chamans ; on ne saurait d'autre part ignorer le motif des « quarante saints invisibles/cachés », participants à une agape secrète présidée par le calife 'Alî, qui aurait eu lieu dans la nuit de l'ascension céleste du Prophète de l'islam (*al-Mi'râj*) – réunion qui allait constituer le prototype des réunions rituelles (*cem*) de la future confrérie des Bektaşî. Ces vénérables, dont l'identité réelle reste celée à leurs contemporains et qui constituent l'élite spirituelle, la fine fleur des initiés musulmans, comptent parmi les *rijâl* (Uludağ 1991 : 189, 392). Ils sont les saints médiateurs entre l'homme et Dieu, évoqués dans tout le monde islamique autant pour leur piété exemplaire, qui leur assure une relation privilégiée avec la divinité, que pour leur capacité de parcourir des distances appréciables en un clin d'œil, en veillant sur l'équilibre de l'univers. Ce motif a laissé des traces durables non seulement dans la littérature savante, mais encore dans la littérature populaire, et se retrouve dans maintes civilisations en terres d'islam ; à notre avis, il est d'origine préislamique.

La relation de Hacı Bektaş avec les saints invisibles et notamment avec l'« imam » 'Alî, dont il prétend être l'incarnation en tant que « mystère [*sır*] de 'Alî » (voir MHBV 1995 : 21, où l'on évoque le signe vert dans sa paume), se laisse aussi déceler dans le chapitre consacré à la mort du santon¹⁵ :

« 'Tu est mon calife/successeur chéri. Aujourd'hui, jeudi, je vais quitter ce monde. Lorsque je vais passer de vie à trépas, quitte la chambre, verrouille la

¹⁵ Cette séquence est à peu près identique à la « tradition » concernant la mort du calife 'Alî ; voir, pour détails, Birge 1994 : 139, 237 ; cf. Mélikoff 1998 : 82, n. 107.

porte et regarde vers la montagne du Supplice [Çile Dağı]. De ce côté-là va faire son apparition un homme montant un cheval gris, ayant le visage couvert d'un voile vert. Cet homme-là va laisser sa monture à la porte, entrer dans la pièce et réciter mon *Yâ Sin*. Quand il va descendre de son cheval et te saluer, tu dois répondre à son salut et lui rendre hommage. Il va apporter mon linceul, qui sera taillé du vêtement du Paradis [*hulle donu*], et va laver ma dépouille. Quand il en sera besoin, verse de l'eau [là où il te dira] et aide-le ! Confectionnez-moi un cercueil de noyer, couchez-moi là-dedans et puis enterrez-moi. Faites attention à ce que vous ne parliez avec lui ! [...] Après que Hünkâr parla ainsi à l'article de la mort, Saru Ismail se mit à pleurer et s'écria : 'Dieu m'en préserve !' Hünkâr le consola en lui disant : 'On ne meurt pas, on ne fait que changer de forme'. Ensuite il se prosterna et glorifia le Prophète. Il récita son propre *Yâ Sin*, puis rendit son âme, en le confiant à Dieu. Saru Ismail accomplit son dernier désir, en lui recouvrant le visage de son manteau, et quitta la pièce, en verrouillant la porte de la cellule. [...] Sur ces entrefaites, ils virent une [vague de] poussière s'élever du côté de la montagne du Supplice. Il s'approcha [d'eux] en un tournemain. Ce personnage-là tenait dans sa main, ainsi que les avait prévenus Hünkâr, une lance, son visage était dissimulé derrière un voile vert et il chevauchait un cheval gris. Il salua les saints et ceux-ci répondirent à son salut. Il enfonça sa lance dans le sol, descendit de son cheval et entra directement dans la cellule. Saru Ismail fut le seul à l'y accompagner. Kara Ahmed en garda la porte et ne permit à personne d'y entrer. Saru Ismail versa de l'eau [dans ses paumes] et l'homme au visage dissimulé derrière le voile lava la dépouille [mortelle de Hacı Bektaş]. Il transforma le « vêtement du Paradis » (*hulle donu*), qui se trouvait à sa portée, en linceul dont il recouvrit la dépouille [du saint], qu'ils placèrent ensuite [tous les deux] dans le cercueil. Ils l'emportèrent à la *musalla*. L'homme avec le cheval gris se plaça devant [eux] et dirigea la prière. Les saints se mirent sur soixante-dix rangs et suivirent [ses gestes]. Ils accomplirent la prière des morts, puis la dépouille mortelle [de Hacı Bektaş] fut emportée et descendue dans la tombe. L'homme avec le cheval gris fit ses adieux aux saints, enfourcha son cheval et s'en alla. Saru Ismail se dit : 'De qui s'agit-il, car s'il s'agit de Hızır, je l'ai certainement rencontré', et il [le suivit et] le rattrapa. 'Qui es-tu, dit-il, au nom de celui dont tu as fait la prière [des morts] et as vu le visage ? Dis-le-moi !' L'homme chevauchant le cheval gris ne put résister à la supplication de Saru Ismail et enleva son voile. Et alors, qu'est-ce que vit Saru Ismail ? Hacı Bektaş surgit brusquement devant lui. Saru Ismail se prosterna aux pieds du cheval et exprima l'étonnement qui le maîtrisait : 'Ayez pitié de moi, ô chah des saints, je suis à votre service depuis trente-trois ans, j'ai beaucoup de défauts, je ne suis pas arrivé à vous connaître, pardonnez ma faute !' Hünkâr lui dit : 'Saint est celui qui meurt avant de mourir, qui lave à lui seul sa dépouille mortelle. Va et fais de ton mieux [sur cette voie].' Il disparut de ses yeux dès qu'il prononça ces paroles. » (MHBV 1995 : 88-89)

La relation avec les saints invisibles et les personnages entourés d'une

aura de mystère, magique ou presque mythique, tel que al-Khidr (en turc, Hızır), constitue sans doute une manière implicite de se légitimer et s'ajoute à celle suggérée par l'identification de Hacı Bektaş avec le calife (imam) 'Alî. Cette relation est, en quelque sorte, renforcée et confirmée par les miracles attribués au saint, que la religiosité populaire considère, un peu partout dans le monde, comme une preuve « tangible » de sainteté¹⁶.

L'hagiographie consacrée à Hacı Bektaş Veli renferme également certaines réminiscences de dendrolatrie ; le culte des arbres était largement répandu chez les populations turques d'Asie Centrale et reste, même de nos jours, significatif en Turquie, notamment à la campagne. À l'époque préislamique, les arbres étaient censés abriter soit des esprits favorables, dont on cherchait l'appui dans des moments difficiles, soit des esprits malins, qui devaient être domptés ou neutralisés. On vénérât bon nombre d'arbres ou arbustes – sapin, mélèze, peuplier, cyprès, platane, genévrier, cèdre, chêne, mûrier, pommier, etc. –, appréciés pour leurs qualités intrinsèques, mais aussi pour leur valeur symbolique, surtout lorsqu'il s'agissait d'arbres solitaires ; on leur faisait des offrandes, ils étaient conjurés dans les circonstances défavorables, on les visitait à l'occasion des pèlerinages collectifs. Leur évolution était souvent comparée à l'existence de l'homme, de sorte que, chez certaines populations turques, les tombeaux étaient placés sous des arbres à feuillage pérenne¹⁷. Certains arbres, vénérés par tradition, arrivaient à être mis en liaison avec tel ou tel saint, dont la tombe, réelle ou fictive, se trouvait à leur proximité ; d'autres arbres, impressionnants par leur aspect ou leurs dimensions hors du commun, étaient rattachés à toutes sortes d'événements historiques. Le culte de l'arbre reste, aujourd'hui encore, effectif au sein de certaines communautés rurales de Turquie, perçues comme intégralement ou « partiellement » hétérodoxes, tels les Tahtacı et les Yörük. Les Tahtacı s'occupent surtout du forestage ; leurs cimetières ont un aspect singulier, en raison des « sarcophages » en bois, en forme de ruches, agrémentant les tombes ou, en l'absence de ceux-ci, des clôtures de bois et des arbres les enjolivant.

L'hagiographie de Hacı Bektaş abonde en réminiscences de l'ancienne dendrolatrie turque ; le texte fait tout spécialement référence au genévrier (*ardıç*), évoqué le plus souvent en liaison étroite avec la montagne du Manteau. Voici un

¹⁶ « Il y a un type idéal de saint, auquel tendent à ressembler tous les saints objets de légendes. C'est pourquoi les épisodes, les détails descriptifs, les noms même sont interchangeables. » (Van Genep 1912 :128)

¹⁷ Dans le système cosmologique des Turcs préislamiques « la direction de l'élément arbre (*igac*) était l'est, sa saison – le printemps, son moment de la journée – le matin, sa couleur – le bleu azur, ses formes célestes (*gök cisimleri*) – la constellation Kök-luu (le ciel dragon), sa planète – Jupiter, appelée Igaç-yultuz (*ağaç yıldızı*) ou Ongay, ainsi que l'aspect des étoiles appelées Oiseau (Niao) lorsqu'au zénith. » (Esin 2001 : 25)

fragment que nous trouvons fort éloquent quant à la valeur symbolique que revêt le genévrier pour la communauté de Sulucakarahöyük, surtout lorsqu'il est associé à un autre motif fréquent dans la légende qui nous intéresse – celui du feu, rattaché plus d'une fois à la danse, probablement extatique :

« Un jour, [Hacı Bektaş] sortit à la promenade avec ses derviches, en se dirigeant vers la montagne du Manteau [Hırka Dağı]. Une fois arrivés sur la montagne, il s'adressa à ses derviches comme suit : 'Allez, dépêchez-vous et allumez un feu !'. Ses derviches empilèrent le bois mort et les brindilles qu'ils avaient ramassés dans les alentours et les allumèrent. Lorsque le feu se mit à brûler, Hünkâr [Hacı Bektaş] fut saisi par l'extase et commença à danser la *semâ*' [la danse extatique des derviches]. Ses derviches le rejoignirent. Ils contournèrent le feu à quarante fois. Hacı Bektaş ôta alors son manteau, le jeta dans le feu, puis recula. Le manteau brûla entièrement et se réduisit en cendres. Ensuite, Hünkâr prit les cendres, les dispersa dans l'air et dit : 'Qu'il pousse du bois partout où ces cendres sont tombées !' ; après cela, il regagna sa place. Dès lors, le bois sur la montagne se multiplia d'un jour à l'autre. Les derviches allaient [sur la montagne], coupaient [la quantité de bois nécessaire], l'apportaient [à leur *tekke*], allumaient le feu et s'y chauffaient. C'est pourquoi la montagne [en question] fut appelée « la montagne du Manteau » [Hırka Dağı]¹⁸ ; son bois ne s'épuisera pas jusqu'à la fin du monde. » (MHBV 1995 : 36)

Rappelons que c'est sur la même montagne, plus précisément sous les branchages du genévrier à l'abri duquel Hacı Bektaş avait l'habitude de passer ses loisirs, que se produisaient les rencontres avec les « saints invisibles/cachés » (*ga'ib erenleri*), dont l'arrivée était signalée par deux bougies/flambeaux allumés sur son sommet (voir *supra*). Irène Mélikoff (1996 : 134-135; 1998 : 85-87; 2000 : 282-286) parle de l'effet hallucinogène de la fumée dégagée pendant l'incinération de la variété de genévrier appelée *juniperus excelsa* ou *juniperus macropoda*, qui pousse à haute altitude, au-delà de la zone des conifères, et garde sa verdure en hiver, ce qui serait de nature à expliquer son emploi dans les rituels chamaniques, afin de provoquer la transe. L'épisode relaté plus haut et d'autres pareilles témoigneraient donc d'une pratique archaïque, perpétuée à travers les rituels, ou du moins des réminiscences de rituels chamaniques, jamais complètement abandonnés dans le nouveau contexte anatolien où évoluaient les tribus turques immigrées d'Asie Centrale ou du Khorasan.

À notre avis, les pratiques de ce genre, quoique souvent rencontrées dans les rituels chamaniques, dérivent plutôt de l'animisme, qui continue à coexister avec l'islam, surtout dans les régions rurales de la Turquie ; c'est justement à cet animisme latent que sont dues les pratiques apotropaïques comportant le

¹⁸ On reconnaît dans ce passage les traces d'une légende oronymique à l'usage des fidèles de l'ordre.

genévrier. Pertev Naili Boratav (1973 : 135-136) cite, parmi les mesures de protection contre les charmes employées en Turquie, la représentation du signe de la croix (il s'agit là d'une possible influence chrétienne) sur les seuils des maisons, au moyen du goudron de genévrier. Des traces de l'ancien animisme se retrouvaient non seulement chez les Turcs islamisés, mais aussi chez les Turcs manichéens, qui tenaient le genévrier pour sacré ; ils avaient l'habitude de couvrir chaque soir le feu avec du cendre, pour le rallumer le lendemain matin à l'aide d'une branche de genévrier que l'on promenait ensuite à travers toutes les pièces de la maison (Uraz 1967 : 122). Les branches de genévrier étaient également employées dans les *tekke* de certaines confréries mystiques pour des fumigations (*tiitsü*). D'autre part, le genévrier compte aussi parmi les arbres ou les arbrisseaux plantés dans les parages de beaucoup de lieux de pèlerinage (*yatır*) en Turquie, à côté du sapin, du platane, du micocoulier, de l'hêtre, etc.¹⁹ ; l'abattage ou l'endommagement de ce type très spécial d'arbres passent pour néfastes et sont même regardés comme des péchés, bien que les populations locales aient du mal à éclaircir ces préjugés (Boratav 1973 : 65-66). En tout cas, il s'agit presque toujours d'arbres durables, résistants aux conditions météorologiques défavorables, donc atypiques par rapport à d'autres formes de végétation ; en vertu de cette qualité maîtresse, ils suggèrent l'impérissabilité et « la vie éternelle » ; enfin, certaines espèces poussent lentement, ce qui les rend d'autant plus précieuses.

Les recherches contemporaines concernant l'espèce de genévrier dont parle Irène Mélikoff ne semblent pas en confirmer les effets hallucinogènes ; elles prouvent en outre que *juniperus excelsa/juniperus macropoda* continue d'être employée, et même à grande échelle, dans certaines régions du monde, surtout dans l'économie domestique et dans la médecine populaire. En Iran, par exemple, on utilise toutes les parties de l'arbre, depuis le tronc jusqu'au branchage et aux fruits (comestibles). Le genévrier sert de bois de chauffage, de matière première pour les fumigations (mélangé, le plus souvent, avec d'autres plantes aromatiques disponibles sur le plan local), mais aussi de remède contre les parasites des gens et des bêtes ; il est aussi réputé à titre d'antiseptique et antibactérien, en Iran comme ailleurs. Le genévrier de l'espèce mentionnée a encore d'autres emplois dans la médecine populaire : contre la stérilité féminine et pour le traitement des troubles du cycle menstruel ; pour le traitement des maladies de la prostate et des troubles de miction, des troubles cardiaques et des névroses, des problèmes digestifs ; en

¹⁹ Le genévrier le plus âgé de Turquie se trouve prétendument dans la région de Konya, aux alentours du village d'Alata (Balcılar), étant appelé par les autochtones *ağıl ardiç*, « le genévrier [à côté] de l'étable » ; son âge est estimé par les spécialistes à environ 2300 ans. Dans la zone mentionnée se trouvent aussi d'autres genévriers d'un certain âge, allant jusqu'à 600-700 ans. (<http://alatabalcilar.byethost9.com/agac.htm>)

tant que diurétique, analgésique et antithermique ; contre les affections dermatologiques, dans le traitement du diabète et des maladies respiratoires. En fin de compte, et ceci se rapporte davantage à notre propos, *juniperus excelsa* passe pour sacré, étant spécialement révérend à Semnan, au Golestan et dans les provinces de l’Azerbaïdjan occidental ; dans certaines régions de ce dernier, il est considéré comme un signe des martyrs, sa coupe étant interdite. Dans les cimetières de Turkmen Sahra (Golestan), les tombeaux des maîtres spirituels, hommes et femmes, sont encadrés de genévriers symbolisant l’immortalité ; d’après les traditions populaires de Mazandéran, la fumée se dégageant du genévrier bannit ou tient à distance les esprits malins (Pirani / Moazzeni / Mirinejad / Naghibi / Mosaddegh 2011). Le genévrier, avec ses variétés, se retrouve de nos jours dans bien des cimetières en Turquie, étant regardé, en vertu de sa longévité et du fait que son tronc résiste longtemps sans pourrir, comme un véritable emblème de la vie éternelle. Son symbolisme se trouve renforcé par l’usage du même arbre pendant la période centre-asiatique des Turcs, quand le genévrier était employé, comme il l’est aujourd’hui encore dans certaines régions de l’Iran et de la Turquie, pour des fumigations censées chasser les esprits malins. La médecine populaire turque se sert du genévrier dans des situations comparables à celles de l’Iran voisin ; en Turquie comme ailleurs, il passe pour une excellente panacée²⁰.

Il nous paraît donc fort probable qu’à part l’utilité pratique du genévrier (dans le *vilâyetnâme* de Hacı Bektaş, il est employé comme bois à brûler dans une région qui, semble-t-il, en est grandement privée), celui-ci fut employé pour se défendre contre l’ensorcellement, le mauvais œil, etc., et moins à titre d’euphorisant ou hallucinogène. Il serait aussi à remarquer, pour ce qui est de la légende susmentionnée, l’association du genévrier avec le feu, car les deux sont investis de qualités autant apotropaiques que lustrales. Cette connexion vient confirmer une remarque d’Emel Esin (2001 : 117-118), selon laquelle le culte de l’arbre chez les Turcs anciens se rattachait au culte du feu, car l’arbre était perçu comme « essence » du feu purificateur ; le même caractère lustral était attribué aux eaux.

La connexion montagne–feu–danse extatique apparaît aussi dans d’autres textes Bektaşî, par exemple l’hagiographie consacrée à Kaygusuz Abdal (XV^e siècle), comprenant une longue relation sur Abdal Musa, le maître de Kaygusuz, qui s’avère être tout aussi « excentrique » que son disciple :

« Le *bey* ordonna à ses domestiques : ‘Allez en avant, allumez le feu [et alors] Abdal Musa va s’enflammer [et puis] nous allons vous rejoindre, nous aussi’, dit-il [et se mit en marche vers (Abdal Musa) Sultan, à côté de ses soldats]. [Sultan]

²⁰ http://www.yolculuk.com.tr/sayi_63/96_endemik-bitkiler-anadolu-ve-turk-kulturunde-ardic-agaci; <http://www.habitat.org.tr/cevre-ekoloji/37-cevre/781-anadolu-kulturunde-ardic-agaci.html>

Abdal Musa, ayant connaissance de ce fait, laissa lui échapper un rugissement, de l'endroit où il se trouvait. Lorsqu'il dit une fois 'ô Dieu !' et commença à danser [la *semâ*], ses califes et ses derviches, l'entendant et le voyant, entrèrent eux aussi dans la danse, à côté de lui. Ils sortirent par la porte et allèrent à la rencontre du *bey* de Teke. À proximité de la cellule (*tekke*) d'Abdal Musa se trouvait une haute montagne. [n.s.] Celle-ci, à son tour, se mit immédiatement en branle, en emboîtant leurs pas, et Sultan, la voyant marcher derrière lui, lui jeta un regard, lui fit un signe de sa main sacrée et lui dit : 'Arrête, ma montagne, arrête !' Oyant les dires de Sultan, la montagne s'arrêta à deux reprises. Ensuite, les pierres et les arbres, incapables de rester en place, tombèrent [à leur tour] en extase. Toutes les pierres qui se trouvaient sur la montagne, les menues comme les grosses, s'égrenèrent derrière Sultan – on eût dit un corps de buffle – et se mirent à danser. Ils arrivèrent ainsi à l'endroit où se trouvait le feu allumé. Pendant que Sultan dansait dans ce feu-là, ils l'anéantirent [le feu], en l'éteignant complètement. » (Güzel 1999 : 96-97 ; cf. Atalay 1990 : 17)

Voici un autre spécimen de la même hagiographie, où Abdal Musa est pareillement associé à la danse extatique et au feu :

« Le *bey* de Teke enjoignit aux villageois comme suit : 'Apportez, au compte de chaque maison, un tas de bois, pour que nous allumions le feu et que ce saint authentique fasse son apparition, foule le feu aux pieds et passe à travers lui !' » (Atalay 1990 : 16)

Les épisodes de ce type suggèrent des connexions assez transparentes avec les anciens rituels préislamiques, plus ou moins chamaniques. De plus, il y a lieu de constater que la plupart des formules cultuelles que l'on rencontre dans ce genre de textes sont mixtes (dyades du type arbre–montagne ou eau–arbre, triades du type montagne–arbre–eau). Beaucoup d'arbres vénérés aujourd'hui en Anatolie poussent à haute altitude, aux pieds des montagnes, sur les rives des eaux courantes ou à proximité des sources d'eau²¹ ; de même, il existe bien des cas où

²¹ Les eaux courantes, ainsi que les sources sont une présence constante dans l'hagiographie de Hacı Bektaş. À peine arrivé à Sulucakaraöyük, le derviche khorasanien fait halte dans une grotte sur la montagne d'Arafât, afin de se consacrer à une retraite pieuse de quarante jours (*erbâ'in*), et y fait jaillir, sous les regards étonnés des villageois, une source qui sera appelée par la suite Zemzem (MHBV 1995 : 28) ; il est ici à noter la connexion entre la montagne, la cavité et la source, assez fréquente dans les légendes soufies anatoliennes. À une autre occasion, Hacı Bektaş creuse le sol à deux mains, tout en prononçant l'exhortation *ak pınarım !*, « coule, ma fontaine ! », et en fait jaillir une source ; il affirme, au sujet de celle-ci, qu'il s'en était servi en terres de Khorasan et qu'elle va se trouver, à partir de ce moment-là, à la disposition de Kara Donlu Can Baba, l'un de ses adeptes, alors dans de mauvais draps (*ibidem* : 40). Saru Saltuk, un autre disciple et « calife » de Hacı Bektaş, bien connu pour ses activités missionnaires dans les Balkans, creuse la terre dans plusieurs endroits et en fait jaillir des sources abondantes (*ibidem* : 46) ; Hacı Sultan, lui aussi « calife » de Bektaş, fait apparaître une fontaine, en creusant la terre dans une région aride (*ibidem* : 83), etc.

les sanctuaires (*yatur*), voire les mausolées (*türbe*) dédiés à certains santons révéérés par les autochtones se trouvent sous l'ombrage de quelque arbre majestueux.

On constate donc que l'espace où évolue Hacı Bektaş se caractérise par des renvois symboliques d'inspiration multiple, à savoir animiste, chamanique, superficiellement islamique (sunnite comme chiite), mais aussi, peut-être, judéo-chrétienne. La montagne associée au feu, le feu associé à la fumée s'élevant aux cieux où demeurent les dieux, le feu, la fumée et les eaux investis de propriétés lustrales, la montagne comme lieu privilégié de rencontre avec les messagers ou les élus des dieux (les « saints invisibles »), sinon avec les dieux cachés mêmes, l'extase provoquée par la danse et d'autres stimulants – ce sont tous des motifs universellement valables et, partant, faciles à reconnaître par tout éventuel disciple, car il s'agit de lieux communs dans maintes religions. Cet éclectisme originel, en quelque sorte paradigmatique, se reflétera dans toute l'histoire ultérieure de la confrérie Bektaşî, dont l'évolution s'avérera, plus d'une fois, problématique sous l'aspect rituel comme doctrinal. La sensation de *patchwork* qui se dégage des actes, des rites de prise en possession de l'espace et, finalement, de légitimation accomplis par Hacı Bektaş Veli ne fait que témoigner de l'aspect foncièrement éclectique de sa personnalité et de sa formation, ainsi que l'éclectisme de la communauté qui le suit. D'autre part, on ne peut s'empêcher de se demander si cette abondance de signes, de « bornes symboliques » ne se réclame en quelque sorte des auteurs anonymes de l'hagiographie, ou bien de l'auteur de sa version écrite. C'est, en quelque sorte, une interrogation purement rhétorique, en l'absence de toute réponse possible...

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CULTURAL INTERACTIONS IN THE GRAFFITI SUBCULTURE OF THE ARAB WORLD. BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND COSMOPOLITANISM

Georgiana Nicoarea
University of Bucharest

Abstract. This article aims to set the background for an analysis of Arabic graffiti as a phenomenon of urban popular culture within the framework of globalization, as an artistic manifestation that plays on the relationship between tradition and modernity. The direction proposed opposes the Arnoldian type vision of culture which is familiar to the Arabic-Islamic cultural heritage and is based on the studying of everyday life and cultural products of society in the spirit of the Birmingham School and Henri Lefebvre's statement considers the everyday as a concept that can be used as a "guiding principle for understanding society" (Lefebvre, 2000:28). The article has four parts: the first one is concerned with delimiting the field of Arabic graffiti production, the second part aims at placing graffiti within a global dynamics of culture which leads to the need to approach it as a genre that negotiates between the local and the global, while the last part looks at Arabic graffiti as articulations of conflict and cosmopolitanism.

Keywords: Arabic graffiti, modernity, globalization, cosmopolitanism.

The Arab World has always known different manifestations of artistic expression in public space, and graffiti in its modern form, is present to a greater or a lesser extent in all Arab countries. Its social importance was recently highlighted by the international media coverage of the Arab Spring, within articles and photo galleries in all the major newspapers and on news channels, not to mention the large number of blogs and web pages dedicated to it. Within the context of censorship imposed by authoritarian systems of governance, there is an increased incidence of graffiti as an important means of communication in public space, a practice that allows the free expression of opinions under the protection of anonymity.

The term graffiti originally defined the ancient inscriptions found on the ruins of Pompeii, being the plural form of the Italian graffito meaning "scratch". In its modern sense, the term is applied to drawings on walls and other urban elements, created in a public space without authorization, with spray cans or different types of paint, centered on a text, an image or a combination of both.

Graffiti as a youth culture phenomenon, whose first signs date back to World War II, has known a peak period in the 1970s and 1980s in the United States of America (Ferrell, 1993; Phillips, 1999; Snyder, 2009) and from there it

spread all over the world. As an artistic manifestation of identity in urban areas, graffiti came to public attention in the 1960s when teenagers in New York began to write their pseudonyms all over the city walls. The early history of modern graffiti starts with the story of a young New Yorker, who became the subject of a newspaper article, after covering the city's walls with his nickname, intriguing the public opinion about his identity and the reason behind his act. He was quickly followed by many other young people eager to obtain a citywide reputation and soon the competition for public attention led to the development of the graffiti culture. Subsequently, graffiti had the function of marking a territory while gangs used public space in order to make their authority known, taking to a whole new level the habit of teenager who used to leave themselves messages on the city walls (Chalfan, Prigoff, 1994:16).

Mapping the field of Arabic graffiti production

Regarding the extent of the production of graffiti in the Arab World, three major areas of interest can be identified: Lebanon, the Palestinian Territories and the Arab states that were involved in the Arab Spring. In these areas, graffiti is not just abundant but it has always been perceived, both by the public and the media, as a barometer of the society. Lebanon's religious and ethnic diversity and its position at the crossroad of the Mediterranean basin and the Arab World have contributed to the appearance and development of an active youth culture and graffiti is part of it. Secondly, the Palestinian Territories are a space where graffiti is one of the most powerful forms of protest against what is now perceived as a contemporary form of colonization. Last but not least, the social importance of graffiti and its militant functions have recently been reflected by the international media, within the coverage of the uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Syria. The media coverage of the Arab Spring has drawn attention to a type of both artistic and political expression typical for the young people of the MENA who according to UN statistics represent two thirds of the population of the Arab countries¹, with an average age of 22 years.

The presence of modern graffiti in Arab countries has always been connected to the political events and the social protests that marked the recent history of the area. Regarding Lebanon, Pascal Zoghbi traces the origins of modern graffiti in the political and religious inscriptions of the Lebanese civil war. After their removal in the 1990s, the empty place was quickly filled with western-inspired shapes, whose occurrence and development have been favored by the emergence and evolution of the hip-hop culture in the period following the

¹ United Nations Development Programme, Arab Human Development Report 2009:
<http://www.arab-hdr.org/publications/other/ahdr/ahdr2009e.pdf>

end of war (Zoghbi, 2011:80). In the Palestinian Territories, in the 1980s, the inscriptions on city walls functioned as a means of communication and political propaganda in the service of the main factions, graffiti being, as in the case of Lebanon, not the product of a subculture but of an entire community, as Mia Groendhal states (Groendhal, 2009). Graffiti in the Palestinian Territories are important elements of the Intifadas and continue to be considered a means of resistance, being inscribed not just on city walls but mainly on the Israeli West Bank Barrier. If the west side of the Berlin wall during the Cold War and the East Side Gallery subsequently, are considered the best example of graffiti as a means of political and social activism, then its correspondent in the Arab World would be the ensemble of mural paintings and graffiti pieces that accumulated in time on the Israeli West Bank Barrier. In both cases, graffiti is closely linked to political and social protest in the area and its analysis could reveal new perspectives on the way group identity is represented in the public space and its dynamics.

Arabic Graffiti within a global dynamics of culture

Even if at first glance Arabic graffiti seems greatly tributary to its forms developed by American and European artists in the late 1970's and 1980's, its forms in the Arab World appear to differentiate itself by diversity of themes and a wider and more active functionality. While studies on graffiti indicate the tag, a writer's name or signature, as the most popular form of graffiti in European and North American cities (Ferrell, 1993; Phillips, 1999; Snyder, 2009), that same conclusion is not valid for Arab urban landscape where murals and slogans on different political or social themes prevail, constituting themselves as explicit or symbolic representations of social realities and events that mark the contemporary history of the area.

The wide popularity of the internet with its social networks and the voluntary or involuntary migration within this area continuously involve young people in a never ending motion, which leaves its mark on the cultural dimensions of the graffiti scene in Arab societies. This type of mobility can be understood within what Arjun Apparudai calls "the cultural dynamics of deterritorialization" (Appadurai, 2000:49), as youth subcultures constitute themselves into a community operating more and more in ways that transcend territorial and ethnic boundaries as their presence in the World Wide Web becomes stronger every day as it is suggested in the Social Media in the Arab World² report conducted within the Center for International Media Assistance project.

² "Social Media in the Arab World: Leading up to the Uprisings of 2011", a report by Feffrey Ghannam

The cultural interactions between the Arab World and the West have been intensified by the informational revolution brought about by the use of the internet as the most important means of communication in the era of globalization which lead to what is widely recognized as a temporal and spatial compression. In a world where transport and communication technologies grow faster every day, space and time has become narrower and human perception suffered a historical change, what makes this compression define in Zygmunt Bauman's opinion a complex transformation of the parameters of the human condition. The human condition is thus confronted with a new type of social proximity in which physical distance does not matter anymore. It is what McLuhan called "the global village" or "the end of geography" in Paul Virilio's words. According to Appadurai, theorizing about the world as a "global village" appear to overestimate "the communitarian implications of the new media order" (Appadurai, 2000:29) while lacking a sense of space and this could raise the question of local authenticity. The new communication technologies lead to the unification of disparate groups around a joining experience and this could help forming new type of communities mediated by the internet, or more precisely by social networks that offer a trans-national, trans-cultural and cosmopolitan medium.

Arabic graffiti between localism, globalism and cosmopolitanism

According to Robert Fine, the cosmopolitan condition is a complex social reality that can be reconstructed and deconstructed (Fine, 2007:136) and he identifies three elements or key moments, while trying to define what cosmopolitanism actually means in our day and age, as the term has a long history behind it. The first element is the development of a variety of new practices, institutions and laws within international relations and the internet has been for some time now at the basis of some of these societal changes. Secondly, this practices, institutions and laws tend to leave a mark on the culture of world societies, and the Arab World is no exception. And last but not least, Fine mentions a moment of recalibration much needed as a result of these new evolutions. This recalibration may encompass reactions that seek to rediscover "particularity, localism and the difference that generates a feeling of the limits of unifying, ordering and integration cultural projects that are associated with western modernity" (Featherstone, 2003:350).

The local features in Arabic graffiti can be identified in some particular dimensions of this type of street art, namely the use of Arabic calligraphy and the preexistent practices of writing in public space, such as the tradition of commercial inscriptions for example, that can be found in many Arab countries. The interaction between the western graffiti scene with its long history, and local graffiti practices, is to be considered a part of the global interactions that introduce

tension between homogenization and heterogenization trends within cultural globalization. From this interaction, forms of hybridization may arise, born out of the appropriation by Arab graffiti artists, of global images, calligraphic styles and symbols. These elements are widely found in Arabic graffiti but they are reshaped by merging with local traditions and cultural elements. Nestor Garcia Canclini defines graffiti as a hybrid genre as he considers it a cultural practice that ignores the concept of patrimonial collection, a „syncretic and trans-cultural medium” (Canclini, 1995:249). Thus hybridity as a cultural dimension of globalization refers to the “global mélange” and the “unequal and asymmetric characteristics of global relations” (Pieterse, 1995:54). This does not mean that graffiti in Arab societies and its World Wide Web diffusion constitutes a phenomenon suspended in a limbo outside the limits of locality and globalism but examples of different graffiti practices seem to activate alternatively one of these two dimensions of this cultural phenomenon.

The local and global dimensions of Arabic graffiti could be related to a similar binomial complex that of reformative and transformative projects associated with cosmopolitanism. The political and social thematic of graffiti in Arab societies, based on a shared morality, can be rallied to the silent and marginalized voices that involve themselves in cosmopolitan projects, even if they are not identified as such. Inclusion as a reformative project it is combined with implication, a transformative project considered to be an alternative to separatism and to the recognition and transformation of a hegemonic imaginary by means of the people who find themselves in subaltern positions (Mignolo, 2002:174). Both types of projects live their marks on the graffiti scene in the region. Among reformative projects mention can be made about the street art festivals, graffiti workshops and other related events organized in different Arab capitals with the support of cultural centers like the Goethe Institute in Cairo and Alexandria or the British Council in Amman, alongside the non-governmental European and American organizations and the American Universities in Beirut and Cairo. The American University in Cairo, for example launched, in March 2012, a initiative in order to preserve the graffiti murals painted on the walls of Mohamed Mahmoud street that was repeatedly white-washed by security forces.

On the other side, Arab graffiti artists and writers are part of transformative projects that range from spontaneous events to workshops, and the logistics for many of these projects is managed via the internet and social networking websites that offer a less expensive and rapid way to advertise these initiatives. Some of the most popular events are the recurring Mad Graffiti Weeks (and Weekends) organized by Ganzeer, an Egyptian artist based in Cairo whose work is sometimes considered to be graffiti even if he rejects being called a graffiti or a street artist as his website indicates. One of these Graffiti weeks

was held in Cairo between the 13th and the 25th of January 2012, the last day coinciding with the first anniversary of the Egyptian Revolution of 2011, that led to the removal of Hosni Mubarak, the long lasting president of Egypt. The theme of the event was the protest against the control the Egyptian army held in the aftermath of the revolution. The graffiti subculture in Egypt, as in Tunisia, Libya, Syria and the Palestinian Territories, has a powerful counter-cultural dimension. The walls of many Arab cities bear witness to the violent protests against power and authority. The street as a meeting place and a space where revolutionary movements retains the three functions mentioned by Henry Lefebvre, the informative, the symbolic and the ludic (Lefebvre, 2003:18), and street art makes its contribution regarding all of the three functions.

Arabic graffiti as articulations of conflict and cosmopolitanism

The messages sprayed or painted on the walls of different Arab cities have been, over time, presented by the international press as an artistic reiteration and empowerment of the slogans chanted during protests. On the other hand, graffiti has been approached in scientific papers, from a sociological, anthropological or political science point of view, during and after the protests and revolutions that have shaken the Middle East: the Palestinian Intifadas (1987-1993 and 2000-2005), the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990) and more recently the Arab Spring.

All these conflicts have left their marks on the urban space and graffiti has been involved through its many functions. Many studies, such as Mia Groendhal's "Gaza Graffiti. Messages of Love and Politics", have emphasized its informative function as the messages addressed both the local and the international communities, in a context of censored and sometimes inexistent official communication. The Arab uprisings have also witnessed situations where other means to exchange information have been cut out by the authorities and even if the role of graffiti should not be overestimated, they existed and facilitated the spreading of slogans and revolutionary enthusiasm all over the cities. In Egypt for example, a collective of artists, journalists and photographers have joined efforts to preserve de graffiti of the January 25th 2011 revolution in countless efforts including the volume "Wall Talk. Graffiti of the Egyptian Revolution" that presents hundreds of images of graffiti produce during the sit-ins in Tahrir Square and the book is based on a Facebook page created by Egyptian journalist and photographer, Maya Gowaily.

During all these conflicts, the city has been a central element and graffiti reflected Henri Lefebvre's affirmation according to which the street is a place where public address becomes writing, "a place where speech can become savage and, by escaping rules and institutions, inscribe itself on the walls" (Lefebvre, 2003:19). Avoiding authority and escaping the control of institutions alongside

the desire to confront and undermine them are the key motivations behind the production of graffiti all over the world, being an extremely popular instrument of protest, especially among the young generation.

Even if graffiti in the Middle East have always been associated with conflict, and its relationship to the political context cannot be denied, countries like Lebanon or Jordan offer example of another type of graffiti, where the political elements play a smaller role. The streets of Beirut and Amman offer examples of a different kind of graffiti influenced to a greater extent by European and American styles. If the graffiti of the Intifadas or the Arab Spring are born from political confrontation inside the society, these other forms of graffiti have in common features that bring together local elements and global trends in the graffiti scene. This second type could be rallied under the name of cosmopolitan graffiti as opposed to the conflict or confrontation graffiti as it is characterized by diversality, a term defended by Mignolo joining diversity and universality within a context of cosmopolitanism.

Analyzing graffiti in an Arab context and the influences of western graffiti practices and styles, has to take into consideration the complexity of global interactions that Appadurai describes as having a “complex, transgressive and disjunctive order” (Appadurai, 2000:32) as globalization implies fluid and irregular flows of people, technologies, finance, media and ideas. These flows also leave their traces on graffiti giving them a cosmopolitan dimension through the cultural *mélange* of local and global elements. Globalism can thus be related to cosmopolitanism which in Robert Fine’s opinion has its origin in the understanding of the fact that each individual is more than what society offers, transcending the local, and this “more than the society” constitutes our humanity as cosmopolitanism “occupies the space between our humanity as such and our local identities” (Fine, 2007: 134). Space and identities can be included in the global cultural flows that form the complexity of globalization in Appadurai’s opinion, the *ethnoscapes*, *mediascapes*, *technoscapes*, *financescapes* and *ideoscapes* that are perspectival constructs determined by the actors’ “historical, linguistics and political positioning” (Appadurai, 2000:33). Graffiti is comprised in these flows as a part of the *mediascape*, being a fluid means of information production and distribution, with ephemerality and dynamics as two key characteristics. In the same time, and because of its popularity and intense media coverage, claim could be made that through the dissemination of information from local to global, graffiti might bring forward previously existing images of contemporary Arab societies, images that are not easily propagated outside the internet medium within the democracy challenged systems of government of the Arab World.

Both conflict and cosmopolitan graffiti could define new identity dimensions of certain social groups, that find themselves today, at the heart of the multitude of changes that take place in this area. One characteristic emerges from a perspectival view of Arabic graffiti is the fusion between the modern and the traditional within this specific section of art, in an era of globalization. Modern graffiti embraces aesthetics, empowering the political and social messages through a vernacular form of calligraphy sustained by an ensemble of geometrical and ornamental rules, similar to those of the Islamic calligraphic tradition.

The Arabic writing has always been cherished in the Islamic tradition for its important mission of transmitting the text of the Koran. The calligraphy and graffiti practices have in common more than the use of the letters of the Arabic alphabet. When it comes to the formation process pertaining to traditional calligraphy, in order to become a *ḥaṭṭāṭ*, a calligrapher, the disciple had to obtain an *'iḡāza*, a permit issued by his master and only after getting it, he would be entitled to use the color black (the main color used in graffiti as well) and to sign his pieces with his actual name or a given name (Schimmel, 1990: 49). The process was a strict one, with a long formative period, in which norms and different calligraphic styles had to be mastered and the signature surpassed its traditional evidential function. Being allowed to sign a piece of calligraphy was evidence of the disciple's being accepted by a community of professionals. Political and religious graffiti sometimes follow a similar line of strictly followed formative steps, for example in Gaza, Hamas is known to train their graffiti writers for long period of time before allowing them to spray the walls in the name of the organization (Zoghbi, 2011:58). In a certain way, the signature defines a graffiti artist's affiliation to a group of peers as it is an indispensable part of a graffiti piece, with its simplest form, the tag, consisting in a writer's real or given name or pseudonym.

These urban signatures were characterized by Jean Baudrillard as totemic denominations or "empty signs" (Baudrillard,1993:82) as they are not considered to reveal an identity but to merely indicate the initiation and the later affiliation to a certain group. These pseudonyms were at the beginning of graffiti's history, names borrowed from comics, accompanied by a street's number or roman numbers, indicating artistic filiations. In the Arab World, the names that assure the anonymity of famous graffiti writers are both Arabic and international, with popular culture playing a role in the connotations these names rise. In Cairo for example, where street art in general has flourished in the aftermath of the revolution, with graffiti invading the streets of the city, some choose to keep their given name as Nazeer or adopt a totemic one like El-Teneen, literary meaning The Dragon. Others adopt international ones with

popular culture connotations like Sad Panda, with pandas being fashionable images in graffiti all around the world, or Keizer, Chico and Cheetos, names of brands that are appropriated by writers dealing mainly with local themes, perhaps as an indication of their belonging to the cosmopolitan elite of Cairo.

The names of the graffiti artists are only an element with the help of which writers can choose to communicate, outside the textual messages. The use of calligraphy in street art has always been present on the walls of the Arab cities and it can be interpreted as a deliberate valorization of this particular part of the Islamic cultural heritage. But this embracement of a classical artistic practice could also be understood as a local contribution to a genre that is perceived more as a global one. Arab graffiti writers and the international graffiti community are not isolated from one another and international practices, conventions, symbols, messages and even life styles associated with the western graffiti subculture can be found on the walls of many Arab cities. Walking the streets of Cairo for example, one can encounter portraits of Che Guevara, the Argentine Marxist revolutionary, the famous Guy Fawkes masks, popular with the Anonymous hacktivist group or comic books characters, all of which could be found in graffiti all over the world. The Arab cities seem to be, from this perspective as well, cities of the world, multi-cultural, multi-linguistic cities. In these cosmopolitan cities the local is produced through constant negotiation of space and the interactions between the urban and socio-political realities.

Maintaining the two dimensions of cultural interactions, the global and the local, and their subjection to a dichotomist analysis while taking advantage of the tension between them could prove itself to facilitate the understanding of the cosmopolitan world we now live in. Keeping in mind the local particularities with their historical extent does not mean acknowledging globalization's weakness, as in Huyssen's terms, we can say that the global in fact shows its strength "in the ability to incorporate the local and to be transformed by it" (Huyssen, 2001:13). As such, the global takes a local inflexion and it is continuously negotiated according to each cultural area and the tension is a mark of this nexus. In order to have a clear image and an objective position in studying forms of cosmopolitan culture, like graffiti, an impact of the west or the cultural models derived from it is to be avoided. It is thus necessary to have a vision of global culture, a cosmopolitan view that should embrace and maintain a dialectical tension between the universal and the particular, instead of choosing one of the two. This cosmopolitan view does not deny, nor does it exaggerate, the impact of western popular and mass culture, technology and lifestyle, but instead it underlines plurality "concentrating on spatial diffusion, translation, appropriation, transnational connections, going beyond limits, and all of these have intensified during the last decades" (Huyssen, 2001:4).

Analyzing plurality could prove itself to be adequate for describing cultural interactions in an era of globalization, materializing in an analysis of flows and of the relationship between space and cultural production.

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SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE TRANSLATION OF THE TERM OF ADDRESS 'USTĀD IN NAGUIB MAHFOUZ'S NOVELS

Corina Postolache
University of Bucharest

Abstract. Some terms of address have a primary lexical meaning (described by a dictionary definition) and a social meaning (additional meaning taken on beyond the dictionary definition in particular situations). No address form can be understood in isolation. That is to say no one can comprehend the exact meaning of any form without considering the context in which such a term is used. Therefore, the translation of a certain term of address is bound to acknowledge the context of the conversation in which it is placed – the speakers, the setting, the situation of communication, formality/informality, etc.

Keywords: address form, term of respect, context, translation.

1. Introduction

This article discusses the issues related to the translation of the Arabic address form *ustād* to English and Romanian. With this in view, I use as corpus the three novels that make up Naguib Mahfouz¹'s *Trilogy: Bayna Al-Qasrayn* (1956), *Qasr Aš-Šawq* (1957), *As-Sukkariyya* (1957), the English translation of these novels by William Maynard Hutchins (published under the titles *Palace Walk*, *Palace of Desire* and *Sugar Street*) and their translation into Romanian by Nicolae Dobrișan (brought out under the titles *Bayna el-Qasrein*, *Qasr eș-Šawq* and *Es-Sukkariyya*).

These three novels by the Nobel Prize winner Naguib Mahfouz were chosen for this analysis because they depict a detailed and complex picture of the Egyptian political, social and cultural life in the first half of the 20th century. Therefore, the *Trilogy* offers a complete image of the social dynamics and interpersonal relations between people from various social and cultural backgrounds from contemporary Egypt.

It is essential to note, from the very beginning of this analysis, the 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 variety of the language, there is the

¹ We have taken on the way in which the author himself transliterates his name, though it is pronounced *Nagib Mahfuz*.

spoken language, the dialects used in everyday communication and any informal setting in every Arab country.

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 – Mahfouz included – have attempted to suggest the spoken language by using different textual markers. 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.

Thus, although offering an accurate image of the real social interactions, it is obvious that the dialogues in Mahfouz's novels do not represent in fact the actual manner of speaking. Because of the "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. The address forms found in the *Trilogy*, which are a mixture of literary terms and adapted dialectal words, also play an important role in rendering the feeling of authentic spoken language. This also makes it difficult for the translator, who must take into account the different language registers suggested by the various discourse markers.

Of the essence is also the theoretical framework consisting of works that discuss the most important aspects concerning the address forms in Arabic, taking into account the essential elements that shape up an address system. Among the most relevant ones are Brown and Gilman (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, Braun (1988) who emphasized the idea that the social implication is essential in the address system.

Therefore, terms of address should be understood and translated only in the light of their socio-pragmatic value. Hence, the strategies to be employed when translating such terms should also take into account all these factors.

2. Address in Arabic

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).

Thus, the manner of address and the choice of certain address forms are influenced by several factors: religion, the social distance between interlocutors (which further depends on factors such as sex, age, profession, social status, wealth, family background), the speaker's attitude, the speaker's authority, the geographical location (forms of address specific to some regions), ethnicity, race and others. In the Arab world, religion is among the most important factors conditioning the manner of address. Muslims frequently use terms with religious connotations, such as *hağ* "pilgrim", *şaykh* "sheikh" and *`akh* "brother" that are never employed when speaking to somebody of a different religion.

Other culture-specific aspects that must be taken into consideration are related to the fundamental role played by family and social relations in the Arab world. Dornier 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, 1998: 20).

Another important factor conditioning the manner of address is the geographical location. Some forms of address are specific to a certain geographical area, and even if their meaning can be found in other countries, their form differs. For example, the term *zoul* used in Sudan to mean "people", "men" is never used for addressing in other Arab countries. However, we find its equivalent: *zalama* in Syria, *riğāl* in the Gulf.

All the same, a Syrian will use the same address form as an Egyptian or Jordanian, but with a different meaning. Many address forms are culture-specific and will not be properly understood and perceived by members of another society. As Al-Bainy points out, the term *`ustād* ("professor", "Mr.") is often used as a general term of respect, but when a Syrian army officer uses it when approaching one of the soldiers, the term doesn't denote respect, but, on the contrary, it is used with the express purpose of humiliating, belittling him (Al-Bainy, 1996: 27). Thus, the term *`ustād* can never be translated as "professor" or "Mr." in this context, without a full explanation for the non-Syrian reader. If it were translated as such, the meaning would change altogether.

3. The meaning of the address form *ustād*

As seen above, a term of address can have simultaneously a primary lexical meaning and a social meaning. In the literal sense, the overt meaning of the term can refer to a relationship between speakers (e.g. father, son, brother,

etc.), a job (e.g. doctor, professor, etc.) and so on. On the other hand, in every society, certain terms of address take on additional meaning in particular situations.

Dictionaries² translate the term *ustād* as “teacher”, “professor”, “master”, “Mr.”. *Al-Mawrid* gives salience to the basic meaning of “teacher”, “professor”, “lecturer”, “reader” and only mentions the meaning of “Mr.” without any further explanations. On the other hand, Wehr differentiates between “master”, “professor”, “teacher” recorded in the sense of academic titles, and the other use of the term *ustād* – form of address to intellectuals (lawyers, journalists, officials, writers and poets). *The Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic* explains the term both as a “title of, and polite form of address or reference to, a teacher or to a man not otherwise qualified for a title (e.g. by profession or status)” and as “professor”.

4. Translation of the address form *ustād*

4.1. Some problems related to translations from Arabic

When discussing the problems raised by the translation of literary works from Arabic, Kilpatrick starts from the assumption that some translations are “more impossible” than others (Kilpatrick, 2000: 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 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 with the cultural differences in question (Kilpatrick: 431-433).

A widespread phenomenon that has influenced the translation of Oriental texts into Western languages consists in the adaptation of those texts to the Western taste and the Western vision 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, represents in fact a

² Baalbaki, Rohi, *Al-Mawrid*, Beirut: Dar El-Ilm Lilmalayin, 2005; *Dictionnaire arabe-français* (rédaction Raig, Daniel) Paris: Larousse, 1999; Wehr, Hans, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, London: MacDonald & Evans LTD, 1980; Badawi, El-Said, Hinds, Martin, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic*, Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1986.

manipulation and adaptation of the original text, in order to meet the Western fantasy about the East, thus influencing the success of all other literary works translated from Arabic (Angheliescu, 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 only natural that, due to cultural gap, some Arabic words are difficult or impossible to translate into European languages, there is also a trend to keep Arabic words in the translation with no other purpose except the intent to make the text seem more exotic, interesting and mysterious.

4.2. The translation of the address form *`ustād* to English

The term *`ustād* is found in the *Trilogy* as an address form for 17 times. It is used in dialogues by itself only in 4 instances, in the other 13 it is followed by the given name or the full name of the addressee.

When acting as an address form by itself, *`ustād* is translated as "Professor" in 3 instances and once as "sir". When followed by a name, *`ustād* is translated in one context as "Professor" and in 12 cases as "Mr".

All these instances are schematized in the table below, which clearly shows the term in the source text and its translation in English, as well as the number of occurrences for each term.

Table 1. The term *`ustād* in the English translation on the *Trilogy*

Original Arabic text		Translation into English	
The term in the Arabic text	Number of occurrences	The term in the English translation	Number of occurrences
<i>`ustād</i> (without name)	4	Professor	3
		sir	1
<i>`ustād</i> + name	13	Professor	1
		Mr.	12

As suggested by the various translations of the term, *`ustād* has a wide range of uses. At times, it conveys respect for the professional status of the interlocutor, but its use is often extended to any educated person or to anyone who

is in the position to impose respect. When it is used figuratively, the pragmatic function of the term changes completely, and it sometimes has ironic connotations: for instance, when a man mockingly calls his youngest brother “Professor” during an argument about the latter’s philosophy on life and women.

On one occasion, the father addresses his son as *`ustād* when he wants to express his approval and admiration. In this case the term is translated into English as “Professor”.

Most often, *`ustād* is used as a general term of respect when talking to acquaintances or when being introduced to strangers. In these cases, the term is always followed by the name of the addressee and is translated as “Mr.”, thus suggesting respect and social distance between the speaker and the hearer.

4.3. The translation of the address form *`ustād* to Romanian

The Romanian translation of the *Trilogy* records a larger number of equivalents for the term *`ustād* than the English variant. In the 4 instances when it is not accompanied by the name of the addressee, it is translated twice as “maestre” (“master”), once as “tinere” (“young man”) and once ‘băiete” (“boy”). When followed by a name, *`ustād* is put into Romanian in 7 cases as “domnul” (“Mr.”), once “maestre” (“master”) and 5 times it is not translated and the original form is kept, transliterated as *ustaz*.

Table 2. The term *`ustād* in the Romanian translation on the *Trilogy*

Original Arabic text		Translation into Romanian	
The term in the Arabic text	Number of occurrences	The term in the Romanian translation	Number of occurrences
<i>`ustād</i> (without name)	4	maestre	2
		tinere	1
		băiete	1
<i>`ustād</i> + name	13	domnul	7
		maestre	1
		<i>ustaz</i>	5

The footnote provided by the Romanian translator to this term of address explains 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 such as lawyers, journalists, writers, poets or high-rank officials (Dobrișan 1987: 62).

The Romanian translations capture the interesting dynamics of the social relations in the *Trilogy*. When the person addressed with the term *ʿustād* has an equal or a higher social status than the speaker, the translation is “domnule” (“Mr.”) or “maestre” (“master”). On the other hand, when the status of the speaker is superior, the appellative *ʿustād* 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 addresses his son.

As for the instances where the term *ʿustād* is not translated, it seems to be preserved in order to convey the original meaning of general term of respect. It is difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between the contexts in which it is translated in the Romanian version, and the ones where it is not.

For example, the same person is referred to on separate occasions with similar address forms, consisting of the term *ʿustād* and a surname. In one of these cases the translator chooses to equate the term as “domnule” (“sir”), while in the other he chooses to keep it as such. Similarly, when being introduced to strangers, the term *ʿustād* is often present before the given name or the full name of the addressees. However, in all instances where *ʿustād* is not translated and transliterated *ustaz* it illustrates a figurate use of the word and is always followed by the addressee’s name.

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, besides the wish to add local flavor 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.

5. Concluding remarks

This analysis sheds light on the various problems raised by the translation of the address form *ʿustād* to English and Romanian, in particular, and by the translation of the Arabic terms of address, in general. The translator should take into consideration, alongside the “dictionary” meaning of a certain term of address, its social significance, the context of the conversation in which it is uttered – the speakers, the setting, the situation of communication, the degree of formality/informality and the like.

The task proves to be even more challenging for the translator who faces a literary work written in a language deliberately constructed to be attractive to its public, since it combines different language registers ranging from literary terms and adapted dialectal words. As in the case of the *Trilogy*, the translator plays an important role in rendering in the target text the feeling of authentic spoken language.

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 translating the culturally-loaded words), each with its own advantages and disadvantages.

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THE PROBLEM OF SUFI ARABIC TEXTS TRANSLATION

Ruzana Pskhu

Russian Peoples' Friendship University, Moscow

*A Greek was sitting by the sea,
He was singing and suddenly he began to weep.
A Russian asked him to translate the words of the song.
And he translated: "a bird was sitting on a mountain for a long time, but suddenly
flapped with the wings and went off across the forest and the sea... The song is over!"
There is nothing in the Russian language, but what a deep sorrow in the Greek language we have.
Vladimir Dahl*

Abstract. The paper deals with the problem of Arabic Sufi texts translation. The main questions are (1) possibility of Arabic-Russian translation of religious and philosophical texts, (2) definition of specific features of such translation. Two levels of solution of the problem (linguistic and philosophical levels) allow concluding, that there is an impossibility of strict scientific translation of Sufi texts.

Keywords: Sufism, translation, Arabic language, language and consciousness, worldview, language game, interpretation.

It is obviously that a historian of philosophy should begin to investigate any philosophical system with an analysis of original texts. Such textological investigation is the basis of history of philosophy as a discipline. Sometimes the analysis of original texts can become not only the first obligation (if we take the Ancient and Medieval philosophy of the East), but also the only obligation and possibility to penetrate into worldview of the investigated writer. It happens when the scholar doesn't know anything about the circumstances, biography, education, family etc. of the author of the text under the question. But the analysis of the original texts supposes not only reading the translations of them, but first of all reading them in original language, in other words, in the language, which they are composed on. As a rule, even if a scholar has many very good and adequate translations of the text, he always reads the original text (French, German, Arabic, Sanskrit or Urdu etc.) and put forward his theories only after analysis of the original sources.

Moreover, great number of translations discovers a paradox: there are

many translations, but all of them cannot replace the original text. And then a question arises: what purpose is pursued by translation? It seems that the reply on this simple question is evident: for helping people who don't know the foreign languages and who can read the translation and understand its content. But no one translator will say that his translation absolutely adequately reflects the original text. And at the same time he will never say that his translation only approximately reflects (or approximates) the original text. Usually the translator tries to explain his version of translation, to give it the grounding. It's rather interesting to try to understand why he translates, knowing beforehand that every translation is only a kind of interpretation and in certain sense is the misrepresentation of the original text? To reply on this question "what purpose is pursued by translation?" one should try to reply on another question: "how the translation is realisable?". The problem of translation can be examined on different levels. For example, the Russian scholar and historian of Western philosophy Natalia Avtonomova studies this problem on the philosophical level. She supposes that the translation is a special kind of cognition or knowledge [Avtonomova 2008:12]. This author describes several levels of possible understanding of translation: 1) of general philosophy (translation as a form of reflexion); 2) sociological (translation as a practice of cultural mediation); 3) cultural (translation as a method of care of cultural heritage); 4) epistemological (translation as a new methodological strategy) [Avtonomova 2008:22].

It seems to me that there are three very important aspects, which are actual for the problem of translation from any language. These aspects concern: 1) typology of texts or possible types of texts; 2) author's metaphors, special terminology, style etc.; 3) correlation of literalness and interpretability in translating. In my opinion, these aspects are the most important for the analysis of problems, which are connected with the translation of philosophical texts of the East, to be precise, with Sufi texts.

(1) There is an opinion in the linguistics that a type of a text determines means of its translation [Rays 1978:202]. But if we appeal to philosophical texts, we will see that there is also a problem with their typology:

1. How can we describe the type of philosophical texts: are they informative (pragmatic, narrative etc.) or they are artistic (affective, expressive etc.)? In other words, can we present a philosophical text as a set of impersonal ideas or the form of its expression is very important for such type of texts? In his article Rays gave an outline of general classifications of possible types of texts and there is only one classification, which distinguishes the separate type of philosophical texts, but Rays supposes that this classification is not satisfactory,

because, in his opinion, philosophical texts should be included into type of special texts like technical scientific texts [Rays 1978:204]. I suppose that such opinion is not adequate, because we can very easily find philosophical texts, which have the novel form and expressiveness and haven't a special terminology, the texts, which can be compared with artistic texts (for example, "Hayy Ibn Yaqzan" of Ibn Tufayl, if we take Arabic tradition).

2. But if we distinguish a separate type of philosophical texts, can we in this case talk about the homogeneity of these texts? Obviously, we can not, because philosophy has many types and genres of its expression. Of course we can use those classifications, which are proposed by philologists, to construct internal classification of philosophical texts. For example one can construct two-level classifications of philosophical texts: pragmatic and artistic. The first type includes any philosophical text, which expresses ideas in clear and logical form, which in its turn causes intellectual agreement or disagreement of a reader. The second type includes the texts, the artistic form of which causes first of all emotional reaction of a reader on its ideas (and sometimes inspires to act). For example, texts of "Kitab al-mawaqif" and "Kitab al-mukhatabat" of al-Niffary (X AC) demonstrate necessary of reader's emotional involvement into the text, which guarantees its intellectual understanding: emotional and intellectual aspects of perception of this text provide its full significance. And again there is a question: what about East and its religious and philosophical texts?

(2) Another difficulty relates to translation of metaphors, special terminology and so on.

1. Some scholars consider that the basic task of translation of any philosophical text is translation of its terminology. But it is possible when the translator knows which terms are basic for the text, translated by him. In other words, when there is a scientific tradition of translation of a certain text. The method of translation should be based on the idea that the adequate translation of some terms depends on understanding of philosophical system, which is contained in the translated text. This thought of Theodor Sherbatskoy, the great Russian scholar, can be added by another idea: it is possible when the system is already known. But if the text is being translated for the first time and we know nothing about the philosophical ideas of the author, what should the translator do? What should he do with the texts, which are being translated for the first time from the rare exotic language with very strange terminology into European language, which has no analogy with it? It is a reason why many historians of East philosophy say about the danger of misunderstanding of such texts. In any way it is a kind of problems of history of philosophy – to define basic terminology of

philosophical text. Of course no author of a medieval text defines his “basic terms” of his philosophical text as a scholar does it. That’s why we can imagine a grotesque scientific interpretation of Sufi Arabic text on the base of “basic term” like multifunctional word “wa”, which, as it is known, plays many roles in Arabic language. In other words, the most difficult problem, connected with the translation of special terms, is more evident, when we try to translate the philosophical texts from Arabic or Sanskrit or any other oriental language, because in this case a translator finds for the first time the philosophical equivalents for an Arabic or Sanskrit word, which has many meanings in its original language. The idea of the Russian contemporary scholar in Indian studies, Victoria Lyssenko, that the Sanskrit philosophical terms are rooted in the ordinary Sanskrit language and originally have different meaning, can be partially applied also to the Arabic philosophical tradition.

2. The problem of translation of style features of the text is more actual for the artistic translation. If one translates the philosophical texts, this problem can appear only with the texts, which have mystic character. What should the translator of such text do in this case, when the text doesn’t have clear meaning? The difficulty of translation of such text can be compared with the translation of poetical text. I suppose, that the rule, proposed by one famous Russian writer Korney Chukovsky, can be applied to such type of philosophical text: “One should translate not letter by letter, but smile - by smile, music - by music, soul mood - by soul mood” [Chukovskiy 2008:124]. Here we should mention about great difficulty to study the original language of Oriental philosophy, to translate the original and unique charm of non-European text: in this case to understand a philosophical and religious text doesn’t mean to feel it.

At last, the problem of correlation of literalness and interpretableness in translating poses the next question: what do we translate? Words or meanings? In this case we should remember two strategy of translation and we should understand, which of them is more adequate in relation of philosophical texts. Of course this dilemma is very old, but the desire to understand another person is older. It is rather strange that some of historians of Indian philosophy, which are against of literalness of translation of Sanskrit philosophical terms, therefore suppose that the translation should give to a reader the possibility to feel the “resistance of material”, in other words to feel Sanskrit character of the text [Lyssenko <http://kogni.narod.ru/lyssenko.htm>]. We can agree with the idea that the ancient discussion about literalness and interpretableness in translating is in fact the discussion about different levels of interpretation [Lyssenko <http://philosophy.ru/iphras/library/vost/lysen.htm>]. But I suppose that this

problem is connected not only with the interpretation, but also with the choosing of the strategy of the translation. Here one should remember two basic strategies of translation, which were proposed by Friedrich Schleiermacher: “A translator can leave alone a writer and makes a reader to go in direction to the writer, or he leaves alone a reader and makes a writer to go in direction to the reader. Both methods are absolutely different, but the translator can use only one of them, in other case the writer and the reader will not be able to meet with each other”. And here the question about a reader arises: who is this reader? This question about recipients of the translation of the oriental philosophical text is very important for every orientalist, but we cannot agree that these texts are only for special auditory. The oriental philosophy like philosophy in general is oriented on individual human being, not on the masses. And the translator should translate first of all this orientation to the individual human being. In other words, the translator should remember that the text was composed in a certain time by a certain person for certain purposes, he should keep this “human specificity” of the text. If we return to Sufi texts and try to define their form (pragmatic or artistic) we should consider them as texts-addressings. This type of texts was distinguished by Rays and according him includes the advertisements, sermons etc. But this type of texts is addressing to the human person and uses different means, describing the reality, inspires in the human person certain reaction [Rays 1978:221-222]. This idea can be used as a reply to rhetoric question: “Should we translate original philosophical texts?” Because a specialist in history of philosophy must read texts in original - the others don't need them at all. There some considerations about the problem of philosophical translation: one of them says that translation of philosophical terms from, for example, Sanskrit, helps to develop the Russian philosophical language (we can add any language into which these foreign terms are translated). The other consideration says that philosophical translation develops not only philosophical language, but philosophy in general: in other words translation means understanding.

Here I suppose, we should answer on two questions: 1) how can the translation from Arabic into Russian be realized, and 2) by what special features this translation can be characterized?

There are two possible answers to these questions in the Russian scientific literature: 1) theory of translation by Natalya Finkelberg (linguistic level); 2) philosophy of translation by Andrey Smirnov (philosophical level). The first answer is concrete scientific analysis of problems of translation from the Arabic language in general, the second is connected with philosophical consideration of translation of the Arabic culture in general and Arabic text in particular.

The basic problem of translation, which we posed from the beginning, are resolved by Natalya Finkelberg in following manner:

1) Typology of texts. She classified the texts into narrative (which only describe the events) and affective (which influenced not only on rational sphere, but also on emotional sphere of human person). As Natalya Finkelberg notes, the translator should distinguish these types of texts, because his translation depends on different things: a) methods of decoding of meaning of the text, b) special information, which is contained in the text, c) language features of Arabic narrative and affective texts [Finkelberg 2007:160-161].

2) The translation of metaphors, special terms, style etc (“author features of the text”). This problem is connected with particular theory of translation of Arabic language, which includes, according Finkelberg: a) comparative study of function of nominative elements (words, phraseologisms, terminology etc) in the speech, b) comparative study of basic semantic categories, functional and semantic fields and categories (“qualities of the text”), c) comparative study of functional and style parameters of the text [Finkelberg 2007:13-14]. The activity of the translator is considered by Natalya Finkelberg as a necessary type of speech activity and that’s why the translator should (1) understand the meaning of the text and re-create in his consciousness the active psychological essences, which are connected with the latent active psychological essences of the text, and (2) replace re-created essences by signs of the language, into which he is translating [Finkelberg 2007:37]. According Natalya Finkelberg, there are meanings of sign forms in the base of synthesis of meaning. That’s why the translator should understand first of all the special features of nomination of the Arabic language system. Finkelberg distinguishes some special features of Arabic nomination, for example:

1) Arabic root has unchangeable original meaning and integrated concept, which unifies in one semantic field all word forms, derived from this root. In other words, Arabic language always remembers about first meaning of a word root, which always is presented in all one-root words, semantically connected with it.

2) Arabic language prefers to construct big concept blocks, which keep their connection with the subjective and sensible world. In other words, this connection with the objective world in fact is presented in every Arabic nominative element (if we take, for example, Russian language, we can see that this connection is not so strong as in Arabic language).

3) Arabic nominative element is defined as an example of connection of imagination and rationality in the consciousness.

Based on these special features of Arabic nomination, Finkelberg

concludes that “original features of nomination in Arabic literature language develop in the translator “non-Russian” approach in the analysis of information, which is contained in a nominative of Arabic language” [Finkelberg 2007:60]. She insists that a interpreter of affective texts should “be ready to extract not only direct meanings of Arabic words, but also to perceive the information, which is hidden in the body of the sign (invariant of root, meaning of word creation model), and in allusions, which are connected with situations, known to Arab” [Finkelberg 2007:174].

The next important aspect concerns the “qualities of the Arabic text”. They have very specific character. Special attention during the translation must be put to means of co-relativeness (simple repetition, using the define article and so on), which provide significative un-interruption of sentences in the frame of the one passage and significative un-interruption of passages in the frame of the whole text. In opinion of Finkelberg, deficient semantic concreteness of connecting language signs demonstrates that Arabic text has elements of “grammar of wide context”. In other words, a reader of Arabic text, in spite of its deficient semantic preciseness of the text, keeps in his mind the wide context, which allows for him to interpret the possible meaning of the text.

A translator should put a special attention on language means used by the Arabic language for translation of temporal meanings. The Arabic language, as the Russian language, uses for these purposes verbs, adverbs, nouns with prepositions and taxis. But in Russian language the temporal meaning of a verb is a grammar category, meanwhile in Arabic language the temporal meaning of a verb has a transitional place from the concept category to the grammar category. It means that the temporal role of Arabic verb in the text is weaker then the role of verb in Russian language. “The fullness of temporal indications in Arabic text as rule is not sufficient for the translator, who, choosing an adequate means in Russian, must use only precise temporal form” [Finkelberg 2007:137].

Finkelberg also mentions the next characteristics of Arabic text: a hidden expression of syntaxes connection, syntaxes, metaphorical character of thinking, which prefers to distinguish common sign of an object without sufficient preciseness of identification of distinguished sign. As a result the image of referent situation is formed in consciousness of a recipient, and then is expressed by him in the other language with other conditions of fullness, latency and preciseness in comparison with Russian language.

3. Finkelberg without any doubt expresses her attitude towards to the discussion about correlation of literalness and interpretableness in translating: “literal translation is a translation which reproduces formal and/or semantic

components of the original language. As a result such translation breaks norms and ‘usus’ of the translation language, or it doesn’t express the true content of the original text” [Finkelberg 2007:208]. In other words, Arabic language possesses its own specific features and that’s why the translation from Arabic into Russian language is impossible without “reconstruction”, adaptation (or recoding). “Like chameleon, the consciousness of the translator changes and transfers from the Arabic language consciousness to Russian language consciousness. During this process there are some unchangeable places, which are responsible for the process of re-coding of the received information” [Finkelberg 2007:195].

The basic conclusion of Finkelberg is that the intercultural communication cannot be reduced to the overcoming of linguistic “strangeness” of two cultures, but also contains overcoming of extra-linguistic otherness, which is shown first of all in thinking. That’s why professional features of the translator must be based not only on the good knowledge of foreign language, but also on bi-cultureness.

The philosophical level of the translation problem (Arabic language) is central question of investigations of Russian scholar Andrey Smirnov. In his article “How is translation possible? Language, thinking and Logic of Sense” [Smirnov 2009] Smirnov describes translation as realization of “smoothing” of language. He distinguishes 4 strategies of translation:

1) projective and mythological strategy or seeking an invariant for two different languages (reducing two different languages to one language or common language invariant),

2) direct equalization/identification of languages,

3) reducing different languages to invariant beyond language (to their common logical form),

4) seeking identity of languages, which will be based on the logical and significant re-coding of them [Smirnov 2009:360-363].

Analysis of each strategy, realized by Andrey Smirnov, allows him to distinguish opposition “translatable/non-translatable”, which expresses identity of languages and their irreducibility to each other. Such opposition has key character for the second and the fourth strategies, because it demonstrates inadequateness of the second strategy (translation as a direct identification) and adequacy of the fourth strategy (re-coding of sense).

Here one can explain difficulties of using of the second strategy by the next example: imagine that a word is multitude of meanings, or a “company of people”, sitting in one room, or in one dictionary article. When the translation is realizing, a “bad” translator takes one of them and transfers onto the other building, where there is another “company”. And this translator says that the first

company and the second company identical. He says that the relationship between the elements of “company” are analogical to the relationship of the second “company”. But the translator ignores the fact that a company as a words with all its connotations is a certain wholeness and it is wrong to identify both these classes based only on the fact that both of them contain the same word with one meaning. Here we can agree with Andrey Smirnov that to know a language, to speak a foreign language doesn’t mean ability to translate [Smirnov 2009:363-364]. There is a certain understanding of a good translation in this article: good translation is a text, in which said on one language is expressed in other like it would be ‘born’ by a speaker, like it was an original text, not translated [Smirnov 2009:363]. Good translation implies using certain technology: it “construct sequence “a basic sentence - field of translation - a translated sentence”. The field of translation implies the phase, which divides two languages and which cannot be reduced to any of them. Smirnov analyses the subject-predicate form of thinking and shows that this form is a feature of Russian and English languages, meanwhile it is not universal for Arabic language. Moreover, Arabic language has another means to replace this form: means which function as a verb “to be”, but absolutely different and other then subjective and predicate form of Russian, English etc languages. By this the author tries to show that there is not mono-semantic relationship between the language and the thinking: “the thinking acts quasi-independently, choosing one language form and escaping the other” [Smirnov 2009:371]. In other words, Arabic language escapes language forms, which can be reduced to the logical form “S is P”, and this fact is caused by different language thinking: “Arabic language sees the world like process”, the world is “complex of processes, connecting ‘Subject’ and ‘Object’, two aspects of one process” [Smirnov 2009:372]. It means that Arabic language thinking cannot express the results of its activity in the form “S is P”: different character of languages is caused by different types of thinking. There is not universality of thinking, Smirnov says, there is only variety of thinking. “The language and the thinking are coordinated, but they don’t define each other. The language, being the means of the thinking, prefers and fixes those language forms, which are more adequate for the tasks of this type of thinking” [Smirnov 2009:372]. He demonstrates principal difference of Arabic language from Russian language on the next phrase “Zeid [is] at home”. Arabic variants of translations of this sentence (“fī-d-dārⁱ Zayd^{un}”, “Zayd^{un} mustaqirr^{un} fī-d-dārⁱ”, “istaqarra fī-d-dārⁱ Zaid^{un}”) say that the verb “to be” doesn’t received by Arabic language thinking as a expression of connective word [Smirnov 2001:215-220].

Concerns to the meaning of translation Smirnov believes that the meaning

of translation contains in demonstration of presence of “integrality, which contains the worlds of language-and-thinking and from which these world are deployed into the texts... Good translation passes phase of integrality. This phase cannot be grasped by means of logical forms, though these logical forms are born by this phase... Difference between substantial and processial worldviews is deep logical difference which influences on all phenomena of language and thinking. Their explication is a subject of logic of sense... field of integrality, which is a necessary phase of good translation, being logical and significance area” [Smirnov 2009:373].

The analysis of both theories shows that the true problem of translation is connected with adequate understanding of foreign culture.

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STEREOTYPES ABOUT ISLAM AND *MEDIA COMMENTATORS*' DISCOURSE AFTER 9/11¹

Laura Sitaru
University of Bucharest

Abstract. Starting from the assumption that after 9/11 discursive patterns on Islam got a global dimension, and exceeded the national usual approach, the present paper is trying to analyze the most frequent stereotypes in “reading” Islam, along with a profound change of experts’ profile in Islamic field, comparing to the classic traditional scholar, that occurred after 9/11 attacks. The research is focusing on media commentators’ discourses in both the United States and Europe (especially France and Italy), by analyzing various types of public discourse: books, articles, blogs, conferences, and TV talk-shows, and pinning down themes, topics and patterns in public Western “talking” about Islam, after 9/11. The research cannot provide a comprehensive perspective, since it would be unrealistic to attempt a comprehensive analysis, but it will try to identify the main influences in shaping stereotypes about Islam and Muslims.

Keywords: stereotype, otherness, neo-orientalism, public discourse, paradigm deconstruction.

The main purpose of this study is to identify the most frequent stereotypes about Islam in Western common perception, and the connection between these clichés and the so-called *media* commentators and their activity in this field after 9/11. I started from the assumption that after 9/11, discursive patterns on Islam got a global dimension, and exceeded the national usual approach, while media-commentators’ public opinions on Islam got over the national media networks, consequently acquiring an international coverage. (However, historical and national considerations can still be found in some approaches). First of all, I paid particular attention to define media-commentators’ category and to identify international media networks relating between them. The French scholar Vincent Geisser² portrays media commentators as a category replacing in the public arena important and famous specialists in Islam who have lost part of their professional credibility after 9/11. Thus after 9/11 Western media largely stopped to take into

¹ This study represents a part of a more comprehensive analysis I carried out at Alwaleed Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University, under the precious guidance of professors John Voll and John L. Esposito.

² Vincent Geisser. 2003. *La nouvelle islamophobie*. Paris: Editions La Découverte: 12

consideration scholars and their works considered too friendly towards Islam and turned their attention to a different category of experts coming from the security area studies who have no professional Islamic knowledge or background. My explorative research focused on media commentators' discourses in both the United States and Europe (especially France and Italy), by analyzing various types of public discourse: books, articles, blogs, conferences, and TV talk-shows from which I tried to pin down themes, topics and patterns in public Western talking about Islam. I had in my attention authors like Robert Spencer, Martin Kramer, Daniel Pipes, Steven Emerson, Pamela Geller or Bernard-Henri Levi, Oriana Fallaci, Philipp Val, Caroline Fourest, Michele Tribalat, René Marchand and others, who have in common not only ideas about Islam, but also a media network through which they are expressing these ideas. The main criteria for the selection of my subjects are their relevance and impact on popular perceptions of Islam. By "relevancy" I mean media shows, published books, number of readers and followers when it comes to blogs etc. The approach has not an exhaustive dimension, but is trying to emphasize the main patterns on public talking about Islam within a media network which became global after 9/11.

I. Some considerations on the topic's theoretical background

An impressive number of scholars, in the aftermath of Edward Said's famous book "Orientalism", have been preoccupied by the academic framework of the ongoing debates about Islam, especially after 9/11. As Bryan Turner pointed out, *contemporary Western understanding of Islam is seeped in a deep historical tradition influenced by early Christian thought. Islam from a very early period was seen as a distinct threat to Christendom* (Turner, 2007: 60). Others, like the French scholar Pascal Boniface³, consider that Islam and Muslims and the way in which a large part of Western public media reflect them is nothing but a continuation of cultural phobia exercised during the Nineteenth Century and the beginning of Twentieth over the Jews leaving in Europe (Boniface, 2011: 71-84). Clichés applied in the past to the Jewish minority in Europe are mostly oriented nowadays towards Muslims and Islam generally. Moreover, as Noam Chomsky⁴ remarks, anti-Arabs and anti-Muslims feelings represent especially after 9/11

³ Pascal Boniface recently published the book *Les intellectuels faussaires* ("The Untruthful Intellectuals") in which he is denouncing several important French media intellectuals and their expertise on the fields they are talking about, Paris: Jean-Claude Gawsewitch Éditeur, 2011

⁴ The linguist Noam Chomsky is interviewed during the documentary *Brothers & Others. Noam Chomsky, on power, dissent & racism* by Nicolas Rossier, broadcasted by Arab Film Distribution in 2008.

what he called a “legitimate form of racism” both in the United States and Europe, a racism you don’t have to hide it, as it is the case with anti-Semitism.

It seems that in common Western perception the image of the Muslim didn’t considerably change from the medieval period until nowadays. From colonial period Western world inherited a series of stereotypes about the Islamic civilization deeply implanted in public common perception by literary and pictorial representations. There is a list of the most frequent images about Islamic world during the colonial era and, likely, after its ends: corrupt and irrational despotism, fanatic religiosity, exotic mysticism, teeming markets and dreamy harems, sexually predatory and insatiable men, and sensual, decadent and devious women (Pickering, 2001: 168). The question which comes up immediately is how many of these images are still pervasive until nowadays and what the mechanisms of this perpetuation are. We, as Western culture’s products, are still referring to Muslims by using the same old negative characterization: what the Muslims are not? Basically, they are not like US. We still fall back on categories such “good” and “bad”⁵ in shaping the image of the other or his otherness. After 9/11, the American official discourse makes the difference between “good” and “bad” Muslims, distinction with deep implications for the political behavior of Muslims themselves. Thereby, after 9/11 the people were waiting “good” Muslims to express their disagreement and condemnation of terrorism, otherwise they might be assimilated with this phenomenon. As Mahmoud Mamdani remarks *the central message of such discourse was: unless proved to be good, every Muslim was presumed to be bad. All Muslims were now under obligation to prove their credentials by joining a war against bad Muslims* (Mamdani, 2004: 15).

Michael W. Suleiman who is probably the main American researcher in this field uttered his conviction that “among the Americans there is a mind-set, a general picture of Arabs which, though vague, is distorted and incorrect and almost invariable negative, at times, bordering on racism” (Suleiman, 1988: 2). Edward Said believes that present coverage of Islam and of non-Western societies canonizes notions, texts, and authorities. “The idea that Islam is medieval and dangerous, as well as hostile and threatening to us, for example, has acquired a place both in the culture and in the polity” (Said, 1997: 156). In a time in which fostered fears of anarchy and disorder will very likely produce conformity of views with reference to the “outside” world, the production and diffusion of knowledge, claims Edward Said, will play a crucial role (Said, 1997: 160-161).

⁵ Mamdani, Mahmoud. 2004. *Good Muslims, bad Muslim. America, the Cold War and the roots of terror*. New York: Pantheon Books (a division of Random House)

After his famous “Orientalism”, Edward Said talked in “Covering Islam” about how images continue to be shaped in post Orientalist era: *Clearly, today’s climate favors – one might even say requires – Islam to be a menace* (Said, 1997: xx). Moreover, Islam became a common subject that doesn’t request apparently a specific knowledge in this field. *Instead of scholars, we often find only journalist making extravagant statements, which are instantly picked up and further dramatized by the media* (Said, 1997: xvi). Also, as Said remarks, *a corps of experts on the Islamic world has grown to prominence, and during a crisis they are brought out to pontificate on formulaic ideas about Islam on news programs or talk shows* (Said, 1997: xi). On the same page with Edward Said, the French writer Pascal Boniface remarks when an intellectual used to speak for the public media few years ago, and his examples are Raymond Aron and Jean-Paul Sartre, they had as support for these interventions with significant scholarship that allowed them to speak with authority about a subject. In contrast, today things are exactly the opposite (Boniface, 2011: 25). Moreover, several French intellectuals suddenly got an expertise in Islamic matters and, by that, they consequently became public authorities in this field in which denouncing Islam or Islamism together and without any distinction represents a substitute for a real academic background (Boniface, 2011: 106). Some of them became the true stars of the media, only after they wrote about Islam. For instance, the French journalist Caroline Fourest⁶ who got her celebrity after publishing in 2003 a book denouncing Islamic fundamentalism and another polemic book which condemn Tariq Ramadan and his “double discourse”. The emergence and ascendance of this new generation of experts in Islamic matters is concomitant with a systematic denigration of those who used to have an academic expertise. For instance, Caroline Fourest argues that they are “prisoners of their own field and in the same time fascinated by this, being so in total incapacity to understand the Islamic movement and to explain its evolutions for the public”⁷.

It is important here to quote Mohamed Nimer (Nimer, 2007: 1), who has noted that a an unwarranted critical study of Islam or Muslims in the current climate couldn’t be considered *Islamophobic*, likewise a disapproving analysis of American history and government it is not necessarily anti-American. Moreover,

⁶ Caroline Fourest, well known in France for being the founder of the *ProChoix* (Pro Choice) Journal in 1997 and her activity pro – *laïcité* and human rights. She was working for a while for *Charlie Hebdo* and now she is writing for *Le Monde*. She is an usual presence on French TV channels, France 24, France Culture and France Internationale (cf. Boniface, 2011: 107).

⁷ Quoted by Pascal Boniface, 2011: 116

stereotypes aren't solely an American or Western invention, statistics show that Muslims hold strong negative stereotypes of Westerners and Americans in particular, subject to which it should be given a special attention. Inside the Islamic world, the process of manipulating images has at least the same intensity, if we take into consideration the ways in which the ideas are spread out. It seems also that the arising stereotypical understanding of each other is inter-connected, so that Muslims and Westerners are shaping parallel paradigms of self and other's perception. In this process intellectuals and the media through which they express themselves and their convictions play a significant role in both Muslim and Western worlds.

II. Islamophobia, the raison or the result of stereotyped images

For becoming a stereotype, an idea has to be repeated⁸. It seems to be the right moment to call down Harold Isaac⁹ and his explanation of stereotype's meanings: (...) *The way we see other people depends on the window in which we look at the world (...) each one's outlook is perhaps most heavily influenced by the larger political, economic and cultural facts at the given time.* Combining myth with purposefully misleading information normally leads to inaccuracies which take hold in the people's psyche. Furthermore, as Nancy Nielsen pointed out *stereotyping is dangerous because it can lead the public to create social scapegoats and focus on the wrong issues and wrong priorities (...). Misleading characterizations can be picked up by the global news services and satellite systems, which have the power to perpetuate the distortion*¹⁰. Michael Pickering makes an interesting connection between stereotype and power, defining the stereotype as an expression of power emanated from established structures of social dominance. Generally, this kind of images are usually held to be simplistic, rigid and erroneous, based on discriminatory values and damaging to people's actual and personal identities (Pickering, 2001:10). Stereotypes are mental structures characterized by "rigidity and resistance to information which contradicts them"¹¹. In other words, the lack of information is not representing the basis for stereotype, because the provision of complex information does not

⁸ *Le stéréotype est un image simplifiée que des groupes humains élaborent au sujet d'un individu ou d'un fait et qui joue un rôle déterminant dans leur comportement et leur appréciation* (Slakta, 1994: 37)

⁹ Quoted by Shaheen, 1997: 29

¹⁰ Quoted by Shaheen, 1997: 33. Nancy Nielsen was at the moment Vice President of Corporate Communications at the New York Times Company.

¹¹ Taiffel, 1981:133 quoted by Pickering, 2001: 12

necessarily mean that certain stereotypes will be abandoned, argues Pickering (2001: 12). Psychologists define stereotypes as a way of dealing with the instabilities arising from the division between self and non-self by preserving an illusion of control and power¹².

Islamophobia is the term which became more and more used to define unfounded fear of and hostility towards Islam (Ahmed, 2007: 15). Professor John Voll argues that, at least when it comes to the United States, discrimination against Muslims was at the beginning an anti-*un-Americanism*, therefore the anti-Muslim sentiments of the 1920's through the 1950's were anti-Muslim because Muslims were different, but nobody thought that time that Muslims were going to conquer America or that there was an Islamic threat (Voll, 2007: 32). Islamophobia has already an important number of definitions trying to clarify this type of reaction towards Muslims and Islam in Western countries. Compared to anti-Semitism by some authors, reduced to fear's feelings towards the Other-Muslim by others, Islamophobia represents a preoccupation for the academic environment. Jocelyne Cesari stresses that academics are still debating the legitimacy of the term and questioning how it differs from other terms such as racism, anti-Islamism, anti-Muslimness and anti-Semitism (Cesari, 2006). Regarding the raisons motivating this feeling, Tzvetan Todorov in his book *The fear of the Barbarians* finds several explanations for what is called Islamophobia¹³ in Europe:

(...) There are many reasons, some of them very longstanding, why Europeans reject Islam. Islam long appeared to be a rival to Christianity. Today, it embodies a form of religiosity from which Europeans have taken a long time to free themselves: the secular-minded thus reject it even more violently than do Christians. Muslim countries were colonized by European powers over several centuries; ex-colonists were forced to return home when decolonization occurred, filled with a feeling of both superiority and bitterness. Members of the formerly colonized populations are now coming to settle in the homes of their former colonizers, though not as colonists: how can this not lead to hostility towards them? (Todorov, 2010: 9).

Putting Islamophobia in the Post Cold War era context and as immediate result of it, Mehdi Semati defines the concept in the following terms: *Islamophobia is an ideological response that conflates histories, politics, societies and cultures of the*

¹² Elisabeth Bronfen, 1992: 183, quoted by Pickering, 2001: 47

¹³ Todorov is using this term for defining anti-Muslims feelings in Europe and West.

Middle East into a single unified and negative conception of an essentialized Islam (Semati, 2010: 258).

The evolution of this feeling could be relevant enough for this research. In late nineties, including Arab stereotypes in media products was considered as attractive: “ it is the thing that is going to be most readily accepted by a large number of audience. It is the same thing as throwing in sex and violence when an episode is slow”, underlined James Baerg¹⁴, Director of Program Practices for CBS-TV at that time. Besides all these, many scholars underlined the very tight relation between Arabs and Muslims image in Western countries and the official political attitude towards Islamic world as a whole or its different parts. Thus, argued Michael Suleiman, “the clash between the two sides (Arabs/Muslims and Americans/Occidentals) has been on the level of national interests as perceived by successive governments in the United States, on one side and advocates of Arab nationalism and radical Muslim fundamentalism on the other” (Suleiman, 1988: 3).

Trying to find an explanation for the tremendous success of stereotypes in shaping the image of Islam, Mohammed Arkoun¹⁵ advances a very consistent formula – “ignorance institutionnalisée”, understood as a large phenomenon which is growing up with the total support of the two sides concerned, both Muslim and Western sides. Even good willing intellectuals make ideological confusions between Europe and West every time it comes to designate a common enemy¹⁶. After making a deep incursion in how Islam is taught in the American school, Susan Douglas and Ross Dunn (Douglas, Dunn, 2003: 52-53) pointed out that teaching Islam to young Americans is a relatively recent phenomenon. Moreover, the entire school curriculum, remark the two authors, made no more than passing reference to Muslims in history, in connection with the Crusades or the fall of Constantinople to the Turks. Until the 1970, in the American school curriculum the world history was defined largely as synonymous with the history of Greece, Rome, medieval Christendom, and modern Europe. After the 1970, Islam was included in school’s curriculum, but in a way who encouraged

¹⁴ Quoted by Shaheen, 1997: 2

¹⁵ Mohammed Arkoun, *Confluences*, Hiver 1995-1996: 19

¹⁶ *Je soutiens depuis longtemps que cette opposition désastreuse entre deux cultures, deux civilisations — dont les racines remontent à l'origine au même héritage grec et qui ont les mêmes références suprêmes —, est généré et encouragé des deux côtés par une forme d'ignorance institutionnalisée. Même les universitaires bien intentionnés acceptent l'amalgame idéologique et géostratégique entre l'Europe et l'Occident à chaque fois que l'Islam — ou l'Union soviétique pendant la guerre froide — est désigné comme "vis-à-vis" (Arkoun, 1995-1996 :19)*

miseducation about Muslim society and history. Multiculturalists argued that the curriculum should include Islam and other world religions, *not because world history does not make sense without them, but because Muslims and others now form significant groups within the American population* (Douglas, Dunn, 2003: 55). The review of the main school books and the information they contain about Islam leads the two authors to the conclusion that *Islam is generally not interpreted as its adherents understand it but as the editors believe will be acceptable to textbook adoption committees* (Douglas, Dunn, 2003: 59). Also, *none of these books reflects the Muslim's belief that God is the source of revelation or the fact that Muhammad is not considered the first prophet of Islam* (Douglas, Dunn, 2003: 62).

Michael W. Suleiman remarks, after studying stereotypes about Muslims in American society *in the past twenty-five years* (Suleiman, 1988: 145), that to the most Americans the terms “Arabs” and “Muslims” are interchangeable. Thus, negative images about Islam are readily transferable to Arabs. Moreover, whenever there is a confrontation or a major conflict between a Muslim country and the West, particularly the United States, the results drive the Americans to direct their hostility not only to that particular Muslim country, but to Muslims and Arabs in general (Suleiman, 1988: 147). Suleiman denounces media ignorance which influence over the people common perception is indubitable. In CAIR's 2005 Poll on American Attitudes towards Islam and Muslims quoted by Parvez Ahmed (Ahmed, 2007: 18), almost 60% of respondents said “they are not very knowledgeable or “not at all knowledgeable” about Islam, while 10% among them said that Muslims believe in a moon God. Moreover, with 9/11 a radicalization of the American media happened and even a religious regain could be noticed during the years after, including here the Hollywood's productions. In this religious regained context, “American people believed that they have a holy mission to stand by their warrior president” (Liauzu, 2005: 35).

III. The need to deconstruct the European intellectual construct of Islam¹⁷

During a historical conversation with Mustapha Chérif, the philosopher Jacques Derrida refers to the need to challenge *the so conventionally accepted contrast between Greeks, Jews, and Arabs (...). Furthermore, I wouldn't contrast the East and the West, especially when talking about Algeria. The Arab and Muslim or Arabo-Muslim culture of Algeria and of Maghreb is also a Western culture. There*

¹⁷ The expression is due to Jacques Derrida; cf. Mustapha Cherif. 2008. *Islam and the West: A Conversation with Jacques Derrida*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 38

are many Islams, there are many Wests. (Chérif, 2008: 38). Unlike conservative scholars such Bernard Lewis and Samuel Huntington, Derrida and his interlocutor expressed their fully support for another categorization, placing themselves at the side of some progressive European and American scholars like Olivier Roy and Mahmoud Mamdani. They both agree the distinction Northern versus Southern instead of Islam and the West, meaning by that to interpret them as two parts of a geographical, ethnic, religious, and cultural unit (Chérif, 2008: xvi).

In the same spirit, the prominent French scholar Jacques Berque dedicated his academic life to the idea of a necessary synthesis between the two side of the Mediterranean culture, both Northern and Southern (Chérif, 2004: 10-11). For the French scholar, it is not possible to ignore the Arabic Mediterranean dimension of the European Culture, especially for countries like France, Spain, and Italy. Moreover, Maghreb's countries cannot ignore the modern cultural acquisitions of the dramatic colonial period. Jacques Berque died in 1995, before the 9/11 attacks, with the conviction that confusion, mingled ideas and malevolent discourse to the Islam which became a daily basis preoccupation in some environments was going to produce a bigger damage than the violence itself¹⁸. And more than that we have to stay away from the temptation of an apologetical approach, no matter which side we are, it was Jacques Berque's advice, and in the same time, the way in which he did his scholarly work. He blamed both the Islamophobia in the Northern part and the deformed religion intended such as refuge in the Southern side of the Mediterranean. A current observation I could notice as common idea for European writers whose preoccupations are related to define a new paradigm for Europe's cultural representations and its relations to the Other, it is the reevaluation of its cultural roots the way they were before the modernization's process. The French writer Serge Latouche¹⁹ is firmly convinced that Europe has to step back and reread its cultural paradigm, which in this moment is more American than any time before, and rediscover its Eastern and Southern so particularizing dimensions.

¹⁸ *Le recul des études orientalistes, islamisantes et arabisantes dans les écoles et universités, l'absence de l'étude pluridisciplinaire du fait religieux, la faiblesse des contacts entre les gens des savoirs et les élites scientifiques du Nord et du Sud sont parmi les signes inquiétants qu'il nous faut corriger, sinon les bouleversements, les changements et les transformations se feront de manière incontrôlée et négative* (Chérif, 2004: 16-17)

¹⁹ In his book *L'Occidentalisation du monde. Essai sur la signification, la portée et les limites de l'uniformisation planétaire*. Paris: Editions La Découverte. 2005: 22

IV. Who speaks about Islam after 9/11?

After 9/11, scholars in Islamic field had to face a series of accusations to side with the US and West's enemies. *Visit an American university, however, and you'll often enter a topsy-turvy world in which professors consider the United States (not Iraq) the problem and the oil (nor nukes) the issue*, wrote Daniel Pipes²⁰ in an article published on November, 12, 2002. Daniel Pipes raises some questions on the academic behavior of some important professors who currently had an anti-Iraqi intervention's position. *Why have university specialists proven so inept at understanding the great contemporary issues of war and peace, starting with Vietnam, then the Cold War, the Kuwait war and now the War on Terror?* So, mainly, Daniel Pipes argues that American scholars are fighting academically against America's interests and the society should be more careful to the "long-term effect of an extremist, intolerant and anti-American environment on university students".

Martin Kramer's attacks are more questioning than that, because he calls in question an entire school, the American and Western Middle East School and its scholars. Published by Washington Institute for Near East Policy, a well known think-tank in Washington DC for its neoconservative Zionist political orientation²¹, in 2001, Martin Kramer's book "Ivory Towers on Sand. The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America" advances serious accusations towards American scholars specialized in Middle East matters. *If one had read only the analyses of academics over the last two decades, one would have concluded that Islamic movements were moderate forces of democratization, and that "civil society" was about to sweep away authoritarian regime*, says Kramer. The author finds MESA, the Middle East Studies Association, the largest and most prominent professional organization of scholars of the Middle East, with its over two thousand members a completely inutile organism spending a lot of money for huge and irrelevant annual meetings and programs (Kramer, 2001: 8-15). Kramer's critique is orientated also to the way in which American scholars invented a new type of specialist in Middle East Studies' field, by living behind the old European tradition in this domain: *American Middle Eastern studies proposed to leave the*

²⁰ Daniel Pipes, *Profs who hate America* in New York Post, November 12, 2002, www.danielpipes.org, 30/11/2011

²¹ The French writer Claude Liauzu properly remarks that, comparing with Europe, in the United States the Middle East studies' field is more related to the political environment, thus groups of scholars sustaining Israel or Palestinians are opposing to each other inside the American universities (Liauzu, 2005: 64).

demanding labor of philology and textual analysis to Europe. American academics would be social scientists; and also MESA's concept was purely American. In Europe, there had been "learned societies" that admitted scholars and antiquarians, and published "proceedings" (Kramer, 2001: 19).

Following the line of the distinction Martin Kramer makes between Europe and the United States, in his *Covering Islam*, Edward Said remarks the existence of some differences between American and French reporting about Islam. He is referring to a very specific moment in which American and French media and media intellectuals were covering this subject, it was the moment of Iranian crisis, also one of the main stances participating into shaping the image of Islam in Western societies (Said, 1997: 127).

I would go further in this comparative paradigm enounced by Edward Said and I would say that even after 9/11 when stereotypical images about Islam are generalized and universalized, we'll be able to identify two different models and two distinct backgrounds for the two countries, the United States and France, in referring themselves to Islam. Certainly, the two countries have very particularizing historical relations with Muslim world which I consider relevant in shaping the image of Islam among French and American societies. Moreover, the two countries are both democracies, but the emphasized elements inside their systems are different. Thus, Muslims' image in France has been shaped in relation with the principle of *laïcité* which is the basis of French republic, while in America the very same image is shaping by emphasizing the religious side of the subject. In France, Islam is perceived as a danger for the state's *laïcité*, while in America the main problem could be related to religious otherness, or in other words non-Christian and non-Jewish identity. Vincent Geisser²² considers that several patterns of ancient French politics towards the colonies are still influencing the contemporary approach in the debate about Muslims leaving in France, without being in the same time the only explanation for all the current representations and images on Islam or for the identity's crisis that the French Republic is passing trough right now (Geisser, 2007: 10). Here the comments of French political scientist Dominique Moïsi about these two Western cultural models are important: (...) *if European are asking, "who are we?", Americans are wondering "what have we done to ourselves?". (...) Unlike Europeans, Americans are not preoccupied by the ghost of their past. America has always seen itself as a future, a project more than a history.* (Moïsi, 2009: 109).

²² In his book *Marianne et Allah. Les politiques français face à la question musulmane* (Paris: La Découverte, 2007:7-8)

The new experts of the fear²³

A current school of thought on stereotypes about Islam argues that contemporary security and strategic considerations, nor merely cultural and ideology, have a central place for America's and West's preoccupations towards Islam (Gerges, 2003: 73). Edward Said deplored the disappearance of the humanists in this field such as the great philologist Maxime Rodinson in France or the famous historian Albert Hourani in England. "Such persons are disappearing, however, and in both France and England, American-style social scientist is likely to replace them in the future. Similar scholars in the United States are known only as Middle east or Islamic experts" (Said, 1997: 153). Vincent Geisser suggests the term "islam sécuritaire" in his attempt to identify the subject of the new wave of experts (Geisser, 2007: 24). Nobody is talking anymore about the history of Islam or even more its literature or arts, but exclusively, or all most, about Islam as risk and threat to be taken into consideration for European or Western security. We can easily observe that the research's emphasis moved from the classic analysis' perspective into security studies area. The nature of analysis is also very different comparing with the classical one: is more generalist, and by being so more superficial, and oriented to security and diplomatic implications. Regarding the profile of the expert in Islamic matters, Vincent Geisser provides a comparative picture. Thus, whether the classic scholar was generally a scholar of literature or historian, the new expert in Islam is coming from academic fields as political sciences, sociology, and other domains related to them (Geisser, 2007: 30-34). Moreover, in France the classic institutions traditionally specialized in Arabic and Islamic culture, have to work nowadays in the shadow of some new or reformed academic structures like INHES (National Institute for High Security Studies) which dedicates its research's programs to topics as it follows: Islam of suburbs, youth's Islam in France, and other several research' items as the content of Imams' sermons or Tariq Ramadan's double discourse. It is no doubt that the 9/11 attacks affected in a very profound way the Middle East studies area, in both the United States and Europe. Thus, after 9/11 the Bush administration steered clear of diplomats who were specialists in this area and suspected to have sympathy for the Islamic world (Liauzu, 2005: 70). In France, specialists in geopolitics and demography replaced very quickly in the media preference traditional scholars in Islamic studies.

²³ Expression due to Vincent Geisser (2003: 54)

Looking at data on French public discourse, which I consider representative for a certain attitude towards Islam and Muslims, very “French”, but also very influential within European discourse about Islam, I easily observed that experts in political sciences, history or demography are passing for the most credible authorities when it comes to Islam in generally, and, Islam in France, in particular. Michele Tribalat is a well known French specialist in demography and a permanent presence in French media shows when it comes to demographic matters. During the last decade, her preoccupations included Islam in French society such and its growing presence inside Western civilization. As a result of similar preoccupations Michele Tribalat published in 2002 *La République et l’Islam. Entre crainte et aveuglement*, a book which benefited from excessive publicity in French mass-media comparing it with other scholarly products in the same field (Geisser, 2003: 49). Michele Tribalat’s book warns against those who allegedly show a friendly and naïve attitude towards Islam especially in France but also in Western countries²⁴. The author believes that the French society made a huge concession to Muslims immigrants by renouncing to assimilation’s principle for the much more permissive integration system, for the sake of *le droit à la différence*. (Tribalat, 2002: 26-29). Tribalat deplors the disappearance of the assimilation social model in France that she describes as an utile and efficient concept (Tribalat, 2002: 48).

But, as I noticed regarding French intellectuals I studied for the current research, discussions about Islam are always put in relation with the *laïcité*’s principle and its intangible dimension. Time and again, French elites are accused to not react, to be passive, to abandon the struggle for a laic society for the sake of Muslims rights²⁵ (Tribalat, 2002: 67-70). Within this discussion about how France is throwing away her most important principle for the sake of Muslim immigrants, the author points out the danger of revisiting the *laïcité* law, adopted by the French parliament in 1905 and considered the basis of the French Republic. The struggle for maintaining the principle of *laïcité* seems to be the biggest provocation that French society has to face. In this occasion, the author thought useful to denounce a series of myths about Islam considered an explanation for its

²⁴ *Ce livre n’a d’autre ambition que de nous dégriser d’un engouement exagéré pour l’islam, produit d’une représentation magnifiée de cette religion ...il y a en France un aveuglement enthousiaste à l’égard de l’islam* (Tribalat, 2002: 11-13)

²⁵ *Par lâcheté ou pour des raisons idéologiques, la France a consenti à divers arrangements conduisant à une laïcité à géométrie variable dont les musulmans intransigeants ont su tirer profit. Une adhésion purement formelle aux valeurs républicaines les autorisent à déclarer désormais l’islam compatible avec un simulacre de laïcité* (Tribalat, 2002 : 107).

incapacity to integrate laic values. The short presentation of some important moments in Islamic history is all most hilarious by the simplistic and non persuasive way in which they are portrayed.

It is not difficult to notice that “media commentators” in both Europe and the United States are related and interconnected to each other within an international media network. Thus, French intellectuals are usually quoted in American media as Wall Street Journal, and are generally a well known public presence, such Bernard-Henri Levy and others. If in the United States, this network has grown up around Wall Street Journal, Fox News, New York Times and some important neoconservative think-tanks such the *Investigative Project on Terrorism* run by Steve Emerson or *Washington Institute for Near East Policy* whose the most vocal member seems to be Martin Kramer or Daniel Pipes’ *Middle East Forum* or Pamela Geller’s *Stop Islamization of America*, in France there is a series of journals and TV channels which are hosting the so-called *anti-Muslim commentators*, beginning with the satiric journal *Charlie Hebdo* and going on with *Le meilleur des mondes*’s Journal and TV station *France Inter* and several top shows in other TV French stations. Moreover, there is a number of publishing houses in both America and France giving preference to anti-Islamic or anti-Muslim publications. Names like Daniel Pipes, Steven Emerson, Martin Kramer, Robert Spencer, Pamela Geller or Bernard-Henri Levi, Oriana Fallaci, Philipp Val, Caroline Fourest and others are related to each other not only by their ideas about Islam and Muslims, but also by a media network within which they express themselves. For instance, Robert Spencer is, among other, associate director of Pamela Geller’s organization “Stop Islamization of America”, and in her public interventions Pamela Geller is frequently quoting Robert Spencer’s books on Islam. In the French side, it is notorious the friendly relation between Bernard-Henri Levy and Philippe Val who is managing France Inter TV station. A closer look to these relations between our media-intellectuals gives us the whole picture about this type of public discourse. Moreover, it couldn’t be just a coincidence that Pamela Geller, for instance, and other American intellectuals whose products I studied for the current research are closely related to the Neoconservative environment.

V. Patterns in writing and talking about Islam²⁶

Generalization: mixing the things and maintaining confusion.

“Generalities are impossible to verify” said Edward Said denouncing an unacceptable generalization²⁷ in presenting Islam in Western public debate. Though, Islam is represented as the unique regulator of Islamic societies from top to bottom, furthermore the redundant *dār al-islām* is depicted as a single, coherent entity. Also, a very common assertion on talking about Islam is that in this particular system church and state are really one entity (Said, 1997: xvi).

Jack Shaheen writing about stereotyping in American popular culture ascertains that “despite nearly 40 percent of America’s Muslims are Afro-Americans, though they belong to various persuasions, media systems tend to identify them all with Louis Farrakhan’s radical Nation of Islam and wrongly perceive that they are all his followers (Shaheen, 1997: 7). Mehdi Semati also remarks that the American Muslims are perceived as a unique entity:

Although the population of Arab Americans is highly diverse in terms of national origins and ancestry, religious background, and phenotypes (even if Hollywood has reinforced the ‘brown’ skin type), a monolithic image of Arab Americans in the popular imagination persists. The diversity is even richer for Muslim Americans: although two-thirds are foreign-born, their national origins represent eighty different countries, from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, with 77 percent of them holding US citizenship. Again, despite such diversity, the monolithic image of Muslim Other persists in the popular and political discourses (Semati, 2010: 264-265).

John L. Esposito points out that “the US perception of a monolithic Islamic threat often contributes to support of repressive governments in the Muslim world (Esposito, 1999: 208). Interviewed television show “Great decisions”²⁸ by Peter F. Krogh, Professor John L. Esposito had to face all the stereotypes thrown off by the common sayings about Islam (Islam is a culture of people’s humiliation, authoritarian and non-democratic system). John L. Esposito

²⁶ In this study I mapped out only the most repetitive images of a long series of clichés and stereotypes I identified during my research.

²⁷ *The assumption is that whenever there is an explosion or some horrible act, an Arab or Muslim has something to do with it. I have never seen such mass hysteria and incompetence in my life* Said’s declaration was set down after Oklahoma City explosion, April 19, 1995 (quoted by Shaheen, 1997: 36)

²⁸ Cf. “Great decisions”, 1994, “Islam and Politics”, MPG4 H.264 in Digital Georgetown, Georgetown University’s Library (accessed in December 2011)

pointed out that when it comes to generalizations about Islam, only bad examples are used so that the Iranian model is extended to the other Islamic countries rather than referring to the Malaysian Islamic model and its democratic quest, argued Professor Esposito.

Usually, Islam is presented as a unique entity, dominated by a unique political and cultural frame. So, no distinction between ayatollah Khomeini and Bin Laden, neither between Yasser Arafat and the 9/11 attacks. Oriana Fallaci wrote immediately after 9/11 in her notorious book *The Pride and the Rage*: “After Khomeini’s death millions of Muslims have chosen Ben Laden as their new leader (Fallaci, 2002: 29). Moreover, the Italian writer is convinced that the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat is the main responsible for 9/11 (Fallaci, 2002: 64) Islam also is terrorism, and it seems Fallaci doesn’t any doubt about this: “Behind every Islamic terrorist there is an Imam and Khomeini was an Imam (Fallaci, 2002: 37).

Talking about Nazi roots of the Arab and Muslim extremism, the French philosopher Bernard Levy makes no difference between various Arab movements, mixing Hezbollah’s ideology with Osama bin Laden’s political attempts, the Palestinian and *anti-Semitic* Hamas and finally the Algerian Islamic Salvation Front (Levy, 2008: 172). In fact, the whole chapter of his book “Left in dark times” – *Fascislamism* - is meant to spread confusion over the Islamic/Islamist movement. In the same manner, the American blogger Pamela Geller explains during an interview for RT Washington DC station, on August 3, 2010 that jihad is the common motivation for all world’s Muslims, whatsoever it would be their ethnic definition, from Bosnia’s Muslims to China’s Muslims. She ignores national and ethnical motivations for all these conflicts, because they are irrelevant. “You have to read the Koran and the *Hadith* to understand this violence”, said Pamela Geller to her audience.

Semantic relativity. *We have to name the enemy properly!* It is the motto, around which David Horowitz Freedom Center has organized “The *Islamofascism* debate” in February, 2008²⁹. We are here in the presence of what the specialists in pragmatics are identifying as discursive conflict. The purpose of the discursive conflict is to attain a victory of interpretation and ensure that a particular viewpoint triumphs (Bhatia, 2003: 3), therefore it is of a great importance the way in which we are naming things, realities and images. Linguistics are teaching us

²⁹ Cf. Jamie Glazov, *The “Islamofascism” Debate*: www.front.pagemag.com, posted on February 8, 2008

that naming is to identify an object, remove it from the unknown, and then assign to it a set of characteristics, motives, values and behaviors (Bathia, 2003: 6). Let's have an example: Cordoba House's Project. Probably, just a few people remember what represents Cordoba House's Project, because its name was rapidly changed to Ground Zero's Mosque. Bloggers like Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer, founders of the group "Stop islamization of America" were quickly renamed the project by a term with strong impact on the American public – Ground Zero's Mosque. The story attracted national media attention: *the "media circus" started moving along the story of a Mosque right in the heart of Ground Zero a lot more dramatic than the one of a cultural center, only "near to" or "two blocks away" from Ground Zero. Understanding the potential buzz of this "slogan", local and national politicians, started using it as a political campaign issue for the 2010 midterm elections, remarks Laura Cervi*³⁰. She is calling Ground Zero Mosque's episode a non-event, a story completely constructed, because media *built* a mosque instead what was meant to be an Islamic cultural center in low Manhattan.

Mohammed Arkoun pointed out that a *dangerous semantic disorder* reigns over the public discourse when it comes to Islam (Arkoun, 2006: 21). Probably the richest public discourse in confusion and semantic relativism was promoted by the former American president George W. Bush. Motivating the famous "war on terror", he was placing both Iraq and al-Qaeda in the very same conceptual category by lexical descriptors associated with the concept of terrorism. Though, the remarkably different aims and aspirations of a national state (Iraq) and a militant terrorist group are erased and both entities are categorized in relation to terror. In his October 2, 2002 discourse president Bush said: "We must confront both terror cells and terror states" (Hodges, 2011: 72), doing by this a very strong campaign for a gradual preparation of the public for a future intervention against Iraq by focusing on the terrorist threat both groups' and states'. Another method intensely used in public discourse is *erasing*: "in general, erasures are forms of forgetting, denying, ignoring, or forcibly eliminating those distinctions or social facts that fail to fit the picture of the world presented by an ideology"³¹.

³⁰ Laura Cervi & Juan Francisco Martínez Cerdá. 2010. *Islam and Europe: The role of media. The "Ground Zero Mosque" in Italian and Spanish News Outlets.*

http://www.mediamilion.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/130Com-laura_juanfran.pdf

³¹ Susan Gal. 2005. „Language Ideologies Compared: Metaphors of Public/Private“. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15 (1): 23-37, quoted by Hodges, 2011: 74

Islam and its incompatibility with democratic values. Robert Spencer (2003: 22) explains why Islam represents a danger for the Western civilization: “ the dominance of Islam may erode many of the civil and human rights we now take for granted. Remember – Islam is not merely a religion; it is a social and political ideology that makes sharp distinctions between Muslims and non – Muslims, particularly regarding right and status”. Whom those are familiar with Bernard Lewis’s ideas (Lewis, 2002) about how Islam can’t be compatible with democratic values will be able to recognize the same paradigm of understanding and explaining Islam. Nowadays, this stereotype became very popular in social currents. Thus, democracy and Islam are as close to each other as Paradise and Hell, argued Anwar Ibrahim, while democracy is associated with rule of law, Islam is invariably linked to the rule of violence (Ibrahim, 2007: 38). Moreover, the historical partition Islam traditionally has operated between Muslims and non – Muslims (also known as *Kuffār*) is mapped out carefully.

Perpetuating old medieval clichés about Islam: religion of violence. Violence is likely the most frequent image about Islam in our times, but also Islam in history. There is a struggle in all the references I searched out for this research for showing the propensity of Islam for violence. Michele Tribalat, for instance, refers in sustaining her theory about Islamic native violence to Edgar Quinet who, she argues, we cannot accuse of Islamophobia³² (Tribalat, 2002: 78). In his book *Onward Muslim Soldier*, Robert Spencer makes a natural connection between Muhammad’s appetite for fighting in wars and the modern jihad oriented mainly against the West and its democratic values. *Muhammad didn’t just teach about jihad. He led Muslim armies in battle against non-Muslim foes, such that by the end of his life Islam was virtually the sole religion in Arabia and Muslim armies were in a position to threaten the great empires of Byzantium and Persia* (Spencer, 2003: 151). All long the fifth chapter of the book, Spencer makes a really fearful portrait of Muhammad, especially that this portrait stands on Islamic reliable sources such Bukhari’s Hadith collection and *Sahih Muslim*. Thus, the writer finds out that the prophet of Islam himself took part in nineteen battles, or, *according to his biographer Ibn Ishaq, Muhammad participated in twenty-seven raids and battles, ordering and directing all of them and actually fighting in nine* (Spencer, 2003: 151).

³² *Sa révélation éclate dans le bruit des batailles, son paradis est à l’ombre des épées, il emprunt ses paraboles au mouvement des combats ; pour sacerdoce il a le cimeterre ; son livre de la loi est la proclamation du Dieu des armes* (Tribalat, 2002 : 78)

A sample of perpetuating the image of innate violence of Islam came out again during the recent events in post revolutionary Egypt (October 2011). In an article published on his blog (called Hoeiboey) and taken into analysis by Arab – West Report³³ (November 5, 2011), Dutch Arabist Hans Jansen states that the Copts who were killed recently in Egypt violated the laws of the Islamic Shari’a. Why should we take into account Professor Jansen’s blog? Because “ the arguments of Jansen are important since he knows Islam and Islamic scriptures well. He translated, for example, the Qur’an in Dutch and wrote numerous scholarly but also populist books on Islam”, explain Arab-West Report readers.

Two different cultures: our culture and “their presumed culture”... After 9/11, the culture was said to be the dividing line between those in favor of a peaceful, civic existence and those inclined to terror, remarks Mahmoud Mamdani (Mamdani, 2004: 18). It seems that culture paradigm of understanding the world’s relations divided people in moderns and pre-moderns. Within this kind of discourse, Muslims were generally presented as *they presumably made culture only at the beginning of creation, as some extraordinary, prophetic act. After that it seems Muslims just conformed to culture. According to some, our culture seems to have no history, no politics, and no debates, so that all Muslims are just plain bad* (Mamdani, 2004: 18). The “pre-modern” qualification has two aspects: one explaining pre-modern as “not modern yet” and which encourages relations based on philanthropy, and the other aspect that translates pre-modern by “anti-modern” producing fear, and, consequently, preemptive police and military action, argues Mahmoud Mamdani (2004: 18-19). The second explanation seems to be prevalent over the first one at least for those who believe and sustain the West answers to 9/11 aggression.

An interesting observation I made during reading the literature for the current study, it was to see the still ongoing medieval old paradigm in explaining Islam, at least when it came with Islam as religion or faith. Robert Spencer suggests in the introduction to his book *Inside Islam: A Guide for Catholics* “to provide the reader with an explanation of Catholic teaching on the topic, to illustrate more clearly the deficiencies of many Islamic beliefs” (Spencer, 2003: 17). Although the author is trying to assure the readers from the beginning that the book is written in fully respect of the Islamic faith, numerous attributes portraying Islam show us the opposite: “Islam is the religion of more than billion of people on earth – a far cry from its *humble* and *obscure* beginnings in seventh-century

³³ <http://www.arabwestreport.info/publishers/arab-west-report>, published November 5, 2011

Arabia” (Spencer, 2003: 19). By using a range of adverbs discretely placed beside nouns such Islam, Muhammad et cetera, Spencer throws a shadow of misbelieve over the Islamic faith: “Allah *supposedly* tells Muhammad’s followers that – your companion is not seized with madness” (Spencer, 2003: 49). Moreover, Spencer (2003) is continually underlying the *simplicity of Islam’s teachings*, which induce a inferior looking over it, for instance: “the simplicity of Islam is attractive to people”, or “in an information age such as ours, a religion that confidently teaches simple and clear beliefs is going to have the competitive edge over religions that timidly present vague or relevant assertions (...)” (Spencer, 2003: 21) or “In sharp contrast to the multifaceted complexity of Christian theology, Islam is a religion of simplicity. When trying to win converts among the Christians, Muslims frequently make use of the simplicity as a key selling point” (Spencer, 2003: 27).

Muslims as demographic threat. One of the major themes used to identify Islam’s threat to Europe and West generally is its demographic dimension. Very influential news papers in both Europe and the United States are repeatedly take into discussion this subject usually quoting specialized opinions. The information about demographic trends for Muslims living in France is not presented in a neutral way, but always compared with “us”, Catholics and Protestants. Their number is growing, ours don’t, in other words, very soon France will lose her identity and her historical definition. The French political scientist Dominique Moïsi makes a logical liaison between Western fear and others, new-comers’ overwhelming demography:

the fear of the Other grows out of demography and geography. “They” are too numerous and without hope where they are. “We” are too few and so wealthy where we live. The more we need them for the growth of our economies, the more we reject them emotionally on cultural, religious and racial grounds (...) Fear of the Other expands to include actual conquest by the Islamic world, the possibility that Europe will be demographically and religiously conquered by “them” and transformed into “Eurabia” (Moïsi, 2009: 102-103).

The necessary opposition “us”/ “them” is accentuated by negative emotion: *they become more and more like a plague which imperils our monuments, our art masterpieces, our history’s treasure, our Western culture (Fallaci, 2002: 38).*

Meanwhile, Muslims are becoming more and more until their number can’t be counted. *In recent years, Islam has grown rapidly in Europe – especially*

in such historically Christian nations as Germany and France – and in North America as well. The United States now has more Muslims than Presbyterians. Every month, new mosques are being established in all parts of the country, particularly in our major cities (Spencer, 2003: 16). The author is cleverly creating a really frighten image of Islam who is growing and growing, taking over Christian world. It is also, we have to admit it, another medieval persistent image of Islam.

On the other hand, there is a strategy very well planned by the so-called Moderate Islam, which would be a “disguise for the real and unique form of Islam”, as told us the French journalist René Marchand³⁴ who strongly believes that Islam’s secret purpose is the conquest of Europe. The secret war against Europe is not anymore a classic fight, but is a subtle demographic strategy trying to bring here as many Muslims as it’ll be possible accordingly to a very efficient plan. Thus, in a few years, Muslim population leaving in Europe will be able, accordingly to the number of this religion’s fellows, to impose the *sharia* low as juridical system which basically means the *dhimmi* status for all Christians and Jews. *If you don’t believe me, just take the metro!*, finally argues Marchand. In his book *La France en danger d’islam. Entre jihād et reconquista* the French author warns his readers over the number of Muslims living in France which exceeds by far the Muslim population in Lebanon, Libya, and Palestine (Marchand, 2002: 9).

Moreover, European architecture is changing its classical landscape under Islamic intrusion into the Western society. Thus, several intellectual talk about transfiguration of Western public space by the Islamic style of the constructions that have built up during last years: “Our civilization dies out and we end up with the minarets”, remarks Oriana Fallaci in *The Pride and the Rage* (Fallaci, 2002: 129). The debate around “Cordoba Center” project and especially the opponents of this construction used time and again a series of stereotypical images about the ‘canker’ of architectural public landscape. During a TV show on Fox New, in May 16, 2010, Pamela Geller explained to the audience the meanings of building a mosque in the Ground Zero area: it is about symbolism of such a contraction, she said. *We know from history that Muslims usually build mosques in territories they conquered, as a sign of their supremacy* added Pamela Geller during one of her interventions on CNN, June 6, 2010. Street prayers in Paris and other cities in France determined similar reactions from Caroline Fourest who interpreted it as the most clear expression of Muslims secret desires: to occupy public space, to

³⁴ in his intervention during the *Assises Internationales sur l’islamisation de nos pays*, an European meeting discussing Islam in Europe, that took place in Paris, on December 18, 2010.

bring religion into public secular place specific to France (Boniface, 2011: 105-121).

VI. Some final considerations

As first remark, I noticed (along with a series of other scholars) a profound change of experts' profile in Islamic field comparing to the classic traditional specialist. Thus, if the classic specialist in Islamic field was generally literate or historian, and an Arabic speaker, after 9/11 the expert in Islam is focusing exclusively on contemporary matters with immediate political consequences, and he is a political scientist, sociologist, demographer or philosopher, without any academic credentials in Islamic field. They occupied the public debate about Islam exploiting the vacuum created immediately after 9/11 while Western media gradually turned its back to professors, academics and other specialists coming from American and European universities, considered as having lost their credibility. Thus, the rise of a new wave of experts led to highlight new fields within Islamic area studies which gave prevalence to the security approach of the subject. As several specialists remarked, security dimension on studying Islam turned to be prevalent in the injury of Islamic literature, history and arts. Moreover, the rising of the new generation of experts seems to be concomitant with a systematic denigration of traditional specialists in Islam who "have proven so inept at understanding the great contemporary issues of war and peace" (Daniel Pipes, 2002).

Secondly, public discourse about Islam after 9/11 has a generally negative approach within a negative discourse frame. Old clichés about specific negative otherness represent *common loci* for discourses I analyzed, concomitant with a new added security dimension. The lack of accuracy and intellectual probity is probably the most frequent remark that could be done regarding the wide majority of public discourse on Islam. Purposely or not, the things are mingled and the confusion maintained: Islam is represented as the unique regulator of Islamic societies, while categories as *dār al-islām* depicted as a coherent, undistinguished entity. From Bosnia to China, Islam should be the only right simplistic, and general explanation for a very large number of conflicts, especially because "generalities are hard to verify", as Edward Said ironically remarked. Generalities, confusions, semantic relativism, *dangerous semantic disorder* in Muhammad Arkoun's terms reign over the public discourse when it comes to Islam. New and confusing concepts are invented; *Eurabia* and *Islamo-fascism* or *Islamo-nazism* are just a few examples, other categories like *crusade*, *infidels*,

jihād, *dhimmī* are semantically reactivated. All these characteristics among other make media intellectuals discourse very contestable, despite its large audience.

Associated with pre-modernism and, consequently with violence and obscurantism, Islam is supposed to spread fear within a civilization built on fear, as Tzvetan Todorov characterizes Western civilization. All kinds of fear. Probably the most fearful stance of Islam is its overwhelming demographic tendency in Western countries. Specialists in demography publish tremendous statistics confirming the continuous growth of Muslim population leaving in Western countries. Occupying Western public space represents another concern and constant preoccupation for media intellectuals' discourse. European architecture is changing its classical landscape under Islamic intrusion into the Western society. Mosques built everywhere in the heart of the Christian cities, street's prayers in Paris in the absence of mosques became a symbol of the Islamic aggression towards Western public space (Fallaci, Geller, Fourest, Spencer) and its tendency to occupy it.

Associating Islam and violence is a common idea, activated anytime it is needed for denouncing "the so-called moderate Islam" (René Marchand), concept used as disguise for the real and unique form of Islam-*the extremism*. This image of Islam as religion of violence gets back from the medieval era a cultural schema according to which, as Albert Hourani remarked, Islam is a false and violent religion, Allah is not God, Muhammad was not a prophet, and Islam was invented by men and propagated by the sword. It is really interesting to notice that for both Islamic and Western sides, this kind of cultural discourses use the same series of historic referents by way of Other's exclusion.

The general frame for the growth of such images is drawn by what Muhammad Arkoun called "institutionalized ignorance" of the Western societies or in other words by a generalized *mis-education* of the people. This lack of information or *mis-education* creates a vast place for media manipulation campaigns. Most probably we can use the very same arguments when analyzing Muslim societies and their common perception on Western civilization. I finally believe that Jacques Derrida's sayings are still to be taken into consideration: "we need to deconstruct the European and Western construct of Islam".

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SOUNDS AND SILENCE IN IBN SĪNĀ'S *RASĀ'IL AL-MAŠRIQIYYA*

Grete Tartler

University of Bucharest

Abstract. Ibn Sīnā, 980-1037, author of treatises and epistles on nearly every subject of his time, was versed also in poetry and music. Along other metaphors of his *rasā'il al-masriqiyya*, he used symbolic references related to sounds and silence. The inner spiritual growth is a “path of sounds” (disharmonic and harmonic, reaching silence), similar to ṣūfī theories. This study is analyzing the metaphor mainly in *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* and the *Risāla al-ṭayr*, but also in shorter epistles like that on *Love*, on the *Nature of Prayer* a.o.. Besides the Aristotelian “materialistic” view on sounds, adopted in *Kitāb al-sifa'* and other medical, logical or psychological texts, a point of view of “Oriental” (Persian, Indian – but also Hebrew) inspiration is emerging here.

Keywords: Ibn Sīnā, *al-rasā'il al-masriqiyya*, ṣūfī, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, *Risāla al-ṭayr*, sounds, silence.

Ibn Sīnā, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh, known also as *al-Šayḥ al-Ra'īs* (The Leader among Wise Men) and *Ḥuḡḡat al-Ḥaqq* (The Proof of Truth), born 980 near Buḥārā, d. 1037 in Hamadān, had, as he is pointing out himself in his autobiography, a thorough education, learning from an early age the Qur'ān and many other different sciences, such as grammar, logics, mathematics, physics, metaphysics, astronomy, medicine. His father, an adept of the Ismā'īlī doctrine, invited to his house famous scholars for discussions on spiritual questions; thus, the future philosopher was impregnated from childhood on by these ṣūfī points of view¹. Ibn Sīnā's mastery of medicine took him around on many travels and made him a favorite of wealthy rulers, but this was also the cause of his misfortunes. While living days of fame, becoming a *wazīr* at the court of Šams al-Dawla, he acquired many enemies, was imprisoned, lost his fortune, but even in prison he didn't give up his philosophical and mystical endeavors. Thus was he admired as a “man of remarkable concentrative powers” (Nasr 1964: 22), not affected by the external disturbances of the world. As stated by Ibn Sīnā himself at the end of his *Epistle on the Nature of Prayer*, he wrote a text sometimes “in half an hour”, or simply on the road from one village to another².

¹ For a recent translation in English of the Avicennian biography see Gohlmann 1974.

² Cf. Gohlmann 1974, *Bibliography of the works of Ibn Sīnā* written by his disciple al-Ġuzḡānī: “The Najdt, which he wrote on the road to Sabur Khwast while he was in the service of `Ala al-Dawla.” (97) ; “An essay on *Foreordination and Destiny*, which he wrote on the way to Isfahan

Among his hundreds of works there are treatises and epistles on nearly every subject of his times, philosophical, scientific and religious, including some *risalāt* on his “Oriental philosophy” (*al-ḥikma al-mašriqiyya*) – harmonizing reason and revelation in the tradition already begun by al-Kīndī and al-Fārābī, continued afterwards by Suhrawardī and Mullā Sadra.

But Ibn Sīnā was versed also in poetry and music, writing compositions (of which three survived), these being the musical sections of *al-Šifā*³, *al-Nağāt*⁴, written in Arabic, and *Danismanah* (*Dāneš-nāma*)⁵, written in Persian. He was the first to give the Persian name of musical modes, describing harmony and “mensural music”. Ibn Sīnā followed al-Fārābī in his musical theories, relying on the Pythagorean scale, but also studying the theory of music performed in Persia during his time (which was based on minor and major tierces and on thirds or quarts of tone, encompassing 17 or 24 different sounds in a scale) (Chottin 1960 b: 470-473). Concerning the musical modes, Ibn Sīnā counted 16 modes, dividing them in 7 “hard” and 9 “soft” ones (Chottin 1960 a: 535).

My thesis is that, along other metaphors (like those of light and ascension) used in the *rasā'il al-mašriqiyya* (Ibn Sīnā 1999), epistles aiming, as stated already by Corbin (1954), the “initiation in the Orient”⁶, Ibn Sīnā has used also symbolic references related to sounds and silence. The “path of truth” is backed by a “path of sounds”: starting with noises (of the human world), passing through disharmonic sounds – finally reaching harmony, whispers and silence. The truth can be found where no words are spoken. Silence is a metaphor for one’s true nature, facing the ultimate reality where the contact with the divine can be achieved. By symbolizing the inner growth with disharmonic and harmonic sounds, Ibn Sīnā is relying on *ṣūfī* theories, thus being closer to the Buddhist viewpoints on silence.

In *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, a *šayḥ bahiyy*⁷ (a wise man resplending divine glory - the human mind put in motion by a celestial revelation) is addressing “us” (the

during his escape and flight to Isfahan” (111). Also, at the end of the *Epistle on the Nature of Prayer* (*Risāla fī māhiyya al-ṣalwa*) Ibn Sīnā is stating himself that he has written the text “in less than half of an hour, exposed to distractions” (Ibn Sīnā 1999, III: 24).

³ *Kitāb al-Šifā* (*The Book of Healing*), Ibn Sīnā’s major work on philosophy, written between 1014 - 1020. Critical editions of the Arabic text have been published in Cairo, 1952–83, originally under the supervision of I. Madkour. Simone van Riet edited at Leiden, Brill, between 1972-92 the Latin Mediaeval translations of *al-Šifā*.

⁴ *Kitāb al-Nağāt* (*The Book of Salvation*), translated by F. Rahman (Ibn Sīnā 1952).

⁵ *Danishnama-i ‘ala’i* (*The Book of Scientific Knowledge*), edited and translated by P. Morewedge (Ibn Sīnā 1973).

⁶ Orient: the world of the Angel, *orienting* towards the world of ideas, towards the Active Intelligence or reason, *al-‘aql al-fa‘āl*.

⁷ Ibn Sīnā 1999, I: 1-22.

audience) in a *lahġa maqbūla* (a language that we received). He is pointing out that on the road of error the human soul is accompanied, among other misleaders, by a liar, who mingles false and true. A lie is told in a disharmonic language, proper to the human world, which is a place of devastation, filled with trouble, wars, quarrels, tumults (*mašhūna bi-l-ḥayġ wa-l-ḥiṣām wa-l-haraġ*). We are summoned not to believe it and to choose the way to the Truth.

The climates (*aqālīm*) of the guided journey are including different Planets. One of them, Venus, a “kingdom” whose inhabitants are beautiful and charming, is also the limit of disharmony, because these inhabitants are using musical instruments (*mazāhir*). From now on, the road is paved with sounds of harmony.

Terrestrial Angels (*al-malā’ika al-’arḍiyyūna*) are guiding the travellers to the spiritual ones (*al-rūḥāniyyūna*), beyond the celestial spheres (*’ilā mā warā’a al-samā’*), where the Greatest King (*al-malik al-’a’zam*) is reigning – generous, bright, mild, merciful. It is a dazzling place of silence and peace – the word “peace”, expressed as a wish to the pilgrim setting out on the Quest, being also the last word of the story.

This itinerary of the soul, imitating the celestial Ascent (*mi’rāġ*) of the Prophet, as a journey through different cosmological spheres, could be also recognized in the stages (*maqāmāt*) of the *ṣūfī* initiates (*’arīfūna*), on the *ṭarīqa*.

The *Epistle of the Bird* (*Risāla al-ṭayr*)⁸ is using, for the spiritual journey, the symbol of the bird, including the mysterious bird Simurgh (Persian)⁹ or ‘Anqā’ (Arabic)¹⁰, from which souls are emanating. (Sometimes this “phoenix” has been compared to the dove in Christianity, as incorporating the Holy Ghost). The world of sounds and silence is quite visible. A troop of birds is caught in the desert by hunters: they siffled (*ṣafara*) and lured them into snares. Overwhelmed by anguish and pain, the birds call, cry and shout (verbs of sorrowness and fright, of disharmonic noise and earthly suffering). Yet they try to discover a ruse to free themselves. Some find a way to leave the cage, but still with the ends of cords attached to their legs. One of the prisoners, who accepted for a longer while this fate, is reminded by the already flying birds that, if he has a strong desire for liberty, this could be reached. He is freed with the help of the other “brothers”, but the hobble is still clinging on his foot. In order to find further help, the birds fly over a rank of mountains, resting a while on the seventh peak, which is luring

⁸ Ibn Sīnā 1999, II: 27- 32.

⁹ Frequent symbol in the Persian literature, known especially through the recitals of al-Ġazālī and Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār (*Manṭiq al-ṭayr*, *Language of the Birds*, title suggesting a verse of the Qur’ān.)

¹⁰ Black 1997: 425 is outlining Ibn Sīnā’s interest in the ontological and epistemic status of fictional forms, “that is, of forms which can be entertained by the mind yet have no counterpart in extramental reality, such as the mythical ‘*anqā*’ *muġrib* or phoenix”.

with beautiful gardens and “streams of living water”, with “lovely songs, ravishing instrumental music”. This is the moment when earthly disharmony is beginning to be replaced by celestial sounds. Yet, still afraid of dangers and enemies, the birds continue their flight to the eighth peak (like the Eighth Heaven in *Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān*, or in the story of the *Mi‘rāğ*), where other birds, singing charming melodies, will be guiding them to the supreme King. The King is described as emanating shining splendor (like in *Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān*). The birds, dazzled, find no words to express their complaints. Such is the end of the Quest – in perfection and silence.

But after a while, recovering from their mute adoration, the travelling birds manage to ask protection from the King, imploring him to remove the fetters from their feet. His answer is that “nobody can do it, except those who tied them”. The King promises to send along a Messenger, who will be asking the hunters to unbind the remaining ties. This is the Angel of Death, messaging the liberation of the souls from their bodies.

The path of sounds, leading to silence, is in this epistle obvious: from the frightened, unhappy shouts of the imprisoned “earthly” birds, to the harmony of celestial music discovered on the eighth mountain and up to the moment of mute revelation in the presence of the supreme King.

Harmony is one of the central themes in the *Epistle on love (Risāla fī-l ‘iṣḡ)*. More than the love of the animal soul, who intends only the procreation of the *species* and admires only the outer beauty, the thinking soul (*al-naḡs al-nāḡiqa*) loves “the harmony of a composition, for instance harmonious sounds”¹¹ and the inner beauty. It strives to obtain the love of the First Cause (*al-ma‘lūl al-’awwal*), or First Intelligence (*al-’aql al-’awwal*), thus achieving perfection.

The whisper of an inner voice is mentioned in *Risāla fī sirr al-qadar*¹², where, again, *Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān* is guiding the reader as a sage explaining the role of destiny, punishment and award.

The inner and outer levels of devotion are present in sound-and-silence metaphors also in the three other epistles included by Mehren among the Avicennian *rasā’il al-maṣriqiyya*: the *Epistle on the Nature of Prayer (Risāla fī māhiyyat al-ṣalwa)*, the *Book on the Meaning of the Pilgrimage (to Holy Places) and how it is Influencing us (Kitāb fī ma‘nā al-ziyāra wa kayfiyya ta’īrihā)* and the *Epistle about how to be not Frightened by Death (Risāla fī daf’i al-ğamm min al-mawt)*¹³. For example, the prayer has an inner and an outer part, the outer one using sounds (words) and movements, thus expressing an intention, the inner one

¹¹ Ibn Sīnā 1999: III: 31

¹² Ibn Sīnā 1999 : IV, 5.

¹³ All included in Ibn Sīnā 1999: III.

being silent, free of any determination from space, time, change. And the pilgrimage is putting the human beings in silent contact with the souls of the dead, which are pure, like celestial Intelligences, impregnating the visitors with their spiritual power.

Conclusion

Besides the Aristotelian “materialistic” view on sounds, adopted by Avicenna in *Kitāb al-šifā’* and other medical, logical or psychological texts, where Ibn Sīnā claims that vocal sounds signify the “affections” (or, in Arabic, “traces” or “impressions”, [...] *’ātār allatī fī al-nafs*)¹⁴, what is emitted vocally (*bi-l-ṣawt*) signifying what is in the soul, there is another point of view on sounds and silence, emerging from his mystical writings, proving the “Oriental” (Persian / Indian – but also Hebrew) inspiration. The spiritual path is a way from disharmony (noise) to harmony and its supreme expression, silence. Music is more than a cathartic method; it is a way to reach the supreme truth. Silence is not only the inner, psychic balance, but the moment of divine revelation. It is the moment when the spirit, liberated from noise/ darkness/ hatred/ lie finally reaches the mute contemplation of light, love, truth.

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¹⁴ See Black 2009: 69.

CROSS-CULTURAL AWARENESS AND READABILITY: TEACHING *MAWSIM AL-HIJRA ILĀ AL-ŠAMĀL*

Irina Vainovski-Mihai

“Dimitrie Cantemir” Christian University, Bucharest

Abstract. Drawing on the concepts of emic and etic approaches to a cultural system, the paper puts under scrutiny a fragment of Al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ’s novel *Mawsim al-hijra ilā al-šamāl*. It will show that, as a novel of inward journeying, it can be a good starting point for a discussion on cultural awareness in the encounter with the Other and, therefore, a most significant and useful text to be included in the curriculum for teaching Arabic language and literature. The mediation between the author’s construction of the text world and its reconstruction by the readers, as the paper will show, may become a valuable cross-cultural experience.

Keywords: emic, etic, cross-cultural teaching, Arabic literature, text world, cultural geography

I. Introduction

Al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ’s novel *Mawsim al-hijra ilā al-šamāl*¹ has been the topic of a large critical literature and is still revisited for the investigation of its various sides: the East-West encounter and its “metonymies”, as Muhsin Jassim Al-Musawi labels such themes as gender relations, assimilation and resistance (Musawi 2003: 175); tradition and modernity; the bond that links an author’s biography to his fictional texts; the theme of homecoming. Relying on many of these topics of inquiry, my paper brings forward a domain in which scholars rather seldomly referred to *Mawsim al-hijra*’s significance and possible use: literature teaching within a curriculum for foreign languages and literatures.

The purpose of my paper is to explore the way in which teaching a foreign literature may and should make the students acquainted with a different cultural environment and help them acquire a balanced standpoint between an insider view and an outsider one, between the view of the Other and the Self. In other words, in

¹ Although it will not be congruent with my transliteration of the fragments quoted in Arabic, I shall further use for the name of the author and the title of the novel the transcription generally known and used by famous scholars who dedicated their lives to the study, critical evaluation, and translation of Arabic literature, like Roger Allen, Paul Starkey, M. M. Badawi, and Rasheed El-Enany.

providing them a symmetry between the study of language and the study of culture through the texts produced by this culture, students can be helped into building a cross-cultural awareness. To a certain degree I shall draw on my personal experience with BA level students at a university in Bucharest who learn Arabic as a foreign language.

Most of the researchers in the field of pedagogy who examined the relationship between literature and language teaching have articulated four benefits of literature: 1. literature helps developing linguistic knowledge both on usage and use level; 2. literature may enhance students' motivation for learning a foreign language; 3. literature has the potential to increase learners' understanding of the target culture; 4. literature may help develop skills of cognitive and critical thinking. (Yuksel 2009:31)

My paper is divided into three parts. The Introduction is followed by a section which brings forward the notions that constitute the theoretical basis of the investigation: literature as a cultural immersion; the emic as the insider's perspective on a cultural system; the etic as the outsider's perspective on a cultural system. The end of the section discusses the relevance of these ideas in teaching a foreign literature and charts some implications for the cross-cultural education in general. The third section puts under scrutiny *Mawsim al-hijra* and some aspects of the text world created by Al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ in this novel. Although Romanian students have the novel available both in Arabic (the 1987 edition at Dār al-ʿawda) and in Romanian (At-Tayyib Salih, *Sezonul migrației spre nord*, trans. Maria Dobrișan, Editura Univers, 1983), for the purpose of my present essay, the references will be to the Arabic version, as well as the English one (Tayeb Salih, *Season of Migration to the North*, trans. Denys Johnson-Davies, Heinemann Publishers, 1969). My paper closes with some conclusions and remarks on the specificity of the novel and its role in promoting cross-cultural cultural awareness.

It is out of the scope of this scholarly work to offer a comprehensive evaluation of the novel's main themes. The methods my analysis will apply are those of a deconstruction defined by the theories of reading as "close reading". In proposing a close reading of a fragment (more precisely, the introductory exposition) and in referring only to some of the novel's themes, I have in view the possible ways to overcome the tensions of readability and cultural interpretation, or, as Wolfgang Iser puts it, the tensions in the "liminal space resulting from something being transposed into something else" (Iser 2000: 7).

II. Theoretical Underpinnings

1. Literature as a Cultural Immersion

It is a common knowledge that the images of the Other are rather fictional constructs of the mind than truthful, objective representations. The awareness for Self and Other is a prerequisite for cultural competence (as the ability to interact with people of different cultures) and empathy. University students acquire communication skills not only through the foreign language courses, but also by a direct immersion in the cultural environment of the Other through the mediation of literature. In general, the images of the Other are a conglomeration of different elements, of direct or implicit statements about a country's people, traditions, landscapes, with a tendency to contrasts. In light of this, the distance and the self-other dichotomy becomes pivotal in understanding national perceptions and representations (Leerssen 1991:127), keeping meanwhile in mind the linguistic and historical (ideological, socio-cultural) characteristics of the discourse. Literature teaching can play a major role in enriching the Self and in overcoming both language and cultural barriers, provided that the academic study of the texts has, if viewed in a Bakhtian perspective, a dialogic approach: it is related to the world of the reader, as well as to the milieu of the writer. Even more, a genuine cultural knowledge attained by means of studying literature sets aside exoticism as a mind- or evaluation-pattern. For, as Bakhtin muses:

“Exoticism presupposes a deliberate opposition of what is alien to what is one's own, the otherness of what is foreign is emphasized, savored, and elaborately depicted against an implied background of one's own ordinary and familiar world.” (Bakhtin 1982:101)

With this in mind, I shall sketch the two concepts which I shall apply to the cross-cultural teaching of literature.

2. The Emic and the Etic Perspectives

The two terms were coined (in an analogy with “phonemic” and “phonetic”) by Kenneth L. Pike (Pike 1967), based on the observation that the cultural system of a society can be studied from the point of view of either the insider or the outsider of the respective system. Alan Barnard is summing up the distinction between the two approaches as follows:

“An emic model is one which explains the ideology or behavior of members of a culture according to indigenous definitions. An etic model is one which is based on criteria from outside a particular culture. Etic models are held to be universal, emic models are culture specific.” (Barnard 1996: 180)

These distinctions, in relation to cross-cultural teaching of literature, imply that value judgments are rather often than not inappropriate if expressed from an etic standpoint. In a loose formulation, teaching a foreign literature becomes not only a boring, but also a biased endeavor when it is not achieved according to the specificities of the culture and the language which created that literature. It is the role of literature classes to guide students into obtaining a valuation from within.

In this light, I consider that a foreign language teaching promotes techniques of communication, while a foreign literature teaching promotes cultural communication and understanding. Thus literature teaching dilutes to a certain degree the tension in the liminal space created by transposing the context of a literary text to a new context, that of reading and interpreting it within another culture.

3. The Relevance of the Two Concepts to Teaching a Foreign Literature

From the two concepts as presented and discussed above we infer the indissoluble relation between culture and reading abilities. The cultural content of a text influences to a great extent the students' ability to understand it. The difficulties of a student in understanding a literary work depend not merely on the grammatical and the lexical level, but, to a crucial degree, on the cultural distance between the text and the reader. A good point in my argument is Iser's theory of "aesthetic response" or reader-response theory. (Iser 1978; Iser 1980) He stands among the first literary theorists who redirect the attention from the author to the reader. Iser does not put the question what is the general (and rather abstract) meaning of a text, instead, he is concerned with what a certain text means for a certain reader.

Two further important questions emerge from this: what is the role of literature courses and what is the role of the teacher?

Firstly, the teacher should introduce literature as a cultural experience rather than a mere linguistic one. Secondly, he/she should have always in mind that understanding the meaning of a text implies an interaction between the textual content and the reader's personal experiences. (Davis 1989: 422) In the same vein, Hans-Georg Gadamer notes that taste can be trained or improved through "cultivation". (Gadamer 1989:35)

As long as "the validity of aesthetic judgment cannot be derived and proved from a universal principle" (Gadamer 1989:42), the task of the teacher of literature is to train his students into the aesthetic of the Other by mediating two cultural codes. By proposing a common standpoint between the culture of the

student and the culture that created the text, the teacher creates the opportunity of a meeting between the Other and the Self in a most valuable and enriching process called by Gadamer “the fusion of horizons”. (Gadamer 1989:306 ff.)

The etic approach to the Arabic literary tradition cannot be avoided but it becomes often an obstacle in the consideration of the beauty and the meaning of a literary work. (Vainovski-Mihai 1997-1999:170) In general, the emic notion of *adab* is both wider and narrower compared to the etic notion of literature as belletristic verbal art (Holmberg 2006: 200). To give only one particular example out of those offered by Bo Holmberg:

“(…) the conflicting opinions about the importance of the *One Thousand and One Nights* illustrate a significant aspect of every effort to write about the «literature» of a non-European tradition from a modern European standpoint. The etic understanding of (oral and) written texts in Arabic from a modern European view has to be distinguished from the emic understanding of the same material from within indigenous Arabic tradition.” (Holmberg 2006: 180)

As Holmberg so aptly concludes with regard to Arabic literature, indeed, the etic approach cannot be avoided, but “it has to be paired with the awareness of the emic categories in question”. (Holmberg 2006: 180)

III. The Text World

“Pre-colonial as well as post-independence consciousness have also problematized issues of nationalism, identity and difference. However, nowhere have these issues been encountered with so much force and mastery as in Al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ’s *Mawsim al-hijra ilā al-šamāl* (...). The novel traces the protagonist’s career as a brilliant Sudanese child, who studies in England as part of the imperial educational program to get him acculturated in the life and thought of Great Britain, so as to be among the native elite who can rule with a colonial frame of mind.” (Al-Musawi 2003: 195)

As a novel of inward journeying, a strive of both the narrator and the protagonist to shape for themselves a sense of belonging, Al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ’s novel makes a good point for our discussion on the emic and the etic, from the authorial text world to the readerly reconstruction. With this in mind, I shall deconstruct in a close reading the title and the first page of the novel. For, as I shall argue, the former gives the clues to the interpretation of the whole text, while the latter, comprising the introductory exposition, provides the background for the tensions in the whole text.

1. The Title

To start with, the very title of the novel needs an emic reading. As Muhammed Khalafalla ‘Abdalla explains (‘Abdalla 1999: 53-54), the North-South divide or confrontation in Al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ’s works (referred to by literary critics as an East-West divide or encounter) can be approached, in fact, from four different axes. The first is the local. From the vantage point of the village, the other places, according to the natural boundaries of the Nile, are either up river (*qiblī*) or down river (*baḥrī*). The second axis, the riverine, is governed also by the flow of the Nile, but this time it spotlights the difference between the urban (with Khartoum in the south, upriver or the Ṣa‘īd) and the rural (with the small village in the north, downriver or the Sāfil). The third axis, the regional one, is again a North-South divide determined by the Nile, but here the function is to hint at the political and cultural ties between upriver (*ḡanūb al-wādī*) and downriver (*šamāl al-wādī*), where Egypt is situated. The fourth axis, the global one, is the divide in which the Mediterranean serves as a boundary between Europe and the North (*aš-šamāl*) and Africa or the South (*al-ḡanūb*). This divide is probably the main theme of the novel, concludes ‘Abdalla, but in exploring the other axes around which it can be approached, he gives credence to the idea that *Mawsim al-hijra* should be read more than once and each time in a different way. “Other readings can enrich the main theme rather than contradict or sideline it.” (‘Abdalla 1999: 54)

And, I should add, by presenting the students ‘Abdalla’s formulation of the four axes, I have the opportunity not only to draw their awareness to the implications of different standpoints, but also to make an excursion into the geography, history and politics of the region.

2. The Construction and the Reconstruction of the Text World

At the outset, *Mawsim al-hijra* already contrasts two places, each of them a symbolic *locus*. The reader is helped into building a mental representation of the setting both physically objective and subjectively sieved through screens of identity and belonging. But is there a shift between the author’s text world and the reader’s mental reconstruction of this world? As with any fictional text, the reader’s reconstruction is engendered by two elements: the completion of the information with what he already knows and the inference of what seems for him to be a logical string. They are exactly the elements which can create a tension in the liminal space which Iser speaks about. The teacher of literature can play an important part in keeping the transposition of something into something else at a short range by pointing to emic understandings.

In a *maqāma* style, Al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ opens his narrative by addressing a supposedly audience (*yā sādātī*) to which he will describe the contrasts between two universes, the one, overseas and the one of his roots, his people, longings and dreams. The two spaces are depicted in terms of geography and communality.

a. The Geography

After seven years spent in Europe for studying, the narrator is returning to his small village at the bend of the Nile (*'udtu [...] 'ilā 'ahlī fī tilka l-qaryatī ṣ-ṣaḡīratī 'inda munḥanā n-Nīl*). Maybe the first remark would be that for researchers in literary history and criticism a cultural geography of a no-name village at the bend of the Nile in Sudan was not precise enough. Although the place remains anonymous throughout the novel, almost all critics and commentators place it on the map as Wad Ḥāmid. No need to note how this factual spotting restricts the wider encompassing emblematic space.

Moreover, the issue of this namelessness has a special weight in the fragment I am discussing here. In its beginning, the novel contrasts settings with vague geographical boundaries but significant individual ones if we take into consideration the way they are presented. The small village at the bend of the Nile does not have a name, neither does the European place of scholarly expatriation, only later revealed in the narrative as England. For the moment, as far as the introduction goes, it is a land “whose fishes die of the cold” (*tamūtu mina l-bardi ḥitānuhā*).

It is this cold that makes the alien space different from the familiar one emotionally loaded by a warmth which makes homecoming to be felt as a though a piece of ice is melting in the soul (*'aḥsastu ka'anna talḡ^{an} yadūbu fī dahīlatī, fakka'annanī maqrūr^{an} ṭala'at 'alayhi ṣ-ṣams^u*). Only that the land whose fishes die of cold should be read and imagined in an African emic perspective. Otherwise, a European reader would be rather surprised to find out, as the narrative goes on, that it is not about a Scandinavian country, but England. Not the same thing can be said about the fog which this cold country condenses between the estranged narrator and his family (*qāma baynī wa baynahum ṣay^{an} miṭla ḍ-ḍabābⁱ*). On account of the “London fog” stereotype, the introductory exposition may give a good geographical hint.

b. The Community

Firstly, when looking into the elements that suggest the human environment of that chilly far away country we note that they are constructed on

two levels: an open-ended level and an implied one, both of them assigned a certain tension.

Right in the beginning of the book the narrator evokes his homecoming after seven years during which he had learned many things, but also had missed many things. He leaves open to interpretations the explanation about what he was deprived of there. “That’s another story.” – he says, eluding any detail, but suggesting that there is much more to this. (*ta‘allamtu l-kaṭīr^a wa ḡāba ‘annī l-kaṭīr^u, lākin tilka qiṣṣat^{um} ‘uḥrā.*)

On the other hand, by literally expressing the feelings he has towards his own community the narrator implies if not a reverse, at least a different relation with the distant Other. He returned “with a great yearning of his people”, he “had longed for them, had dreamed of them” for seven years (*‘udtu wa bī ṣawq^{um} ‘aẓīm^{um} ‘ilā ‘aẓīm^{um}; sab‘at^a ‘a‘wāmⁱⁿ wa ‘anā ‘aḥinnu ‘ilayhim wa ‘aḥlumu bihim.*)

Secondly, the way in which the community is named and brought into action needs a special consideration. For their cultural determination, these ingredients should be looked at carefully in order to drive the authorly text world closer to its readerly reconstruction.

Initially, when the scene is focalized from afar, the community is circumscribed more broadly as kin, *ahl* (*‘udtu ‘ilā ‘ahlī; bī ṣawq^{um} ‘aẓīm^{um} ‘ilā ‘ahlī* – emphasis mine) and when the perspective becomes gradually closer, the community is defined as a clan or sub-tribe, *‘aṣīra* (*dif^u l-ḥayātⁱ fī l-‘aṣīra*). Moreover, Al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ impressingly manages to put in motion the joyful community. He builds in a few words a complex scene which, to be properly read, must be visualized and put into its cultural context. On his return, the narrator relates, the people of the village “rejoiced” and “made a great fuss” (*fariḥū bī wa daḡḡū ḥawlī*).

IV. Conclusions

In proposing a close reading of the first passages in Al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ’s novel *Mawsim al-hijra ilā al-ṣamāl*, this essay attempted to show how a careful text reconstruction may reduce the cultural distance between the writer and the reader. The implications of the proposed findings are, no doubt, more far-fetching than the field of literature teaching, although my paper touched only on this. As a novel of inward journeying, *Mawsim al-hijra* has proved to be a good starting point for a discussion on cultural awareness in the encounter with the Other.

I have put under scrutiny only the introductory exposition of the novel. Certainly, the next pages of the book comprise more clear-cut scenes that could fittingly sustain a debate on cultural encounters. Among the so many examples

that could be given are the questions asked by the villagers about Europe. They strikingly reveal an “Occidentalist” view, to use Ian Buruma’s term.

“They had asked me about Europe. Were the people there like us or were they different? (...) What did people do in winter? They say that the women are unveiled and dance openly with men.” (*Season*, 3)

“*Sa’alūnī ‘an ‘Ūrūbā. Hal an-nās^u miṭlanā ‘am yaḥtalifūna ‘annā? (...)* *Mādā yaf‘alu n-nās^u fī š-šitā^h? Yaqūlūna ‘inna n-nisā^x sāfirāt^m yarqūṣna ‘alāniyyat^m ma ‘a r-riḡālⁱ.”* (*Mawsim*, 7)

I avoided such passages not only because there is a wealth of critical literature on them, but also (or maybe mainly) because I considered them too transparent to genuinely stand for a revelatory analysis. Therefore, I have chosen the introductory exposition for being subtle and more appropriate to a close reading.

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BOOK REVIEWS

***A Festschrift for Nadia Anghelescu*, edited by Andrei A. Avram, Anca Focșeneanu, and George Grigore. Bucharest: Editura Universității din București, 2011, pp. 576. (ISBN 978-973-737-951-1)**

**Reviewed by Daniela Rodica Firănescu,
Dalhousie University, Halifax**

The collective volume with the title *A Festschrift for Nadia Anghelescu* contains the contributions of 39 authors whose articles are gathered in a book meant to be the expression of "deep admiration, gratitude and love" (as showed by the editors in the *Foreword*) directed towards Professor Nadia Anghelescu on the seventieth anniversary. Professor Anghelescu's activity within the Arabic Section of the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures of the University of Bucharest lasted about half a century; for many decades, she was the Chair of the Arabic Section and the Director of the Center of Arab Studies. She supervised the research activity of numerous graduate students (not only Arabists) and many of them prepared and defended their doctorate dissertations under her guidance; some of those sign articles in this volume.

The articles are disposed following the alphabetical order of the authors' names, and not grouped on topics or domains of interest, which are very diversely illustrated in the volume. Professor Anghelescu's principal domain of expertise is the Arabic linguistics, notably the study of the theories of the ancient Arab grammarians; some of the articles in the volume are devoted to this particular field. She also has essential personal contributions in general linguistics, and some of the articles in the volume are written by authors working in this broader domain. Other additional fields illustrated in the volume are the Arabic literature, Oriental languages (linguistics and literatures), Islamology, and others, as showed below.

Due to the big number of contributors to the volume, and the great variety of interests expressed through the articles' topics, we are in the position to write a book report or a summary, not a critical review. We will group the contributions by domain or field of interest – with one single exception, that of the Romanian authors academically raised at the Romanian school of Arabic studies mentored by Professor Anghelescu, the authors who are grouped together regardless of their specific area of interest within the Arabic studies - objectively making more

extended halts to the articles dealing with topics that pertain to our own fields of work or competency (Arabic linguistics – Arabic dialectology included - and Arabic literature). We also highlight other domains - that are not effectively ours - illustrated by significant contributions in this volume. In all the situations, we aim at indicating, at least briefly, the topic of the article or the title, and sometimes its main relevance to the field. The mentioning of the authors in enumerations follows their names' alphabetical order.

A. Articles by Romanian scholars in the fields of general linguistics and linguistics of other languages than Arabic (English, French, Romanian, Chinese, Japanese, Persian, Hindi, Romani)

There are outstanding linguists among the contributors, who collaborated for long years, in research and academic matters, with Professor Angheliescu, such as Andrei Avram ("La reduplication, la substitution par [m] de la consonne initiale et l'étymologie du roumain"), Larisa Avram ("Modals and the scope of the perfect"), Alexandra Cornilescu ("When syntax and semantics meet: Wager/estimate-verbs in English"), Alexandra Cuniță ("De l'éducation par les langues-cultures: le vocabulaire des couleurs"), and Florentina Vișan ("The [Chinese]verb *qi* 'go up, rise' as a directional verb or motion path verb").

Other authors, whose articles range in the above mentioned category, are academics, working in fields related to various Oriental languages, who grew professionally and obtained the Ph.D. degrees under Professor Angheliescu's guidance as a scholar in general linguistics, such as Luminița Bălan ("Time and space metaphors in Chinese"), Cristina Ciovârname ("Inchoative aspectualizers in Persian"), Anca Focseneanu ("The Japanese *dvandva* compounds and the coordinate words in Romanian idiomatic expressions"), Sabina Popârlan ("Référents nominaux ou verbaux et anaphores. Etude comparative en français, hindi et roumain"), Ruxandra-Oana Raianu ("Attenuation through affixes in Japanese"), Gheorghe Sarău ("Romani language standardization and teaching difficulties and solutions").

B. Comparative literature

In the article "Short remarks concerning an astonishing similarity between two legendary characters", the distinguished Romanian linguist and Classicist Lucia Wald presents us with a comparative view upon the recurrent (in Classical literature) topic of 'sacrifice' illustrated by Iphigenia's figure in the Ancient Greek literature and the figure of a daughter of Jephthah, as recorded in the Old Testament.

C. *Arabic studies* authored by members of the *Romanian school of Arabic studies*, founded by Professor Nadia Anghelescu, "under whose guidance many of them have covered the long way from the learning of the Arabic alphabet to the defence of their PhD dissertation" (*Foreword*, p. 9). The following fields are illustrated:

- '*Arabic linguistics*': *Grammatical Tradition, Standard Arabic Applied Linguistics, Dialectology, Literature, Cultural studies, Islamology*. Various branches of the vast domain of the '*Arabic linguistics*', which offers a generously large umbrella, are illustrated in the volume.

Andrei A. Avram, pursues a constant course of interest, by observing in the article "A survey of reduplication in Arabic pidgins and creoles" the phenomenon of reduplication in six different Arabic pidgins and creoles, among them what the author identifies as "Romanian Pidgin Arabic".

George Grigore describes in his article "Les principales caractéristiques de l'arabe parlé à Siirt (Turquie)" an Arabic dialect that has been given previously only little room in the specialized literature; this consistent study comes in addition to the important contributions to the Arabic dialectology he has made in the last decade through scholarly articles devoted to Mesopotamian Arabic dialects (mainly those spoken in Iraq) and full descriptions of some Arab dialects spoken outside the Arab world or "peripheral" (such as Mardini Arabic, to which the author has devoted a most-valuable monograph published in 2007).

Professor Anghelescu's interest in fields such as the Arabic Grammatical Tradition, the typological analysis of Literary Arabic, Arabic lexicology, and Islamology, her passion for these domains and numerous related publications are, in general, echoed by some works of her disciples; in the particular case of this volume, there are five such examples.

Ioana Feodorov offers thoughtful reflections upon a specific component of the Arabic lexis represented by the borrowings from contact languages as reflected in a Classical text from the 17th century ("Notes sur les mots non arabes dans le *Voyage du Patriarche Macaire d'Antioche* par Paul d'Alep").

Daniela Rodica Firanescu adds up a contribution to one of her interest areas – represented by reading and interpreting the linguistic theories of the ancient Arab grammarians by means of modern linguistic concepts elaborated in areas such as Semantics and Pragmatics – this time making a halt to the 13th century Arab linguist al-Sakkākī and his theory of semantic engendering ("Reading notes on Sakkākī's concept of 'semantic engendering'").

Adrian Macelaru, pursuing his scholarly interests, looks comparatively to some grammatical features in Literary Arabic and other Semitic languages, this time analyzing "The /u/-vowel of the Semitic verbal prefixes as a mark of a high degree of event elaboration".

An in depth look at the category of 'aspect' and the grammaticalization process undergone by specific verbs in Literary Arabic is to be found in Ovidiu Pietrăreanu's article "Some considerations on aspect and grammaticalization in Literary Arabic".

In the field of Islamology, Laura Sitaru's article "Contemporary myths about Islam and their role in shaping the image of the Western Muslim" offers a lucid and penetrating analysis of the mythification of Islam and Muslims, in various forms, a trend that has been manifest in the West through historical periods, and is amplified nowadays by means of the sophisticated mass media.

- *Arabic literature: translation studies; interpretative translation. Arab cultural studies.*

In the article entitled "Equivalences sémantiques dans les traductions en français et anglais du poème 'Al-Ḥamriyya' d'Ibn al-Fāriḍ" Georgiana Nicoarea analyzes the semantics of the vocabulary related to wine in a famous Classical Arabic poem, comparing the Arabic original to some of its versions realized in French and English.

As a skilled and renowned translator of Classical Arabic literature into Romanian, who has largely contributed to granting the Romanian public access to the Arabic literature, Grete Tartler offers in the volume an additional illustration of her consistent work in the field, this time by offering her version in English of a poem by Abū Nuwās ("Youth, the Horse of Ignorance: Interpretation of a poem by Abū Nuwās").

In her study – suggestively entitled "A pre-history of Orientalism: Herodotus' and Strabo's image of Arabia" - Irina Vainovski-Mihai leads the reader through a passionate imagologic journey that shows how Arabs and their land were seen by "Others" long before the birth of Orientalism and the theories on alterity.

D. Scholarly international contributions to Arabic studies, in various fields.

As the editors indicate, "besides former students and colleagues from Romania, a number of internationally acclaimed specialists in Arabic linguistics

and literature contribute to the present volume, in confirmation of the academic recognition of Nadia Angheliescu in both Europe and the Arab World" (*Foreword*, p. 9). Their precious contributions (for their majority, linguistic studies) belong to various fields:

a) – b) *The Arabic Grammatical Tradition (a) and Arabic linguistics (b)*

a) In the article "A 7th -8th H. century controversy: Ibn al-Aṭīr on *Nahw* and *Bayān*", Ramzi Baalbaki offers a thorough, pertinent reading and interpretation of fundamental linguistic concepts, such as "grammar" and "rhetoric", as viewed by one of the leading figures of the Arabic Grammatical Tradition, in the lineage of his many outstanding contributions to the field, and at the same high level of knowledgeability and scholarly refinement characteristic to his works.

On a similar note, Michael G. Carter approaches another key topic – indicated in the title of his article "Indirect questions and reported speech: A problem for Arabic grammatical theory" – that preoccupied the ancient Arab grammarians, starting with Sībawayhi (to whom he has devoted many of his scholarly very significant contributions), making halts to various important grammarians, and scrutinizing, besides linguistic texts relevant for the examined topic, the status of the indirect questions in the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth.

A third article adds a solid link to the chain of golden contributions dealing with the Arabic Grammatical Tradition: Jean-Patrick Guillaume's "Le «syndrome *'akalū-nī l-barāgīt*» et les ambiguïtés de la tradition linguistique arabe" that deals with another first rank topic, that of the verb-subject agreement in Classical, as well as Modern, Standard Arabic.

The next precious link in the chain is offered by Pierre Larcher, a leading scholar of the Arabic "linguistic archeology", who extends here - through the article "Un texte arabe sur le métalangage" - his well known preoccupation for the Arabic meta-linguistics, by having under his particularly inquiring, sharp examination – to which he has accustomed the readers - an excerpt from a 14th century text pertaining to the domain of "the sources of jurisprudence", written by al-Asnawī.

The quintet is completed by the contribution of Arieh Levin with the article "The meaning of the syntactic technical term *al-juz'* " which focuses on the concept of 'indispensable part of the sentence' at the Arab grammarians, observed in its evolution over four centuries (10th - 14th) of Arabic linguistic thought.

b) A second series of articles deals with topics related to the examination of linguistic facts and phenomena, mainly characteristic to Classical and Modern

Standard Arabic (with the mention that some authors, as we indicate, do refer as well to Arabic dialects).

Both authors of the first two articles mentioned here indicate their shared opinions with Professor Anghelescu with respect to the topics they treat. Georges Dorlian ("L'arbitraire du signe en question" looks closely, and comparatively, at the notion of "arbitrary of the linguistic sign" in general linguistics developed in Saussure's tradition and in Arabic ancient and modern linguistic thought. The modalities in Standard Arabic (Classical and Modern) – a field in which Professor Anghelescu has published highly appreciated studies – is the topic dealt with in Gunvor Mejdell's article "Lost in translation of modality - Some problems of transfer between Arabic and English modal systems", a topic that the author connects with pertinent questions and suggestions related to the translation from Arabic into English of specific texts particularly affected by the discursive modalities, such as the diplomatic texts.

With Giuliano Mion's study - "Open questions on stress in Arabic: Some socio-phonological interpretations" – the reader is introduced into the realm of a relatively less consistently approached in Arabic studies, though very important phenomenon: that of the 'stress' in Modern Standard Arabic and in various Arabic dialects (with focus on Egyptian, Yemeni, and Moroccan).

A very thorough identification, classification and observation of the encompassing category of "connectives" (exhaustively described by the author) in Modern Standard Arabic is to be found in Tsvetomira Pashova's elaborated study "Arabic connectives marking the antecedent as a cause: A feature based account".

Focussing mainly on Classical Arabic (especially the Qur'anic text), André Roman's article "Les morphemes de temps /ʔida:// /ʔid/ et l'expression de la surprise" examines the two particles in their syntactic behavior and specific structures, as well as in relation to the time of the event expressed by the verb.

On different note, or in a tangential field, Andrzej Zaborski's article "Beja *Hadarab* and *Hadendowa* – A common etymology" inquires the etymology of the words indicated in the title, as well as of other Beja or, more generally, Cushitic words.

c) Arabic (applied and theoretical) dialectology

In a very thoroughly elaborated study, entitled "Faits de grammaticalisation et processus narratives. Les verbes 'se (re)dresser' et 'prendre' dans l'arabe mauritanien", Catherine Taine-Cheikh – well known for her invaluable contribution to detangling the intricate mechanisms involved in the

process of grammaticalization in Arabic dialects, particularly the Mauritanian dialect *ḥasaniyya* – analyzes the complex modals announced in the title by observing their behavior and discursive meanings mainly in *ḥasaniyya*, but also in other various spoken varieties, which allows her to formulate significant reflections that would range in the field of Arabic comparative dialectology.

Kees Versteegh, as a leading thinker of the broad domain of Arabic linguistic studies, realizes in the study "Between typology and genealogy: The classification of Arabic dialects" an exceptional, synthetic overview of the two main theories related to the classification of the Arabic dialects on typology and genealogy criteria, questioning both of them and launching the challenging idea (announced in previous studies of his) of the 'convergence' process (as opposed to the "so ingrained" hypothesis of the Proto-Arabic) undergone by spoken varieties of Arabic, the idea that he considers liable to produce, if embraced, the necessary "history of the linguistic contacts of speakers of varieties of Arabic" (p. 549).

d) *Arabic literature*

In the article "La *Nahda* a-t-elle des aspects spirituels?", Jean Fontaine formulates his own insights and interpretations of the renaissance (*Nahḍa*) period in the Arab culture, with focus on the spiritual aspects (religious beliefs included, and treated more in depth) and their role in the ensemble of this specific stage of the Arab culture, commonly considered revolutionary and enlightening, but scrutinized in this article and – based on the author's arguments - considered questionable.

Hilary Kilpatrick's article "Poetry on political events in the Mamluk and early Ottoman periods" presents three poems composed by three Arab Christian poets who lived in different parts of the Arab world, in different centuries (13th, 16th, 17th), poems reflecting difficult times of historical trial for the Arabs; the author points out to the advantage of an inclusionary point of view when analyzing literary texts in their larger context, regardless of the author's religious confession.

Gregor Schoeler reflects upon the life and literary legacy of one of the Arabic Classical literature's "pillars", in an article entirely devoted to him as indicates the title: "The poet and prose writer Abû l-‘Alâ’ al-Ma‘arrî and his *Epistle of Forgiveness*".

e) *Islamology*

This field is illustrated by Yordan Peev's article "La réforme en Islam. Courants politiques et religieux" which offers a synthetic view over a century of

what the author considers as being a continuous Reform in Islam; the survey covers the main trends, ideological groups, and branches, with focus on their stance towards secularisation.

In conclusion: this is a festive, celebratory volume, not only by allusion to the alleged purpose of rendering homage to the distinguished scholar of Arabic studies, Professor Nadia Anghelescu, but also in the figurative sense, that of happily bringing together articles that raise up to the highest scholarly standards.

Laura Sitaru, *Gândirea politică arabă. Concepte-cheie între tradiție și inovație* (Arab Political Thought. Key concepts between tradition and innovation). Iași: Polirom, 2009, pp. 320. (ISBN 978-973-46-1494-3)

**Reviewed by George Grigore
University of Bucharest**

In *Arab political thought. Key concepts between tradition and innovation* (Polirom, 2009), Laura Sitaru, Arabist at the University of Bucharest, undertakes a comprehensive and well documented analysis of the socio-political history of the Arab-Islamic world, over a period stretching from the early Arab revival in the second half of the nineteenth century, until the late twentieth century. The main purpose of this study consists of analyzing the link between historical realities and modern expressions of framework forms, which are currently operating the Arab-Islamic society.

From the very beginning, it should be highlighted the fact that any monograph with such a theme has to face a number of difficulties created by a fluctuating and improper terminology, as well as by false analogies that this terminology sometimes suggests. It is enough to remember the effort made by experts in political history to remove the ambiguity of word (and of the concept itself) "nationalism" in Europe. Furthermore, the transposition of this terminology in a specific context such as the Arab-Islamic one will trigger problems of great complexity. Regarding the nationalism we just referred to, as expected, in the Arab space we encounter an ambiguity of terms defining it, due to the fact that these terms come from a large inheritance stretched in time and space.

Given these considerations, Laura Sitaru directs her research in three areas: language, history and political science, plans which provide her with the necessary tools to approach the object of research, managing in this way to provide a coherent analysis of an area widely recognized as being very difficult to theorize.

In the first part of the book, the author reviews the various forms of governance in the Arab-Islamic world, from Medina state established by Prophet Muhammad himself, going on with the institution of the caliphate and ending with current forms, monarchies or republics. All these forms of state, according to the author, are one way or another influenced by the Islamic state model from the dawn of Islamic civilization.

An important part of the book is devoted to a comprehensive critical study that includes the forms of Arab community regrouping from 'tribal *asabiyya* to *wataniyya*

or "territorial nationalism" promoted by Arab and Renaissance precursors to *qawmiyya* or "ethnic nationalism", inspired by the European model. Regarding *qawmiyya*, it is possible to refer to a variety of Arab nationalisms to the late twentieth century, as shown by the author herself.

Besides nationalism, the study analyzes other key concepts, such as democracy, secularism, freedom, influenced, as Laura Sitaru notices, by the two dominant trends in the Arab-Islamic world: adopting Western experience and connecting to modernity and respectively, diametrically opposite, the exclusive recovery and recirculation of past values from Islamic heritage.

The last part of the book consists of a substantial chapter devoted to a linguistic analysis of Arab political vocabulary. As Laura Sitaru notes, Arabs have great admiration for the word and all manifestations of the word from poetry to political speech has a magic effect on them, that "permitted magic" *sahr halal*, that Muslims authors are speaking of. As highlighted in the book, in both pre-Islamic and Islamic Arab society, "he, who has the gift of beautiful speech, enjoys respect and appreciation." Based on these considerations, the author highlights the fact that the term for leader is one most often derived from words containing the meaning "to speak", such as *amīr*, *sultān*, *sayyid*. This study is continued by a diachronic presentation of linguistic Arab political terminology, pointing out the changes of meaning experienced from the first attestations until modern times. Moreover, a special part of this approach is dedicated to borrowed terms, and a more subtle one consisting of some revisited terms. Elaborated from a triple interdisciplinary perspective, Laura Sitaru's book is characterized by an excellent capability of recording and synthesizing data provided both by classical and modern Arabic texts, forming a rich corpus, as direct source of extracting the features of Arab political terminology.

Finally, the equivalence proposed by the author for the key concepts of Arabic terminology in Romanian represents a very valuable reference for those interested in Arab political culture. We value the author's thorough knowledge of Arabic and Romanian semantics required for such an approach, as well as the efforts made in order to carry out this difficult task, given the inconsistencies between Arab and European, respectively Romanian political culture. It is worthy to notice that this equivalence of key concepts, supported by extensive examples, it is a first, at least for the Arab-Romanian area, paving the way for other works devoted to this problem of great complexity.

