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Table of Contents

Articles

“What’s in a name?” Swahili toponymy of past towns on the East African coast	3
<i>Monika Baumanova and Rosanna Tramutoli</i>	
A divisive disease: Clashing treatments for HIV/AIDS in Swahili literature	27
<i>Cristina Nicolini</i>	
The pragmatics of blessings in Gedeo (south Ethiopia)	69
<i>Tesfatsion Petros Golle, Ongaye Oda Orkaydo and Yetebarek Hizekeal Zekareas</i>	
Untying the Grotian Knot: How Tanaka Kōtarō’s Christian approach to international law disentangled the moral quandary of the <i>South West Africa</i> cases	99
<i>Jason Morgan</i>	
A phonetically “unnatural” class in Central and Eastern Shehret (Jibbali)	129
<i>Janet C.E. Watson and Amer al-Kathiri</i>	
The historical reality of the plural of paucity and the plural diminutive in Classical Arabic: Evidence from <i>kalām al-‘arab</i> (Part Two)	161
<i>Francesco Grande</i>	
A Musandam Arabic text from Lima (Oman)	201
<i>Simone Bettega and Fabio Gasparini</i>	

Impoliteness strategies used at a Jordanian hospital Emergency Room	227
<i>Ghaleb Rabab'ah, Rajai R. al-Khanji and Muradi Bataineh</i>	
A cross-cultural analysis of disagreement strategies in Algerian and Jordanian Arabic	253
<i>Nour El Houda Benyakoub, Sharif Alghazo, Abdel Rahman Mitib Altakhaine and Ghaleb Rabab'ah</i>	
Congruities and incongruities in Arabic literary translation: A contrastive linguistic analysis of "The Prophet" by Khalil Gibran	277
<i>Narjes Ennasser and Rajai R. Al-Khanji</i>	
Prophet Muḥammad in Dante's <i>Divine Comedy</i> : An anxiety of influence	301
<i>Balqis Al-Karaki and Mahmoud Jaran</i>	
Tunis, ville double : les quartiers consulaires médiévaux comme prémices de la ville européenne	335
<i>Adnen el Ghali</i>	
Investigating the readability of literary texts translations: A step towards formulating the 'Nativity Hypothesis'	365
<i>Mahmoud Afrouz</i>	
<i>Va tuje darvaze! Di Maria has been a pest all night:</i>	387
Evaluative language in Persian and English live football commentary	
<i>Samir Hassanvandi and Maryam Golchinnezhad</i>	
The <i>kalivarjya</i> concerning the prohibition of initiation during the celebration of the Vedic <i>sattra</i> rituals	413
<i>Igor Spanò</i>	

<i>Masāne kī horī: singing life in the cremation ground</i>	441
<i>Erika Caranti</i>	
Polluted by a purifying text:	461
The order of signs in a pre-modern literary Malayalam world	
<i>Elena Mucciarelli</i>	
Hariśaṅkar Parsāī’s <i>Ham ek umr se vāqif haim:</i>	481
A memoir of the sufferings of an Indian literary satirist	
<i>Fabio Mangraviti</i>	
Offensive language in Chinese Buddhist discipline texts:	501
The anecdotal preambles to the precepts	
<i>Paolo Villani</i>	
From loafing to dignity:	515
The mise en scène of Guo Shixing’s play <i>Go Home</i> directed by Lin Zhaohua	
<i>Barbara Leonesi</i>	
Investigating Chinese learner corpus research and learner corpora:	531
Main features, critical issues and future pathways	
<i>Alessia Iurato</i>	
Toward a “global novel.” An ecocritical reading of Tawada Yōko’s <i>The Emissary</i>	563
<i>Francesco E. Barbieri</i>	
Aesthetics as a space of difference:	587
The implicit sociology in Tanizaki Jun’ichirō’s <i>A Golden Death</i>	
<i>Pierantonio Zanotti</i>	

The path to a collective spirituality in the art of Mori Mariko 609

Federica Cavazzuti

Mensural classifiers and traditional measuring tools used in Acehnese (Indonesia) 649

Zulfadli A. Aziz, Yunisrina Qismullah Yusuf, Dini Hanifa and Mohammad Harun

Cuisine is not enough: 673

Transformation of women in Indonesian short stories in the 2000s

Harjito Harjito, Nazla Maharani Umayu, Yuli Kurniati and Sri Suciati

Reviews

Roberto Gaudio, *The Voice of the Text and its Body. The Continuous Reform of Euphrase Kezilahabi's Poetics*. 2019. 695

Matthias Freise

Cristina Nicolini, *Clash of epistemes. Knowledge of HIV/AIDS in Swahili Literary Genres*. 2022. 699

Flavia Aiello

Hans Lagerqvist, *Four Essays on Semitic Grammar and Dialectology*. 703

Quatre Essais sur la grammaire et la dialectologie sémitiques. 2020.

Alessandro Mengozzi

Tim Harper, *Underground Asia: Global Revolutionaries and the Assault on Empire*. 2021. 709

Jason Morgan

Elena Valdameri, *Indian Liberalism between Nation and Empire.* 715

The Political Life of Gopal Krishna Gokhale. 2022.

Maurizo Griffò

Marzia Casolari (ed.), *Gandhi after Gandhi. The Relevance of the Mahatma's Legacy* 719

in Today's World. 2022.

Tommaso Bobbio

*Fires will be kindled to testify that two and two make four.
Swords will be drawn to prove that leaves are green in summer.*
G. K. Chesterton

Articles

“What’s in a name?”

Swahili toponymy of past towns on the East African coast

Monika Baumanova and Rosanna Tramutoli

For the last century, archaeologists have surveyed and studied sites on the Swahili coast of East Africa, that represent the remains of past Swahili settlements and, in few cases, living historical towns. This paper is the first discussion of a collection of the names under which these past towns have been known, some of which may date back to the precolonial period. The present enquiry is concerned with the analysis of linguistic features, folk etymology and the conceptual content of these toponyms. It considers the recognised important themes in archaeology and history of the Swahili society, such as the political functioning of these towns as city states and the attested social and economic relevance of trade, the built environment and the role of the ocean. Utilising this knowledge, it reflects on how the names contributed to place-making and defining the identity of these towns both as individual entities and as part of the Swahili cultural sphere. The interdisciplinary approach and perspectives (linguistic and archaeological) help to elucidate the connection between the socio-historical relevance of these sites and their cultural conceptualisations.

Keywords: toponyms; Swahili; urbanism; archaeological sites; environment; oral history; folk etymology

1. Introduction¹

The East African coast has been dotted with urban settlements for at least a thousand years. This nearly 3000 km long littoral zone, also known as the Swahili coast, has been characterised by shared cultural

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The authors would like to thank our colleagues, Dr Jasmin Mahazi and Dr Hans Mussa, as well as an esteemed Swahili poet and intellectual, Ustadh MAU, for a review of the translations of Swahili toponyms and for additional reflections on their current and ancient cultural connotations. The authors are also grateful to Václava Tlili for translations and transcriptions of some loanwords to Arabic.

The authors discussed the content of this article in strict cooperation and agreement; however, for academic purposes, Monika Baumanova is responsible for the Introduction, sections 1, 2 and 5; Rosanna Tramutoli for sections 3 and 4. Both authors are responsible for the conclusion. The authors declare no conflict of interest.

features throughout the last millennium, as it is apparent in the preserved material culture. The study of archaeological remains is one of the most important sources of knowledge on the socio-spatial aspects of life in many of these small towns, because there is lack of other evidence that could encompass the time depth of Swahili urban past. It has been established that material culture has been involved in constituting Swahili identity and that it was actively invoked in various socio-spatial transactions (e.g. Wynne-Jones 2016). However, for gaining a more complete and multi-faceted picture of the past, we need to actively seek channels for connecting the material evidence with other sources of data, such as historical accounts, anthropological parallels or linguistic research. This is because some aspects of past social life in which material culture has been involved, including identity-building, environmental perception and dwelling in the world, cannot be fully understood without linking them to non-tangible evidence, such as oral histories (for a cross-cultural study see Bühnen 1992).

As part of oral histories there are place names, i.e. toponyms, which shed light on past people interpretation of the environment, socio-spatial associations and ascribed meanings (e.g. Evans 2015). The value of this type of evidence is especially relevant in regions with a lack of written historical accounts and other evidence reaching to the precolonial past, such as the Swahili coast. Toponyms have an established importance in various cultures around the globe, and based on studies in cognition, anthropology and linguistics, they contribute to defining, dwelling in and identifying with particular settlements as well as carry associations important for remembering (e.g. Dwyer and Alderman 2008; Evans 2015; Taylor and Tversky 1992). Juliet's quotation from *Romeo and Juliet* in the title of this paper, "What's in a name?", famously implies that names do not affect the true character of people or things. In the play, the character Juliet protests against the social custom of judging by a name. She can do so, because across human cultures, names have connotations and carry meaning that may be perceived as (not) reflective of truth. And through their symbolic role in expressing values and tactics of empowerment, names help to shape and define concepts by influencing human cognition (Myers 2009). Moreover, "toponymy can be situated among other urban symbols as a reflection of the cultural, socio-political, and economic life of a community [...]. Place-naming becomes an important tool for cultural hegemony due to extensive daily use and its potential to create a personal and collective identity and memory" (Wanjiru-Mwita and Giraut 2020: 2). On the East African coast in the era before colonialism and the modern states, Swahili towns functioned as trading city-states that, apart from smaller temporal coalitions, never formed a larger political entity (Kusimba 1999; Sinclair and Håkansson 2000). In this setting, the location, delimitation and definition of individual settlements were crucial for both representing the belonging of a town into the Swahili cultural sphere as well as constituted the unique character of each settlement in the power networks on the coast. For example, interdisciplinary studies

have facilitated findings on how particular spaces might have been perceived and remembered, including the practices of attesting status through displays of valuable items in the houses (Meier 2009) and commemoration involving stone tombs (e.g. Baumanová 2018). As archaeological and anthropological research further attests, the settlements of the Swahili have been a representation of the dialogue between social processes, traditions and the physical properties of the built environment (Horton and Middleton 2000).

This paper adopts an interdisciplinary perspective in exploring the names of Swahili towns, as a largely untapped resource with capacity to complement studies on situated social memory in Swahili past. In our analysis, we study a collection of toponyms, most of which represent deserted archaeological sites and some still living historical towns in present-day Kenya and Tanzania, on the basis of annotated translations of these names from Swahili to English. We analyse the content of this collection in terms of linguistic aspects and the referential meaning of these names. Our aim is also to bring new insights into potential regularities in terms of conceptual/cognitive phenomena to which the names of Swahili towns refer. It cannot be determined how far back to the past the use of many of these settlement names can be traced. Still, most have been carried over by multiple generations to the present, in some cases they likely have links reaching to the precolonial period.

2. Defining features and built memory in Swahili towns

The Swahili have been a society of merchants that became predominantly Islamic and settled on a narrow strip of land on the coast of East Africa early in the second millennium CE (Fleisher et al., 2015). Since then, the region of the Swahili coast has displayed a level of cultural coherence in an area that extends from what is today south of Somalia, across Kenya and Tanzania to Mozambique and north of Madagascar (Fig. 1). The name Swahili comes from Arabic *sawāḥili* 'coastal.' The name of the coast borrowed from Arabic and other foreign words in Swahili including some of the toponyms discussed in this paper, support the view of Swahili history as interwoven with trade, which played a crucial role in the economic and social life of the towns. The paramount importance of trade and contact with other lands and cultures was equally reflected in the cosmopolitan nature of the littoral society and in the tendency to represent Swahili identity in material culture and oral histories (Pearson 1998). Many of the Swahili centres still settled today have a long history that stretches to the centuries before the arrival of the Europeans in the late 15th century. Others were deserted in the colonial period and the extent of knowledge about their past is dependent on the conducted archaeological research. Demarcating the character and situated settlement history of these towns resurfaces repeatedly as an

important theme in Swahili ethnography, material culture and linguistics (Horton and Middleton 2000; Suzuki 2018).

The merchant towns of the precolonial period were represented and defined on multiple levels. From social and political perspectives, attested mostly on the basis of historical and ethnographical data, the towns were ruled by local oligarchies that built their prestige on access to wealth from trade networks. This hierarchical structure, that was tied to long-distance relationships with inland Africa as well as the Middle East and India, was disrupted from the 16th century by European and Omani colonialism. The later towns were described by ethnographers as divided into urban quarters where residents belonged to different clans that cooperated as well as competed over access to trade opportunities (Middleton 2004). These quarters were also identified on some archaeological sites such as at Shanga, Kenya (Horton 1996), and the character of their layout is discernible in the structure of the historical 'old towns' at the core of living cities such as Mombasa (Baumanová 2020). This socio-spatial arrangement functioned to maintain balance in a state of permanent power negotiations.

The towns sometimes formed coalitions, some of which are recorded historically, such as in the case of Malindi, present-day Kenya. Similarly to urban quarters, towns cooperated for mutual benefit, shared temporal goals in the times of conflict, but at the same time competed over access to trade networks along the coast (Suzuki 2018). As far as we can determine on the basis of data from the 17th century onwards, being an urbanite and to live an urban lifestyle was an important social status in its own right, perhaps distinguishing Swahili from the communities living in their rural neighbourhood (Ray 2018).

Individual types of structures in the built environment also actively contributed to characterising the towns. Residential architecture was the most frequent type of urban building. Houses were built on higher ground respective to the surrounding environment (Middleton 2004: 50). Although the basic principles of internal house layout did not differ significantly from one settlement to another, the houses varied greatly in size ranging from 2-3 rooms to about 50 rooms (Baumanová and Smejda 2018). Their external appearance and organisation into house blocks allowed for creating unique and potentially memorable built environment in each settlement.

Some towns were delimited by town walls. Often these did not circumscribe the entire settlement but rather divided it into segments. The walls were low and because they were built as extensions of houses, they did not represent a visually dominant element, and probably did not have a defensive function. However, they had important effects on the potential movement around and into various parts of the town. Ethnographers argued that Swahili urban patricians, known as the *waungwana*, lived in stone houses within the town walls (Kresse 2007), so it is likely that in some ways the walls played a

part as a status symbol. Boundary trees were another feature used for spatial delimitation, marking the limits of land associated with a particular town (e.g. Myers 2009).

Stone tombs were another type of built feature that could have served as a symbol and contributed to creating memorable appearance of particular towns. These were built both within the towns, next to houses, on open spaces, as well as outside residential areas. It has been argued that some were built to be visible from the sea (Sanseverino 1983). The visibility and monumentality of the stone tombs, some of which featured pillars several metres tall, undoubtedly contributed to enhancing the memorability of individual towns (Baumanová 2018; Gensheimer 2012). There were also oral histories tying particular tombs to legends of significant local personalities, settlements founders and to commemoration of their important deeds (Wilson 1980: 26-30). Similarly, mosques may have served as representative symbols of the towns, while also attesting belonging of the Swahili community to the Islamic world. As the building of mosques utilized impressive and often innovative architectural features such as domes, the mosques contributed to building a unique appearance and character of each town.

These elements of Swahili archaeology and ethnography suggest that some features of the built environment, spatial organisation and local geography were employed in processes defining social relationships within the towns, as well as in constructing situated mnemonics and status of individual towns within the Swahili world. Furthermore, it derives that economic and social associations with trade, long-distance contact, Islam, or important local personalities run as key concepts in Swahili cultural traditions for centuries. In the following analysis, we aim to consider whether and how the names of these towns, in terms of their linguistic and conceptual content, contributed to these established key themes in the representation of Swahili towns in communication and memory.

3. Background to the analysis

Understanding the connotations of situated nomenclatures brings us closer to localising past associations as well as evaluating the impact of past social settings and events on the present-day perception and mental concepts (Berg and Vuolteenaho 2009). Naming Swahili settlements was hence undoubtedly part of socially constructing and defining these towns as well as remembering them. Swahili ethnographic evidence attests that on the coast people were known by the town they were from, for example people from Pemba were referred to as ‘WaPemba’ (Middleton 2004: 20). As the names of towns were part of collective memory that has become common knowledge, they contributed to the definition of collective identity in each town (Cannata 2012) as one aspect in the complexity of what constituted the Swahili communities (Caplan 2007).

It is also well established that collective memory may be seen “as a socio-spatially mediated political process” (Dwyer and Alderman 2008: 167) and place names are often invoked in reshaping political spheres of influence (e.g. Rusu 2019). On the Swahili coast specifically, names are known to have been an important part of intra-urban politics, with names of wards materially constituted in urban quarters, and names of gates associated with access to these quarters, as at Pate, a town in Kenya with 15th- 18th century buildings (Abungu 2018). Similarly to the built environment, which can serve as a ‘mental prison’ and can create both supports and obstacles of social processes (Brunfaut and Pinot, 2017: 280), place naming ascribes history to daily vocabulary (Dwyer and Alderman 2008: 167) and aids remembering on the basis of associations. In our analyses, we aim to reveal where these associations lie and what they tend to reference.

In order to do so, we produced a list of place names that have been associated with archaeological sites of Swahili settlements. The list is by no means exhaustive, but aims to include most town sites that have been recorded by survey and excavation on the coast, focusing on Kenya and Tanzania, where the record of past Swahili settlements extends along the whole coastline of the present-day countries (for most inclusive lists of sites to date see Chami 2016; Wilson 1980, 2017). The collection comprises of 104 sites, 64 sites in Kenya and 40 in Tanzania. Table 1 lists the names in Swahili, providing their translation to English and comments on the translation regarding possible multiple meanings and origin of the names. The translation and etymology was discussed with native speakers who are Swahili language experts, Dr. Jasmin Mahazi, Ustadh Mau, and Dr. Hans Mussa.² The toponyms are first analysed from a linguistic perspective, with observations on peculiar phonological, morphological and semantic features of the names. The observed patterns are then quantified showing the relative representation of the conceptual categories and patterns in the collection.

4. Linguistic considerations

The site names included in our list are characterized by phonological features typical of Northern Swahili dialects (e.g. Kiamu, Kipate, Tikuu/Bajuni), and thus differ from Standard Swahili (henceforth St. Sw.) forms: for instance, [t] for [tʃ] and [nd] for [nj], like in Mtangawanda (St. Sw. *Mchanga + wanja*) ‘black sand,’ Tikuu (St. Sw. *-chi kuu*) ‘big land’ (alternative name for Bajuni); Manda, from *kiwanda* (St. Sw. *kiwanja*) ‘open space,’ Ukunda (St. Sw. *-kunjia*) ‘wrap.’ We also notice the presence of [j] or zero for

²Dr. Jasmin Mahazi is a researcher on Swahili anthropology specialized in Bajuni culture. Ustadh Ahmad Mahmoud Abdulkadir (MAU) is a renown Swahili poet and intellectual from Lamu. Dr. Hans Mussa is a specialist in Swahili linguistics affiliated to the Institute of Swahili Studies at the University of Dar es Salaam.

standard [j], like in Siyu/Siu, derived from the verb *-yua* (St. Sw. *-jua*) ‘know.’ Also, the consonant [l] is very unstable, as it is shown by the alternate forms *Luziwa/Uziwa* and *Lamu/Amu*.

In particular, most of the nouns in our list present sound features of Bajuni dialect, for instance alveopalatal [tʃ] corresponds to dental [t] in Standard Swahili (Nurse 2018: 132); similarly in Siu and Pate), like in *Mchama* (St. Sw. *mtama*) ‘sorghum,’ *Uchi* (cf. St. Sw. *mti* ‘tree’); [n] corresponds to [ɲ], like in *Kinuni* (St. Sw. *nyuni*) ‘bird;’ we also note the deletion of verbal subject marker and vowels, like in *Sendeni* (St. Sw. *musiende*) ‘don’t go!’³

Beside the phonological correspondences, several settlements’ nouns are related to lexical items of the Bajuni vocabulary: *I-shaka(ni)* ‘bush;’ *Shanga* ‘South-West;’ *chundwa* (passive form of *-chunda* “to gather, pick”); (*luziwa* ‘ocean;’ *kongo* ‘welcome;’ *mbweni* ‘foreigner, stranger.’ According to Nurse (2018), although Bajuni and Standard Swahili differ, the similarities are nevertheless greater than the differences: 86% of the words are cognate but many of these do not look or sound superficially the same, because of the numerous phonological (and morphological) differences between the two varieties (Nurse 2018: 125).

Bajuni, classified as Northern Swahili dialect and also known as *Tikuu* or (Ki)Gunya, is spoken by around 15.000 people on the mainland from *Kismayu* (*Kisima-yuu*, variously interpreted as the ‘High/Upper Well’ or ‘Northern Well’), in southern Somalia, down to relatively new villages just below *Lamu*, in northern Kenya; from the so-called *Bajun Islands* of Somalia, starting just south of *Kismayu*, to the Kenya islands of *Ndau* and northern *Pate Island*, where it is spoken in villages such as *Faza* (*Fadha*, in *Tikuu*), *Tundwa* (*Chundwa*), *Kizingitini* (*Kidhingichini*), and *Mbwajumali* (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 6).

According to Nurse (2013) the ancestors of the Bajunis spread along the coast, in the 250 km line from *Dondo* and adjacent settlements on the Kenya coast, north as far as *Kismayu*. Original Bajuni-speaking inhabitants are those who came up from the south in the 14th century or earlier, and first settled the major islands and places on the mainland (*Kiwayuu*, *Simambaya*, *Omwe*, *Kiunga*, *Veku*, *Chandraa*, *Rasini*, *Chula*, *Chovai*, *Ngumi*, *Koyama*, maybe others; Nurse 2013). Thus, most of the settlements in our list could have been at some point settled by Bajunis, who established trade connections of with other communities living on the coast (like *waPokomo*, *waGiriama*, *waMijikenda*), even before the name *waSwahili* appeared.

³ For more detailed info on the Bajuni language, see the Bajuni database (Nurse 2013): <https://www.mun.ca/faculty/dnurse/Database/> [last access: May, 2021]

The morphological structure of toponyms is a crucial aspect of the analysis because morphology is also reflected in the conceptualisation and semantic representation of the toponyms. The linguistic structure of the toponyms reflects relevant morphological features, which are typical of Swahili as well as other Bantu languages. Swahili morphology is based on noun classes; each noun belongs to a class with specific grammatical and semantic characteristics (e.g. most of the nouns in class 7/8 with the prefixes *ki-/vi-* refer to inanimate things, while nouns in cl. 1/2 with the prefixes *m-/wa-* typically include human beings).

Moreover, many toponyms have been created by adding the locative suffix *-ni* to lexical stems belonging to different semantic domains, mostly in the category of natural/geographical features and built features (see *Ishaka-ni*, *Uwa-ni*, *Mnara-ni*, *Ngome-ni*). This seems to be a common feature of Swahili place names, and in some cases, the suffix *-ni* may become integral part of the word, like the lexicalized Swahili term *pwani* (coast), from the verb *-pwa* “to ebb, dry out”); in other cases, the locative significance of the suffix *-ni* is obvious, like in *Kilwa-Kisiwa-ni*, lit. ‘Island on the island,’ where *kilwa* itself is a synonym for island. Locative classes are indeed a relevant characteristics of Bantu morphology and there are different structural ways in which the Swahili language can express location. Another way to indicate a land, country, is by adding the noun prefix U- (cl.11), which typically refers to abstract or collective nouns, to the name of a country, e.g. U-turuki (Turkey), U-giriki (Greece), U-ingereza (England). This linguistic strategy is evident in some place names of archaeological sites as well (see U-ngwana, U-nguja, U-shongo, U-kunda, U-chi juu).

Noun compounding also seems to be very frequently employed, since many of the toponyms are formed by a noun and a modifier (usually an adjective), e.g. *Kunduchi* (*-kundu* ‘red’ and *-chi* ‘land’) ‘a land with red soil;’ *Unguja Kuu* ‘Main/big port,’ where the use of the adjective *-kuu* is common in written chronicles, referring to cities identified as capitals or perceived as ‘large’ in the sense of being important (*mji kuu*) (Tolmacheva 1995:26). Other types of compounds are formed by incorporating two words, one of which has the function of determiner/modifier describing its features, e.g. *Kisiwa Ndweo* ‘Island of Pride,’ *Mtangawanda* (*mtanga* ‘sand’ and *wanda* ‘kohl’) ‘black sand;’ *Uchi Juu* (*uchi* ‘tree, stick’ *juu* ‘above, up’) ‘big stick.’ Moreover, several compounds refer to characters/relevant people, e.g. *mwana* ‘girl’ or the Arabic loanword *Shee* from *šayh* ‘scheik(h); chieftain; chief, head; leader; master,

elder” used as a respectable title followed by a proper name (e.g. Mwana Mchama; Shee Umuro; Shee Jafari).⁴

Finally, we can observe some loanwords, mainly from Persian (e.g. Shirazi, Hurumuzi – from the town of Shiraz and the Strait of Hormuz, respectively) and Arabic (e.g., the already-mentioned Shee, Takwa from *taqwā* ‘fear of God, godliness, devoutness, piety, religiousness’ and Saadani from *sa’āda* ‘good luck.’ Indeed, as Lodhi remarks, “Contacts that took place on the East African littoral were from unrelated streams of culture and language – between Bantu/Swahili on the one hand and Cushitic, Arabic, Persian, Indian and Indonesian on the other hand” (2000: 40). In Swahili toponyms, Arabic lexical stems often take the Bantu locative suffix *-ni*, like in Saadani and Rasini (the latter from *ra*’s ‘head; cape;’ Tolmacheva 1995: 19). In the place name Ras Kikongwe different etymologies are combined, the latter part being the Bantu stem *-kongwe* ‘old,’ which takes the noun prefix of cl.7 *ki-* with an adjectival function.

However, as further discussed below, in our analysis of Swahili toponyms, we would have expected to find more lexical items (perhaps borrowings) related to the semantic sphere of maritime life. Lodhi observes, in fact, that “despite the great dissimilarity of basic cultures and languages involved, in the beginning Swahili borrowed much from all these sources [Arabic, Persian, Indian etc.] primarily because of the common maritime activities of the people involved, and later because of the common Muslim faith that came to dominate most of the interacting peoples of the northern and western Indian Ocean” (2000: 40).

5. Cultural conceptualizations

Several toponyms in our corpus deserve a closer look based on their potential to reflect the relationship between language, culture and cognition. We determine the hypothetical meanings of these toponyms starting from the assumption that they represent “cultural conceptualisations, many of which have their roots in cultural traditions such as folk medicine, ancient religions/worldviews, etc.” (Sharifian 2017: 18). In other words, members of a cultural group constantly negotiate ‘templates’ for their thought and behaviour in exchanging their conceptual experiences and their worldviews:

⁴ *Mwana*: a name given to a woman as a sign of respect before mentioning her name: *Mwana Fatma*, Mrs Fatma/Miss Fatma (Mohamed, 2011:551). ‘Dans les DN., surtout Am. G., *mwana* est un titre respectueux envers une “dame”, en particulier de la part des esclaves à l’égard de leur “maîtresse” plus spécialement de ceux qui l’ont élevée, syn. DS. *Bibi*’ (Sacleux 1939: 639).

The choice of ‘conceptualisation’ over ‘concept’ is meant to reflect and highlight the dynamic nature of such cognitive phenomena. Cultural conceptualisations are developed through interactions between the members of a cultural group and enable them to think as if in one mind, somehow more or less in a similar fashion. These conceptualisations are negotiated and renegotiated through time and across generations (Sharifian 2011: 5)

Thus, we describe the relationship between the linguistic representation of Swahili town names and their conceptualization, in order to elucidate the role of culture and history related to these toponyms. As Bagasheva remarks, it also needs to be considered that “even though the relationship between language and culture has been of research interest for ages, there is still a missing link—the mediating human mind and how the former are projected in and from it” (2017: 191).

We remark that Swahili cultural conceptualizations associated with the names of towns belong to different categories (geographical descriptions, built features, personality, emotions etc.). The way to find out the meanings of ancient toponyms is not straightforward, since “toponymy works synchronic and evolves diachronic” (Poenaru-Girigan 2013: 156). Synchronically, toponyms exist only in relation with human society and its history. However, a diachronic approach is necessary since many of these names may be very old and such toponyms often contain elements that do not exist in the current language (Poenaru-Girigan 2013: 156).

Indeed, toponymy contains a great number of “dead” words which meanings are unclear, because there is often a tendency to keep them in use even if the speakers are no longer aware of their original meanings (Aprile 2015: 25). Most of these words often undergo the process of speakers’ “re-motivation”, that is, they tend to be transformed through interference and contamination of other existing words with a secondary motivation (Aprile 2015: 26). For example, the noun *Shanga* is associated with several meanings and has undergone different interpretations: it is an archaic Bajuni term for geographical reference, corresponding to Sw.St. *kusi* ‘South’ or ‘West’ (Nurse 2010: 39); Nurse (1994: 49) also reports *Shanga-ni* as Class 5 form of *-*canga* ‘sand,’ with characteristic northern Swahili palatalization of **c* to *sh* after the Class 5 prefix /*i-*; moreover, according to folk etymology, the name can also be related to “Shanghai” recalling ancient trade links with Asia. (Re)motivation seems to be a universal need among speakers of all languages.

An example of complex folk etymology is exemplified by the name of Mombasa, in Swahili *Mvita*. In his introduction to Stigand (1915), Taylor explains that the etymology of the Swahili noun *Mvita* derives from two roots: *vi* “a sinking in” and *ta* “point,” that is “The Curtained Headland,” i.e. “Hidden Isle;” he also states that, due to the restless history of the place, the inhabitants of Mombasa often

played on the words *Mvita* and *vita* (in Swahili *mji wa vita* “city of war”) that, however, has a different etymology (from the verb *-ta* “thrust, forth”, “throw out”) (Stigand 1915: ix).

Similarly, Tolmacheva notices the history of the settlement of *Siu/Siyu* as reported by the chronicles and oral tradition, that is, equating *wa-Siu* (people from *Siu/Siyu*) with the “unknown” people (from the verb *-yua* ‘know’), who were originally from *Shanga* and came to Pate; the chronicles narrate that some of these people run away from Pate and went to hide in the forest; afterwards, when the Sultan discovered them, he returned them to a place of their own, and that was the origin of the town *Siyu* (1995: 34). Another folk interpretation refers to *Siu* as a popular Chinese name for boys meaning ‘thinking of the world,’ due to the presence of many Chinese in that area, where people still visit the tomb of *mwana Tao*, a Swahili-Chinese female religious figure. Also, the name of the town of *Faza*, originally called *Rasini* before Portuguese colonization, is explained according to oral history as based on the custom of drawing water at sunrise, so the people of *Faza* were called “those of the mounting (sun)” (from the verb *wapatha* in Pate Swahili) (Tolmacheva 1995: 35).

Other etymologies of the toponyms reflect cultural conceptualizations based either on the memory of popular anecdotes, like the description of *Lamu (Kisiwa Ndeo)* as “the city of Amon” (from the name of an Egyptian God), or on the historical relevance of some settlements; for example, the area of *Bagamoyo* (the name comes from *-bwaga* ‘drop’ and *moyo* ‘soul’) grew in prosperity by the 18th century, acquiring the name *Bagamoyo* along with its importance on the caravan routes. The meaning of the name (translated variously as ‘be quiet, my heart;’ ‘lay down the burden of your heart;’ ‘rest your soul (here);’ ‘free the heart;’ ‘rest the mind, throw off melancholy, be cheered’) is therefore associated with the slave trade, when slaves knew that although they were to be shipped to distant lands, their hearts would forever remain in their beloved homeland (Brown 2016: 39). Reconstructing the etymological history of the word *Bagamoyo*, Brown (2016: 38), also reports other interpretations of this toponym: ‘into the heart’ or ‘Heart of Africa,’ from *baga* or *bana* ‘interior’ and *moyo* ‘heart,’ or from *paka (mpaka)* ‘until’ and *moyo* ‘heart.’⁵ Other toponyms reflect on the past economic and social power of some coastal cities, for instance *Malindi*, which is probably a contracted form for *mali* ‘wealth’ and the emphatic copula *ndi* ‘a lot of wealth,’ while *Unguja* ‘place of waiting’ (from *ngoja* ‘wait’) recalls the image of a central harbour, especially one influenced by monsoon navigation where ships have to wait for the wind (Tolmacheva 1995: 30).

⁵ Different interpretations of these translations have been developed. According to Brown (2016), the most feasible is the *wapagazi* theory: *Bagamoyo* was named by *wapagazi* “porters” who felt that they had successfully completed their journey from the interior (usually the Tabora area and westwards). They were in the habit of congratulating themselves – “now cease from worrying, cease from care and anxiety.” [...] (Brown 2016: 39).

Thus, we observe that most of the toponyms seem to have got in common use on the basis of analogical associations, where an element, usually a natural feature, has been metonymically extended to signify the whole town area. According to El Fasi (1984: 18)

A knowledge of place-names (towns, mountains, rivers, lakes, springs and other geographical sites), the study of which is called toponymy, can be of great help to history because place-names seldom change. Even their phonetic evolution hardly ever leads to radical modifications and seldom affects the old pronunciation and spelling. It is for this reason that the study of place-names can reveal facts relating to the past and so yield information concerning the history, religion and civilization of the first occupants of the places concerned.

Semantic extension is evident for some of the names clearly derived from geographical features, like rivers, e.g. *Hurumuzi*, a narrow water way in Iran well known worldwide for the passage of vessels, or *Pangani*, a city situated on the left bank of the river Pangani from which it derives its name (Sacelux 1939: 730). Other patterns in folk etymology (see for instance *Siu*, *Mvita*, *Faza* etc.) seem to project complex cultural conceptualizations, which meanings and interpretations have changed over time, derived from several semantic categories (such as things, events, actions, emotions).

6. Conceptual analysis

Conceptual analysis of the toponyms allows us to understand the meaning and potential mnemonics that were carried in the names of towns. Such analysis, however, is inevitably to a certain degree prone to error, as the names can sometimes have multiple meanings. Comments on these are provided above and in Table 1, which also presents the main meaning of each toponym that we have established on the basis of linguistic analysis, their hypothetic translations and etymologies.

We divided the toponyms in categories, which are based on some cognitive and conceptual principles (see also Evans 2015; Taylor and Tversky 1992), depending on whether the meaning of the toponyms refers to the description and emotions of people, actions, natural and built features, or objects. In the case of some names, we were not able to determine their possible meaning, and hence we classify these separately as 'other.' Table 2 quantifies the number of toponyms represented in each category.

The largest category is that of natural and geographical features, where names are twice as represented than in any other category. Among these, there are names related to trees, birds or plants. The second most numerous category refers to sensory perception, feelings and emotions. This includes

notions of sensory perceptions such as smell, taste and vision, and also many strong emotions such as disorder, excitement and illness. On the other side of the spectrum, the least frequent are references to things and portable objects, perhaps surprisingly in a society of traders. The table shows, that the ratio in which each category is represented, is approximately the same for present-day Kenya and Tanzania. This suggests that in the past there were similar tendencies in place-naming along the coast. The fact that similar patterns are observed in the north and south of the coast and in whole collection may serve to check that the observed trends are potentially meaningful.

Considering the importance of the ocean, in whose neighbourhood all Swahili past towns were located, it was paramount for fishing as well as long-distance trade and maintaining contacts across the Indian Ocean, we also looked for any references to the ocean context among all the toponyms. We were able to detect it in eight cases: Kipungati/Kipungani ‘wave,’ Luziwa ‘ocean,’ Mkunumbi ‘fish,’ Humuruzi ‘current,’ Vipingo ‘wooden peg for ships,’ Unguja (U)kuu (Zanzibar)⁶ ‘big port,’ Mbuamaji (from *maji* ‘water’) and perhaps Kilifi if we consider its possible secondary meaning as ‘safe anchorage.’ The fact that there are only eight such names among the 104 analysed is surprising for a coastal culture with close ties to the ocean for trade and subsistence. This may be compared to the nine names that may be related to trees (Ishakani – large brushwood, Uchi Juu – big tree, Shaka – large brushwood, Witu – forest, Kilifi- tree, Kisikimto - trunk, Mkwaja – tree, Buyuni - tree, Mikindani - young palm trees). The similar frequency of names referring to trees may perhaps be explained, when considering that trees have played an important social role in claiming ownership of land (Middleton 2004: 49). The popularity of land-related features is even more pronounced if we consider the category of built features, which contains names associated with houses, towers (possibly tall buildings), walls and thresholds. It suggests that perhaps references to features associated with land carried more weight in processes of place-naming and dwelling in a landscape compared to those associated with the ocean.

7. Conclusion

The analysis of folk etymology and conceptual categories of Swahili toponyms confirm that language is an important source which reflects people’s beliefs and their imaginary world. An interdisciplinary

⁶ It probably derives from the word *Zanj* (sometimes *Zinj*), a collective noun frequently employed as an ethnonym and occasionally as a toponym, which occurs in mediaeval Arabic texts with reference to Africans. According to the description of the term given by Tolmacheva (1986), in the Caliphate the word *Zanj* usually refers to slaves and consequently sets the people called *Zanj* in a separate socioeconomic category, entailing connotations of dependence and inferiority; whereas in the East African context, to the contrary, the reference is generally to free inhabitants of the area, where they are implicitly recognised as a majority, if not the sole population group (see Tolmacheva 1986).

approach combining linguistic, anthropological and archaeological approaches can help to elucidate the connection of socio-cultural and historical relevance of these sites on the Eastern African coast, with speakers' worldview and linguistic representations.

The linguistic analysis of Swahili toponyms has revealed that there is a relevant number of nouns which manifest typical features of Bajuni dialects (and of Swahili northern dialects in general), thus showing that the presence of this community, who first settled the major islands and places on the mainland, was established at least in the 14th century or earlier. It further shows that the origin of some of the town names may be quite old.

The most common morphological structure of Swahili toponyms consists of adding the Bantu locative suffix *-ni* to Bantu (or non-Bantu) lexical stems, belonging to different semantic fields, mostly in the category of geographical and built features (e.g. *Ishaka-ni*, *Uwa-ni*, *Mnara-ni*, *Ngome-ni*). There are relatively few loanwords, and most of them are from Arabic referring to religious life. The numerous references to natural and built features may signify that these features commonly played a significant role in constituting the identity of the individual towns.

The names of towns represented repeated references to specific places, and as such they were important cultural conceptualisations. From archaeological and ethnographic sources it is already known, that trade and maritime links were significant for Swahili economy and power negotiations. Nevertheless, as the presented analysis shows, the relatively few references to these themes may mean that they were not crucial for situating identity, dwelling and in mnemonic references to the towns. Rather, references to the physical appearance, as well as sensory and emotional perception of these places were more popular in defining the urban experience and situated mnemonics specific to each of these settlements.

Figures and Tables

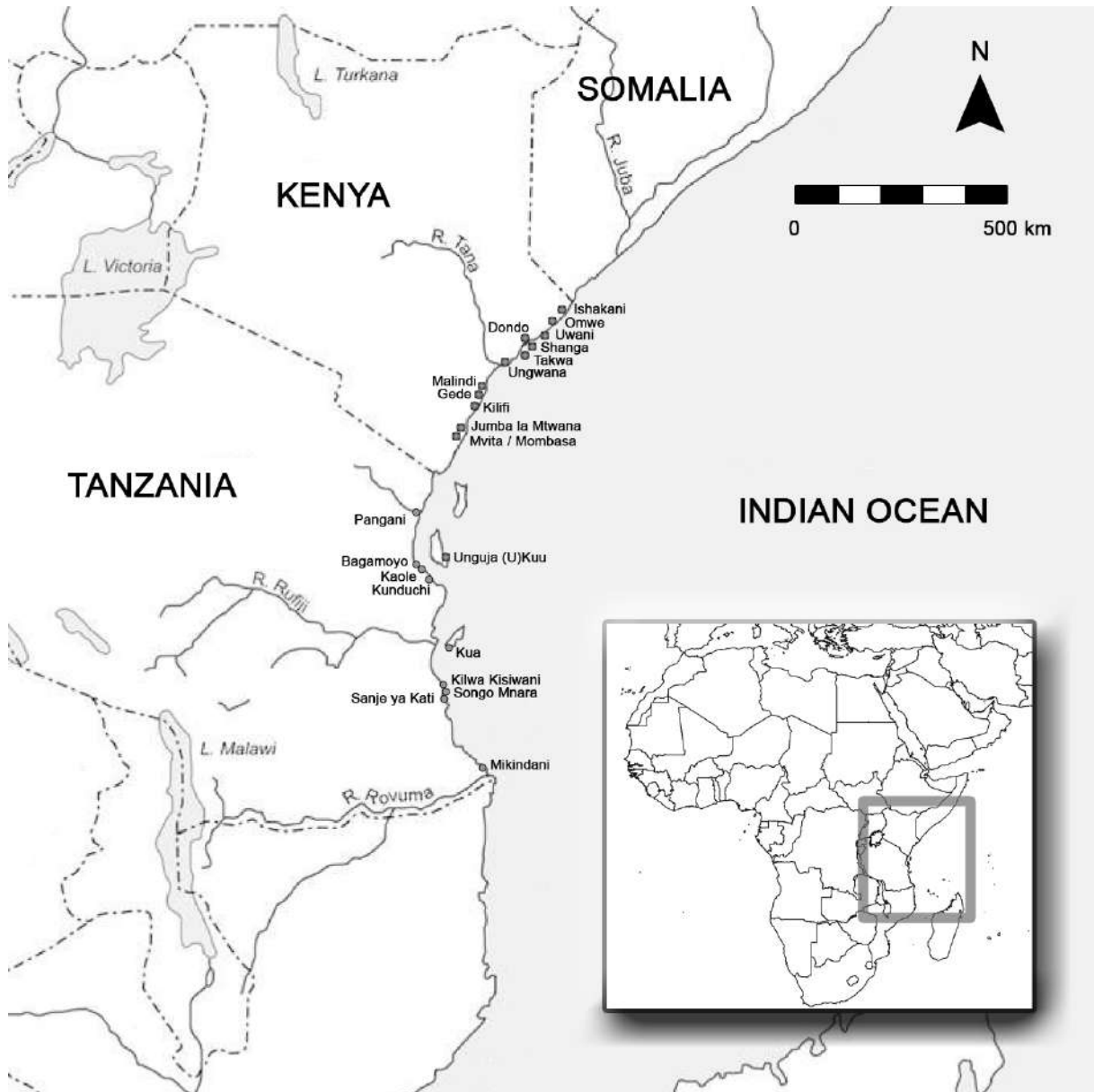


Figure 1. Map showing the location of the Swahili sites discussed in the text (map by the authors; MB).

Place-name	English translation (dominant meaning)	Proposed etymologies, folk etymologies and comments
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- Kenya

- Mainland

Ishakani	large brushwood	<i>shaka</i> ‘large brushwood’ (St.Sw. <i>Kichaka</i>)
Kiunga	joint, link	<i>ki-ungu</i> ‘very tall building’ (Nurse 2010: 18) <i>kiunga(ni)</i> ‘the top of the mountain’
Mwana Mchama	Miss Mchama	<i>mwana</i> ‘girl;’ prefix used to form words denoting people of different professions, membership or classes <i>mchama</i> ‘sorghum’ (St. Sw. <i>mtama</i>)
Omwe	seed (of a tree)	
Shee Umuro	Sheik Umuro	<i>Shee</i> from Arabic <i>šayh</i>
Shee Jafari	Sheik Jafari	(as above)
Rubu	God, deity	
Uchi Juu	big stick	<i>uchi</i> ‘tree, big stick’ <i>juu</i> ‘upon, above, over, top’
Sendeni	(You pl.) don’t go!	St. Sw. <i>musiende</i>
Uwani	fence, stockade	1. ‘fence made of trees or stones constructed around the house to delimit and protect the field’ 2. ‘washroom,’ the space behind the house where people sit and do several occupations
Luziwa/Uziwa	Ocean	St. Sw. <i>wanja</i>
Kimbo	pit, mine	<i>-chimba</i> ‘to dig, excavate, bore’
Kiponozi	Relief	<i>ki-</i> noun prefix cl.7 from <i>-pona</i> ‘to heal’
Mea	Plant	<i>-mea</i> ‘to grow (as a vegetable or plant)’
Mkunumbi	Fish	<i>numbi</i> ‘a sp. of blue-lined round short fish’
Mwana	child, girl	also prefix used to form words denoting people of different professions, membership or classes
Shaka	large brushwood	‘large brushwood’ (see <i>ishakani</i>)
Ungwana	civilization	‘condition of a free and civilized human being’
Witu	Forest	St. Sw. <i>wanja mwitu/msitu</i>
Tumbe	being, organism	St. Sw. <i>wanja kiumbe</i>
Shirazi	from Shiraz	
Hurumuzi	from Hormuz	
Pongwe	very old	St. Sw. <i>kongwe</i> ‘very old’
Vanga	to count	St. Sw. <i>-wanga</i>
Diani	Ransom	1. <i>dia</i> ‘fine for murder; ransom paid to save one’ life’ 2. <i>Ndia-ni</i> (St. Sw. <i>wanja njiani</i>) ‘on the way’

Kirima	Hill	St. Sw. <i>wanja, kilima</i> or <i>mlima</i>
Twiga	giraffe	
Kongo	welcome	1. (arch.) an expression used to welcome a foreigner (<i>mgeni</i>) who comes from abroad' (Sacleux 1939) 2. <i>K'ongo</i> 'bushbuck; <i>korongwe</i> ' (Nurse 2010: 19)
Ukunda	to wrap	Sw.St. <i>-kunja</i> 'to fold, bend, furl, tangle, wrap'
Mombasa/ Mvita (Mji wa vita)	city of war	1. <i>mji wa vita</i> ; <i>mji</i> : 'city:' <i>mvita</i> : 'war,' from the verb <i>-ta</i> : 'to thrust, throw out' 2. <i>mfiti</i> 'one who hides'(Tolmacheva 1995: 35)
Magugu	weeds	
Vumba Kuu	smell	<i>vumba</i> 'fish smell' <i>kuu</i> 'big'
Mtwapa	"the one who took this place"	1. <i>-twaa</i> : 'to take,' <i>hapa</i> 'here' 2. <i>mtu wa hapa</i> 'the person from here' 3. <i>mto wa hapa</i> 'the river of here' 4. <i>mutwa</i> 'termites' ('where termites are,' often indicating fertile ground)
Jumba la Mtwana	Slaves' house	
Gedi/Gede (Giriama)	?	
Kilepwa	?	
Mgangani	traditional doctor	<i>-ganga</i> 'to cure, heal, repair'
Kilifi (Giriama)	type of tree	'deep waters' (in the sense of safe anchorage; Mohamed 2011: 326)
Mnarani	at the tower	<i>mnara</i> 'tower'
Kitoka	Out	<i>-toka</i> 'to go out, exit'
Kinuni	Bird	St. Sw. <i>nyuni</i>
Vipingo	wooden peg	<i>kipingo</i> : 'wooden peg or bolt to fasten, shroud or anchor on the gunwale'
Kiburugeni	disorder	St. Sw. <i>-vuruga</i> 'to stir up; to sabotage, ruin'
Watamu	sweet	<i>tamu</i> : adjective
Malindi	a lot of wealth	1. <i>Mali Ndi</i> : 'a lot of wealth' 2. <i>Lindi</i> : 'deep pit/whole in the earth'
Mambrui	?	
Ngomeni	at the fort	<i>ngome</i> 'escarpment; fort, castle'
Kibirikani	cattle	

○ Island

Wasini	disobedience	<i>wasi</i> 'disobedience, insubordination, rebellion'
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○ Lamu archipelago

Dondo	shell / tiger cowrie	
Shanga(ni)	South	1. Sw.St. <i>kusi</i> 'South; 'south, southerly wind, monsoon' (Nurse 2010: 20; Tolmacheva 1995: 11) 2. *- <i>canga</i> 'sand, beach' (Nurse 1994:49)
Rasini/Faza	on the cape	from Arabic <i>ra's</i> 'cape'
Pate	to weave	- <i>pata</i> (kibajuni) 'to weave' (St .Sw. <i>kusuka</i>)
Bui/Mbui	female friend	
Chundwa /Atu	where many fruits are	<i>Atu</i> : old name of Chundwa town - <i>chundwa</i> : from - <i>chunda</i> (Sw.St. - <i>tunda</i>) 'to collect, pick up (fruit)' (Nurse 2010: 7)
Kisingitini	on the/at the threshold	<i>kizingiti</i> 'bottom part of a door'
Mtangawanda	black sand	<i>wanda</i> (St. Sw. <i>wanja</i>) 'kohl; eye liner' <i>mtanga</i> (St. Sw. <i>wanja mchanga</i>) 'sand'
Siyu / Siu	unknown (people)	- <i>yua</i> (St. Sw. - <i>juu</i>) 'to know; referred to people originally from Shanga' (Tolmacheva 1995: 34)
Matondoni	disease	
Kipungati/ Kipungani	swing, wave	- <i>punga</i> 'to swing, to wave'
Shela	veil	
Manda	open space	1. <i>kiwanda</i> (Sw.St. <i>kiwanja</i>): 'open space' 2. <i>wavaa ng'andu</i> 'wearers of gold' (Tolmacheva 1995: 35)
Takwa	fear of God	from Arabic <i>taqwā</i>
Lamu (Pokomo) / Ki(si)wa Ndeo	Island of pride	<i>Kiwa Ndeo</i> (<i>Kisiwa ndweo</i>) 'Island of pride' (Sacleux 1939: 61; Tolmacheva 1995: 30)

• Tanzania

○ Zanzibar archipelago

Tumbatu (Kitumbatu)	coral stone	from <i>tumba</i> 'stone'
Mikokotoni	carts	<i>mkokoto</i> 'dragging, pulling, the mark made by something dragged along'
Unguja (U)Kuu	place of waiting	1. <i>ngoja</i> 'to wait,' <i>kuu</i> : main, big, 'place of waiting, port' (Tolmacheva 1995: 34) 2. <i>ki-ungu</i> 'very tall building' (Nurse 2010: 18)
Kizimkazi	inhabitant	St. Sw. <i>mkazi</i> 'inhabitant, resident, occupant'

Pemba	?	known in Arabic as “green island” (Tolmacheva 1995: 32; Sacleux 1939: 740)
Chake	?	

o Mainland

Kwale	?	
Tanga	outside	
Ndume	strong person	
Tongoni	ground	1. St. Sw. <i>udongo</i> ‘soil, earth’ 2. St. Sw. <i>chongo</i> : ‘one-eyed person’
Pangani	cave	1. <i>panga</i> ‘cave, hollowed out space’ (Sacleux 1939: 729) 2. a city situated on the left site of the river Pangani (Sacleux 1939: 730)
Ras Kikongwe	old cape	from Arabic <i>ra’s</i> ‘cape, peninsula’ <i>kongwe</i> ‘old’
Mbweni	stranger	St. Sw. <i>Mgeni</i>
Ushongo	curse	
Kipumbwi	?	
Saadani	luck	from Arabic <i>sa’āda</i>
Utondwe	?	
Kisikimto	trunk	<i>kisiki</i> ‘stump of a falled tree, trunk’ <i>mto</i> ‘river’
Mkwaja	tree	<i>mkwaju</i> ‘tamarind tree’
Buyuni	tree	<i>mbuyu</i> ‘baobab tree’
Uzimia	faint	from <i>-zimia</i> applicative form of <i>-zima</i> ‘to switch, turn off’
Winde	hunt	<i>-winda</i> ‘hunt’
Bagamoyo	throw down the heart	<i>-bwaga</i> ‘to throw down, drop,’ <i>moyo</i> ‘heart, soul;’ ‘drop your soul (here)’
Kaole	see	from the verb <i>-ol</i> : ‘to wee’ (St. Sw. <i>-ona</i>)
Mbegani	shoulder	<i>bega</i> ‘shoulder’
Kunduchi	a land with red soil	<i>kundu</i> (<i>nyekundu</i> ‘red’) and <i>chi</i> ‘land,’ ‘a land with red soil’
Msasani	plant	<i>msasa</i> ‘a plant with rough sandpaper-like leaves used for smothering wood’
Mbuamaji	? water	<i>maji</i> : water
Kimbiji	run away	from the verb <i>-kimbia</i> ‘to run’
Kilwa Kivinje	Island with plants	<i>Kilwa=kisiwa</i> (island) <i>mvinje</i> ‘place with plants of filao’
Mtitimira	shake, excite	<i>-titimua</i> (<i>tutumua</i>) ‘to shake; to excite’
Lindi	deep pit	(see Malindi)

Mikindani	young palm trees	<i>mi=miti</i> ‘trees,’ <i>kinda</i> ‘young’
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○ Mafia Island

Chole	blackbird	
Kua	grow	
Jibondo	? work hard	

○ Kilwa archipelago

Kilwa Kisiwani	island of (in the) island	<i>kilwa=kisiwa</i> ‘island’
Songo Mnara	(king of the) tower	<i>songo</i> ‘garland, crown’ <i>mnara</i> ‘tower, monument’
Sanje Ya Kati	? central	<i>ya kati</i> ‘central’
Sanje Majoma	government	

Table 1. A list of the 104 analysed toponyms referring to Swahili towns with their translation in English.

Conceptual categories	Kenya	Tanzania	Totals
1. a) personalities and personal characteristics	9	4	13
b) sensations and emotions	13	7	20
2. actions, events, activities, practices	6	4	10
3. a) natural and geographical features	21	16	37
b) built (human-made) features	7	3	10
4. objects, things, items	5	1	6
5. other	3	5	8

Table 2. Quantification of the toponyms in each conceptual category.

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A divisive disease

Clashing treatments for HIV/AIDS in Swahili literature

Cristina Nicolini

The aim of this paper is to illustrate the historical evolution of the “clashes between epistemes in relation to the treatment of illness,” which characterize Swahili literary genres on HIV/AIDS (Nicolini 2022) through an exploration of Swahili novels. Therefore, I will investigate the epistemologies of a pandemic both analytically, by investigating both the knowledge of HIV/AIDS and the plural ways of treatment involved, as well as aesthetically and linguistically, by examining the metaphorical doubles of HIV/AIDS. Moreover, I will compare the metaphorical doubles of HIV/AIDS in Swahili literature to the metaphors in Anglophone literature from East Africa. Finally, I will conclude the study with a glance at the recent Covid-19 pandemic. The clash, between modern medicine and non-scientific knowledge(-s) in relation to the treatment of illnesses, seems also to be a continuous feature in the contemporary discussions dealing with Covid-19 circulating in the social media.

Keywords: treatment of illnesses; pandemic; traditional healing; witchcraft; metaphorical doubles; Swahili literature; HIV/AIDS; Covid-19; Afrophone philosophies; epistemologies

1. Introduction¹

This paper examines and explores plural epistemologies of a pandemic aiming to demonstrate how both the topic of illness and the heterogeneous ways of treatment manifest themselves to be a field of “clash of epistemes,”² which is illustrated through Swahili literature on HIV/AIDS (Nicolini 2022).

HIV/AIDS in Swahili VVU/UKIMWI (*Virusi Vya UKIMWI* ‘the virus of AIDS:’ *Ukosefu wa Kinga Mwilini* ‘the lack of body defences’) is only the scientific, but not the sole, definition for identifying this illness,

¹ I presented this paper originally on the occasion of an invited lecture in the course *Literary Studies/ African Literatures in Context: African Literature in the Context of a Pandemic* (AY 2021/22) led by Prof. Alena Rettová, whom I acknowledge, University of Bayreuth, online lecture due to Covid-19 (15-12-2021).

² Plural knowledge systems.

which was firstly officially reported in the Kagera region, in the north-western part of the country, at the Tanzanian-Ugandan borders, in 1983.

Since the beginning of the pandemic in the country, local socio-cultural interpretations and traditional ways of healing this new mysterious ailment have been clashing with modern biomedical approaches and scientific answers. As a consequence, Swahili literature reacted immediately by producing oral poetries dealing with the new health issue (Mutembei 2001; 2009). Subsequently, other literary genres have been discussing the topic from multiple viewpoints (Mutembei 2011a, b; 2015).

In this article, I will investigate especially the literary medium of Swahili novels on HIV/AIDS to isolate both the relevant treatments for AIDS described, and the metaphorical representations of HIV/AIDS triggered. In Swahili literature, the novelistic genre has been dealing with the topic of illness and its treatment since the ethnographic novellas, such as Banzi's (1972) and Kitereza's (1980) novels, describing the powers of traditional healers against sterility, barrenness and common diseases (Garnier 2013) as well as the first Swahili novels such as Shaaban Robert's *Kufikirika* ('Thinkable,' 1967) that also deals with infertility by intermingling the scientific with the supernatural.

Therefore, in my first case study I will analyse four novels on HIV/AIDS: *Kisiki Kikavu* ('The Dry Stump,' Mutembei 2005), *Firauni* ('The Debauchee,' Mauya 2017), *Ua La Faraja* ('The Flower of Consolation,' Mkufya 2004) and *Kuwa Kwa Maua* ('The Existence of Flowers,' Mkufya 2019), by observing analytically the different types of treatment involved in the narratives. Subsequently, in my second case study, I will analyse HIV/AIDS stylistically through its doubles, which are the metaphorical expressions through which it is conceptualised, by establishing a comparison between fictions written in both Swahili and English.

Finally, I will look at the recent evolution of the "clash between epistemes in relation to the treatment of illness" through contemporary literature and current discussion dealing with Covid-19, which circulate in the social media (Nicolini 2021a).

2. Some divergent theories about HIV/AIDS in Tanzania

In this review of literature, I draw from socio-anthropological scholarship upon which I have built my literary analysis. A preliminary remark to start with is that in East Africa once scientific and biomedical explanations fail to supply all the answers,³ supernatural explanations and traditional healing

³ Premised that scepticism towards scientific and biomedical explanations of illness is not an African prerogative, such an example is in the Western anti-vaccination movements occurring during the current age of Covid-19. In the East African

knowledge(-s) intervene to support peoples' causes and their struggles. Indeed, the resistance of "traditional medicine" (Meneses 2007: 352) is part of the "African struggles for epistemic freedom" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2018: 1) consisting of "provincializing Europe while deprovincializing Africa" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2018: 3). Therefore, I will confront in a provocative way two diverse responses to HIV/AIDS: traditional healing and modern medicine, with the objectives not only to demonstrate that the effective resolution is multifaceted, but also to overcome binary rivalries, by investigating how contrasting facets intermingle in literature.

2.1. Socio-cultural interpretations

"She was bewitched and caught an illness similar to AIDS" (Mshana *et al.* 2006: 45). This is one of the most popular expressions circulating in everyday speech about HIV/AIDS in Tanzania to explain the causes of sexually transmitted diseases. For example, *Lusumbo*, a "witchcraft-induced illness" is known as the epidemic that preceded AIDS (Mshana *et al.* 2006: 54). Particularly when sexual customs established by the ancestors are infringed, the ancestral spirits, disapproving of their descendants' behaviour, leave them without their protection and exposed to all kinds of malignant assaults (Mshana *et al.* 2006: 47).

Among the heterogeneous African cultures, in Tanzanian culture, the aetiology of illness is commonly explained through the witchcraft paradigm, which means a bewitchment, or an evil spirit thrown by a jealous witch (*mchawi*), as well as curses or malevolent forces sent as a punishment for the breaching of cultural norms and/or a violation of sexual taboos (Mshana *et al.* 2006; Lugalla *et al.* 2004). In other words, the illness's aetiology means an "aggression" diagnosed by a traditional healer (*mganga wa jadi*): the one who is capable of identifying the type of aggressor. The aggression can be diagnosed as being either a witch's curse that symbolises the result of a conflict in interpersonal relationships, or possession by evil spirits that represents a conflict with the ancestors and their rules (Hountondji 1997: 28).

The witchcraft theory includes the interactions of "human, super-human and non-human entities" (Ashforth 2002: 127) as a concatenation of casualties (Sogolo 2005). Since Evans-Pritchard's clear-cut distinction between witchcraft and sorcery⁴ (1976) seems to have been overcome, in

context modern medicine is often associated with the Western centring modernity imposed during colonial times that clashes with local traditional healing practices.

⁴ In Swahili *uchawi* or *ulozi* ('witchcraft') and *uramli* or *sihiri* ('sorcery' is the malicious creation of harmful organic substances) (Kirusulia 2017: 366).

contemporary practice the concept of witchcraft incorporates sorcery practices as well, and thus a witch is someone who crafts harms through the interactions of in-born powers, supernatural-spiritual interventions and manufactured materials (Ashforth 2002: 126; Moore and Sanders 2001). Nevertheless, the phenomenon of *uchawi* (witchcraft) is made up of both the individual's mystical powers to harm and do evil as well as anti-witchcraft medicinal powers (*uganga*⁵) to counteract the craft of the witches (Abrahams 1994: 9-10, 23).

Witchcraft belief also implies a traditional epistemology of healing or, better say, the exercise of a “moral power” (Stroeken 2012) to either healing or harming as well as saving or convicting. Indeed, witchcraft is an aetiology as well as divination is a diagnostic practice and a treatment for illnesses. In fact, the invasion by supernatural evil spirits “thrown” by an envious person or a curse crafted by a witch (*mchawi*) can be both diagnosed and expelled by a diviner/healer (*mganga*), who, supported by ancestral spirits, triggers a self-healing treatment that consists in a synesthetic shift of sensory experiences (Stroeken 2012; 2017a: 165-166).

Illnesses and “maladies,” as Langwick (2011) translates the Swahili concept of *ugonjwa*, can be classified into the three following categories: “maladies of God,” which correspond to biomedical diseases and cannot be prevented; “maladies of the person,” which result from witchcraft and can be prevented by protective practices and cured by healers; and “maladies of *mashetani*” (demons), which result from run-ins with devilish non-human actors and in some cases can be prevented and cured by healers (Langwick 2011: 151 - 231). Likewise, HIV/AIDS can be caused by God (*UKIMWI wa Mungu*); by sexual relationships (*UKIMWI wa kawaida*); and by sorcery and witchcraft (*UKIMWI wa mazingira ya kichawi*) (Olsen and Sargent 2017: 5).

Moreover, different kinds of non-human actants (spirits and disembodied entities) come into play, such as the Islamic spirits of *majini* (djinnns), benevolent or malignant creatures of this world; *mashetani*, evil spirits and dangerous demons who invade a person; *mizimu*, spirits of the ancestors; and *mahoka*, ancestral shades, who know medicine and help the healers (Langwick 2011: 21). Therefore, illness, which can be caused by biological sources, or by human or “non-human actants” (Langwick 2011: 21), can be prevented by either restoring relationships and avoiding conflicts (Hountondji 1997) or establishing natural protective body boundaries.

HIV/AIDS is a complex of diseases manifesting themselves through a multiplicity of symptoms: the immune systems of the body collapse, the psychological status falters, and finally the reproductive capacities of human species are seriously affected. Therefore, this psychophysical turmoil is clearly

⁵ The concept of *uganga* includes the practice of healing, traditional medicine and magic (Acquaviva 2018: 145-146).

experienced as a fight against an invisible supernatural power (Ashforth 2002) or a “sorcerer at work” (Rödlach 2006: 55). Witchcraft theory not only provides a convincing explanation anchored in local beliefs for HIV/AIDS, but it also makes AIDS treatable, offering the possibility of being healed by healers’ interventions and improving health conditions when hospitals fail (Rödlach 2006; Stroeken 2017a).

Particularly, the transmission of HIV/AIDS is represented through three main formulas: firstly, a bewitchment (*uchawi*) accomplished by jealous female witches against wealthy men; secondly, malicious spirits such as *majini*, oversexed supernatural creatures who, controlled by a witch, force into illicit sexual relations their victims; and thirdly, a punishment from ancestral spirits, who castigate people for their neglect of traditions (Mutembei 2009: 36-37; Hasu 1999: 410-411).

The supernatural-spiritual ontologies of ailing or healing, which can all be thrown by witches and expelled by healers, are of multiple kinds; for example, “alien spirits” who eat human flesh and blood (Hasu 1999: 430), or men-eating cannibals resurrected by a witch to eat people (*abali wa wantu*, Behrend 2007: 41). There are also, more typical spirits along the Swahili coasts such as *majini*, *mashetani* and *mapepo* (Giles 1999; 1995; 2018; Dilger 2007). Certain *pepo* spirits embody immoral behaviours (adultery and fornication); whereas, others embody chronic diseases (HIV/AIDS, epilepsy, cancer) (Dilger 2007: 68).

In addition to them, the *popobawa*, a shapeshifter evil spirit who, gifted with abnormally large sexual organs, sodomises both male (homosexuality) and female (adultery) victims, is typical in the Zanzibari legends (Thompson 2017).

Conversely, *eyembe/mahembe*, popular in the Haya and Luganda traditions, are animal horns used as divinatory objects that metonymically refer to the spirits inhabiting them (Mutembei 2001). Divinatory spirits can be consulted through the horns by diviners to heal people, or malicious djinns and vampire spirits can be dispatched to harm people through witches blowing inside the horns (Reynolds-Whyte 1997: 61-64). Vampire spirits in this category suck human blood, condemning the victims to a slow death such as by HIV /AIDS (Mutembei 2001: 117).

Furthermore, a common feature in many African cultures is what I call hereditary generational curses, which implies that those who do not respect the ritual prescriptions and taboos are castigated according to a sort of “punitive theology” (Trinitapoli and Weinreb 2012: 5). In other words, the divine judgement on misdeeds, moral transgressions, and sins, in the form of illness, misfortune and death, falls upon entire families, through specific curses such as *Chira*, in the Luo culture (Dilger 2008; 2009; Hussein 1988), and *Bakuntumile*, in the Haya culture (Mutembei 2009). These curses have not only symptoms, but also consequences similar to AIDS, also known as the “bad death” or “apocalyptic

disease” (Dilger 2008: 212-214), such as a decline in reproduction and a threat to the continuity of clans and lineage, as young people either have died prematurely without leaving any heirs, or they are unable to bear children because of HIV positivity (Dilger 2008; 2009; Mutembei 2001). The Luo concept of *Chira*, which means *bahati mbaya* ‘bad luck and misfortune’ (Hussein 1988), is a curse that involves a whole family or the entire bloodline, and is caused by the transgression of ancestral rules, ritual prescriptions, and cultural norms, as well as the breaching of taboos, especially on sexual relationships (Dilger 2008). *Chira* is a “wasting disease,” similar to AIDS, which causes weight loss, diarrhoea, skin disease, and finally death (Dilger 2008: 220; Ongolo *et. al.* 2017). Even though forbidden sexual intercourse is the cause of both *Chira* and HIV/AIDS, the traditional concept of *Chira* sprouts from the inside, in other words, from troubled relationships among people; thus, it can be cured by harmonising and restoring necessary relationships. Conversely, HIV/AIDS comes from outside: it is the intrusion of a virus that blocks the continuity of life; thus, it is necessary to erect boundaries to protect one’s body from outside (Geissler and Prince 2007: 136). Likewise, *Bakuntumile*, ‘it has been sent for/to you,’ in the Haya culture, is a form of *Nemesis*, God’s revenge against hubris, and a well-deserved punishment for human arrogance (Mutembei 2009: 26-30).

To sum up, it can be observed that Tanzanian societies reflect the syncretic hybridization of religious thoughts and beliefs constructed by the superimposition of Islamisation and Christianisation, particularly the Lutheran church in the northern regions (Setel 1999; Hasu 1999) and the Pentecostal church in central and north-western Tanzania (Dilger 2001a,b; 2007; Stroeken 2017b), layered upon local spiritual beliefs, animistic cults and spirit possession practices (Giles 1995; 1999; Lambek 1993; Swantz 1999; Dilger 2007). In fact, “Swahili religious knowledge” is made up of *mila* (indigenous Swahili customs and rituals) and *dini* (Islamic beliefs and practices) (Topan 2009: 56). In addition to this, the advent of the Christian church took place during colonial times (Hasu 1999).

In conclusion, the witchcraft theory is relevant either as a challenge or as a support to scientific reason and biomedical theories. Indeed, the belief in witchcraft implies believing in the possibility of improvement: diviners, by “questioning misfortune,” deal pragmatically with and are fully aware of the uncertainty of life that science fails to handle (Reynolds-Whyte 1997: 232; Stroeken 2012). Thus, traditional and modern forms of knowledge should be integrated (Hallen and Sodipo 1997; Mosley 2004: 148-149) and mutually included, not excluded.

2.2. Biomedical methodologies

The biomedical conceptualisation is represented by the positivist epistemology of modern science and western medicine, strategic pillars of which are condom use, HIV testing and ARV treatment and therapies (Dilger and Rising 2014).

Scientific knowledge is conveyed through educational projects and prevention campaigns managed by NGOs, which are leaders in the fight against HIV/AIDS in Tanzania (Dilger 2012; Marsland 2007; Langwick 2008). In fact, following the post-independence economic collapse of the country in the late 1970s, the SAPs (Structural Adjustment Programs) were implemented by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund starting in 1983, followed by the introduction of other neoliberal reforms in the 1990s (Lugalla 1995; Mbilinyi 1993; Brooks and Kessy 2017). One of the first consequences of the country's economic collapse was the massive cut in government expenditure on the health sector. Thus, after the privatization of the healthcare system in 1992, there arrived a trans-nationalisation and “NGO-ization of the Health Sector” (Dilger 2012: 61; 2010), especially regarding the HIV/AIDS epidemic that is also criticised as the “epidemic of NGOs” (Smith 2014: 165). The privatization of the health sector affected seriously AIDS-related care among the local population, who reinvented a home-based care system supported by NGOs (Dilger 2010: 115).

NGOs are mainly involved in public health interventions, in which educational strategies are based on methodologies such as BCC (Behaviour Change Communication), SCSC (Strategic Communication for Social Change), and ABC (Abstinence, Be faithful and Condom use) (Mwita 2010; 2011; Johansen 2010; 2011; Plummer 2012; 2013), which follow “bio power regulations” (Dilger 2012) to keep under state control sexual relationships in the form of safe sex campaigns (Foucault 1998; Halperin 2016).

3. Divided treatments for HIV/AIDS in Swahili novels

In this section, I will, firstly, introduce the topic of the treatment of illness in Swahili novels, and then, I will analyse the four selected novels dealing with HIV/AIDS.

Swahili novelistic productions have been described as “written in the swing” (Rettovà 2016a), swinging between different phases from realism, passing through experimentation and magical realism (Rettovà 2016b; Khamis 2003; 2005), to end up swinging back into neorealism (Rettovà 2016a; Diegner 2018; Bertoncini *et al.* 2009).

The treatment for illness has always been a theme discussed in Swahili prose, since the first ethnographic narratives, such as A. Banzi's *Titi la Mkwe* ('The Daughter-in-law's Breast,' 1972) and A.

Kitereza's adventures of *Bwana Myombekere na Bibi Bugonoka Na Ntulanalwo Na Bulihwali* ('Mr Myombekere and his wife Bugonoka ('misfortune'), their son Ntulanalwo and their daughter Bulihwali,' 1980; Mulokozi 1984), which celebrate traditional healers' knowledge and their mystical powers capable of healing every kind of psychophysical ailment (Garnier 2013; Bertoncini *et al.* 2009; Mazrui 2007).

After that, I argue that Shaaban Robert (1909 - 1962), who has been recognised as both the real father of the Swahili novel⁶ (Bertoncini *et al.* 2009; Garnier 2013), producing narratives which, deeply rooted in traditional features, are mostly oriented towards modernity (Garnier 2013: 47 - 62), and as an "idealist philosopher" (Masolo 2010: 102), was also a pioneer in featuring the clashing encounter between modern medicine and traditional healing practices in the novelistic genre. Particularly, in the novel *Kufikirika* ('Thinkable,'⁷ 1967), Robert explores the role played by traditional healers in the fight against disease, sterility and barrenness with *ubora na ustadi* 'high quality and dexterity' (Robert 1967: 8); yet the novel endorses "the positivist epistemology of science" and medicine (Rettovà 2021: 306). Indeed, in *Kufikirika*, Roberts first explains how healing practices are part and parcel of the traditional Tanzanian culture and local knowledge of healing, by describing thoroughly the categories of healers ruling the country affairs, *i.e.* herbalists, exorcisers, demonologists, those who perform sacrifices, those who craft talismans, foretellers and diviners (Robert 1967: 8). However, in the end, he starkly contrasts positivism, rationalism and modern medicine with local traditional divinatory and healing practices accused of being "*ushirikina* ('superstition') and fallacy" (Rettovà 2021: 304-308). Robert criticises all the groups of healers who represent the ruling classes in the fictitious country of *Kufikirika*, where the novel is set, aiming at a "righteous community" (Masolo 2010: 97). In fact, the protagonist *Utubusara Ujingahasara* ('Humanity-is-wisdom, Ignorance-is-loss,' Ngonyani 2001), at first, pretends to be a traditional healer himself to gain the trust of the sovereigns, so as to be able to express his innovative viewpoint.

Ingawa nilitabiri uzazi wako lakini, kwa kweli, utabiri ulikuwa si kazi yangu kabisa. Nilijitia katika kundi la watabiri wakati Mfalme alipojituhumu kuteswa na ugumba ili niweze kupata nafasi ya kusema niliyoyajua. Nchi, kama ya Kufikirika, ambayo uganga wa kienyeji wasadikiwa kuwa

⁶ See also the *34th Swahili Colloquium*: "Celebrating Shaaban Robert," organised by Bayreuth University in partnership with Moi University, 27-29.5.2022. Prof. Dismas A. Masolo in his keynote lecture: "The Idealism of Shaaban Robert," clearly defined Shaaban Robert's works as "philosophical texts."

⁷ Or "The Nature of Ideas" (Masolo 2010: 162).

umetawala mambo yote ya wanadamu neno lo lote geni halifaulu bila kupitishwa kwanza katika njia inayoaminiwa na watu wote (Robert 1967: 48).

Even though I prophesized your birth, to tell the truth, divination is not my job at all. I hid myself among the diviners when the King supposedly suffered barrenness so as to gain the opportunity to express my knowledge. In a country such as Kufikirika, where traditional healing is believed to administer all aspects of human life, whatever foreign opinion would have not succeeded without having passed first through a way that is trusted by everyone.⁸

Subsequently, he defeats local healing treatments and divinatory prophecies, demonstrating that the young prince has effectively recovered only after receiving hospital treatment and so all occult practices and human sacrifices are condemned (cf. Rettovà 2021: 306-307).

[...] Kwa jambo hili njia bora ya kutumia ni kuwaona au kuwashauri waganga waliokuja Kufikirika kwa Bahari ya Kufaulu. Hawa ni waganga stadi kabisa. Namna zao za uganga ni nyingi sana [...] Maradhi kadha wa kadha yaliyodhaniwa kuwa hayatibiki zamani sasa hutibika rahisi sana kwa dawa zao. Mahali pa kazi ya uganga wao huitwa hospitali. (Robert 1967: 45-46)

[...] For this matter the best way to use is to meet and be counselled by the healers who reached *Kufikirika* sailing across the ‘Sea of Success.’ They are real expert healers, and their healing skills are wide [...] A lot of illnesses that were believed to be incurable in the past, now can be treated easily with their treatments. The place where those healers perform is called hospital.

In the end, Robert’s novel supports firmly the positivist epistemology of science and technological development (Rettovà 2021).

In contrast, I will illustrate two other novels, C. Mung’ong’o’s *Mirathi ya Hatari* (‘A Dangerous Inheritance,’ 1977 re-edited 2016) and G. Ruhumbika’s *Janga Sugu La Wazawa* (‘The Chronic Calamity of Native People,’ 2001), which recognises an “epistemology of marvel” (*ajabu*) consisting of witchcraft, black magic, occultism and curses (Rettovà 2021: 314-319). These novels deal with the harmful side of witchcraft that is hazardous but real, and thus, respected and feared at the same time. In fact, even though the forces of witchcraft cannot be seen, its occult powers can kill.

⁸ All the translations in this paper are mine, if not otherwise indicated.

Firstly, Gusto the young protagonist of Mung'ong'o's novel is secretly yet meticulously initiated into the practice of witchcraft, which is fully acknowledged as proper knowledge, so he is taught about both its value and hazards:

Ni urithi kubwa ukitumia vema; bali pia ni mirathi ya hatari usipojihadhari nayo (Mung'ong'o 2016: 12). [...] Hii ni elimu ya pekee. Ukiifahamu na kuitumia vizuri unaweza kuumiliki ulimwengu. Ni siku hizi tu Wazungu wamekuja na elimu yao ya uwongo [...] hiyo ndiyo elimu tuliyokuwa nayo Waafrika tangia awali. Lakini ajabu ni kwamba vijana wa leo wanaidharau. Wanaioonea haya jadi yao. Wanataka Uzungu badala yake! (Mung'ong'o 2016: 20).

It (witchcraft) is a valuable inheritance if you use it well; however, it can also be dangerous if you are not cautious with it. [...] This is a peculiar and special knowledge. If you master it, you can rule the universe. It is only recently that the European came with their false knowledge [...] this is indeed African traditional knowledge. It is surprising that the young nowadays ignore it. They are ashamed of their own cultural traditions. They want Western knowledge instead.

Secondly, Ruhumbika's novel illustrates the mysterious endogenous calamity affecting the local population of the village of Ngoma on Ukerewe island, particularly Mzee Ninalwo's entire progeny, whose family is cursed and condemned to disappear. In fact, the entire bloodline of Mzee Ninalwo starts dying from mysterious and supernatural calamities.

Ndivyo walivyozi kuona maajabu (Ruhumbika 2001: 41). [...] Mji wa Mzee Ninalwo unaandamwa na majanga yasiyo ya dunia hii (Ruhumbika 2001: 55).

Indeed, they kept experiencing mysterious events [...] The city of the old Ninalwo was chased by supernatural calamities, which are not pertaining to this world.

For instance, three Ninalwo's twelve sons and daughters were found dead on the shore standing upright without any support, like living persons, with their foreheads pointing to the north and the napes of their necks pointing south, while their left hands, left feet, left ears and genitals were amputated in a ritual-like manner. Likewise, many others in the family started suffering from a strange illness that caused vomiting and the defecation of flies until they died.

Wote hao wakachukuliwa na ugonjwa huo wa ajabu wa huhara na kutapika inzi! (Ruhumbika 2001: 59).

All of them were caught by that mysterious illness that causes diarrhoea and vomiting flies!

In the last two novels, even though superstitious human sacrifices and occult black magic practices are condemned, the practice of witchcraft is epistemically recognised as a valid way of knowing and a “mode of cognition” (Gyekye 1995: 202).

Then, at the crossroads comes HIV/AIDS, which is a divisive disease connected to various methods of treatment. The divided debate about HIV/AIDS treatment implies a “therapeutic continuum” (Olsen and Sargent 2017: 1; Feierman and Janzen 1992) consisting in a kind of balancing and rebalancing of the scale between modern hospitals and the performances of traditional healers, who have their epistemic role to play. In fact, the inadequacy or the inaccessibility of hospital care pushes people to prefer the counselling of traditional experts who intervene to alleviate AIDS-related diseases. In literature, the healers are portrayed either as professionals or as swindlers, whereas the hospitals’ scientific efficiency is unquestionable, though they are viewed as morally corrupt.

In this section, I am analysing four selected Swahili novels from Tanzania, namely, *Kisiki Kikavu* (‘The Dry Stump,’ Mutembei 2005); *Firauni* (‘The Debauchee,’ Mauya 2017), which I defined elsewhere as “descriptive-reflective” novels (Nicolini 2022); and two philosophical novels: *Ua La Faraja* (‘The Flower of Consolation,’ Mkufya 2004); and *Kuwa Kwa Maua* (‘The Existence of Flowers,’ Mkufya 2019).

Aldin Mutembei’s novel *Kisiki Kikavu* (‘The Dry Stump,’ 2005) is a historical and documentary novel, entirely based on empirical findings collected during the author’s research on the ground conducted in the Christianised context of the Kagera region (1992 - 2006). The novel is set in the aftermath of the Uganda-Tanzania conflict, also known as the Kagera war, a period from 1979 and after 1983, when AIDS started spreading in the country. The protagonist Kalabweli is one of the *Abekikomela*, the black-market dealers at the borders, also known as the “young of Juliana,” from the popular landmark clothes they sell (see Mutembei 2001; 2009). In the period described in the novel, HIV/AIDS was relatively unknown and incurable disease, which challenged both hospital and herbal treatments. In addition to this, the region was economically devastated because of the war; thus, not only were the hospitals lacking adequate equipment and treatments, but also swindlers and fraudsters took advantage of the situation pretending to be professional healers.

Hospitalini hawakuona ugonjwa wowote. [...] Kumwambia arudi nyumbani. [...] Wakaona heri waende kwa waganga wa jadi kuuliza kulikoni. (Mutembei 2005: 28) [...] Watu wakishaanza kuzungumzia majini. Vifo vya ajabu vilikuwa vinasimuliwa karibu kila kijiji. Mara utasikia kuwa fulani ugonjwa wake hausikii dawa. Mara, mwingine kafa kwa ugonjwa wa ajabu. Ni waganga wa kienyeji tu waliokuwa na ufahamu kuwa mahembe sasa yanawaingilia watu kuliko kawaida. Kila

aliyekuwa na mgonjwa akamwondoa hospitalini na kumpeleka kwa mganga. Waganga wakatajirika. Mganga mmoja alisema kuwa ni lazima tuweke zindiko. [...] Huu si ugonjwa. Na hospitalini wameshidwa. [...] Baada ya muda kifo. Kifo cha ajabu. [...] Waganga [...] Wakaahidi kuondoa laana. Wakachuma mali. [...] Vifo havikwisha. Wala wagonjwa hawakupungua. (Mutembei 2005: 31)

At the hospitals, doctors did not see any disease. Thus, they told him to go back home. They thought it was better to go to the traditional healers to ask what was going on. [...] People started talking about devilish spirits. Strange deaths were told of in almost every village. One time, you hear about someone whose illness does not respond to any treatment. Another time you hear about someone who has died of a strange illness. Only the traditional healers were aware that vampire-spirits were assaulting people in an unusual manner. Each person who had an ill-relative took them from the hospital to the healers. The healers became rich. One diviner said that we must wear protective charms. [...] This is not a disease. The hospital has failed. [...] After a short time, death descended. A strange death. [...] The cunning healers [...] they promised to remove the curse. They acquired a lot of wealth. Neither did the deaths end nor did the number of ill people decrease.⁹

However, local pharmacopeia seemed to be effective. For instance, when an herbalist gave Kalabweli a black flour and chopped leaves concoction popular as *muarobaini*,¹⁰ so called because it is believed to treat over forty different human illnesses in seven days, he came back home relieved of his symptoms (Mutembei 2005: 50).

In this novel, even though HIV/AIDS-sufferers were condemned to die at that time, people were desperately chasing after an effective treatment in a continuous rebalancing of the scale between traditional healers and medical doctors. In the end, healers seem to prevail because they could at least mitigate AIDS-related opportunistic diseases and give hope even to people without economic resources.

*Mimi sikukubali kama walikuwa na ihembe, wala sikuweza kukataa hilo. Afadhali **suala la ihembe** lilileta mantiki kutokana na dhuluma (Mutembei 2005: 33).*

I did not agree with the vampire-spirit explanation, nor could I disagree completely. In fact, the **vampire-spirit theory** at least provided a logical explanation from the injustice.

⁹ All emphasis mine.

¹⁰ *Muarobaini* or *Mwarobaini* is the Neem Tree (*Azadirachta indica* A. Juss; Meliaceae) also well-known in the Ayurvedic tradition.

Indeed, social injustice (*dhuluma*¹¹) has become an epistemic device from which at least a portion of knowledge can be extracted so as to fight for “epistemic justice” (Fricker 2007; Medina 2013). People were struggling and starving because of the war and because of the ignorance that both medical doctors and healers had regarding AIDS. So, in the end, the solution to both injustice and AIDS has a supernatural key element.

Athumani Mauya’s novel *Firauni*¹² (‘The Debauchee,’ 2017) is a realist novel set at the threshold of the 90s, which criticizes the socio-political condition of Tanzanian society, following the process of neo-colonisation begun after the implementation of neoliberal reforms, SAPs and the over expansion of NGOs. The effectiveness of scientific medicine for treating HIV/AIDS is unquestioned in this novel; however, not only did the privatization of the health sector make hospital treatment expensive and unaffordable for the majority of people, but also corruption spread among medical doctors. As a result, once again traditional healers both honest and dishonest came into play to cope with the situation. In fact, witchcraft in the 90s also became a supporting element for neoliberal business under the spell of *chuma ulete* (‘reap and bring,’ Mgumia 2020) so as to both boost and protect individual small businesses (Sanders 2001).

In this novel, the three pillars of modern medicine are observed. Firstly, HIV blood testing is regularly performed at the hospitals (Mauya 2017: 24-25) as the most effective method of ascertaining if someone has been infected, though test results are often fraudulent (Mauya 2017: 15). Secondly, condom use is promoted to prevent the infection effectively:

Kondomu tu ndiyo kiboko ya UKIMWI (Mauya 2017: 161)

Condoms are the only “whip” against HIV/AIDS.

Finally, HIV/AIDS is no longer a mortal disease - it has become a chronic illness that can be controlled with ARVs, even though the treatment is not available to everyone in the country:

¹¹ Cf. the novel *Bomu la Virusi* (‘The Viral Bomb,’ Machume 2004) which also deals with HIV/AIDS, and which is also set in the Kagera region in the Kagera war aftermath: *wafanyabiashara wengi walia mini kuwa wamerogwa kutokana na wivu wa watu au dhuluma waliofanyia wenzao* ‘Many black-market traders believed that they have been cursed because of other people’s envy or the **injustice** that they themselves perpetrated towards others’ (Machume 2004: 9).

¹² *Firauni* is not only the literal translation of ‘Pharaoh,’ the Hebrew biblical figure appearing in the books of Genesis and Exodus as the enemy of the Israeli people, but also has the metaphorical meaning of villain.

Dawa za kupunguza makali ya VVU ili kurefusha Maisha yenu (Mauya 2017: 20)

Medications for suppressing the HIV virus strength and to prolong our lives.

Nevertheless, following the privatization of the neoliberal health sector, corruption spread as fast as HIV transmission itself, both in the new private structures and in the old public structures that remained in poor condition without adequate economic and technical resources.

*“Daktari alikuwa muuaji, asiyekuwa na maadili ya udaktari. Hakika ni **firauni**”* (Mauya 2017: 19)

“The doctor was a murderer, without medical ethics, actually he was a **debauchee**”

Healers are not effective, but hospitals reject people who cannot afford to pay, so the treatment of AIDS is described as a ping-pong between hospitals and healers.

Tulimpeleka hospitali ya wilaya kwa matibabu lakini hakupata nafuu hata kidogo. Madaktari walitumbia hawakuona ugonjwa wowote ule. [...] tulimpeleka kwa Waganga wa kienyeji kumuagua¹³ ilishindikana (Mauya 2017: 38-39).

We brought him to the district hospital for treatment, but he did not get any relief. The doctors told us that they could not diagnose any disease. [...] We brought him to the traditional healers to get their treatment, but it failed as well.

Hakuna tunakosifika kwa uchawi au tiba mbadala ambako hatukwenda [...] tumefika hadi kwenye Mizimu na kwenye makaburi ya Masharifu, lakini wapi! [...] tumemaliza waganga na waganguzi lakini wapi [...] hakuna nafuu ugonjwa hausikii dawa asilani [...] tukarudi tena hospitali, lakini nako wapi hakuna nafuu [...] tukarudi tena kwa waganga wa jadi na sasa tumerudi tena hospitalini (Mauya 2017: 13-14)

There is no place popular for witchcraft or herbalism where we did not visit. [...] We visited African ancestral worship places and Sharif graveyards, without succeeding! [...] We went to all the healers including the most respected, but they failed! [...] There was no relief, this illness is stubbornly resistant to all the medication we have tried. [...] Then, we came back to the hospital, yet there was no relief to the ailment! [...] We went again to the traditional healers and now we are back to the hospital once again!

¹³ The verb *-agua* includes both scientific and traditional healing practices: treat medically; treat magically to remove a spell or witchcraft; predict, foretell, divine, interpret dreams (TUKI 2012).

To sum up, science and modern medicine are unquestioned, however cures are unavailable for those who cannot afford them. In fact, several socio-political institutions are criticized because of the cuts as well as the privatization of the health sector and because of the network of bribery as well as corruption. In the end, the fairest answer to both social injustice and AIDS is a supernatural witch's craft.

In conclusion, the two “descriptive-reflective” novels (Nicolini 2022) not only illustrate how all epistemological reflections develop from the accurate descriptions of characters' actions, events and the environment as portrayed by the narrators' voices, but they also adorn their prose with the inclusion of magical realist devices that show irreverence towards science. These novels endorse an “epistemology of indeterminacy and inclusion/complementarity” (Rettovà 2021: 319-23) aiming to include as a third way or middle ground indefinite and clashing worldviews, epistemologies and realities as “the included third” (Medina 2011).

William Mkufya's trilogy *Diwani ya Maua* ('The Poetry of Flowers') consists in two¹⁴ philosophical novels: *Ua La Faraja* ('The Flower of Consolation,' 2004) and *Kuwa Kwa Maua* ('The Existence of Flowers,' 2019) which reflect on the meaning of life, fear of death, and religious attitudes towards sex and sexual pleasure in connection with HIV/AIDS - the core which links together death, sex and faith¹⁵ (Nicolini 2022).

In these two novels, HIV/AIDS is mainly approached through the positivist epistemology of modern science and medicine. Scientific answers to cope with the disease are unquestioned, such as HIV testing to prolong one's life as explained by the protagonist of the trilogy Dr Hans, a virologist who is also a philosopher:

“Ukipima ukajua mapema kwamba una virusi” (Mkufya 2004: 208) [...] *“Ni kweli kufa ni kufa tu, lakini kila mtu ana tarehe zake, na kama inawezekana kuziahirisha tarehe hizo ni vyema zaidi”* (Mkufya 2004: 209)

“If you test, you'll know in time whether you have the virus.” [...] *“This is true to die is to die, but each person has their own date, and if you are able to delay this date it is even better.”*

¹⁴ The third volume is still a work in progress.

¹⁵ *“A story in three novels about HIV/AIDS, fear of death and existential absurdity,”* Mkufya unpublished (January 2019).

Condom use is promoted as everyday good practice: *Mambo kwa Soksi!*¹⁶ ('Doing things with socks,' Mkufya 2004:18), as well as ARV therapies are encouraged to transform HIV/AIDS from a mortal to a chronic disease (Mkufya 2019: 99) and *kuokoa kiasi cha maji ambayo hayajamwagika* ('save the amount of water that has not been poured yet,' Mkufya 2019: 145). Finally, Dr Hans explores the clash between scientific progress and *utamaduni*, 'local culture' through a debate speculating about the prospective production of a vaccine against HIV/AIDS in the country:

Ukitaka utamaduni wako ushamiri, ufungulie, uweke wazi na uruhusu unufaike kutoka kwenye tamaduni nyingine ili zineemeshe ule wa kwako. Lakini uchague cha kuiga. Sisi huwa hatuchagui. [...] Tukiletewa chanjo na kulazimishwa tuchanje watoto wetu, hatukai chini kwanza na kuchunguza usafi na ubora wa hizo chanjo. Ni rahisi kwa mtu mwovu huko Ulaya kuingiza kitu kibaya cha kuteketeza vizazi vya baadaye. [...] Chanjo ni muhimu sana. Mimi ni daktari na ninajua umuhimu wa chanjo. Ninachopinga ni kule kutozikagua kwa makini... (Mkufya 2004: 358-9) [...] Kitu ambacho kitamtatiza mwanadamu daima ni kifo [...] kutodumu wake. [...] teknolojia ya wanadamu itakapofanikiwa kuondoa magonjwa yote duniani, watu watakuwa sasa wanakufa kwa uzee [...] hivyo havina dawa (Mkufya 2004: 418).

If you want your culture to be spread, be released, be open and allow it to profit from other cultures so as to be more comfortable with your own culture; however, you must choose what to imitate. We are not choosing [...] Take as an example the vaccine; if vaccination is imported and we are obliged to vaccinate our children, we are not reflecting and evaluating the security and effectiveness of these vaccinations. Like this it is easy for an evil European man to bring a dangerous mechanism to destroy our future generations. [...] Vaccines are really important. I am a doctor and I know the importance of vaccination. The one who opposes, is the one who is not examining carefully. [...] What has always been challenging for a human being is death [...] transitoriness [...] when human beings' technology will succeed in overcoming all the diseases existing in this world, then people will die because of old age [...] for this there exists no treatment.

Nevertheless, the materiality and tangibility of life are also imbued with mystery and the unknown. So, once positivism fails to unveil all such mysteries that remain unknown, practices such as divination enter the picture to deal with the supernatural and the spiritual realm. Mkufya suggests an "epistemology of *miujiza* (miracles)" (Mkufya p.c. 18-10-2021): a way of knowing by "*mambo ya kimiujiza*" that interprets miracles of nature - to be distinguished from the miracles of faith and religious doctrine, supernatural events and mysterious phenomena. Such ways of knowing pertain to the code of mystery

¹⁶ *Mambo kwa Soksi* ('Things with Socks') is the title of a song by Remmy Ongala (1947–2010), who made the expression popular.

and the realm of miracles, for they have not yet been documented and comprehended by the positivist epistemology of science.

Mbuyu ulimsikia bundi¹⁷ akiuchulia kwa ulozi, akizuza na kunuiza (Mkufya 2019: 290).

The baobab could hear the owl bewitching with an ominous recitation and chanting an evil spell.

Divination and witchcraft are practices that access knowledge by means of an “epistemology of extrasensory perception and paranormal cognition” (Gyekye 1995). In Mkufya’s second novel, diviners are involved in diagnosing a hereditary curse called *kinda la mlapeke* (‘the chick/baby bird who eats alone,’ Mkufya 2019: 476), also known as the child who loves only himself. *Kinda la mlapeke* is a traditional curse which describes the ominous birth of someone whose existence destroys that of their close relatives. For instance, the character of Omolo is an orphan, his daughter kills herself because of HIV and his son Masumbuko, whose name means ‘agony,’ kills his mother in childbirth, even though the diviners perform an exorcism to propitiate the spirits of the ancestors (*tambiko*) both to ensure a safe delivery for Masumbuko and save his mother’s life (see also Nicolini 2022).

“Masubo na Nyasubo fungueni njia,

Chaubaya Masumbuko apite

Atuachie mwali wetu

Salamaaa!”

(Mkufya 2019: 476)

Masubo na Nyasubo (ancestral spirits evoked by the *waganga*)

open the way,

to let the evil (child) Masumbuko (agony) be born

and leave our maiden

safe!¹⁸

To sum up, firstly, “The Flower of Consolation” embraces modern science, and so “The Existence of Flowers” reflects the postulation of a co-existence and mutual complementarity of antagonistic strength and diverse epistemes, which cooperate (Nicolini 2022). This epistemology of balance, which Mkufya postulates in his ecocritical novel *Face Under the Sea* (2011), winner of the Burt Literary Award,¹⁹

¹⁷ *Mbuyu* (‘the baobab’) and *bundi* (‘the owl’) are symbolic links between the natural and the supernatural world.

¹⁸ Mkufya’s translation 31-12-2019.

¹⁹ www.burtaward.org/wemkufya.

encourages people to live well together in difference; it can also be compared with the manifesto of the Latin-American philosophy of *bien vivir* (living well) (Medina 2011; Santos 2014; 2018).

Furthermore, in these two philosophical novels, the illness HIV/AIDS itself acquires a metaphorical meaning in denouncing social problems similar to Kezilahabi's 'Hydrocephalus' (*Kichwamaji*, 1974) (Rettovà 2007a; Stacey 2020), who gives a deformed body to the alienated postcolonial African identity. Mkufya's *Ukimwi wa kijamii* (Mkufya 2004: 357) is a metaphor to explain the 'AIDS of the African societies' that were unable to protect themselves from foreign imperialist assaults (slavery and colonisation), including imported religions (Islam and Christianity), which weakened their cultural identity (Mkufya 2004; see also Nicolini 2022).

In conclusion, I have illustrated how, on the one hand, *Kisiki Kikavu* and *Firauni* embrace traditional healing practices as the most available and acknowledged by people, as well as the existence of supernaturalism. On the other hand, Mkufya's novels endorse science and scientific worldviews, yet the presence of mystery is strongly acknowledged.

4. VVU/UKIMWI and its 'doubles:' multifaceted literary representations

People's rhetoric deals with illnesses through metaphorical representations, for "illness as a figure or metaphor is the most truthful way of regarding illness and the healthiest way of being ill" (Sontag 1991: 3). The metaphorization of HIV/AIDS in Swahili literature has not only a signifying scope to understand and cope with the disease (Mutembei 2001; 2009; 2007; Mutembei *et al.* 2002), but also aesthetic, cognitive and strategic roles (Vierke 2012; Askew 2015). Furthermore, metaphors are "epistemic devices" (Nicolini 2022), which, culturally interpreted, articulate specific messages and locally contextualised knowledge.

The main double for VVU/UKIMWI in the Swahili novels analysed is the concept of *janga* ('calamity'), which can be either a natural calamity or the result of witchcraft that manifests itself in the form of generational and hereditary culturally specific curses; for instance, *Chira*, among the Luo (Dilger 2008; 2009; Hussein 1988), or *Bakuntumile*, among the Haya (Mutembei 2009), both of which are concepts similar to the Greek *Nemesis*: God's revenge against the sin of arrogance (hubris). These curses generate illnesses which have the same symptoms as AIDS, and which cause the death of the entire bloodline of the guilty person. Thus, AIDS is personified as the angel of death *Bakuntumile* or *Chira* who punishes mankind for its pride (Mutembei 2009: 27; Hussein 1988) and/or for illicit traffic and immoral behaviour as shown in Mutembei's novel *Kisiki Kikavu* (2005):

Baada ya muda kifo. Kifo cha ajabu. [...] Hiki ni kisasi. Ni lazima tufanye kafara. Twende tukamwage kahawa katika mto Kagera, tuvuke na kufika mpakani tukaombe radhi na kutoa sadaka (Mutembei 2005: 31).

After a short time, death descended. A strange death. [...] This is revenge, *nemesis*, a kind of God's revenge (Mutembei 2009: 27). We must give an offer or perform a sacrifice. Let's pour coffee into the Kagera river, cross it and get to the border where we can ask for forgiveness by offering a sacrifice.

VVU/UKIMWI can also be classified as *ugonjwa wa ukoo* ('the kinship disease,' Mutembei 2005: 50), or *endwala enkulu* (in Luhaya), which are genetically transmitted disorders. In fact, *Kisiki Kikavu*, the dried roots and stump of a tree, is not only a metaphor for a person who has lost hope and is infertile like a dry stump, but it also means the hopelessness with regard to the continuity of the family. For instance, Kalabweli the protagonist, who dies young and without heirs, cannot procreate because of HIV/AIDS which works like a kinship curse.

Likewise, the novel *Firauni* (Mauya 2017) explains and familiarises UKIMWI through the interface of *Kitigo*, which is a typical disease among the Zigua ethnicity from Bagamoyo and Handeni, and which not only affects people who have incestuous relationships with close relatives, but also has the same symptoms as AIDS (see also the novel *Harusi ya Dogoli* 'Dogoli's Wedding Ceremony,' Mauya 2016). However, *kitigo* is well-known and treatable by traditional healers, so it offers people the hope of recovery.

"Ni vigumu kutofautisha UKIMWI na Kitigo" (Mauya 2017: 5) [...] *"Kitigo kina dawa. Ukimpata mganga anayejulia ugonjwa huu unapona mara moja"* (Mauya 2017: 15)

"It's difficult to distinguish between HIV/AIDS and *Kitigo*." [...] *"Kitigo is treatable. If you find a healer who knows it, you will recover immediately."*

Finally, Mkufya's novel *Kuwa Kwa Maua* (2019) is entrenched with bad omens predicting the HIV/AIDS calamity: *uchuro wa janga la UKIMWI* ('the omen of AIDS calamity,' Mkufya 2019: 179), which can also manifest itself as the hereditary kinship curse *kinda la mlapeke* (Mkufya 2019: 476), which is similar to God's revenge against human hubris, or the fatal bird flu epidemic called *mdondo* (Mkufya 2019: 407).

Sometimes, traditional punitive kinship curses are exacerbated by religious attitudes of both Islam and Christianity that explain HIV/AIDS as a well-deserved punishment for sinful behaviour. A

final example is the Safal-Cornell (2018)²⁰ award-winning novel *Mungu Hakopeshwi* ('God Doesn't Borrow Time,' Baharoon 2017) in which the villain character is punished by HIV/AIDS, the shameful disease:

“Nimelipwa kwa dhambi nilizozitenda [...] leo nimekuwa na miongoni mwa watu wanaoishi na virusi vya ukimwi!” (Baharoon 2017: 243)

I have been repaid for the sins I committed [...] today I am one of those people living with HIV!

Furthermore, the HIV/AIDS doubles are supernatural and spiritual entities conjuring into prose the vampire-spirits of the Haya tradition, the *ihembe* (*ma-* in the plural), who inhabit Mutembei's novel, or the Islamic evil spirits, *majini* ('the djinns'), who populate Mauya's novel.

Alikuwa amepigwa na **ihembe**, jini analotupiwa mtu na watu wabaya. Alikuwa na **jini**. [...] *Ihembe hilo ni la ughaibuni. Sio ihembe la kawaida. Na kuliondoa ihembe lililotoka nchi za ng'ambo siyo kitu cha mchezo.* (Mutembei 2005: 29) [...] *Wote walikuwa ni wagonjwa wa ugonjwa usiofahamika, ugonjwa ambao vijijini waliuita **mahembe** au **majini**. Ilisemekana kuwa wafanyabiashara walidhulumu na sasa wanapata **laana*** (Mutembei 2005: 32-33).

He was affected by a **vampire-spirit**, a kind of bloodsucking evil creature which is caused by a curse made by evil people. He had a **djinn**. This vampire-spirit is from foreign lands. Not a common one. To expel a vampire-spirit, which has come from abroad is not a joke. [...] All were ill with an unknown illness which in the villages was called **vampire-spirits** or **djinn**s. It was said that businessmen treated other people unjustly and now they are **cursed**.

The figure of *ihembe* has been interpreted as a “metaphtonymy” (Goossens 1995): metaphor for HIV/AIDS, as well as metonymy for both its cause: *ihembe* is the horn by which a witch awakens the evil spirit; and its consequences: the wasting disease that causes loss of weight and hair as well as skin problems (Mutembei 2001; 2009). Moreover, the first name used in East Africa (from Uganda to Tanzania) for HIV/AIDS (Iliffe 2006; Barz 2006) is *silimu* (Mutembei 2005: 40, 45; Mutembei 2001; 2009),

²⁰ Safal-Cornell Kiswahili Prize for African Literature:

<https://kiswahiliprize.cornell.edu/>;

<https://www.jamesmurua.com/zainab-alwi-baharoon-jacob-ngumbau-julius-are-mabati-cornell-kiswahili-prize-2018-winners>

or “the new stranger disease called *slim*” that makes people “passing away like a shadow” (Mapalala 2009: 24). *Silimu* (slim), which is also a “metaphtonymy” (Goossens 1995): a metaphor for AIDS and a metonymy for one of its symptoms—the massive loss of weight—is indeed connected to the mythological narrations of the *mahembe* or the *mumiani* djinns, bloodsucking djinns traditional on the Islamised Swahili coasts (Giles 1995; 1999; Swantz 1999). The djinns, who inhabit the East African coasts, can be of many different kinds and have distinct characteristics:

Kila tulipokwenda tunaambiwa kuwa kakaliwa vibaya huko kwenye biashara zake, amerogwa, katupiwa jini makata, wengine wamesema jini subiani, wengine jini la msukule, wengine wamesema amekumba upepo, wengine wamesema kategewa tego kwa mke wa mtu, wengine wamesema kategewa usinga (Mauya 2017: 13).

Wherever we went, we were told that something went wrong at his business, he has been **bewitched**, a **djinn makata** (who kills by cutting down its victims) or a **djinn subiani** (who kills by sucking victims’ blood) has been thrown at him. Other people said he was assaulted by a **living dead** instructed by a witch, or he has blown the **wind**, or he was affected by the curses of either **tego** (a disease caused by witchcraft: if an adulterous man has sex with a married woman, she will infect that man) or **usinga** (a witchcraft practice performed by betrayed married women against their unfaithful husbands or their extra-marital lovers) or **limbwata** (a type of food prepared by women to bewitch men so as to avoid men’s infidelity or to cast a love spell).

Non-human actants (Langwick 2011) such as djinns and *mahembe* as well as kinship curses (*Chira*, *Bakuntumile* or *Kitigo*) eat, chew, suck, and drain both the flesh and blood of human bodies. In fact, these supernatural entities represent the AIDS symptoms such as skin diseases, diarrhoea, vomiting, weight loss, falling hair and a progressive wasting away of the body. Likewise, spirit possession renders the psychological breakdown of AIDS sufferers. To sum up, rage, experienced at stomach level, is transformed into either diarrhoea or a curse crafted by jealousy, while mental illness is interpreted as spirit possession. In addition, vampire-spirits are the explanation for the loss of weight and vital strength; skin diseases are an effect of the djinns; and illicit sex with supernatural oversexed creatures is the cause of STIs.

These mechanisms can be explained at the level of neurolinguistic programming as follows: neurologically the experience occurs at the level of sub-modalities; subsequently, the representation implies a synesthetic shift of sub-modalities (Gordon 2017: 130-131), which produces an effective cross-over from one sub-modality to another equivalent sub-modality in another system (kinaesthetic,

olfaction, vision, taste, audition) (Gordon 2017: 137, 148). The transition between the two systems produces a novel representation or a “therapeutic metaphor” aimed at interpreting and exploring illnesses “through the looking glass” (Gordon 2017).

To conclude, HIV/AIDS in Swahili novels is articulated through metaphors and the figurative language of doubles, not only to explain cause and effect, but also to offer relief from trauma and fight against stigma (Mutembei 2015: 77). *VVU/UKIMWI*'s doubles not only express epistemological explanation, knowledge of the illness, but they also have both a therapeutic scope (Gordon 2017) and a theatrical cathartic effect aimed at condemning injustice and alleviating people's suffering by enacting their inner fears. Metaphors and reality double each other (Artaud 2017) and create an effective communication between the literary text and its readers.

5. HIV/AIDS and Its 'Doubles' in Anglophone Literature from East Africa

I have thus illustrated the applicability of an epistemology of the double in Swahili literature, where metaphors convey therapeutic knowledge. However, I will expand the boundaries of my analysis of Swahiliphone prose by exploring the metaphorical doubles in another language and in another literary genre: firstly, I will give examples of Anglophone Kenyan popular fiction; secondly, I have selected two plays from a collection of stories, namely “Tell Me, Friends: Contemporary Stories and Plays of Tanzania” (Osaki and Noudeho 2010), written in English by university students and collected by lecturers at the University of Dar es Salaam. In fact, since Julius Nyerere's translations of Shakespearean plays into Swahili, Tanzania has been committed to, and is to be praised for supporting and expanding Swahili language and literature. As a result, literature written in English is not as rich as in the other East African countries (Gromov 2015).

5.1. Two Anglophone Novels from Kenya

Among the vast production of Kenyan popular fiction, I have selected two novels. First, Meja Mwangi's novel “The Last Plague” (2000) narrates the events of the people of the village of *Crossroads*, who are haunted by an unknown spectre, who never shows itself nor is revealed. The ghost or the spectre, *Zimwi* ('an ogre' Morgan 2010²¹), represents ignorance about virus transmission which allows the virus to spread and kill people uncontrollably (Mutembei 2015: 68), manifesting itself as a recent plague

²¹ See also the plays written both in English and Swahili by Samwel Morgan: *The Beast* (Morgan 2005), and *Zimwi la UKIMWI* (Morgan 2010).

punishing humanity for its behaviour. Likewise, the Kenyan novelist Omar Babu in his novel *Kala Tufaha* ('He Ate the Apple,' 2007), tells the tragic story of Fumbwe who "eats the infested apple" (Kinara and Japhet 2016: 582), which recalls the concept of the original sin that brought upon humanity HIV/AIDS. The protagonist could not resist sexual temptation, abused young innocent girls, and died of AIDS, contextualizing HIV/AIDS in a moralistic discourse influenced by biblical traditions (Kinara and Japhet 2016). Fumbwe's punishment has also been compared (see Kinara *et al.* 2015: 66) to the predestined and punitive doom: "*kudra*" (fate/destiny, Mkufya 2004: 93) that strikes Ngoma, one of the characters in *Ua La Faraja*, with AIDS.

Second, Marjorie Macgoye's anglophone novel *Chira* (1997) narrates how "bad deeds bring about *Chira*" (Oruka 1990: 81):

Chira is a misfortune which befalls one because of an evil deed in the past - *gima rach matimoreni nyime ni mar rach ma isetimo chien*. It is also seen as a misfortune on one following one's conduct in breaking a taboo (Macgoye 1997: 69).

Chira, that if you did something forbidden (if you break a taboo), the evil would be seen in the wasting away of your body (Macgoye 1997: 46) [...] *Richo e makelo chira* - it is sin that causes the wasting disease. That is, you know... (Macgoye 1997: 49) [...] But there was a new culture of silence (Macgoye 1997: 51).

This novel illustrates how people are well aware of HIV/AIDS, but they prefer to talk about it by referring to its double: *Chira*.

In conclusion, anglophone novels from Kenya use metaphors to produce knowledge of AIDS, as Swahili novels do; yet they exploit metaphorical doubles to voluntarily deny or conceal HIV/AIDS in a culture of silence. Likewise, traditional practices are denounced as superstition in order to support modern medicine. In fact, what I call ping-pong effect, seeking a cure alternating between hospitals and traditional healers, who are involved to counteract evil spirits and curses, is also described; however, the healers are stigmatised as futile with the aim of encouraging hospital treatment.

Nevertheless, I will show that anglophone plays from Tanzanian illustrate a different landscape, wherein science prevails in the end, but local knowledge is not ignored.

5.2. Two ‘Ghost Stories’ in English: *Judges on Trial* and *The Monster*²²

It is indeed common practice at the University of Dar es Salaam for the students of the Literature department to be assessed on the basis of fictional works they write, for example, a play, a poetry collection, or a short story. In the period between 2006 and 2008, a collection of plays and tales dealing with contemporary social issues was gathered and published by the university staff (Osaki and Noudeho 2010: vii-xiii). Not only does changing the language shift the meaning, but also changing genres, from novels to plays, for example, communicates philosophically in a different style; thus, in this section, I am presenting two plays from Tanzania written in English. “The Artist, the Ruler of society” (p’Bitek quoted in Osaki and Noudeho 2010: viii; Otieno 2021) criticizes the colonial and neo-colonial situation, confronting “Western epistemes from the inside” (Mudimbe 1988) which comes from writing in English (Osaki and Noudeho 2010).

The plays *The Monster* (henceforth M) (Chikoti 2010) and *Judges on Trial* (henceforth JT) (Nyoni 2010) are tales reproducing allegorical realities, which are set respectively in an “idyllic village in Africa” (M) and in the “fictional country of *Panajambo*”²³ (JT). Both suggest an “epistemology of return” (Rettovà 2016c), casting our minds into the mythical, precolonial and unpolluted Africa of the past tense.

HIV/AIDS is a “nameless Monster” (M 63) or “unknown Monster” (M 69), similar to a “beast or *Zimwi*” (Morgan 2010), who lives on “the sweet tea” prepared by a beautiful woman, a sorcerer who prepares magic potions and curses (M 66):

We have used every possible medicine in this village, starting from the roots of the tree to the highest leaves. Nobody has been cured (Chikoti 2010: 64).

The villagers, confronted with the failure of their herbalists, call a medical doctor from the town to bring his scientific knowledge to heal the extraordinary illness. The supernatural clashes with science, but the “awe—unknown” (Rettovà 2017) prevails, defeating both of them. The winner is the “sage” (Oruka 1990) and the choral character of the teacher, who shares his wisdom with the community, proposing a holistic epistemology of “dancing together” and “being human through humanity” (Senghor quoted in Rettovà 2007b; 2021). In fact:

²² This section is based on *Appendix 6: Two Plays in English: Judges on Trial and The Monster* in Nicolini (2021b: 324-326).

²³ From the Swahili saying “*penye ngoma ujue pana jambo*” (‘when you hear the drum beating, be aware that something is happening’). See also the proverb: “*Ukiona ndwee ikishindana na dawa, mganga sijisumbue, pana jambo litakuwa*” (‘When you see a disease struggling with medical treatment, doctor, don’t be upset, something will happen’, swahiliproverbs.afirst.illinois.edu).

If all of us stick together and sacrifice ourselves, then the monster will leave, but not in us” [...] “The unity you have shown me here should be induced in every villager. Each of you is a protector of the other (Chikoti 2010: 71).

The play ends with the communal chorus of the villagers singing and dancing together.

“The HIV/AIDS dilemma is referred to as a crossroads where characters have either to confess or face trial” (Mutembe 2015: 203). Therefore, what we attend to in *Judges on Trial* is an allegorical trial inside a courtroom where the play is set, and which takes place between Judge Noma and the ghost of *Panajambo*. The two characters embody the clash between dissonant epistemes: on the one hand there is the judge Noma, who is the representative of a Western education and financial system while, on the other hand, there is the Ghost Judge and the chorus of Ghosts, who tell a tale, singing as a story inside a story, which opens up new frontiers into the world of the supernatural:

Ghost Judge: [...] There is no way you can run away from the monster (AIDS) [...] It’s visible and sometimes invisible (Nyoni 2010: 108).

The story sung by ghosts has the same pattern as the fairy tale told in the Swahili play *Kilio Chetu* (‘Our Lament,’ MAF 1996). Likewise, the confession of the ghosts is similar to the skeletons’ explanations in I. Ngozi’s *Ushuhuda wa Mifupa* (‘The Testimony of the Bones,’ 1990), the first Swahili play on HIV/AIDS created in Tanzania in 1989.²⁴ The story narrates the arrival of a monster (HIV/AIDS) in a peaceful village. In the meantime, the ghosts confess their own sins, by explaining how they caught the virus before dying and becoming ghosts: raping, sugar-mummying, adultery, having sex with a witch doctor to get pregnant, prostitution, casual and unprotected sex: “I walked barefoot” (JT 111).

However, the cause of these bad deeds lies in the poor economic conditions of the villagers resulting from financial investments in international schools and NGOs. As a matter of fact, this money never reached the poor urban and rural areas of the country (JT 114-115). Although Western institutions as well as foreign development aid (from the IMF and the WB) and the government administration of loans are under attack, the progress of science is welcomed. In fact, *Panajambo* urges people to use condoms and thereby have safe sexual relations:

²⁴ The two plays *Kilio Chetu* and *Ushuhuda wa Mifupa* are both included in the compulsory syllabus of Swahili literature for secondary schools and universities in Tanzania.

It is the monster who is killing you, put on shoes when walking and never fight the monster unprotected (Nyoni 2010: 112); I've never walked barefoot, I've always carried a protective shield (Nyoni 2010: 113).

Thus, witches (JT 108), omens (JT 113), and ghosts, as well as the unknown monster, appear in the play as elements naturally included in political and economic discussion. The ominous song is sung by the spectral chorus which predicts that “only ghosts will remain;” in other words, the future is foreseen as apocalyptic for the country (JT 116), while *sote tunalia* ‘we are all crying’ (JT 111).

The epistemic irreverence of these plays is clearly highlighted by “heteroglossic” genres (Bakhtin 1981) such as fairy tales and songs, which break the dialogues to integrate epistemic fractures, opening up the way to immaterial realities.

6. Lately, *Korona*, the ‘New Virus,’ has arrived...

On the 16th of March 2020 (Tarimu and Wu 2020) the recent pandemic of Covid-19, in Swahili *UVIKO-19* (*Umoja wa Virusi vya Korona* ‘the cluster of coronaviruses;’ BAKITA 2020), landed officially at Kilimanjaro International Airport (KIA) in the North-East of Tanzania. Currently, the pandemic seems to be extensively discussed in the social media as well as in poetry and songs that also circulate on the web (blogs, forums and other multimedia channels) such as *Shairi linalotoa tahadhari juu ya Ugonjwa hatari wa Corona* (‘The Poetry that warns about the dangerous disease of Corona,’ KIZARO TV);²⁵ *Shairi La Corona* (‘Corona Poetry,’ Life Vibes);²⁶ *Ushairi Kuhusu Korona* (‘Corona Poetry,’ UMATI)²⁷ (see also Nicolini 2021a); and *Kwaheri Corona* (‘Goodbye Corona’ on YouTube),²⁸ the musical performance by Mrisho Mpoto, a popular performer, poet and singer, featuring THT (Tanzanian House of Talent). The last video poem, deeply inspired by Nyerere’s socialist ideology of *ujamaa*, fosters unity, patriotism and nationalism to fight against Covid-19, which is “the patriotic duty of each individual toward the nation” (Otieno 2021: 6) and the health and welfare of the community.

Hitherto, it can be noted that *UVIKO-19* in Swahili communications is straightforwardly called *Corona* or *Korona*, and it does not match yet with any double, in contrast with European communications

²⁵ Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pqBYUdk4Ufc>

²⁶ Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B57a0TdOgbk>

²⁷ Source: <https://www.umati.or.tz/index.php/umati-media/blog/95-announcements/145-ushairi-kuhusu-korona-covid-19>

²⁸ Sources: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=utyHbLAcE6U>

<https://afrikalyrics.com/mrisho-mpoto-kwaheri-corona-lyrics>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=utyHbLAcE6U>; <https://afrikalyrics.com/mrisho-mpoto-kwaheri-corona-lyrics>

on Covid-19 that seem to discuss appropriately and sensitively the pandemic through “Fire metaphors” (Semino 2021).

Nevertheless, on the one hand, Tanzanian discourses on the pandemic illustrate that *UVIKO-19* is fully recognised as a pandemic generated by pathogens (e.g. *kidudu* in Mpoto’ song 2020) in contrast to what happened with *VVU/UKIMWI*. On the other hand, the clashing encounters between heterogeneous and divided treatments for the symptoms of Covid-19 are a core theme in communications about the pandemic. The “rival complementarity” (Mshana *et al.* 2021: 18), between modern medicine and traditional healing or religious healing, demonstrates the efficacy of both traditional herbal remedies in preventing or curing respiratory infections, and prayers to relieve people’s suffering; whereas, modern medicine is not always available to everybody, nor is it quick in offering effective health improvements; rather it is a long way from endogenous epistemologies of healing (Mshana *et al.* 2021). For instance, the treatment *kufukiza nyungu*, which is a steamed herbal concoction obtained from a mixture of local medicinal plants, and which is used to unclog mucus in patients’ throats, has always been effective in treating lung disease such as pneumonia – as explained by the novelist William Mkufya²⁹ (document emailed on 2-05-2021; see Nicolini 2021a). In addition to this, “Covid-organics,” which is a popular herbal treatment obtained from *Artemisia annua*, is imported to Tanzania from Madagascar (Richey *et al.* 2021). Thus, Tanzanian herbal strategies to deal with Covid-19 are a unifying strategy of pan-Africanism aimed not only to cope with the virus, but also to develop “South-South humanitarianism” among African countries (Richey *et al.* 2021).

Lastly, *UVIKO-19* has also entered the prose of Swahili novels such as: C. G. Mung’ong’o’s *Salamu kutoka kwa Popo: Hekaya ya Janga la Corona* (‘Greetings from a Bat: The Tale of the Coronavirus Calamity’, 2021). These examples identify *UVIKO-19* as a promising topic to be further examined through Swahili literary genres.

On the other hand, Halfani Sudy’s *Kirusi Kipya* (‘New Virus,’ forthcoming publication), the manuscript winner of the Safal-Cornell Kiswahili Prize 2021,³⁰ is another example of how the virus itself becomes a metaphorical symbol for contemporary social issues in the novelistic genre. According to Sudy³¹, the ‘new virus’ in Tanzania is drug trafficking and traffickers. Similarly, Ruhumbika’s novel (2002: 185ff) condemns the *janga* (‘calamity’) of *ushirikina* as superstition, black magic practice and

²⁹ I acknowledge Mkufya for this document.

³⁰ <https://kiswahiliprize.cornell.edu/>

³¹ Halfani Sudy, whom I acknowledge for the information (e-mail 18-03-2022), is a teacher of social welfare at the New Mafinga Health and Allied Institute as well as a young and prolific author of popular novels, especially thrilling crime fiction novels.

sacrificial killing (Rettovà 2021: 307-308; Mbogoni 2013); it also condemns the harvesting and trafficking of human organs (see also Mbogo's novel *Vipuli Vya Figo*, 'Kidney Trafficking,' 1996). For example, the character of the criminal *Padri-Sheik*, a black priest, who pretends to be a healer, rapes and kills his patients in order to export their organs (Ruhumbika 2002: 144ff).

7. Conclusions: clash of epistemes in relation to the treatment of illnesses in Swahili novels

Since the scope of this research has been to explore how literature copes with the encounters between diverse and divided perspectives in Swahili literature, an instrument that should be considered to guide literary critics, as Kezilahabi has taught us, is the “bifocal lenses” that interpret the African experience by including both pre and post encounters with the West (Kezilahabi 1985). However, literature has demonstrated itself to be capable of providing these lenses to its readers.

HIV/AIDS is a divisive disease, which gives rise to varied perceptions as well as divided realities, and which is understood through clashing epistemologies. Therefore, Swahili novels on HIV/AIDS can be depicted as a matrix of “intermittent clashes” (Nicolini 2022) wherein scientific positivism and modern medicine clash and cooperate with Afrocentric knowledge(-s), or else “African-centred knowledges” (Cooper and Morrell 2014). For instance, supernaturalism, divination and witchcraft practices are epistemological categories, which are not only included in literature by means of an “epistemology of indeterminacy and inclusion/complementarity” (Rettovà 2021: 314), but also accessible through epistemologies such as the “epistemology of marvel (*ajabu*)” (Rettovà 2021: 315), and the epistemology of extrasensory perception and paranormal cognition (Gyekye 1995: 201). These are a third “source of knowledge” (Gyekye 1995: 201) that can be disclosed by including paranormal and parapsychological phenomena as well as supernatural and mysterious events. Likewise, “epistemology of *miujiza* (miracles)” (Mkufya p.c. 18-10-2021) means knowing through natural and supernatural wonders and miracles.

From an aesthetic and linguistic analysis of literature, I have also detected an “epistemology of doubles” through metaphorical interpretations capable of doubling the reality. “Figurations have their own way of transmitting knowledge” (Vierke 2017: 153). Indeed, metaphors not only represent a meaning, but they also create meanings by reclaiming their epistemological status, as explained by Mersch's “epistemology of the aesthetic” (Mersch 2015; Vierke 2017: 138). Two classes of metaphors can be distinguished in literature. First are metaphors evoked to explain illnesses, which, as “the healthiest way of being ill” (Sontag 1991: 3), “overcome the detachment from subject to object” (Stacey 2020: 73). These metaphors are “lived reality” (Stacey 2020: 73) in the shape of natural or supernatural ontologies that can be found in what I classified as “descriptive-novels” (Nicolini 2022). Secondly,

illnesses as metaphor are instruments to lead disguised critiques. The ‘veiled speech’ of *mafumbo* (Vierke 2012), by producing a “gracious detachment from subject to object” (Stacey 2020: 73), denounces social issues in philosophical novels. For instance, Mkufya’s *Ukimwi wa Kijamii* (‘the AIDS of society,’ Mkufya 2004: 357) describes the weakened, alienated and traumatised African identity as well as *Ukimwi wa VVU* (‘the illness of AIDS transmitted by the HIV-virus’) interlinked with sex, faith and death, denounces religions imported into Africa and their negative attitude against sex and sexuality (Mkufya 2004, 2019; Nicolini 2022).

In addition to this, endogenous explanations for HIV/AIDS such as the traditional curses of *Chira*, *Bakuntumile* (Mutembei 2005) and *Kitigo* (Mauya 2017), which put scientific explanations on trial, are based on the criterion of a punishment for bad deeds that break with ancestors’ norms. This criterion is exacerbated by religions imported into Africa, which represent AIDS as the punishment for the sin of lust and sexual satisfaction. Swahili literature describes not only the clash between science and beliefs, but also an inter-clash of different beliefs: religious doctrines, traditional religious thoughts and spiritual beliefs. Nevertheless, if some questions against religion are silently mentioned in Mutembei and Mauya’s novels, set respectively in the Haya Christianized and Zigua Islamised cultures, critiques against the imported credo are loudly voiced in the novels of Mkufya, who wishes to free human minds from excessive morality, religionism and fanaticism.

Par contre, spiritual worshipping not only implies “human and non-human actor interconnectivity” that characterizes literature with an “aesthetic of proximity” (Iheka 2017: 22) and “animist materialism” (Garuba quoted in Quayson 2009: 160), but it also provides the lenses for an ecocritical reading of Swahili literature (Nixon and Ronald 2014). Indeed, spiritual entities intervene in human actions, keeping under control somewhat both human arrogance and pollution in order to preserve the natural environment (Egya 2020: 70). Hence, the metaphorical image of “*janga*” as ‘environmental destruction and/or ecological disaster’ is an admonishment to prevent the predicted calamitous future of humanity, whose ravaging nature obtains its self-destruction in the form of severe illness such as cancer (see Mbogo’s novel *Bustani ya Edeni* ‘The Garden of Eden’ 2002) (Nixon and Ronald 2014: 33), and pandemics such as HIV/AIDS and Covid-19. The authors of Swahili “new novels” are both concerned with and responsible for the future (Gromov 2014: 50), so they struggle to move the centre from “anthropocentrism” to “ecocentrism” (Acquaviva and Mignanti 2019: 75-76) with the goal of shifting the horizon from an apocalyptic to sustainable future in Africa. Thus, I argue that mixing diverse epistemologies in Swahili texts is also a drive for Afrocentric ecocritical thinking. African environmental knowledge conveyed in literature is a form of “postcolonial regional particularism”

(Caminero-Santangelo 2014: 6) that designs a counter epistemological narrative capable of challenging western environmental literature (Caminero-Santangelo 2014: 6).

Finally, witchcraft is an epistemology or a way of both knowing (Mosley 2004; Hallen and Sodipo 1997; Gyekye 1995) and crafting epistemologically the reality, which literature includes through magical realist devices and intertextuality, by inter-textualizing into the prose orality as well as conjuring spiritual and supernatural elements (Mwangi 2009; Khamis 2003; 2005; Cooper 1998; Warnes 2009; Syrotinsky 2007). The inclusion of supernaturalism, paranormal and parapsychological phenomena is a strategy of “epistemological irreverence” (Warnes 2009: 151) and “epistemic disobedience” (Mignolo 2009: 159) against “epistemicide” (Santos 2014: 154).

Therefore, I argue that “African-centred knowledges” (Cooper and Morrell 2014) as well as “cross-cultural theories” such as witchcraft (Hallen and Sodipo 1997) can be “interculturally translated” as “epistemologies of the South” (Santos 2014; 2018), which are partisans in the fight to validate non-scientific ways of knowing, oppressed by the hegemonic western science, through the weapon of literature (Nicolini 2022). Likewise, Swahili novels are partisans in the epistemic war of resistance against “epistemological fascism” (Santos 2014) that they fight by means of narrative style and the aesthetic of language. Furthermore, traditional healing paradigms also seem to encourage “South-South humanitarianism” among African countries (Richey *et al.* 2021).

To conclude, Swahili literature is a *clash-inclusive arena* wherein heterogeneous epistemologies, multiple knowledge, and plural rationalities co-exist together. Lastly, even though I have been arguing that the study of Afrophone literatures is a *sine qua non* to develop Afrocentric philosophical and epistemological discourses, I also argue that it is significant to compare and correlate inter-language and inter-genre literature when dealing with the epistemologies of pandemics.

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The pragmatics of blessings in Gedeo (south Ethiopia)

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The Gedeo, a Cushitic-speaking group in southern Ethiopia, have a long tradition of blessing expressions ingrained in their native cosmology. The pragmatics of the Gedeo people's blessing utterances are examined in this article. Pertinent information was gathered from knowledgeable senior community members through interviews, and focus group discussions conducted between November 2020 and December 2021. The technique of gathering data also included non-participant observations. We have thematically analysed the data based on the situations in which the blessings are expressed and used to convey the intended meanings in the specific contexts. The expressive functions of blessings in Gedeo vary from context to context as would be expected, but, interestingly, they frequently revolve around praising *Mageno* 'the Creator,' shielding fellow community members from harm, boosting the land's productivity, safeguarding the environment, and upholding the general well-being of the community. We conclude that, while blessings have diverse meanings depending on the context in which they are expressed, their overall purpose is to preserve communal harmony and order.

Keywords: Gedeo, blessing expressions, pragmatics, *Mageno*

1. Introduction¹

In the social and religious lives of many African cultures, pronouncing and requesting blessings are extremely important. These blessing statements are ingrained in native cosmology, which governs their way of life daily. Few African groups record their blessings in writing, but the bulk of it passes down orally from one generation to the next (Ashenafi and Eba 2017; Ashenafi 2014). In most communities in the world, "the pronouncer" of the expressions of blessing is frequently an elder member of the community in respect to age and/or other social statuses (Ekeke 2011). For example, among the Kazakh and Kirghiz, two pastoralist tribes of Central Asian Turkic peoples, have a similar

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practice of elders assuming responsibility for blessing the young (Laude-Cirtautas 1974). In African communities, performing “good deeds” that are culturally defined for the benefit of others results in blessing, whether on an individual or community level (Baye 1998; Luter and Mathewos 2019). Although the linguistic expressions of blessing vary from one community to another, the overall objective fundamentally remains the same: to promote societal harmony by conveying specific values to both the pronouncer and recipient (Ekeke 2011).

Early in the 20th century, social scientists became interested in blessing, and it made its way into academia (Westermarck 1926; Evans-Pritchard 1956; Crawley 1929; Kratz 1989). Since then, several studies have been conducted on various blessing-related topics, including their significance, forms, functions, and so forth (Ashenafi and Eba 2017; Ekeke 2011). In his extensive investigations on the meaning and social functions of blessing among the three generations of Bedouin women in Israel, Alhuzail (2014), for instance, stated that blessings fulfill the function of providing existential security and protection against the forces that could imperil women. Likewise, Daniel and Gizaw (2020) stress the critical part that blessing and cursing customs play a crucial role in resolving intra- and inter-group conflicts among the Hadiya in southern Ethiopia.

The primary aim of this article is to characterize these gravely endangered Gedeo expressions of blessing. The Gedeo are a Cushitic-speaking people who live in southern Ethiopia. The Gedeo language, Gede'uffa, is rich in expressions of blessing mainly due to Gedeo's strong social bonds, and human-nature relationship. The pragmatics of these blessings are intriguing because they have different expressions depending on the circumstance and social intentions. Among these social goals include conversing with *Mageno* 'Creator,' helping the poor, healing the ill, settling disputes, and wishing newlyweds well. Although native expressions of blessing are still used in Gedeo, there is a general decline in the appreciation and use of this heritage. Different causes of the fall were cited, including urbanization, advent of “modern” religions (mostly Protestant Christianity), and political pressures (Wondimagegnehu 2018; Tesfatsion *et al.* 2021). Although they are in grave danger, these cultural assets have not yet been researched and recorded. Our study is a response to this.

For a study that seeks to learn facts and uncover experiences, a qualitative descriptive method is preferable (Creswell 2003; Dawson 2007). Empirical data were gathered from Dilla Zuria, Bule and Gedeb districts in the Gedeo zone from November 2020 to December 2021. We purposefully chose to conduct our fieldwork in these districts because they are recognized for significantly surviving the current pressures mentioned above, as well as because they fairly represent the Gedeo in terms of geographical distribution (Ayalew *et al.* 1996).

We have used three data collection tools: in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and non-participant observations. In-depth interviews were the primary data collection instrument. Group discussions and observations were employed to diversify our data from interviews, and triangulate findings from different sources. We interviewed 18 senior knowledgeable cultural consultants and local leaders selected via snowball sampling. A total of six group discussions, two in each selected district, were held with a total of 46 study participants. Observations were made during the gatherings of the council of elders in two native administrative spaces, locally known as *songo*: Wochema Songo and Fisehagenet Songo. Non-participant observation was conducted during the Daraaro festival, the Gedeo New Year celebration.

This article is organized into four sections. After the introduction, we discuss the types, actors and contexts of expressing blessings in Gedeo in section two. Section three presents the pragmatics and social functions of blessing among the Gedeo. Section four provides the conclusion.

2. Types, actors, and contexts of blessing

Expressions of blessing inherently require actors (the blesser and the blessed), and the specific contexts in which they are uttered. In other words, many blessing expressions may be identified on the basis of who speaks and to whom, and the situation in which they are uttered. What is more, blessings are classified into various types depending on the contexts they are practiced. Along these lines, Ashenafi and Eba (2017) state that blessing expressions are primarily grouped under commissive or performative types of speech acts depending on the goal they sought to accomplish. Among the Gedeo, all blessing rituals begin with the praise for their ancestor's deity, *Mageno*, albeit they differ in terms of the "who," "why," and "how" of blessing statements. To make it easier to analyze the Gedeo blessing expressions, we have classified them into three general themes based on the major characters, the setting in which the blessing is performed, and, most importantly, the goal intended for accomplishment. These are expressions of blessing used at the familial, village, and community levels. Each category will be covered in further detail below.

2.1. Expressing blessing at the family level

Within the Gedeo, as elsewhere, family is the smallest social unit in which the expressions and practices of blessings begin. The family head, elderly person or a temporary visitor are the key characters (blessing givers) for expressing blessing at the family level. At the family level, the intention of blessings ranges from a more general blessing from the blessing provider to a more focused blessing

from senior family members that targets family members, such as grooms and brides, for example. Expressing blessings at the family level has various sub-categories. These are stated and explained in detail below.

2.1.1. Blessing at *Qorciisa*

The Gedeo have a custom where the entire family seeks blessings. The head (the patriarch) of the family initiates the *qorciisa* ceremony after consulting about the event with his family. The entire family gets up early in the morning and travels to *Qorciisa /k'orc'iisa/*, a place covered with thick grasses. On their way to the location, their walk is strictly age-based: the oldest man takes the lead, and the youngest takes the last position. When they arrive, except the head of the family, everybody else sits down. For a moment, they keep silent, and then, the head of the family starts the blessing by offering thanks to the Creator. After that, he offers his family the blessing as shown in 1.

1. a. *goroodhdhoole daboole ba'at*²
goroodhdh-oole dab-oole ba'a-t
transgress-COND.3M make_mistake-COND.3M forgive-2M
'Forgive them if they transgress and commit sins'

- b. *baro yo'oka hulluuqqe*
baro yo'o-ka hulluuq-'e
season bad-OBJ pass-2PL.JUSS
'May you endure the bad season'

- c. *fuggoxxi ha'noo uuddoqqe*
fuggo-xxi ha'no uud-t-o-qqe
danger-DET 2PL see-3F-3M-NEG
'May the bad omen never get hold of you'

² In this article, we provide four lines if the utterance contains phonetic elements. The first line contains forms with phonetic forms; the second line contains only phonemic forms; the third line is interlinear glossing; the fourth line is translation. For the most part, we have maintained the IPA symbols. However, in the view to benefiting the native speakers of the language, we have used letters used in the native writing system. Thus, long vowels and gemination are marked by doubling the first symbol. <dh> stands for a voiced alveolar implosive; <sh> for a voiceless alveo-palatal fricative; <y> for a voiced palatal glide; <j> for a voiced alveo-palatal affricate; stroke (') for a voiceless glottal stop; <q> for a voiceless velar ejective; <x> for a voiceless alveolar ejective; <c> for a voiceless alveo-palatal ejective; <ph> for a voiceless bilabial ejective.

- d. *tarkaafatte*
 tarkaafat-'e
 walk-2PL, JUSS
 ‘May you become successful’ (lit. “May you walk”)

2.1.2. Blessing at wedding

Marriage is highly regarded in Gedeo. When a son grows up, his parents begin to fret significantly about his marriage. This leads them to begin looking for a suitable girl for their son. In the search, they consider a variety of norms and characteristics. The first and foremost is that the girl must not have blood relationship with the family. In Gedeo, as it is the case in many other ethnic groups (for example, the Konso in Ethiopia)³, it is an abomination for a man to marry a woman from his own clan. The other element is the socio-economic standing of the girl's parents. An ideal girl is one whose parents get well along with the neighbors, that she is impartial and quite good at home management. Hard working is at the core of home management. This is because the Gedeo abhor laziness as the following adage illustrates:

2. *are jololte aro'o kanna jolol assitaan*
 are jolol-t-e aro'o kanna jolol assi-t-aan
 wife be_lazy-3F-REL husband and be_lazy make-3F-PRES
 ‘A lazy woman makes her husband lazy’

The future husband's parents obtain enough knowledge from neighbors and individuals they believe are knowledgeable about the girl's personality, her parents' social standing, and their acceptance. The boy's parents decide to marry the girl for their son if the evidence obtained indicates that she is worth marrying. To do so, they send go-betweens to begin mediation with girl's father and his kinsmen. The girl's parents then raise several issues to the go-betweens such as availability of plots of land, neighbourhood relations, work ethics, and family cohesion. At a later stage, the girl's parents make similar inquiries directly to the boy's parents (see Kiphe *et al.*, 2008). A wedding day is set if both families have consented.

³ One of the authors is a native member of the Konso society.

Both parents arrange a wedding ceremony once all requirements and procedures are complete. Wedding ceremonies never go without offering blessings to the bride and groom in the Gedeo culture as in many other cultures such as the Guji, Borana, Sidama, Hadiya (Ashenafi and Eba, 2017; Luter and Mathewos, 2019). Among the Gedeo, there are four stages of blessings during wedding rituals. The first stage of blessing is conducted by the bride's family. This is followed by the blessing of elders from the groom's clan to the pair and the girl's parents. At the third stage, the bride's mother blesses her daughter. Finally, the bride and the groom receive blessings from the groom's parents or other senior members of the clan. The details of each stage are presented below.

On the wedding day, the soon-would-be-husband arrives at the bride's house with his parents, siblings and friends, and takes the bride from her parents. The bride's father, village elders and members of the bride's family bless the pair when they arrive at the bride's parents' house. Depending on lineage hierarchy, the blessing is retained. Her grandfather first gives the pair his blessing. Then, the family of her grandfather, who are of a comparable rank, perform the blessing. They are then blessed by her father and her uncles. They smear butter on the forehead of the couples and their friends while offering them blessing. Also, the bride's oldest brother blesses both couples. However, the oldest brother is not allowed to smear butter unless their father passes away. In 3., we present expressions of blessings by the bride's family during the wedding ceremony.

3. a. *belto ha'no'a horto*
belto ha'no-'a hor-t-o
 daughter 2PL.BEN bear-3F-PRES.JUSS
 'May our daughter bear many children'
- b. *galle hosse*
gal-'e / hos-'e
 spend_night-2PL.JUSS spend_day-2PL.JUSS
 'May you live long'
- c. *araddake'n fishshe*
aradda-ke'n fish-'e
 community-PP smell-2PL.JUSS
 'May you give happiness to the society'

Following the blessing from the bride's family, the groom's family takes the turn to bless the bride's family. In 4., we present the expressions of blessing by the groom's family.

4. a. *ulfaatte*
ulfat-'e
 honour.PASS-2PL.JUSS
 'May you be honoured'
- b. *gammashshot dangannoke kadowwaal*
gammashshho-t dag-n-annoke kadowwaal
 be_happy-PP come_back-1PL-COMP be.3M
 'May God help us to come back with joy'

As mentioned earlier, the bride's mother blesses her daughter as the couple prepares to leave. Before the mother begins blessing her daughter, she smears her daughter's head with butter as a symbolic representation of security and harmony. The expressions of blessing the bride's mother offers are presented in 5.

5. a. *bulteti gulfaatte*
bulte-ti gulfaat-'e
 marriage-PP be_satisfied -2PL.JUSS
 'May you be happy with your marriage'
- b. *cinaachchi ququuqoqqe*
cinaachchi ququuqo-qqe
 ribs be_coarse-NEG.2PL.JUSS
 'May you not lose your comfort' (*cinaachchi* 'ribs' is used here metaphorically: just as when sleeping ribs need a comfortable place, the bride's mother wishes the couple a pleasant and trouble-free life)

The blessing for the couple continues as well when the couple travel to the groom's home. After arrival, the groom's parents or any clan representative (if the parents are deceased) bless the union with expressions such as those given in 5.a. and in 6. below.

6. a. *qelle*
qel- 'e
 be_multiplied-2PL.JUSS
 ‘May you bear [more children]’
- b. *finnik firik fishshe*
finna-ik fira-ik fish- 'e
 children-PP relatives-PP smell-2PL.JUSS
 ‘May you enjoy with children and relatives’
- c. *anna ama ege 'ne*
anna ama egen- 'e
 father mother know-2PL.JUSS
 ‘May you respect your father and mother’
- d. *bulteti le 'we*
bulte-ti lew- 'e
 marriage-PP enjoy-2PL.JUSS
 ‘May you enjoy your marriage’

2.1.3. Blessing by the guests

The Gedeo cordially welcome guests into their houses (interview with Worraassa Tekko, Gedeb district, May 2021). Our cultural consultant from the Bule district is worth citing at this point: “Serving guests at home is a tradition that we inherited from our forefathers; we have always protected this great heritage” (interview with Gammada Girsu, Bule district, June 2021). The study participants further explain that the host extends warm hospitality to guests until they depart his house. It is customary for guests to bestow blessings on the host family when they intend to leave the host’s house as shown in 7.

7. a. *mine konne'a eloxxi yaane duuchcha kaddowwaal*
mine kone- 'a elo-xxi yaane duuchcha kad-t-owwaal
 house DEM.PRON-PP good-DET things all be-3F-JUSS
 ‘May every good thing come to this house’

- b. *ittinaaka gophphinoqqe no'o itissineen*
it-tinaaka gophph-noqqe no'o itiss-need
 eat-2PL.PRES lose-2P.NEG 1PL feed-2PL.PASS
 'As you fed us, may you not come short of food'
- c. *ha'witinaaka gophphinoqqe no'o ha'wisineen*
ha'w-tinaaka gophph-no-qqe no'o ha'w-sineen
 drink-2P.FUT lose-2PL-NEG 1PL drink-2PL.PASS
 'Like you quenched our thirst, may you not run out of liquid'
- d. *no'o'a uwtine xe'ishineexxe bakka'n ha'no'awonsho*
no'o-'a uw-tine xe'ishi-ne-'xe bakka-'n ha'no-'a wonsh-'o
 2PL-BEN give-2PL shortage-2PL-PP place-PP 2PL-BEN fill-3M.JUSS
 'May He [the Creator] fill you with his blessing since you fed us'
- e. *heddinebaaxxi ha'no'a wo'mito*
hed-'ne-baaxi ha'no-'a wo'm-'ito
 think-2PL-NEG.2F 2PL-BEN full-2F.JUSS
 'May you be filled with countless blessings'
- f. *eebisemme*
eebisem-'e
 bless-2PL.JUSS
 'May you be blessed'
- g. *no'o ulfeesitineen ha'noonna ulfaatte*
no'o ulfees-tineen ha'no-na ulfaat-'e
 1PL- respect-2PL 2PL-also respect.PASS-2PL.JUSS
 'You honoured us – may you be honoured'

- h. *belti ha'noo ulfeesso*
belti ha'noo ulfees-'o
 son 2PL.OBJ respect-3M.JUSS
 'May your son respect you'
- i. *beltiinxi ha'noo ulfees'to*
beltint'i ha'noo ulfeesi-to
 daughter-in-law 2PL.OBJ respect-2F.JUSS
 'May your daughter-in-law respect you'
- j. *qoqqobbi ha'nok wo'm gophphinoqqe*
qoqqobbi ha'nok wo'mo gophph-no-k'e
 kitchen 2PL.POSS let_it_be_full lose-2PL-NEG.JUSS
 'May your kitchen always be full'
- k. *barikinna barrati gewwe*
bari-kina bara-ti gew-'e
 season-PP.also day-PP rich-2PL.JUSS
 'May you live more years and seasons'

2.2. Blessing at the village level

The village is included in blessing customs and emotions that go beyond family boundaries. Elders are the primary players at the village level. They offer blessing services to various village residents under various conditions. These situations include, among others, when a villager is gravely ill, during celebrations of land inheritance or a housewarming. Let's talk about each of them in more detail.

2.2.1. Convalescence

The Gedeo are well known for their wide variety of traditional healing techniques, just as other Ethiopian societies. Our research participants claim that the Gedeo use herbal remedies, healing through breathing, and other methods in addition to traditional physical therapy for physical injuries especially for bone fracture and joint dislocation (interview with Tilahun Ibido, September 2021).

According to the study participants, people who become ill and do not recover fast are forbidden from consuming certain foods and beverages. They are also banned from going to specific locations, such as markets, assemblies etc., and not permitted to stay in noisy environments. Even once they recover from their illnesses, they are not immediately permitted to reintegrate into society. This is because it is thought that they still harbor the spirit that gave them their disease, and that that spirit needs to be cleansed. Elders cleanse and bless the recovering person to help them reintegrate into everyday community life.

The ritual process of blessing practice goes as follows: First, elders take the convalescent to a sacred space named *lagoti bakka*, put him/her under the local tree called *cosiiqaa* /c'osiik'aa/, and let him/her wash him/her with water and the leaf of *cosiiqaa*. Once the washing process is done, the elders throw the leaf into the river. Except for the elders and the convalescent, it is strictly forbidden to enter *lagoti bakka* /*lagoti baka*/ (isolation place). After performing the ritual at the sacred space and blessing the convalescent, the elders allow the recovered patient to join the community, eat and drink food and drinks he/she was prohibited from. According to our study participants, there are several blessing expressions uttered during the cleansing ritual for the convalescent. These are presented in 8.

8. a. *lago ate'n higoqqe*
lago *ate-'n* *higo-qqe*
 isolation 2SG-PP come_back-2M.NEG.JUSS
 'May you become free from isolation'
- b. *itate'n ke'isso*
ita-te'n *kess-'o*
 food-PP begin-3M.PASS
 'May you eat much'
- c. *ha'wa'n ke'isso*
hawa-ken *ke'is-'o*
 drink-PP begin-3M.PASS
 'May you drink much'

- d. *midha wode'e sifeefat*
midha wode'e sifeefat
 food water be_satisfied.2SG,JUSS
 'May you be satisfied with food and drink'

2.2.2. Blessing at the housewarming

The Gedeo engage in cooperative house building, like many African cultures. All neighbors and family members offer assistance when someone is building a house. From the time they start chopping the wood until the house is finished, they are involved. Both men and women have distinct but complementary roles in the building industry. Women indirectly assist in construction by providing food and drink for those in charge, while males work directly on the project. They build the house in a few of days thanks to this division of labor. The house could be built in little more than three days. After building is complete, the participants and elders celebrate with food and beverages; elders bless the home's owner before anyone consumes food or beverages. In 9. we provide a few of such blessing expressions.

9. a. *kunni mine galde hossattoke kadowaal*
kunni mine gal-de hoss-attoke kad-owhaal
 DEM.PRON house spend_night-2SG spend_day-2SG be-3M.JUSS
 'May this house be a house of long living'
- b. *maattemayi atiki nage'ik hedhaake kadowaal*
maattemayi atiki nage'a-'k hedhaake kad-owhaal
 generation 2SG.POSS peace-PP let_live.3M be-3M.JUSS
 'May your generation live with unlimited peace'
- c. *mine kunni hortetike kadowaal*
mine kunni horte-tike kad-owhaal
 house DEM.PRON fertile-PP be-3M.JUSS
 'May this house be a house of many children'

- d. *ille qarre horre*
il-'e qar-'e hor-'e
 bear-2PL productive-2PL fertile-2PL.JUSS
 'May you bear more children, let you be productive and fertile'
- e. *qore hanqatee'na hochchik qoodde*
qore hanqatee'-na hochchik qood-'e
 wooden_bowl get_short-also leave.PP serve-2PL.JUSS
 'May the wooden plate be inadequate, so you serve food [with ensete leaf]'
- f. *mine konne'n sifoofatte*
mine konne-'n sifoofat-'e
 house DEM.PRON-PP satisfy-2PL.JUSS
 'May this house give you satisfaction'
- g. *mini kunni jila jildinaake kadowaal*
mini kuni jila jildinaake kad-owwaal
 house dem.PRON celebration celebrate.2PL be-3M.JUSS
 'May this house be a house of joy and celebration'
- h. *qe'ya gophphoxxe*
qe'ya gophph-oxxe
 nail lose-2PL.NEG.JUSS
 'May you not encounter shortage of cattle'
- i. *dalla'i ati'a fademo*
dalla'i ati-'a fad-emo
 fence 2SG-BEN be_wide-DAT
 'May the fence be extended for you'

- j. *fuggoxxi hurrok ati'a hanqato*
fuggo-xxi hurro-k ati-'a hanqato
 evil-2F.DET disaster-2M.DET 2SG-PP get.NEG.2M.JUSS
 'Be safe from evil and disaster'

- k. *eege gophphoxxe*
eege gophph-oxxe
 tail lose-2PL.NEG.JUSS
 'May you not encounter shortage of domestic animals'

Idiomatic expressions are used in this blessing expression as well. These idioms could have serious implications. Unless one is familiar with the culture, not everyone will be able to understand the message of blessing expression. It is vital to know not only the culture but also the language of the culture to understand the meanings of the blessing expressions. If he or she is unsure, he or she may inquire as to what the expression implies. For example, in the expressions in 9., the words 'nails,' 'tail,' and 'fence' have different meaning in the expression. The first two words represent cattle and the last word is equivalent with the shelter for cattle. Gedeo elders bless the house owner with such idiomatic expression.

2.2.3. Blessing at land property inheritance event

The Gedeo people follow the custom of passing down property, primarily land. It is the vertical, linear, or direct transfer of property from parents to children (Goody 1970). The Gedeo practice of passing down land has two dimensions. The first is the transfer of land ownership while the parents (father) are still living, and the second is the transfer of land ownership after the parents have passed away. In the first instance, a parent gives a portion of his land to his son upon his marriage. The boy's father will give him a piece of land on the left side of his house if he is the firstborn.

However, when parents pass away, their kin, community leaders, and other lineage elders gather to divide the land among the boys of the deceased parents. The local leaders, elders, and kin bless the person who possessed the land after the inheritance process is complete. Illustrative examples are given in 10.

10. a. *shiixxonxe uuneenen barakattowaal*
shiixxo-nxe uunee-nen barakat-t-owaal
 small-3F give-1PL bless-3F-JUSS
 ‘We give you small; may it be blessed’
- b. *konnee fichcha huccitine galle*
konnee fichcha hucc-tine gal-’e
 DEM.PRON farm work-2PL spend_night-2PL,JUSS
 ‘May you work on the farm and have a long life’
- c. *itina’ne mudoqqe*
it-t-ina’n mud-oqqe
 eat-3F-3PL be_finished-2NEG,JUSS
 ‘May you not encounter shortage of food even if you eat [more]’
- d. *ila ilatee dhalchisse*
ila ila-tee dhalchis-’e
 generation generation-PP transfer-2PL,JUSS
 ‘May you transfer [your land] from generation to generation’

2.3. Blessing at the community level

The highest social organization in which Gedeo blessing practices are held is the community. In this situation, the goal of blessing is to alleviate social evils at the community level. Disasters, conflict, plunge, and other problems impacting society are the targets of blessing at the communal level. Leaders of the Baalle system play an important role in running the blessing practices. Some community blessings are performed in sacred sites.

Sacred spaces, whether natural locations acknowledged as sacred by indigenous and traditional peoples or natural sites recognized as sacred by organized religions or faiths as places of worship and remembrance, are common throughout the world (Gonzalo et al. 2005). According to the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), there are six types of protected spaces: strict nature reserves, wilderness areas, national parks, natural monuments of feature, habitat or species management areas, protected landscape or seascape, and protected area with proper use of natural resources. The classification is based on the size of the protected area and/or the level of protection. Sacred spaces

are currently severely threatened around the world and can only be found in areas with intact religious practices and/or indigenous knowledge.

There are many sacred sites in Gedeo, mainly in Wogida Amba and Ejeersa villages in Yirgacheffe district, Birbirota village in Dilla Zuria district, and Kil'awwe village in Bule district. The sacred spaces are highly respected because the Gedeo believe that the spirit of Magano is always present there. As a result, these sites often serve as a ritual space for blessing individuals or groups. The Gedeo people have three different names for sacred spaces: *ulfoti bakka* 'sacred place,' *woyyoti bakka* 'place of spirit,' and *lagoti bakka* 'isolation space.' Even though the terms are different linguistically, their meanings and their very purposes are similar (see also Tadese 2016; Wondimagegn2018; Tesfatsion *et al.* 2021). The primary purpose of these spaces is to bless people. Although blessing is practiced in all these spaces, there is a slight variation in whom to bless there. The first two spaces are used for blessing warriors, and the last one is used for blessing someone recovered from illnesses after being isolated from the society (that was discussed earlier). Different variants of blessing practices at the community level are discussed below.

2.3.1. Blessing the warriors

The tradition of blessing the warriors has historical roots in Gedeo oral tradition. The oral account goes as follows: before the Gedeo moved and settled in their current area, they lived in Harsu, located in Oromia National Regional State. From there, they trekked to the south and east, and met with a different group of people (Tadesse 2002). The contact became confrontational rather than cooperative. When the fighting became intense, they decided not to directly confront the new group by deploying a large portion of their fighters, but rather tactically used other strategic locations to counterattack and defeat the adversary. At the end, this worked out effectively and efficiently, and resulted in defeating the adversary. After they won the battle, they took control of the whole areas and named the strategic locations *ulfotibakka* and *woyotibakka*. After the battle was over, they made a gathering at the strategic locations to remember those who sacrificed their lives, and blessed those who returned victorious. Then they considered the strategic locations sacred spaces.

The Gedeo have continued the practices of blessing warriors in the sacred areas through *woyyo* (a spiritual leader) and *hayyichcha* (traditional leader). The blessing is performed with the belief that the spirit of *Magano* that protected their ancestors always protects them. 11. presents expressions of blessing after victory.

11. a. *fuggoxxi geltoqqe*
fuggo-xxi gelt-oqqe
 evil-DET.3F touch-2NEG,JUSS
 ‘May bad things not approach you’
- b. *yo’oxxenaan fulle*
yo’o-xxe-naa’n ful-’e
 evil-DET.2F-PP get_through-2PL-JUSS
 ‘May He [: the Creator] hide you from evil’
- c. *ate ha’nonna sa’so*
ate ha’no-na sa’s-’o
 2SG 2PL-also pass_through-3M,JUSS
 ‘May He [: the Creator] allow you to pass through [difficulties]’
- d. *injifattine higge*
ijifatti-ne hig-’e
 defeat-3PL return-2PL,JUSS
 ‘May you return victorious’

The warriors head to battle after receiving their blessings. However, the blessing is not restricted to before the battle. It also continues with the arrival of the warrior's aftermath. When fighting is over, the fighters return from the battlefield and go to the sacred areas to get blessing from the elders. This is known as a *mulqeca* (“cleansing”) blessing, where the council of elders cleanse the warriors for purity.

According to our consultant, the Gedeo believe that even if a person is an enemy, his soul is pure before *Mageno* (interview with Worraassa Tekko, 2021, Gedeb district). As a result, it is believed that soldiers have killed humans, and they must be purified to obtain *Mageno*'s mercy through blessings. As a result, elders bless returned warriors and beseech *Mageno* to forgive their misdeeds. 12. presents such expressions of blessings.

12. a. *anga sa'atotixinna hexxaan mageni gattowaal hiyyo*
anga sa'a-to-xxina hexaan mageni gat-t-owaal hiy-'o
 hand stretch-2M-DET be.3F creator forgive-3F-JUSS say-3M.JUSS
 'May the Creator forgive you; since you would kill by stretching out your hands'
- b. *ate huluuso*
ate huluus-'o
 2SG go_through-3M.JUSS
 'Let Him [the Creator] purify you'

2.3.2. Blessing at Songo

Songo is the administrative pivot of the Gedeo indigenous governance system (Balle; see Wondimagegnehu 2018; Fekadu and Hawilti 2019; Tesfatsion *et al.* 2021). *Songo* is a sacred and vital venue since it is where every part of society is critically addressed. Gedeo has a total of 525 *Songo* institutions. This total of *Songo* institutions were derived from the fact that Gedeo has seven clans, each of which has seventy-five *Songos*. Every *Songo* has a leader (*hayyichcha*). The *hayyichcha* serves two purposes: leadership and judgment. To put it another way, he is tasked with leading the people within his region and administering justice in the event of a conflict or dispute.

Songo is utilized for ceremonies, resolving individual and group issues, learning socialization from elders, and so on. It is primarily a political, spiritual, and cultural institution (Kiphe 2002; Kiphe *et al.* 2008; Yetebarek *et al.* 20018). Of course, rituals are performed by the Sidama and Oromo in cultural locations such as *Songo* (see Markos 2014; Ashenafi and Eba 2017; Luter and Mathewos 2019). At the *Songo*, elders undertake two types of blessing rituals: blessings to resolve a problem or argument and blessings to restore after a disaster: *mulqa* /mulk'a/.

Conflict resolution and mediation are common cultural practices in Gedeo. Depending on the complexity of the problem, there are nine stages in mediating a disagreement between individuals or a group of individuals (for details, see Wondimagegnehu 2018). Whatever the nature of conflict, offering blessings at the end of mediation or resolution is an integral part of the process. The elders begin the blessing with a prayer to *Mageno* for providing them with an insight to resolve a conflict.

13. a. *ha'no'a eloxxi calli leelito*
ha'no-'a elo-xxi cali leel-ito
 2PL-PP good-DET only see-3F.JUSS
 'May you always meet with good things'
- b. *welti galle hosse*
welti gal-'e hos-'e
 together pend.night-2PL spend_day-2P.JUSS
 'May you stay together in harmony'
- c. *welti xemifatte*
welti xemifat-'e
 together sweet-2PL.JUSS
 'May you be sweet to each other'

The second type of Songo blessing is performed when the society suffers from disasters such as war, drought, communicable diseases, and so on. People who take part in the ritual cut tree branches, hold them in their hands, go around their homes three times, run to the Songo, and then throw the leaves over the cliff. This is known as *mulqa/mulk'a/* (self-disclosure). Elders bless the people after throwing the leaves. 14. presents the different blessing expressions used during *Mulqa*.

14. a. *yo'oxxena'n gatte*
yo'o-xxe-na'n gat-'e
 bad-DET.2F-PP save-2PL.JUSS
 'Let you be safe from danger'
- b. *bala saxxowwaal*
bala saxx-owwaal
 accident pass-3F.JUSS
 'Let disaster go away'

- c. *foggo saxxowwaal*
fuggo saxx-owwaal
 danger pass-3M.JUSS
 ‘Let bad things go away’
- d. *mageno nagees*
mageno nage’a-es
 God peace-3M.JUSS
 ‘Let the Creator give us peace’

2.3.3. Blessing at Dararro

The Gedeo, like other Cushitic peoples, have an egalitarian governance system. Various rituals are carried out under this indigenous governance system. For example, the Oromo celebrate Irreecha and the Sidama celebrate Fiche Cambalaalla, and people in south Ari celebrate Dishta Gina (see also Amare 2020; Serawit 2018).

Daraaro, a thanksgiving festivity warmly celebrated as a new year ritual, is the prominent ritual of Gedeo's traditional governance system. The festival takes place in the middle of February. However, the precise date is unknown. The specific day is decided by the elders. During the Dararro celebration, the Gedeo people gather at Oda Ya'a to offer gifts to Aabba Gada (the head of the Baalle system) and to receive blessings from Hayyichcha (Balle system leaders) and Woyyo (Baalle system spiritual leader) (Kiphe, 2008; Kiphe et al. 2008; Alabama and Yimam 2020; Tesfatsion *et al.* 2021).

The celebration begins with the Baalle leaders' prayer. In Gedeo's indigenous governance system (*Baalle*), the elder's council prays and blesses the people in accordance with their hierarchy. The prayer is followed by blessings for the people. In the Baalle system, the council of elders blesses the people in turn, according to their hierarchies. There are two kinds of blessings. First, the Balle system's leader, Abba Gada, and other traditional leaders bless the public. Finally, the spiritual leader (Woyyo) blesses the people, as shown in 15.

15. a. *aradda nagees*
aradda nage’a-es
 people peace-CAUS
 ‘May He [the Creator] make the people peaceful’

- b. *boga nagees*
boga nage'a-es
 land peace-CAUS
 'May He [the Creator] make the land peaceful'
- c. *barikina waggati gewwe*
bari-ki-na wogga-ti gew-'e
 season-PP year-PP reach-2PL,JUSS
 'May you live long'
- d. *fichchik horik daraar*
fichch-ik hor-ik daraar
 farm-PP cattle-PP be_flowered.2SG,JUSS
 'May you be blessed with farm and cattle'
- e. *finnik daraar*
finnik daraar
 children.PP be_flowered.2SG,JUSS
 'May you be blessed with children'
- f. *mittunte birasa's*
mittunte birasa's
 oneness multiply.3M,JUSS
 'May He [the Creator] strengthen the unity [of the people]'
- g. *fuggoxxi bagakenaa'n ba'owwaal*
fuggo-xxi boga-kenaa'n ba'-owwaal
 evil-DET.2F land-PP disappear-3M,JUSS
 'May the evil disappear from the land'

- h. *eloka xeena no'o'a uww*
elo-ka xeena no'o-'a uww
good-PPrain 1PL-PP give.2M
'May You [the Creator] provide us with good rains'

Certain specific individuals lead the spiritual aspects of the Baalle system. Woyyo is the local term for such leaders. Their main duty is to bless or curse. Their blessing or curse is thought to always have unavoidable consequences (see Tesfatsion et al. 2021). During Dararro, the Woyyo blesses the assembly, as shown in 16.

16. a. *koreeri ba'owwaal*
koreeri ba'-owwaal
diarrhea disappear-3M.JUSS
'May diarrhea disappear'

- b. *karra wisowwaal*
karra wis-owwaal
wealth abundant-3M.JUSS
'May you have abundant wealth'

- c. *banqotenaan gat*
banqo-tenaan gat
thunder-2F.PP be_safe.2SG.JUSS
'May you be safe from thunder'

- d. *diidallo booyye yo'ochchi tuqoqqe*
diidallo booyye yo'o-chchi tuq-oqqe
wind cold bad-DET touch-3M.NEG
'May heavy wind and extreme cold not attack you'

3. The interpretation and social functions of blessing

From the comprehensive list of blessing typologies above, blessing practice has different social functions. From the outset, a blessing is a cultural communication tool between the Gedeo and Mageno.

The elders often praise Mageno before commencing any relevant activity that may range from resolving conflicts at the individual level to solving inter-group conflicts. The purpose of blessing Mageno are twofold: first, blessing serves as a recognition to Mageno as their God as He was the God of their ancestors. Second, blessings refer to confirming that all things that the Gedeo have, including themselves, are the gift from Mageno. Moreover, the Gedeo believe that if they solve some of their problems, such as solving a conflict, they recognize the wisdom for such achievement is from Mageno. Ashenafi and Teresa (2017) reported similar blessing expressions among the neighboring Oromo community. Illustrative examples are given in 17.

17. a. *yaane tikendaashsha gargaar*
yaane tinkendaashsha gargaar
 dispute be_solved.2F.PASS help.2M
 ‘May you help us to solve the problem’
- b. *mageno ati nage’a uww*
mageno ati age’a uww
 God 2M peace give.2M
 ‘May you give us peace’

Blessing can also be used to maintain social harmony. Gedeo people place a high value on social interaction. A social interaction frequently begins at home (*hado*) and progresses to *Ya’a*, the highest political organization (see also Kippie 2000; Kippie *et al.* 2008; Wondimagegn 2018; Tesfatsion *et al.* 2021). Elders bless individuals and society as a whole, allowing them to live in harmony with their families and the larger community. When elders bless individuals or the entire community, they frequently bless them to cultivate a sense of living, collaboration, and respect for one another. Such blessings are frequently performed at social institutions such as Songo and public rituals such as Daraaro, weddings, and so on.

18. a. *jaalalati weli galle*
jaalala-ti weli gal-’e
 love-PP together spend_night-2PLJUSS
 ‘May you live in love’

- b. *welt xe'me*
welt *t'e'm-'e*
together be_sweet-2PL.JUSS
'May you be sweet to one another other'

- c. *mittunte birasa's*
mittunte *birasa's*
oneness multiply.2M.JUSS
'May God strengthen the unity [of the people]'

The message of 18a. and 18b., for example, is dual: the first blessing by elders from the bride's family seeks social harmony between the couple, while the latter by elders from the groom's family seeks social harmony between the two (groom's and bride's) families. In both cases, the blessers extend their wish to have a harmonious life among the couples and the two families. The desire of the groom's family is not only to get a wife for their son but rather to add a new family to the already existing kinship ties. That is why they express their desire by blessing the bride's family. Similarly, at the *Daraaro* ritual the cultural elders bless the large community to have unity, love and lead a colorful life. In 18c., the elders bless the *ya'a* 'assembly' wishing the people oneness and unity. All blessing utterances in different occasions are extended wishing the large community to have harmonious social life.

Blessing also serves another social purpose. It contributes to an individual's, household's, or community's well-being. Elders bless individuals and groups in various rituals, wishing them happiness, comfort, security, health, welfare, prosperity, fertility, and so on. Such blessings may be given in a variety of contexts, including, but not limited to, weddings, birth-giving days, *Daraaro* rituals, Songo, housewarmings, and so on. The other for such blessing by elders is a patient who has fully recovered. Elders frequently bless the recovered patient by ensuring that his or her health remains good.

19. a. *mine konne'n sifoofatte*
mine *kone-'n* *sifoofat-'e*
house DEM.PRON-PP satisfy-2PL.JUSS
'May you get unlimited satisfaction in this house'

- b. *karrati daraar*
karra-ti daraar
 wealth-pp flower.3M
 ‘May you flower with wealth’

Another social function of blessing is to use it as a shield against attack. The Gedeo have no history of plotting wars with other peoples. However, this does not mean that their history is free of conflict. According to historical records, the Gedeo have been involved in numerous defensive wars whenever neighbouring groups attack them (see Tadesse 2002 and Tesfatsion *et al.* 2021). Before engaging in defensive wars, elders gather all warriors in specific locations and bless them. It is believed that the blessing of elders is used as a shield against an enemy in the context of an external attack.

Similarly, a blessing is used to protect against sudden disaster and disease caused by man-made or natural causes. Songo is a well-known and widely practiced blessing context for protection from such disasters. Other contexts include weddings, housewarmings, land property inheritance, and so on. The blessing is intended for various members of the public, including warriors, illness survivors, couples, land property recipients and the public, as, for example, the mother-in-law’s blessing after her son arrives with the bride.

20. a. *fuggoxxi geltoqqe*
fuggo-xxi gelto-qq’e
 evil-DET.2F touch-3F.NEG
 ‘May bad things do not touch you’
- b. *tenne yaanenaan ate huluuso*
tenne yaane-naa’n ate huluuso
 DEM.PRON things-PP 2M go_through.3SG.JUSS
 ‘May God help you to overcome these things [attacks]’

Cf. also 5.b., repeated herebelow:

5. b. *cinaachchi ququuoqqe*
cinaachchi ququuoqqe
 ribs be_coarse-NEG.2PL.JUSS
 ‘May you not lose your comfort’ (*cinaachchi* ‘ribs’ is used here is used here metaphorically: just as ribs need a comfortable place during sleeping, the bride’s mother wishes the couples a pleasant and trouble-free life)

Ribs represent life, while coarse stands for evil or disturbance. Hence, with this blessing the mother-in-law wishes the couple a harmless and comfortable life. Along these lines, one of our key informants from the Bule district, Mengesha Sheebbo, observed that ‘just as someone will be disturbed to sleep properly when something coarse his/her ribs; it is also impossible to have a satisfying life when evil disturbs.’

Blessing serves the purpose of preserving harmony with nature. The expression of the Gedeo’s blessing in various contexts reveals that the blessings address not only humans and their properties but also the natural environment. Animals, plants, seasons, the sun, rain, farmlands, and so on are all part of the natural environment. The following blessing expressions, performed at various rituals, demonstrate the extent to which Gedeo blessings address the natural environment around them. The elders bless nature for it to be friendly to humans.

21. a. *fichchi haanjedhowaal*
fichchii haajedhowaal
 farm.DET let.it.be.green.3M.JUSS
 ‘Let the farm be fruitful’
- b. *buno misis*
buno mis-is
 coffee bear_beans-CAUS
 ‘May He [: the Creator] make your coffee trees bear plenty of beans’
- c. *fuggoxxi ha’noo uuddoqqe*
fuggo-xxi ha’no uud-t-o-qqe
 danger-DET 2P see-3F-3M-NEG
 ‘May the bad omen never get hold of you’

Cf. also 15.b., repeated herebelow:

15. b. *boga nagees*
boga nage'a-es
 land peace-CAUS
 'May He [the Creator] make the land peaceful'

The first two expressions are all about the land's productivity. Such blessings are frequently given at *Daraaro* rituals. 21c. has two interpretations. First, it refers to someone who violates natural law. The Gedeo people have the custom of planting a new tree before cutting down an old one (see Tadesse 2002, Tadesse *et al.* 2008, Asebe *et al.* 2018). Whoever breaks this cultural law is considered evil. In other words, anyone who causes harm to the environment is considered evil. Second, it refers to natural and manmade disasters that disrupt societal stability. In 15.b., *boga* 'land' represents both the land physically and the human beings in Gedeo. Elders bless both the land and the people to live in harmony in the blessing. The final two blessings are blessing nature to provide abundant rain and wind for the people.

4. Conclusion

The Gedeo have always included blessing in their daily lives. They are a part of their everyday language and act as the social glue that holds them all together. The head of the household, elders, guests, or leaders like *Abba Gada* all offer blessings on individuals, groups, the entire community, or even on the surrounding natural environment. The blessing pronouncer is anticipated to be a senior member of the family, kin, or lineage and/or have a spiritual authority, regardless of the recipient. Blessings serve a variety of societal purposes, from wishing well a sick family member's up to wishing well the entire community's safety from natural disasters through *Mageno's* intervention. Blessing is used to create healthy harmony between people and their surroundings.

Based on the context in which they are used, the data we gathered from various sources reveals a complex pragmatics of blessing that can be categorized into three categories: blessing at the family level, blessing at the village level, and blessing at the community level. Depending on the setting, goal, and principal participants in the manifestations of blessing, the message can vary. The same expression might have several meanings depending on the situation. One similarity is that the opening of the blessing rite in every circumstance involves thanking *Mageno*. The elders acknowledge that *Mageno* is the originator and provider of all visible and invisible things in the Gedeo cosmology while honoring him.

With the advent of urbanization, secular education, and exogenous religious practices, the societal significance of blessing has been eroding. Along with this, modern religions like Islam and Christianity, which are both practiced in the study region, have their own blessing packages that differ in certain ways from those of the native people. Protestantism played a significant role in the dynamics of blessing expressions in the study as it was the dominant denomination in rural Gedeo. We urgently urge concerned government bodies to work toward their restoration given their variety of social purposes.

Abbreviations

1	first person	DEM	demonstrative	PASS	passive
2	second person	DET	determiner	PL	plural
3	third person	F	feminine	POSS	possessive
BEN	benefactive	FUT	future	PP	postposition
CAUS	causative	JUSS	jussive	PRES	present
COMP	complementizer	M	masculine	PRON	pronoun
COND	conditional	NEG	negative	REL	relativizer
DAT	dative	OBJ	object	SG	singular

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Untying the Grotian Knot

How Tanaka Kōtarō's Christian approach to international law disentangled the moral quandary of the *South West Africa* cases

Jason Morgan

The *South West Africa* Cases presented the International Court of Justice (ICJ) with a seemingly intractable problem. The Petitioners in the Cases, Ethiopia and Liberia, alleged that the Respondent, the Union of South Africa, was failing to abide by the Mandate System under which South Africa had come into possession of the former German territory of South West Africa (today, Namibia). South Africa, however, argued that the way in which the mandate was governed was essentially no concern of other states. This argument presented a serious, and seemingly unresolvable, problem for the ICJ. South Africa displayed flagrant disregard for human dignity in planning and enforcing a system of racial segregation, apartheid, which relegated millions of people to lower social strata. However, the secularized international law paradigm on which the ICJ relied had no way to counter South Africa's arguments. While it was clear that South Africa was acting unjustly, the deracinated natural law system of Hugo de Grotius (1583-1645) on which international law was premised had no way to untie this Grotian knot and permit of more substantive legal arguments on the grounds of the dignity of the human person or human rights. Procedure, in other words, trumped morality. The case seemed stuck. However, ICJ jurist Tanaka Kōtarō (1890-1974), a practicing Catholic, deployed strongly metaphysical—that is, Christian—natural law reasoning in his dissenting *South West Africa* Cases judgment to untie the Grotian knot and solve the moral dilemma of apartheid within an international law framework. In this paper, I examine Tanaka's rulings (in particular his now-classic 1966 dissent) and show that his application of Catholic natural law in the *South West Africa* Cases not only solved the problem at hand, but also allowed for a much more robust vision of the moral law to prevail in international relations in the future.

Keywords: Tanaka Kōtarō; *South West Africa* Cases; International Court of Justice; apartheid; natural law; Hugo Grotius

1. Introduction

In 1920, following Germany’s defeat in World War I, the Union of South Africa was granted oversight of the former German territory of South West Africa under the Mandatory System of the new League of Nations. International law scholar Richard A. Falk notes:

South West Africa was a German colony from 1892 to 1915. It was occupied by South African armies during World War I. Germany renounced its colonial interests in the territory by Articles 118 and 119 of the Treaty of Versailles in favor of the principal victorious powers. After a major diplomatic effort the views of President Woodrow Wilson prevailed and these colonies were not recolonized or annexed as spoils of war. Instead, the mandates system was evolved to establish a tutelary responsibility on the part of the organized international community for the welfare of the inhabitants of mandated territories. The essential features of the mandates system are spelled out in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in the text of each mandate agreement. In essence, an advanced country was selected as Mandatory to give practical effect to the intention of the League to promote the well-being of the inhabitants (Falk 1967: 2).

Under the Trusteeship arrangement of the new United Nations which took over from the defunct League of Nations in 1946, the Union of South Africa was to relinquish South West Africa to international oversight (Hayden 1951: 226-227; Haas 1953: 15). This South Africa refused to do. International oversight was the last thing that South Africa wanted in its racially-segregated territories (Sayre 1948: 267, 272-273; *The American Journal of International Law* 1950).

Geographically, ceding South West Africa to South Africa was a sensible thing to do, because South West Africa and South Africa shared a long border, and so South Africa would be readily able to administer South West Africa. However, there were also very good reasons not to cede South West Africa to South Africa. The most obvious reason was the system of apartheid, which South Africa formalized in a series of laws and restrictions beginning in 1948 (Morgan 2021: 386). Apartheid was a racist caste system (Polymenopoulou 2014: 461). People of European extraction were at the top of the system and enjoyed the plenary of rights and privileges accruing to South African citizenship. The lower one went on the caste scale, though, from Indians to “Coloureds” to Africans, the more rights and privileges were exchanged for burdensome oppression. At the bottom of the apartheid system were native South Africans, who lacked even basic rights and were furthermore quarantined from European citizens and subjected to daily insults to human dignity.

Pretoria, the capital of South Africa, extended this system to South West Africa when the latter came under its mandatory guardianship. South West Africa had been the scene of genocide under the

former colonial masters, even before those masters had organized their discriminatory politics into the National Socialism which had held Germany in its grip since 1933, and expanding swaths of Europe since 1939 (Reitz and Mannitz 2021; Bollig 2008; Samudzi 2020/2021; Bachmann 2018). South Africa was a haven for many former National Socialists after their Third Reich ended in Germany, and even though South Africa ostensibly fought against Germany in World War II, sympathies for the Nazi regime ran high (Tenorio 2021; Chossudovsky 1997; Jacoby 2016: 456, 459-462; Ellis 1998; Bunting and Segal 1964; see also Herzog and Geroulanos 2021: 80). It was therefore not a surprise when South Africa extended its apartheid regime into South West Africa after South West Africa was delegated to South Africa under the Mandate program (Leslie 1994). If anything, some form of racist governance of South West Africa may have been accepted as unavoidable by the League in the prewar period. “South African policies in South West Africa were mildly challenged at various points during the period of League history,” Falk writes, “but the organs of the League were dominated by the spirit of colonial paternalism and nothing much was done to interfere with the quality or quantity of South African governance of South West Africa” (Falk 1967: 3).

Things changed after the Second World War, however. “Since the existence of the United Nations,” Falk continues, “the double attempt of the General Assembly to achieve rapid decolonization and to eliminate racial discrimination has produced increased criticism of the way in which South Africa was discharging its role as Mandatory” (Falk 1967: 3). The General Assembly therefore asked the International Court of Justice for legal advisory opinions three times in regard to South West Africa. The ICJ acknowledged the United Nation’s authority as League successor over South Africa’s Mandatory. But South Africa dug in its heels (Falk 1967: 3). Not only did South Africa intend to continue administering South West Africa under its apartheid regime, but it also announced its intention “to incorporate the mandated territory into the Union [of South Africa]. [...] When the Trusteeship System was instituted, the Union of South Africa was the only mandatory which refused to yield its dominion over a mandated territory” (University of Pennsylvania Law Review 1967: 1170). Already in 1949, South Africa had “expanded its Parliament to include South West African representatives elected by Europeans only. That same year the submission of annual reports, as provided for in the Mandate, was unilaterally curtailed by the Union [of South Africa]. Thus, the Union had, in effect, ceased functioning as a mandatory”¹ (Washington University Law Quarterly 1967: 165).

¹ Some claim that it was the Union of South Africa, on the contrary, which should have lost legitimacy due to apartheid (Talmon 2004: 123-129).

In 1960, Ethiopia and Liberia brought suit before the International Court of Justice (Stevenson 1967: 116-118). The suit charged South Africa with failing to abide by the terms of the Mandate as envisioned by the former League of Nations, under which the Mandate system had first been established (Falk 1967: 1). The League of Nations charged Mandatory guardian states with upholding the “sacred trust of civilization” in administering territories and peoples under mandatory supervision (The South West Africa Cases 1967: 175-176). In addition, the League exhorted each Mandatory to “promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory” under the Mandatory’s purview (Pollock 1969: 767). Ethiopia and Liberia argued that the systematic and legalized racist regime in South Africa, and by extension in South West Africa, did not evince much regard for the “sacred trust of civilization” vouchsafed to South Africa as a Mandatory.

However, South Africa counterargued that the “sacred trust of civilization” was not an actionable clause, being general language without specific detail. Whether South Africa’s methods of administering territory countenanced the “sacred trust of civilization” was not a matter which could be debated, as the term was too vague to allow for any final pronouncements. Furthermore, South Africa argued that the Mandate system had been established under the League of Nations, which no longer existed. Therefore, the “sacred trust of civilization” language, which appeared in the original League of Nations documents, was not carried over when the League of Nations was dissolved and the United Nations was subsequently formed, and was therefore not binding on mandate powers. And at any rate, South Africa contended, the Applicants in the case did not have standing to bring action against South Africa, because this action could arise only from the vague, and now dead, language about the “sacred trust of civilization” from the defunct League of Nations (Alexandrowicz 1971).

As an anonymous reviewer of a draft of this essay pointed out—a possibility which had not occurred to me at all—Liberia and/or Ethiopia may very well have had ulterior motives in bringing the case against South Africa. In the documents submitted to the ICJ, Ethiopia and Liberia focused on civilization. Apartheid was clearly counter to this. But either or both countries may have been using such arguments as cover for other motivations. For example, economic or political rivalry certainly cannot be ruled out. Therefore, the “standing” issue could be more complex than the procedural framing that South Africa advanced. In any event, the International Court of Justice wavered in its rulings until, in 1966, after a series of appeals and reversals, the ICJ found in favor of South Africa. In doing this, the ICJ followed the strictly procedural line of reasoning which South Africa had advanced. The Applicants, for the reasons given by South Africa, lacked standing, the ICJ ruled, and so therefore

the ICJ could not take up the much broader civilizational and moral claims which the Applicants had raised (Shelton 2006: 309).

In the *South West Africa* Cases ruling of 1966, the majority of justices on the ICJ had followed a narrow proceduralism which looks to the means of law and not to its ends (see Talmon 2012 on substantive and procedural rules; see also Rosenne 1961: 859-860). Standing is important, to be sure, and there is much more to decisions of standing than procedure.² But standing still does not give us the final scope that substantive justice readings do. Standing prescinded from much—most—of the meat of the Applicants' complaints. But why was standing able to trump more substantive justice? The basis for this line of thought, as international relations researcher Alexander J. Pollock understood it, was "the emphasis on nation-states as the relevant actors in international affairs" (Pollock 1969: 769). Article 2 of the original Mandate granted that "The Mandatory shall have full power of administration over the territory [...] as an integral portion of the Union of South Africa, and may apply the laws of the Union of South Africa to the territory, subject to such local modifications as circumstances may require" (Pollock 1969: 769). On the face of it, South Africa appeared to have an impregnable position. There were no moral considerations to parse. South Africa had "full power of administration over the territory [...] as an integral portion of the Union of South Africa," and furthermore had leave to "apply the laws of the Union of South Africa to the territory, subject to such local modifications as circumstances may require." On the more narrowly procedural reading, then, case closed.

This is indeed the line of argument which South Africa pursued, and the ICJ largely agreed. The Union of South Africa had only to pair the above language from Article 2 of the Mandate with Article 2, Section 7 of the United Nations Charter to convince a majority of justices on the ICJ that apartheid was within the sovereign rights of South Africa as a nation-state, and that other states had no standing to bring petitions or suits on grounds of offended morals. The United Nations Charter, Article 2, Section 7 states that "nothing in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters for settlement under the present Charter" (Pollock 1969: 770; see also Higgins 1970: 42-43; Venzke 2017).³ Yet another fenceline separating South Africa from whatever moral considerations international law justices might wish to bring to bear on apartheid.

² I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for comments on standing, which I had mistakenly characterized in an earlier draft as "merely procedural." Standing, however, as the reviewer pointed out, is not merely procedural, but takes in the full measure of what a case is about and what a court may and may not decide.

³ South Africa also argued that, as a "C" Mandate "brought under the Trusteeship System [without] any reference to judicial supervision," the ICJ could not thus interfere in South African affairs. This argument was dismissed by the court, but was

And the majority of the justices on the ICJ stayed well outside that fenceline. In the second phase of the *South West Africa* cases, the International Court of Justice declared that “[h]umanitarian considerations [are] not in themselves sufficient to generate legal rights and duties. A court of law [cannot] take account of moral principles unclothed in legal form” (Hernández 2013: 30-31). This was in keeping with the older “law of coexistence” norms in international law, as international law scholar Gleider I. Hernández argues in a separate context, before the more robust “law of cooperation” and the “underlying principles” of that cooperation took hold (Hernández 2013: 15; see also generally Alderton 2011; Zander 1959; Lloyd-Jones 2019; and Nicholson 2015; see also McKean 1966: 141, re: the “Tanganyika clause”). In other words, the ICJ adopted a Westphalian, Grotian interpretation of the *South West Africa* Cases. What happens in Cape Town stays in Cape Town. Again, case closed.

However, while the majority ruled in favor of South Africa in 1966, the ruling was not unanimous. The ICJ split evenly for and against, and the deciding, tie-breaking vote was cast by Australian court president Sir Percy Spender (1897-1985) (Kattan 2018). The case was not as cut and dry as it might first seem. Among the dissenters was a Japanese justice named Tanaka Kōtarō (1890-1974). His 1966 dissent followed the proceduralist line of reasoning to a point. Tanaka allowed that there was merit to many of South Africa’s legal claims, and he made no attempt to dismiss South Africa’s arguments in toto by linking the entire case in all its details to the pernicious practice of apartheid. But at the same time, Tanaka did not close his eyes to apartheid, as Westphalia and Grotius would have us do, and declare the ICJ incapable of taking on moral questions simply because those questions arose within a Grotian national boundary. Tanaka did not allow procedure to defeat law’s higher calling, which is to effect justice, and not just to be effective at settling disputes. Tanaka touched on the bigger moral questions at stake in the *South West Africa* Cases, notably the dignity of the human person and the consequences for that dignity when racist discrimination was allowed to continue under the cover of law (see McCrudden 2008: 682). It is in this approach that Tanaka quietly worked to help overturn the old Grotian persuasion of international law and set international legal scholars and practitioners onto a course of greater awareness to the substance of the issues which international law is often asked to decide.

Many scholars have examined the *South West Africa* Cases from a variety of angles. Some scholars stress the sovereign immunity or evolutionary law angles (see, e.g., Shelton 2006; Shelton 2003; see also generally Levy 1998). Other scholars stress the natural law or *jus cogens* (Doak 2019; Zamora 2014: 224;

heavily debated at the time and appears to me not to have lacked merit (Green 1967: 55). But it is parallel to the issue of standing so I elide discussion of it.

Thomas and Small 2003 on the larger issue of apartheid). Yet others follow the threads of procedure and process, of institutional context and the ways in which deliberative bodies influence the ICJ (Öberg 2006: 883-884). There is one angle, however, that appears to have been overlooked. That is the kind of natural law upon which I believe Tanaka relied in arriving at his dissent. International law at the time was largely rooted in the natural law thinking of Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). Grotius' conception of natural law was one of secular virtue rooted in state sovereignty. According to natural law scholar and historian Heinrich A. Rommen, Grotius taught, "in order fully to bring out its immutability, that the natural law would have force even if there were no God" (Rommen 1998: 57). This is a hypothetical, yes, but one the mere posing of which strikes at the heart of the subject at hand. A natural law that works without God is, on the Catholic reading at least, most unnatural. And yet, for most of the history of international law Grotius' views held great sway (Hall 2001: 269-270). Tanaka, however, was a Catholic, and was influenced by the natural law thinking of St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274). As a Catholic, Tanaka would also have known of Pope Pius XII's (Eugenio Maria Giuseppe Giovanni Pacelli, 1876-1958) Christmas Allocution of December 24, 1942, in which the Holy Father taught that "outside of the Church of Christ, juridical positivism has reigned supreme, attributing a deceptive majesty to the enactment of purely human laws, and effectuating the fateful divorce of law from morality" (Notre Dame Law School 1949: 126). This "divorce of law from morality" would surely have seemed "fateful" to Tanaka as he read through the briefs on the *South West Africa* Cases and learned how Africans were treated in southern Africa—abuses seemingly untouchable by the Grotian, secularized variety of the natural law.

Under the Grotian system, Tanaka might have been left without a way forward. The Catholic natural law tradition, however, is a substantive justice tradition. Catholic natural lawyers who take the metaphysical nature of the natural law seriously cannot be content merely to have followed the law in books. They must seek to follow the law in the heart, which at times requires that laws written in books be creatively interpreted (Romans 2:12). One way, therefore, to think about Justice Tanaka's 1966 minority ruling in the *South West Africa* Cases is to see it as a Catholic response to the Gordian knot of procedure which Grotius had left behind in his attempt to secularize the natural law, the Grotian knot of de-Christianized international proceduralism.

2. The deracination of the natural law

The idea of a law written on the heart was perhaps most famously articulated by St. Paul in his Letter to the Romans, cited above. Even before St. Paul's time, however, the idea of a universal and internal compulsion toward the good was taken up by thinkers, fittingly enough, East and West. Roman political

philosopher Cicero (106-43 BC) wrote of the natural law in *The Laws* (*De legibus*). “We are born for justice,” Cicero writes; “what is just is based, not on opinion, but on nature.” (Cicero, tr. Rudd 1998: 107; see also Cicero, *De legibus*, Book I, 6-7) Confucius (ca. 551-479 BC), too, and also his posthumous disciple Mencius (ca. 372-289 BC), advocated a theory of human nature and government which some have interpreted as a form of natural law (Hu 2013: 138, 140; Wu 1954; Dionisio 2014; Rošker 2017: 850-851, 860; Zhang 2018: 96-105; but see also Hu 1927: 37-41). Sophocles (ca. 497-406 BC) had Antigone make a strong endorsement of natural law in burying her brother against the unjust command of the king (Padoa-Schioppa 2017: 111). St. Thomas Aquinas brought natural law thought to a high point in the thirteenth century. Aquinas’ teachings, in turn, were a Christian reformulation of the ideas of Aristotle (384-322 BC) (see Duke 2020; Lane 2021: 329-330; Needham 1951: 8-9). Natural law was everywhere before the global twilight of the gods with the rise of pre-Enlightenment and Enlightenment rationalism.

Natural law thinking is also an often-overlooked component of the conquest of the New World. Bartolome de las Casas’ (1484-1566) Valladolid Debates (1550-1551) with Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1494-1573) were central to the conceptual framing of the conquest, for example. Contemporary natural law thinker Graham McAleer holds that Thomist Francisco di Vitoria (1483-1546), founder of the Salamanca School, “was the first person to articulate the idea of regime change on the basis of natural law” (McAleer 2022). Vitoria also argued that the natives of the Americas had rights (Hernández 1991). Wherever one turns, old world or new, eastern hemisphere or western, one finds some version of a natural law rooted in divine sanction.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, the Europe which had begun to conquer the world entered into a period of political and religious fracturing. The Protestant Reformation and the subsequent Thirty Years War brought violence to Europe on a scale possibly never before seen there over such a sustained period of time. Some estimates place the number of dead over the Thirty Years War at one-third to one-half the population of the countries and regions involved. Out of this carnage emerged an armed truce known as the Peace of Westphalia (1648). The premise of this new political arrangement for Europe was *cuius regio, eius religio*. Politics determined religion. The polarity of the old world order had been flipped. The metaphysical backdrop to the natural law was removed, leaving only a balance-of-power, quasi-natural law in its place. This new natural law—a law not of human nature as subject to the divine command, but of human nature prone to violence and in need of balancing-out against other, equally violence-prone human powers—was developed in large part by Hugo Grotius (Rommen 1998: 62).

The work of Grotius must be understood as a product of its time. The entire spirit of Grotius' age was the elevation, even apotheosis, of reason. More and more, God took a backseat to the logical patterning of the human mind. As legal scholar of Europe Antonio Padoa-Schioppa writes:

[...]jurisprudence in the seventeenth century took a fundamental turn. From this moment on natural law became a visible presence in the sphere of law, and was to profoundly influence its development both in the theoretical treatment and in the work of all those who proposed new legal rules for the future. It was founded on a conception in which man was seen as a creature that united reason to instinctive needs, reason being, as we have said, an essential element of his nature: a secular approach which turns away from the medieval vision (Padoa-Schioppa 2017: 342).

While Grotius was not a secularist himself, his natural law doctrines were intended to be applicable in a Europe shattered by religious discord. Grotius, writes Padoa-Schioppa, “aimed to identify a set of general principles and rules based on reason, and thus shared by all human beings. This aim is clear [...] if we consider the historic condition of early seventeenth-century Europe, in which [...] not only was a superior authority of a temporal nature (as the medieval Empire had been) no longer recognised, but neither was that of the Roman Pope as a spiritual authority as it had been before the religious Reformation” (Padoa-Schioppa 2017: 345). In this way, Grotius' work *De iure belli ac pacis* (1625) “expresses the idea that the fundamental element of natural law resides in the rational nature of mankind and not in God's will. Grotius' well-known statement—that natural law would be true and just even in the absurd hypothesis that God did not exist—meant precisely this” (Padoa-Schioppa 2017: 346; but see Haggemacher 2012: 1099). In an age in which religion had stopped acting as a unifying force in Europe, and instead had become a creature of human politics and, often as such, also a pretense for war, the natural law was concomitantly deracinated into a shorthand version independent of not only creed, but also of faith in God entire.

This is all a far cry from, indeed a fundamental break with, St. Thomas Aquinas' understanding of natural law as “nothing else than the rational creature's participation of the eternal law” (*Summa Theologica*, Q. 91, Art. 2, in Pegis 1948: 618). Here, “participation” is key. St. Thomas does not advance the “absurd hypothesis” that God does not exist, because it is absurd. Reason does not stand alone. It takes part in something greater than itself. As St. Thomas puts it in the same passage:

[the rational creature] has a share of the eternal reason, whereby it has a natural inclination to its proper act and end; and this participation of the eternal law in the rational creature is called the natural law. Hence the Psalmist, after saying (*Ps. Iv, 6*): *Offer*

up the sacrifice of justice, as though someone asked what the works of justice are, adds: Many say, Who showeth us good things? in answer to which question he says: The light of Thy countenance, O Lord, is signed upon us. He thus implies that the light of natural reason, whereby we discern what is good and what is evil, which is the function of the natural law, is nothing else than an imprint on us of the divine light (*Summa Theologica*, Q. 91, Art. 2, in Pegis 1948: 618; emphasis in original).

Not only this, but reliance upon the individual reason, even in pursuit of a shared understanding as Grotius declared himself to be, would seem to defy the commonality of justice, which appears to be prior to reason alone. “The just and the unjust,” writes Aristotle, mentor across the centuries to St. Thomas, “always involve more than one person” (*Nicomachean Ethics*, V, xi (1138a 19-20), in McKeon 1941: 1021; see also Duke 2020: 3). This is key to the natural law thinking of Aquinas, and also Tanaka. One cannot abstract from persons to states and then act as though the persons do not remain. States have rights of their own, but those can be, and sometimes must be, outclassed by the rights of the human person.

For Grotius, however, contra Aristotle, Aquinas, and Tanaka, only contractual justice (“expletive justice (*iustitia expletrix*)”) was true justice—a rejection of Aristotle’s much more substantial notion of distributive justice (“attributive justice (*iustitia attributrix*)”). Grotius favored the “minimal” justice of contracting parties. (Forde 1998: 640) This “moral minimalism,” argues political science scholar Steven Forde, was one way in which Grotius “create[d] greater flexibility to cope with the ‘realist’ pressures of international politics and war” (Forde 1998: 641; see also Hall 2001: 273-274). Moral minimalism may be expedient. But it is not the natural law, not by a long shot.

After Grotius as well, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), too, sought to formulate a natural law without God behind it, a “categorical imperative” which, at bottom, is an attempt to replace substantive justice with a maximalization of contentless procedure (see Duke 2016). Much later, natural law thinkers such as Erich Przywara (1889-1972), came to realize that the natural law was defective in its secularized iteration (McAleer 2019; Przywara 2014). In recent years, the battle to re-metaphysicalize the natural law continues (Blake 2011; Duke 2013; Murphy 2007, Hinton 2003; Duke 2016; Tollefsen 2021; George 2008; Barnett 1997; Hittinger 1988). The general progression, from the Peace of Westphalia to today, has been away from metaphysical content and moral certainty, and toward a pragmatism of the natural law, a “law of nature” for regulating the conduct of individuals more than a law written on the heart for guiding the moral progress of human persons (see Budziszewski 1997). One of the first to take action to arrest the de-Christianization of the natural law and return international law to its metaphysical roots, away from Grotius and toward Aquinas, Aristotle, and St. Paul, was Tanaka Kōtarō.

3. The Tanaka dissent

Across the transformations of natural law thought from universal and inner moral driver, to divine command, to Christian expression of God's will for mankind, to privatizable framework for peaceful political co-existence, to telescoped and amplified procedure meant to stand in for the formerly transcendent, we can glimpse the dilemma which Tanaka Kōtarō faced in deciding the *South West Africa* Cases. Under older and more robust iterations of natural law thought, Tanaka would have been able much more readily to move beyond the procedural constraints imposed by the various charters and other legal instruments behind which South Africa was conducting its dehumanizing business. Under what was essentially a Grotian understanding of natural law, however, Tanaka and the other ICJ justices were stuck. As long as South Africa was adhering to the letter of the Mandate—which it was, or which it could at least plausibly argue that it was—it was difficult, if not impossible, to charge South Africa with violations which would necessitate piercing the “veil” of its state sovereignty. What went on inside of states was, after all, a question of Westphalian discretion. Grotius did not subscribe to such a hard distinction, but his framing unfortunately left later international lawyers with precious little with which to work when shifting the focus of international law questions from what went on between states to what went on inside of them.

This maximalist sovereignty, a carapace of assumptions rooted in the Westphalian motto of *cuius regio eius religio*, denatured natural law. This form of latter-day Grotian natural law was impotent in the face of violations of due process with grave moral consequences (see generally Koskenniemi 2001). As Grotius understood the rights of states and sovereigns, according to political science scholar Forde cited above, “When a manifestly unjust legal decision is rendered, it does not carry any moral obligation, though citizens cannot legally (*licite*) resist the decision. If another nation or its citizens are harmed by such a decision, they may prosecute their claim by force” (Forde 1998: 646). Tanaka had to find a way to reset the natural law onto its original transcendental, even Catholic, foundations in order to speak honestly about South Africa's apartheid administration of South West Africa (and of South Africa, too). But as a justice with the ICJ, Tanaka couldn't make his points by force of arms. He had to rely on reason, but, where reason fell short, also on the Christian understanding of the natural law.

Tanaka's lengthy dissent in the *South West Africa* Cases should be read as not just a ruling on the matter at hand, then, but as a strategic attempt to shift international law jurisprudence away from a Grotian natural law focus on procedure, and toward a Catholic natural law focus on justice. Tanaka signals this move very early in his opinion, on the second page, by framing his argument in what I read as a stand-in choice between a narrow or broad interpretation of the “interests which may be possessed

by the member States of the League [of Nations] in connection with the mandates system” (Tanaka 1966: 251). These interests “are usually classified in two categories,” Tanaka argues.

The first one is the so-called national interest which includes both the interest of the member States as States and the interest of other nationals (Article 5 of the Mandate). The second one is the common or general interest, which the member States possess in the proper performance by the mandatory of the mandate obligations (Tanaka 1966: 251).

It was not until I had read to nearly the end of Tanaka’s opinion that it dawned on me what he had been doing, here, from the beginning. By contrasting the national, state-level interpretation of mandate obligations against the “common or general interest” interpretation of those mandate obligations, Tanaka is already setting up his argument as a contest between the Grotian approach to the natural law (i.e., the state-level approach) and the more catholic, that is to say Catholic, approach (i.e., “the common or general interest;” see Rice 1993: 64-65).

In this framing, “Common or general interest” could just as easily be read as “distributive justice,” an Aristotelian principle which St. Thomas Aquinas incorporated into his own thinking about the natural law. “Law belongs to that which is a principle of human acts,” St. Thomas writes. And the reason for this is:

because it is their rule and measure. [...] Now, the first principle in practical matters, which are the object of the practical reason, is the last end: and the last end of human life is happiness or beatitude. [...] Consequently, law must needs concern itself mainly with the order that is in beatitude. Moreover, since every part is ordained to the whole as the imperfect to the perfect, and since one man is a part of the perfect community, law must needs concern itself properly with the order directed to universal happiness. Therefore the Philosopher [i.e., Aristotle] [...] mentions both happiness and the body politic [in his “definition of legal matters”], since he says that we call those legal matters *just which are adapted to produce and preserve happiness and its parts for the body politic*. For the state is the perfect community, as he says in *Politics* i (*Summa Theologica* Q. 90, Art. 2, in Pegis 1948: 612, citing *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book V, i (1129b 17) and *Politics*, I, i (1252a 5), emphasis in original).

In an Aristotelian-Thomistic way, Tanaka is proposing to decide not only whether South Africa may continue to rule South West Africa under an apartheid regime, but also, in a much bigger way, whether the Grotian interpretation of the natural law may pertain in the face of clear injustices which mere procedural jurisprudence does not and cannot rectify. “Whether the adjudication clause, namely Article 7, paragraph 2, of the Mandate can cover both kinds of interests, or only the first one, namely

national interest, is the question that has to be answered in the present cases,” Tanaka affirms (Tanaka 1966: 251). In pitting the two interests against one another in this way, Tanaka is disentangling them and also setting the stage for the common interest to prevail over the national interest, contra Grotius.

Another big clue as to what Tanaka is doing comes in the following paragraph. Here, Tanaka can be seen as incorporating substantive justice within the Grotian framework. He does this by viewing the member states of the League of Nations, not as discrete entities walled off from one another by state sovereignty, but as having a “personal” quality which imbues them with an “interest [...] in the realization of the objectives of the mandates system and in the proper administration of mandated territories” (Tanaka 1966: 251). This makes the “common or general interest” considered above “different” from the “national interest,” and also makes:

the interest which the member States possess concerning the Mandate [...], in its content, the same for all members of the League. [...] However, the fact that it is of this nature does not prevent it from possessing the nature of interest. There is no reason why an immaterial, intangible interest, particularly one inspired by the lofty humanitarian idea of a “sacred trust of civilization” cannot be called “interest” (Tanaka 1966: 251-252).

Tanaka here removes the procedural justification which South Africa had been using to wall off insight into and commentary on the moral nature of its apartheid practices. The “sacred trust of civilization” is a kind of common interest. It can trump national interest where warranted. In other words, international law can be Thomistic as well as Grotian. The “absurd hypothesis” does not have to frame international law. The Thomistic-Aristotelian hypothesis, the one that takes metaphysics seriously, can do a much better job.

This reframing of the natural law basis of international law as Thomistic would surely have struck many at the time (as it would today) as retrograde. In that sense, what Tanaka does next is a misdirection of great subtlety and art. For he conceals his return to the Catholic understanding of the natural law under the cover of legal progressivism. He couches his *ressourcement* in the language of the evolution of legal norms in light of human development (see Lachs 1992: 698; Zybert 2008). It is a masterful misdirection.

The historical development of law demonstrates the continual process of the cultural enrichment of the legal order by taking into consideration values or interests which had previously been excluded from the sphere of law. In particular, the extension of the object of rights to cultural, and therefore intangible, matters and the legalization of social justice

and of humanitarian ideas which cannot be separated from the gradual realization of world peace, are worthy of our attention.

The fact that international law has long recognized that States may have legal interests in matters which do not affect their financial, economic, or other “material” or so-called “physical” or “tangible” interests was exhaustively pointed out by Judge Phillip C. Jessup in his separate opinion in the *South West Africa* cases, 1962 judgment (*I.C.J. Reports 1962: 425-428*). As outstanding examples of the recognition of the legal interests of States in general humanitarian causes, the international efforts to suppress the slave trade, the minorities treaties, the Genocide Convention [1948/1951] and the Constitution of the International Labour Organization [1919 et seq.] are cited (Tanaka 1966: 252; see also 291-294).

Tanaka thus gives readers the impression that his thinking is in line with the forward progress of legal development. He cites the Genocide Convention and ILO constitution, both of which of course far postdate anything by St. Thomas Aquinas, let alone Aristotle. But what Tanaka is doing beneath these modern citations is to reframe international law on the thought-lines of precisely those much older thinkers.

Now, it is true, of course, that Christians have not always been as progressive as twentieth-century human rights advocates were. As a reviewer of this essay rightly pointed out, St. Paul did not encourage slaves to rebel. A further complication pointed out by the same reviewer is the overlap, perhaps conflation, between Christianity missionary movements and human rights movements in the twentieth century, a space in which Tanaka may in part have formed some of his ideas. Progressivism as Christianity, and Christianity as Progressivism, is a major roadblock facing my reading of what Tanaka is doing in this part of his dissent. However, I believe these misgivings can be alleviated by understanding Tanaka’s as a Catholic natural law reading of international law, and not as a specifically Biblical or even missionary reading. What Tanaka is trying to do is bring to bear the Christian justice of St. Thomas Aquinas on the *South West Africa* Cases, and not a vague notion of human rights which are perhaps themselves, as with the Grotian concept of international law, deracinated strains of Protestant Christianity.

The “Progressivist *ressourcement*” continues. In the next two, short paragraphs, Tanaka “incorporate[s]” the natural law into Grotian proceduralism, right before the reader’s eyes although seemingly in deference to a progressivist interpretation of law.

We consider that in these treaties and organizations [i.e., those cited above in the context of the discussion of the Jessup ruling] common and humanitarian interests are incorporated. By being given organizational form, these interests take the nature of “legal interest” and require to be protected by specific procedural means.

The mandates system which was created under the League, presents itself as nothing other than an historical manifestation of the trend of thought which contributed to establish the above-mentioned treaties and organizations. The mandates system as a whole, by incorporating humanitarian and legal interests, can be said to be a “legal interest” (Tanaka 1966: 252).

Following this “incorporation” of the ideals of justice into the proceduralism of the prevailing international law order—a proceduralism which Tanaka primes for receptivity to Catholic natural law by presenting it as progressing along a course of enhanced sensitivity to “general humanitarian causes”—Tanaka then personalizes it, turning in his next discussion to argue that the legal interest of the Mandate must be realized by states for the sake of “each member of [...] human society,” a realization in which other states “may possess a legal interest” (Tanaka 1966: 252-253).

The stage is now set for Tanaka to frame Article 7, paragraph 2 of the Mandate as providing the Applicants, namely Ethiopia and Liberia, with the standing to petition the International Court of Justice for redress of grievances. The grievances themselves are manifest. It is the procedural breastworks behind which the grievances shelter which must be torn down. Tanaka does this in part by generalizing the standing of the Applicants, that is, by emphasizing (without mentioning) the common good. “In the present cases,” Tanaka writes:

the Applicants appear formally in an individual capacity as Members of the League, but they are acting substantially in a representative capacity. That not only the Council, but the Member States of the League are equally interested in the proper administration of the mandated territory, is quite natural and significant. In this respect, the individual Member States of the League penetrate the corporate veil of the League and function independently of the League (Tanaka 1966: 254).

Tanaka has demolished the old Grotian pretenses of indifference to substantial, commutative justice and incorporated Catholic natural law principles into Grotian balance-of-power-ism. He has done this by “penetrat[ing] the corporate veil of the League,” thus clearing the way for a different kind of incorporation to follow.

4. The human person as the context for *Jus Cogens*

The rest of the Tanaka opinion is a variation on the themes presented at the opinion’s outset. Throughout, Tanaka skillfully dismantles the procedural, Grotian obstacles to justice which the Respondents have thrown up and which the majority of the ICJ remains too timid to topple. In the place

of those obstacles, Tanaka cultivates a regard for the common good and the object of that good, which is the flourishing of every human person. “The realization of the ‘sacred trust of civilization,’” Tanaka says, for example, “is an interest of a public nature” (Tanaka 1966: 266). And this public nature demands a substantial judicial response, not deference to formalities. It will not do to disengage human judgment in favor of lesser procedural form. “The obligations incumbent upon the Mandatory,” Tanaka argues, following his citation of a passage from the mandate agreement, “are of an ethical nature, therefore unlimited. The mandate agreement is of the nature of a bona fide contract. For its performance the utmost wisdom and delicacy are required” (Tanaka 1966: 267). The “international mandate,” again, is not “purely a relationship, but an objective institution, in which several kinds of interests and values are incorporated and which maintains independent existence against third parties” (Tanaka 1966: 268). The Mandate is “a social organism” (Tanaka 1966: 271). The Mandate is “a social entity” (Tanaka 1966: 271). There can be no “severability of right from [...] obligations” on the part of the Respondent, as this would “not [be] in conformity with the spirit of the mandates system” (Tanaka 1966: 273).

Tanaka continuously shifts the focus in these two directions, toward the human person and, simultaneously, toward the higher ideal. He signaled this at the beginning of his 1966 dissent by raising the distinction between “the so-called national interest which includes both the interest of the member States as States and the interest of other nationals (Article 5 of the Mandate)” and “the common or general interest, which the member States possess in the proper performance by the mandatory of the mandate obligations.” He reinforces this distinction with reference to an “amended Submission No. 4 in the Memorials” which the Applicants submitted, for example. Here, the Applicants allege that South Africa is in violation of mandatory obligations “in the light of applicable international standards or international legal norm” (Tanaka 1966: 285-286). But the hinge of this distinction, and the site where justice is to be performed, is neither the state nor the ideal, but the human person. Tanaka reasons, “Applicants’ cause is no longer based directly on a violation of the well-being and progress by the practice of apartheid, but on the alleged violations of certain international standards or international legal norm and not directly on the obligation to promote the well-being and social progress of the inhabitants” (Tanaka 1966: 286). It is not the personal that is the basis here, Tanaka says. That would shift the focus too far from the international legal realm and leave the ICJ without standing of its own in the case. But the human person remains in the scope of the law, and the attention which Tanaka pays to “certain international standards or international legal norm” is a stand-in for the people on the ground in South West Africa who deserve to be treated fairly.

These two directions, specificity and infinity of moral reference, are just those of the Catholic understanding of the natural law. Tanaka brings these two directionalities into complete natural law harmony in the following passage, in which he also draws at length (omitted here for brevity) from the ICJ ruling on the *Reservations to the Genocide Convention* case (*I.C.J. Reports 1951: 23*):

The question here is not of an “international,” that is to say, inter-State nature, but it is concerned with the question of the international validity of human rights, that is to say, the question whether a State is obliged to protect human rights in the international sphere as it is obliged in the domestic sphere.

The principle of the protection of human rights is derived from the concept of man as a *person* and his relationship with society which cannot be separated from universal human nature. The existence of human rights does not depend on the will of a State; neither internally on its law or any other legislative measure, nor internationally on treaty or custom, in which the express or tacit will of a State constitutes the essential element.

A State or States are not capable of creating human rights by law or by convention; they can only confirm their existence and give them protection. The role of the State is no more than declaratory. It is exactly the same as the International Court of Justice ruling concerning the Reservations to the Genocide Convention case. [quote omitted]

Human rights have always existed with the human being. They existed independently of, and before, the State. [...]

If a law exists independently of the will of the State and, accordingly, cannot be abolished or modified even by its constitution, because it is deeply rooted in the conscience of mankind and of any reasonable man, it may be called “natural law” in contrast to “positive law.” [...]

[...] [T]he law concerning the protection of human rights may be considered to belong to *jus cogens* (Tanaka 1966: 297-298, emphasis in original; see also Paust 2013: 253-256; Charney 1993; Wythes 2010: 251-252; Stevenson 1967: 159; and Hall 2001: 297-298).

Human rights, the ways in which humans should be treated, are here wedded to *jus cogens*, solidifying Tanaka’s personalist, but still international legalist (albeit anti-Grotian) stance.

There is even more going on that just this. In mentioning *jus cogens*, Tanaka was participating in a postwar, “more value-laden” vision of international law, one which was enshrined in a 1953 draft report for the United Nations International Law Commission by “Special Rapporteur on the law of treaties,” the famed Hersch Lauterpacht (1897-1960), and taken up by “Lauterpacht’s successors,” including Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice (1901-1982), who would go on to issue a dissent alongside Tanaka in the *South West Africa Cases* (Lange 2018: 831-832; see also Galindo 2005: 545). This “more value-laden” mode of international law Tanaka camouflaged largely as a natural development and couched in non-

religious terminology, such as *jus cogens* and *erga omnes*.⁴ But the thrust of the move became clear when discussing natural law (see, e.g., Jain 2021). Indeed, Lauterpacht has been hailed as a representative of the “neo-Grotian school of natural law,” which emphasized the human figure, hidden behind nation-states, as the true recipient of international law (Rosenne 1961: 829). In building on Lauterpacht, Tanaka was also going beyond the half-renewal of Grotian proceduralism and endorsing a full, Catholic natural law understanding of the human person and the communal nature of justice overarching all states. Not neo-Grotian. Thomistic.

Tanaka outlines a dispute in the drafting of Article 38, paragraph 1 (c) of the Statute between those of a natural law school (typified, in Tanaka’s estimation, by the “original proposal made by Baron Descamps”⁵ in which Descamps “referred to ‘la conscience juridique des peuples civilisés’”) and “the positivist members of the Committee,” the “final draft [of the passage in question being] the product of a compromise between two schools, naturalist and positivist” (Tanaka 1966: 298-299). Tanaka states that Article 38, paragraph 1 (c) can play “an important role [...] in filling in gaps in the positive sources in order to avoid *non liquet* decisions,” a role which “can only be derived from the natural law character of this provision” (Tanaka 1966: 299; see also Quane 2014: 242-246, 264-268). Quoting J.L. Brierly’s⁶ *The Law of Nations* [1963] (6e, p. 63), Tanaka adds, the inclusion of Article 38, paragraph 1 (c) “is important as a rejection of the positivistic doctrine, according to which international law consists solely of rules to which States have given their consent” (Tanaka 1966: 299). Next, Tanaka quotes from Shabtai Rosenne [1917-2010] (*The International Court of Justice*, 1965, Vol. II: 610) to argue that the validity of the “general principles of law” as “legal norms does not derive from the consent of the parties as such” but instead is “positivist recognitions of the Grotian concept of the co-existence implying no subjugation of positive law and so-called natural law of nations in the Grotian sense” (Tanaka 1966: 299).

Tanaka has thus seemed to build on top of the secularist Grotian concept of natural law to arrive at the more robust conception of natural law in the Catholic sense which allows for human rights to take precedence over rules and procedures (see von Ungern-Sternberg 2012: 296-298). In reality, I see Tanaka as having cleared away the older Grotian notions of secularized natural law in favor of the morally-rich, Catholic (and Aristotelian) conceptions of the same. The evil of apartheid forced Tanaka

⁴ “In international law, the concept of *erga omnes* obligations refers to specifically determined obligations that states have towards the international community as a whole” (Memeti and Nuhija 2013: 1).

⁵ Baron Édouard Eugène François Descamps (1847-1933).

⁶ James Leslie Brierly (1881-1955).

to reach for the higher good to confront it. As natural law scholar Heinrich A. Rommen noted, “The idea of natural law always returns after its banishment from the universities and law courts on account of the dominance of positivism. Positivism is a paltry philosophy and may satisfy the human mind at times [...] yet man does not live by bread alone” (Rommen 2016: 173-174).

Tanaka does this in one more important way, too, namely by arguing that “the content of the principle of equality [...] must be applied to the question of apartheid,” and that “the objectives of the mandates system, being the material and moral well-being and social progress of the inhabitants of the territory, are in themselves of a political nature” (Tanaka 1966: 301; see also Keal 2007: 299; Cullet 1999: 555). This runs contrary to the Grotian and Westphalian conceptions of the natural law, which eschew substantive political interactions between and among states in favor of an inherently apolitical (that is, not negotiable on principles and by debate) balance of power and collective security (but see Jonas 2004: 12-13). It also trumps the influential theory of Hans Kelsen, “who argues that the rules of equality of states are ‘valid not because the States are sovereign, but because these rules are norms of positive international law’” (Hjorth 2011: 2586). The Catholic natural law is not rules and norms. It is not even really natural. It is the eternal law, God’s law, set to words that fallen men can understand.

Furthermore, the political nature of the “principle of equality” which Tanaka argues must prevail over South Africa’s system of apartheid was “historically [...] derived from the Christian idea of the equality of all men before God” (Tanaka 1966: 304). Tanaka redraws the genealogy of the natural law (a term he explicitly mentions), finding that the “idea [i.e., of the natural law] existed already in the Stoic philosophy, and was developed by the scholastic philosophers and treated by natural law scholars and encyclopedists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,” later receiving “legislative formulation” in:

the Bills of Rights of some American states, next by the Declaration [of the Rights of Man and Citizen] of the French Revolution, and then in the course of the nineteenth century [in] the equality clause [which] became one of the common elements of the constitution of modern European and other countries (Tanaka 1966: 304-305).

The “most fundamental point in the equality principle,” Tanaka continues, here driving the stake home in the heart of Grotian natural law, “is that all human beings as persons have an equal value in themselves,” and that “the idea of equality of men as persons and equal treatment as such is of a metaphysical nature” (Tanaka 1966: 305; see also Arlettaz 2013: 910; Xanthaki 2010: 30). There had been, and still often are, problems in interpreting general notions of equality, dignity, and human rights, as actionable and specific rights in concrete circumstances (Meron 1986: 16-17; Van Dyke 1973: 1270-

1274). Tanaka was proposing a way to bridge that gap through a personalism which could work on both the natural law and specific, national law registers.

5. The realization of world law as international Catholic jurisprudence

Tanaka was not successful in the *South West Africa* Cases. However, as Tanaka scholar Kevin Doak argues:

Tanaka may have lost the battle [in the *South West Africa* Cases], but he won the war. On October 27, just three months after Tanaka lost the vote on the *South West Africa* Case, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed Resolution 2145 that declared the Republic of South Africa had no further right to administer South West Africa. (Dugard 1968) In 1971, acting on a request for an Advisory Opinion from the United Nations Security Council, the ICJ ruled that the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia was illegal and that South Africa was under an obligation to withdraw from Namibia immediately. It did not, so war between Namibia and South Africa continued, until 1989. But the trends in world opinion—and eventually the world court—definitely supported Tanaka’s 1966 dissent, as did the ultimate resolution of the conflict (Doak 2019: 104; see generally Mistry 2019; see also Meron 1986: 2; Miller 2002: 488; University of Pennsylvania Law Review 1967: 1190; Crawford 2013: 533-538; Kattan 2015).

The moral rejuvenation of the natural law which Tanaka had effected in the *South West Africa* Cases opened the floodgates for similarly difficult cases in the years ahead (but see Dugard 1976 for a complicating view).

For example, the “Barcelona Traction dictum,” which many see as an attempt to modulate the stark separation of procedure from substance in the majority ruling in the *South West Africa* Cases, may also be read as a vindication of Tanaka. International law scholar Gleider I. Hernández, cited above, writes that:

an essential distinction should be drawn between obligations of a State towards the international community as a whole and those arising *vis-à-vis* another State in the field of diplomatic protection. By their nature the former are the concern of all States. In view of the importance of the rights involved, all States can be held to have a legal interest in their protection; they are obligations *erga omnes* (Hernández 2013: 31; Pollock 1969: 772-775, citing inter alia Jessup 1966: 373, Dugard 1968, and Tanaka 1966: 270).

The “common or general interest,” which Tanaka had used as a lever for shifting the Grotian natural law onto its older, much more solid metaphysical foundation, was now appearing in other cases, and influencing international legal thinking in similarly moral ways.

The internationalization of the Tanaka style of natural law, if one may call it that, was a fitting tribute to the man himself. In all of this, and especially in the *South West Africa* Cases, one of his crowning achievements, Tanaka was attempting to carry forward a project which he had set for himself early in his career and “inspired by [a 1919 reprint of civil law scholar] Ernst Zitelmann’s [(1852-1923)] short [1889] essay [“Die Möglichkeit eines Weltrechtes” (The Possibility of World Law)] [...] suggest[ing] the possibility of World Law” (Doak 2019: 41, 44). Doak argues that Tanaka wanted to show “the existence of law in society” and to point “out that some forms of society were global (“above the State”),” which would thus clear the way for the development of “a jurisprudence that might reconcile universalism and particularism, nationalism and internationalism, the State and the ethnic nation” (Doak 2019: 44, 46). Tanaka wanted to decouple law from “the State (*kokka*)” and the “ethnic nationality (*minzoku*)” (Doak 2019: 45) in order to re-establish natural law as the basis of both World Law and municipal law (Doak 2019: 51). In my view, in Tanaka’s 1966 dissent in the *South West Africa* cases, this was nothing short of an attempt to make natural law the basis for international law. Doak is much more modest in his assessment of Tanaka’s motives, arguing that Tanaka, in World Law and for certain kinds of cases (such as, for example, those involving stateless persons), wanted to include “the concepts of distributive justice (*iustitia distributiva*) or legal or general justice (*iustitia legalis od. generalis*)” and “the concept of commutative justice (*iustitia commutativa*),” the concept which until Tanaka’s time had “governed [...] conflicts between States” (Doak 2019: 50-51). For my part, however, I see Tanaka’s citation, in a 1927 work, of Pope Pius X’s 1905 encyclical *Vehementer Nos* (in defense of the Church’s and the faithful’s rights in France and against the French state’s abrogation of the Concordat of 1801), and Pope Pius XI’s 1926 encyclical *Iniquis Afflictisque* (against the state persecution of Catholics in Mexico), (Doak 2019: 26-27) as evidence of a much broader and deeper change in Tanaka’s thought, one which came to full flower in his *South West Africa* dissent. The Catholic underpinnings, for Tanaka, of a jurisprudential move toward plenary justice should be very familiar to readers by now. For, this is precisely what Tanaka did in his 1966 dissent in the *South West Africa* Cases.

Indeed, considered in this full religious context, Tanaka’s 1966 effort takes on its plenary significance. Tanaka “reject[ed] [...] the Natural Law of Enlightenment Rationalism that considered subjective decisions by legislators or judges or scholars as ipso facto rational and thus universal” (Doak 2019: 33). There had to be something more substantial to a planetary law than just procedure, in order to make law “a universal force for good” (Doak 2019: 19). In my view, this globalized natural law was a break with the Grotian natural law, and was also closely related to Catholicism. It was, in other words, the search for a true substantive internationalism, and not just an international framework. We must bear in mind that Tanaka sought a church which would be a “*Gemeinschaft* of all humanity as it exists

in spiritual life” and “based on a trans-ethnic, trans-State, trans-class principle of organization that includes all the world’s people” (Doak 2019: 42, citing Tanaka 1930: 605-606). This, for Tanaka, was the Catholic Church (Doak 2019: 42, citing Tanaka 1930: 605-606). This was formative, and transformative, for Tanaka. And the forming and transforming had been underway for a long time before 1966. Tanaka had arguably taken a big step in the direction of World Law with his decision in the *Sunakawa Case* of 1959 (*Sakata v. Japan*), in which he found for a precedence of the protection of natural rights over even a national constitution, and also for an interdependency of states which did not allow one state to arbitrarily decide questions impinging on other states (Oppler 1961: 250-251). In 1966, Tanaka took this interdependency into an even stronger register, finding that states could be harmed by injustices even over the procedural bulwarks of the Grotian arrangement.

There may be even more to the story than this. It is possible that Tanaka drew inspiration for his *South West Africa* Cases dissent also from Pope Pius XII’s August 26, 1947 letter to President Harry Truman, which read in part:

Truth has lost none of its power to rally to its cause the most enlightened minds and noblest spirits. Their ardour is fed by the flame of righteous freedom struggling to break through injustice and lying. But those who possess the truth must be conscientious to define it clearly when its foes cleverly distort it, bold to defend it and generous enough to set the course of their lives, both national and personal, by its dictates. This will require, moreover, correcting not a few aberrations. Social injustices, racial injustices and religious animosities exist today among men and groups who boast of Christian civilization, and they are a very useful and often effective weapon in the hands of those who are bent on destroying all the good which that civilization has brought to man. It is for all sincere lovers of the great human family to unite in wresting those weapons from hostile hands. With that union will come hope that the enemies of God and free men will not prevail (Notre Dame Law School 1949: 127-128).

This is not to say that Grotius was an “enem[y] of God” or that he willfully “distort[ed]” the truth. But Tanaka lived in a world in which the thinness of the moral law and the poverty of international law’s regard for the human person were leading to real and lasting harms. As a Japanese who had lived through the horrors of World War II, Tanaka would have known more than most the urgency for “all sincere lovers of the great human family to unite” in overcoming injustice worldwide, one case at a time.

To do this, Tanaka insisted on both the ideal aspect of Christian natural law and its concrete iteration in specific circumstances. Tanaka’s was no free-floating notion of *ex aequo et bono*. Tanaka

effected an overthrow, albeit a stealthy one, of the Grotian natural law divorced from God (Friedmann 1970: 236-237).

6. Conclusion

In the *South West Africa* Cases, the International Court of Justice was faced with a quandary, and also with a paradox. On the one hand, the ICJ was to bring justice to the people of South West Africa, who were trapped under the apartheid system imposed by their neighbors in South Africa, who were abusing the “sacred trust of civilization” entrusted to them in a League of Nations Mandate from 1920. The quandary was that, on the other hand, the ICJ did not have the means at its disposal to remedy this injustice under the prevailing paradigm of international law. This is also the paradox, for the ICJ’s very name was shown, in the *South West Africa* Cases, to be a contradiction in terms. International law, it seemed, could not, in the end, effect justice. There was a Grotian procedural loophole at the heart of the international system.

In this apparently intractable situation, Japanese ICJ justice Tanaka Kōtarō applied a new, and very old, alternative to the prevailing natural law paradigm upon which the ICJ and international law in general rested. In bringing the substantive justice elements of the Catholic natural law to bear on the Grotian, apolitical, rules-based, anti-metaphysical proceduralism of the prevailing natural law regime, Tanaka was able to cut the “Grotian Knot” and show the way forward for justice and meaningful equality in South West Africa—and also in South Africa and anywhere else in the world that the new, old style of natural law internationalism could be applied.

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A phonetically “unnatural” class in Central and Eastern Shehret (Jibbali)

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The set of consonants /b m y/ and historical *w in the Central and Eastern varieties of the Modern South Arabian language, Shehret (Jibbali), pattern together phonologically in the following ways: all are subject to intervocalic elision; between underlying /e~/i/ and a stressed mid vowel, /b/ patterns with /m/ in being realised as [y]~[əy] in a range of words; /y/ is the reflex of historical *b in a closed set of lexemes; and /b/ realises historical *w, rarely *y, in pre- and post-consonantal position and in a handful of lexemes word-initially.

Phonological interest in the set, /b m y/ *w, lies in the fact that the member consonants form a phonetically “unnatural” class (Mielke 2008): they do not include all and only labial consonants (lacking /f/, including /y/) nor all and only sonorants (lacking /l n r/, including /b/), including /b/), and two members of the set, /b y/, share no phonetic characteristics beyond ‘voice.’ Moreover, it is rare cross-linguistically for one obstruent to be subject to intervocalic elision to the exclusion of all other obstruents of that phonological class. Phonetically “unnatural” classes such as this are far from uncommon cross-linguistically (Mielke 2008), however; within Mielke’s (2008) Emergent Feature Theory, they can be accounted for by the pressures of phonetics and “external” factors. In this paper, we consider the patterning of /b m y/ *w, examine phonetic reasons for the inclusion of the plosive, /b/, in this set, and, based on Emergent Feature Theory, present a phonological account of the patterning of /b m y/ and *w.

Keywords: Shehret, Modern South Arabian, phonetic classes, Emergent Feature Theory, lenition

1. Introduction¹

This paper examines a phonetically “unnatural” class in Shehret (Jibbali), a Modern South Arabian language with approximately 50,000 speakers that is spoken in Dhofar in southern Oman, focussing on

¹ We thank the Leverhulme Trust for funding both the Documentation and Ethnolinguistic Analysis of Modern South Arabian (DEAMSA) project through a project grant (2013–2016, RPG-2012-599) awarded to Watson and the Phonetics and Phonology of Mehri and Shehret project through a Major Research Fellowship also awarded to Watson (2019–2023, MRF-2018-121). We thank Barry Heselwood and Gisela Tomé Lourido for advice on Praat segmentation and acoustic analysis, Andrea Boom and Carlos Jair Martínez Albarracín for assistance in segmentation through Praat, Said Baquir, Noor al-Mashani, Saeed al-Mahri,

varieties of Central and Eastern Shehret. /b m y/ and historical *w in Shehret pattern together phonologically in that as singleton consonants they are typically elided within the prosodic word in intervocalic position (Dufour 2016: 27, 37, 39–44).² Additionally, subsets of consonants within this group pattern together in other ways both synchronically and diachronically: within the prosodic word, /b m/ between underlying /e/~i/ and a following stressed mid vowel may be realised as [y]~[əy]; /y/ is the reflex of historical *b in a closed set of lexemes; and /b/ realises historical *w and occasionally *y in consonant-adjacent positions and, in the case of *w, in a handful of lexemes word-initially.

The set, /b m y/ *w is of phonological interest in that the member consonants form a phonetically “unnatural” class in the sense of Mielke (2008): they include neither all labial consonants (lacking /f/, including /y/) nor all sonorants (lacking /l n r/, including /b/), and two members of the set, /b y/, share no phonetic characteristics beyond ‘voice.’ Thus, they fail to meet the characteristics of a phonetically natural class: ‘A group of sounds in an inventory which share one or more phonetic properties, to the exclusion of all other sounds in the inventory’ (Mielke 2008: 12); however, phonetically “unnatural” classes such as this are far from uncommon cross-linguistically (Mielke 2008); within Mielke’s Emergent Feature Theory, they can be accounted for by the pressures of phonetics and “external” factors. The creation of this phonetically unnatural class in Shehret appears to have arisen both through the tendency of word-medial /b/ to lenite post-lexically, becoming more sonorant-like, and through a series of generalisations involving phonetic similarity at each stage (cf. Culicover 1970, cited in Mielke 2009). In this paper, we consider the patterning of /b m y/ and *w, examine phonetic reasons for the inclusion of the obstruent, /b/, in this set, and, based on Emergent Feature Theory, present a phonological account of the patterning of /b m y/ and *w.

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2. presents the consonantal phonemic inventory, highlighting the consonants of this class. Section 3. examines the patterning of /b/ with /m y/ *w in terms of intervocalic elision; Section 4. examines diachronic reflexes of *b, *y, *w: /y/ as the reflex of

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² Dufour, together with Johnstone (1981) and Rubin (2014), also includes /w/ as a synchronic phoneme in the language spoken in Central and Eastern regions, and notes: ‘/w/ comme /y/ chute en position intervocalique et donne lieu à des contractions : T2 ACC.3ms əðtél ‘protéger’ (√ðwl, schème əC1teC2éC3)’ (Dufour 2016: 27). On account of /w/ in these varieties occurring as [w] only in the emphatic particle wəl and words derived from Arabic loanwords or from Mehri, such as *dwil* ‘old,’ we include *w in this discussion only as a historical phoneme.

historical *b and *y, and /b/ as the reflex of historical *w and *b; Section 5. examines the patterning of /b/ with /m/ in taking the allophone [y]~[əy] (IPA [j]); Section 6. presents phonetic reasons for the inclusion of /b/ within this unnatural class; and Section 7. presents a phonological account of the patterning of /b/ with /m y/ and *w.

Our data are taken from first-hand fieldwork conducted between 2013–2016 during the Documentation and Ethnolinguistic Analysis of Modern South Arabian (DEAMSA) project (RPG-2012-599), funded by a Leverhulme Trust Project Grant, and from wordlists constructed in 2021 by the authors during the Phonetics and Phonology of Mehri and Shehret project funded by a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship (MRF-2018-121). Data was checked with speakers of Central, Central Western and Eastern Shehret. The acoustic work on continuity lenition of /b/ was conducted in collaboration with Gisela Tomé Lourido and Barry Heselwood with assistance from Andrea Boom and Carlos Jair Martínez Albarracín during the Phonetics and Phonology of Mehri and Shehret project.

2. Consonantal phoneme inventory and transcription conventions

Table 1. provides the consonant inventory of Shehret, with the consonants subject to intervocalic lenition highlighted:

	labial	dental	alveolar	post-alveolar	alveo-palatal	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
plosive	b		t d ɗ				k g ³ ɣ			
fricative	f	ɸ ɸ̣ ɸ̥	s z ʃ	ʃ̣	ʃ̣ ʒ̣ ʃ̣̣			x ɣ̣	ħ ʕ	h ʔ
lateral fricative			ɬ ʒ ɬ̣							
lateral sonorant			ʎ l							
nasal	ᵐm m		ⁿn n							
rhotic			ʀ r							
glide	*w					y				

Table 1. Shehret consonantal phoneme table

Following the tradition of Johnstone (1981), a tilde over ‘s’ or ‘z’ represents alveo-palatal sibilants with accompanying lip pouting and top lip raising (Bellem and Watson 2017); the hachek over ‘s’ represents the palato-alveolar sibilant; an acute accent over ‘s’ or ‘z’ represents a lateral articulation; a subscript

³ Among some speakers in Eastern and Central Dhofar, /g/ has the reflex /ɟ/, transcribed in this paper as /j/.

dot represents emphasis in the case of oral obstruents and beneath ‘h’—the ‘breathed’ (voiceless) pharyngeal fricative. Stress in data examples is marked by an acute mark over the stressed vowel. In this paper, the mid back rounded vowel is transcribed as /o/ rather than Johnstone’s /ɔ/, owing to the lack of phonological contrast between [o] and [ɔ]. We follow Heselwood and Watson (2021) in assuming the laryngeal categories ‘breathed’ and ‘unbreathed’ for Shehret rather than the traditional ‘voiceless’ and ‘voiced,’ wherein ‘breathed’ denotes canonically ‘voiceless’ consonants while ‘unbreathed’ denotes both canonically ‘voiced’ consonants and the emphatics. This is due to the fact that ‘voiced’ and emphatic consonants pattern together morphophonologically, that ‘voiceless’ fricatives subject to assimilatory voicing exhibit breathy voice, thus maintaining their breathiness even when ‘voiced,’ and that the relevant distinction between ‘voiceless,’ on the one hand, and ‘voiced’ and emphatic, on the other, has been shown in our Laryngographic work to be based on free flow of air versus impeded flow of air (Heselwood, Tomé Lourido and Watson 2022).

3. Intervocalic elision

In Shehret, singleton /b m y/ *w are typically not attested between phonological vowels⁴ within a lexical stem, by which we mean a non-affixed vocalised nominal or verbal stem, or across certain morphemes,⁵ resulting in long vowels as a result of compensatory lengthening (cf. Rubin 2014: 28–34; Dufour 2016: 27). In case of intervocalic elision of /m/, the resulting vowel is nasalised. In the examples presented here, inflected forms which exhibit elision are compared to inflections from the same lexeme in which elision does not take place, where attested. Reconstructed underlying forms are preceded by *. Root consonants are presented in slanted brackets, and reconstructed roots in slanted brackets preceded by *. Morphological glossing following the Leipzig glossing conventions are provided in square brackets before the translation for morphologically complex forms. Examples 1.a–c show intervocalic /b/ elision; examples 1.d–f show intervocalic /m/ elision; examples 1.g–i show intervocalic /y/ elision; and examples 1.j–k *w elision. Note example 1.f where the ‘breathed’ nasal /^hm/ is subject to intervocalic lenition:

⁴ Before or following a non-phonological intrusive vowel (Hall 2006), /b m y/ are not subject to elision, as seen for /b/ in Section 5 below.

⁵ Stem-final /b m y/ frequently elide in the following cases: in the perfect verb before the 3fs subject suffix; in the unmarked perfect verbal stem (3ms, 3pl) before an object suffix; stem-initial /b m y/ elide after the definite article prefix; stem-final /b m y/ may be maintained where a singular noun takes a possessive pronoun; stem-final /b m y/ frequently fail to be elided when a plural noun, in particular, takes a possessive pronoun.

- 1.a *ǧolót* [refuse.3FS.PERF] ‘she refused’ cp. *ǧolób* ‘to refuse’ *ǧolob-ót
 b *ī* [DEF.father.1S] ‘my father’ cp. *ib* ‘father’ *ib-i
 c *ēr díd-i* [DEF.son paternal_uncle-1S] ‘my paternal cousin’ cp. *ber díd* ‘paternal
 cousin’ *ε-ber díd
 d *zaḥūt* [come.3FS.PERF] ‘she came’ cp. *zaḥám* ‘to come’ *zaḥam-út
 e *ĩndík* [DEF.gun] ‘the gun’ cp. *mindík* ‘gun’ *e-mindík
 f *yūi trút* [day.DU two.F] ‘two days’ cp. *yu^hm* ‘day’ *yu^hm-i trút
 g *ǧotét* [be_angry.3FS.PERF] ‘to be angry’ cp. *ǧyét* ‘to anger’ (Central, cp. Eastern
aǧbét) *ǧoteyət
 h *šiniṭ* ‘deaf f.s.’ *šiniyét
 i *ǧēg* ‘men’ *ǧəyóg
 j *óši* ‘to advise’ *εwóši
 k *aḍtēl* ‘to protect’ *aḍtewél

Intervocalic elision rarely occurs across prosodic words, such that /b m/, for example, are maintained in word-final position in *dheb ε-sfayb* [flood of-wadi] ‘wadi flood’ and *ǧrām ε-yel* [DEF.path of-camels] ‘the path of the camels’ and in word-initial position in *o bek sé lo* [with you.MS. thing NEG] ‘there is nothing wrong with you m.s.’ and in *da^hn ε-mu^hn* [this.M. of-whom] ‘whose is that?’. A few cases in which /b m/ elision occurs across syntactic words are given by Rubin (2014: 29) for /b/ and (2014: 32) for /m/; however, the majority of these involve the accusative marker *t-* plus object pronoun, which cannot occur independently and is bound within the prosodic word of the preceding verb, as in: *slō* ‘wait m.s. for me!’ < *slob to, *o taḥré to lo* ‘don’t approach me!’ < *o taḥreb to lo, *zaḥū to* ‘come m.s. to me!’ < *zaḥam to. Interest in these forms lies in the fact that /b m/ elision occurs pre-consonantly rather than intervocalically. *inēn* ‘which’ < *iné min [what of] also forms a single prosodic word with one main instance of word stress. In traditional personal names in Central Shehret, less commonly in Eastern Shehret, word-initial /m/ is elided following the vocative ε- (2.a-c) and word-final /m/ is elided as the first term of an apposition or attribution phrase (2.d-g); word-final /m/ is also elided in frequent phrases such as *selū ε-sofēt* [greeting of-well-being] ‘greetings of well-being’ (Noor al-Mashani, p.c.).

- 2.a *ēná* [voc.Mina] ‘Mina!’ < *a-maná
 b *ĩzún* [voc.Mizun] ‘Mizun!’ < *ε-mizún
 c *ēḥūd* [voc.Muhammad] ‘Maḥūd!’ < *ε-məḥáməd
 d *sēl ā-ǧ-í* [Selim DEF-brother-1S] ‘my brother Selim’ < *sēlām aǧi

- e *məsél ā-ġ-í* [Musalm DEF-brother-1s] ‘my brother Musalm < *məséləm aġi
 f *səl ā-šófər* [Selim DEF-red.MS] ‘Selim the Red [personal name]’ < *sələm ašófər
 g *səl ā-ħór* [Selim DEF-black.MS] ‘Selim the Black [family name]’ < *sələm aħōr

According to our consultants, word-initial and word-final /b/ in personal names do not elide in these cases.

There are a few cases in which intervocalic /b m/ elision either fails to apply or alternates with /b m/ maintenance. Where /m/, at least, heads a syllable with a long vowel resulting from intervocalic /y/ elision, elision fails to apply, as in: *ġamédéni* ‘shortly before sunset.’ In the case of plural, and some singular, nouns with possessive pronoun suffixes, stem-final /b m/ are either maintained or elided intervocalically with variation by dialect or speaker.⁶ In cases of variation, some of our consultants suggest that /b m/ elision is the more traditional form. 3.a–c provide examples of /m/ maintenance; 3.d provides an example of variable /m/ maintenance or elision; 3.e provides an example of /b/ maintenance, to be compared with the same lexeme in 3.f. 3.f–h provide examples of variable /b/ maintenance or elision:

- 3.a *šram-i* [DEF.way-1s] ‘my way’
 b *ém-í* ‘my mother’ [DEF.mother-1s], *ém-áhum* [DEF.mother-3MPL] ‘their m. mother’
 c *diráhəm-éġ* [money.PL-2MS] ‘your m.s. money’
 d *herū-i~herú-m-í* [plant-1s] ‘my plant,’ *herū-kum* [plant-2MPL] ‘your m.pl. plants’ cp. *herú-m* ‘plant’
 e *ṭarób-i* [sticks-1s] ‘my sticks’
 f *ṭarób-šhum~ṭar-šhum* [sticks-3MPL] ‘their m. sticks’
 g *kaš-šhum~kašayb-šhum~kašib-šhum* [things-3MPL] ‘their m. things’⁷ cp. *kašayb* ‘things’
 h *núsub-i~núsu-i* [milk-1s] ‘my milk’ cp. *núsub* ‘milk’

⁶ Rubin (2014: 30, 32) claims that /b/ and /m/ (/y/ is not mentioned here) are maintained between two stressed vowels of different quality. Our fieldwork indicates that stem-final /b m y/ maintenance does not depend on vowel quality but rather relates to the morphology and the closeness of certain suffixes to the stem.

⁷ Eastern Shehret variable; Central Shehret /b/ elision. According to the second author, a speaker of Eastern Shehret, the form with /b/ elision is preferred by older speakers.

/y/ maintenance intervocalically most frequently occurs before a pronominal suffix, as in 4.a–b; however, it may also occur within a stem between two full vowels, as in 4.c–d; in the case of 4.c, /y/ results from historical *b.

- 4.a *hōy-ōkum* [snakes-2MPL] ‘your m.pl. snakes’
 b *tuy-ēsēn* [sheep.PL-3FPL] ‘their f. sheep’
 c *ḡayél* ‘flint’
 d *ḡayú^hn* ‘years’ cp. *ḡōn-út* [year-s] ‘year’

In Section 4., we consider the diachronic reflexes of *b *m *y *w.

4. Diachronic reflexes

4.1. /y/ as reflex of historical *b and *y

/y/ functions as the reflex of *b in a closed set of nouns: of these, 5.a–c have an historical root-initial glottal stop, and /y/ realises *b both in word-initial and intervocalic position following the definite article:

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 5.a | <i>yit</i> ‘camel f.’ (root */ʔ-b-l/) ⁸ | <i>e-yit</i> [DEF-camel.FS] ‘the camel’ |
| b | <i>yel</i> ‘camels f.’ (root */ʔ-b-l/) | <i>e-yel</i> [DEF-camel.FPL] ‘the camels’ |
| c | <i>yō</i> ‘people’ (root */ʔ-b-w/) | <i>e-yō</i> [DEF-people] ‘the people’ |
| d | <i>ḡayél</i> ‘flint’ (root */ḡ-b-l/) | cp. Mehri <i>ḡībēl</i> |

In the examples 5.a–c, the root-initial historical glottal stop is lost, leaving a bi-consonantal root.

/y/ also functions as the reflex of historical *y in a small closed-set of words root-initially (6.a–b), in the imperfect masculine prefix *yā-* (6.c), which alternates with *i-*, and in root-final position (6.d–e):

- 6.a *yu^hm* ‘sun; day’
 b *yōl* ‘towards’
 c *yā-ssōx-ən* [3M-waste_money-IND] ‘he is wasting money, property on useless things’

⁸ /t/ functions as the feminine marker, and we assume that *l is elided pre-consonantly, as occurs in a closed set of words in Shehret, e.g. *tof* ‘hunger’ versus *telf* ‘to be hungry,’ *dof* ‘rock’ versus *dilóf* ‘rocks’ (cf. Rubin 2014: 35–36).

- d *ḥəlyét* ‘disaster’ (root /ḥ-l-y/)
 e *hāy* ‘snakes’ (root */h-w-y/)

Thus, *y* functions both as the reflex of historical **b*, and as a phoneme in its own right.

4.2. /b/ as reflex of historical **w*

With a few exceptions (see 5. and 6. above for **y*),⁹ historical **w* and **y* have no consonantal realisation in word-initial position (Rubin 2014: 33 for **w*); **w*, and in verbs **y*, have no consonantal realisation in word-final position (cf. Rubin 2014: 202), as in 7.:

- 7.a *éḡəh* ‘face’ (root */w-g-h/)
 b *aḡád* ‘to go’ (root */w-ḡ-d/)
 c *idbér* ‘hornet’ (root /y-d-b-r/)
 d *ēml-í* [right-ADJ] ‘right’ (root /y-m-l/)
 e *béke* ‘to cry,’ *y-ḡk* [3M-cries.IND] ‘he cries’ (root /b-k-y/)
 f *śini* ‘to see,’ *yə-śún* [3M-sees.IND] ‘he sees’ (root /ś-n-y/)
 g *fše* ‘to have lunch,’ *yəfós* [3M-have_lunch.IND] ‘he has lunch’ (root /f-ś-w/)

As the right- or left-hand leg of a consonant cluster, however, historical **w*¹⁰ has the reflex /b/ (Rubin 2014: 34; Dufour 2016: 27).¹¹ 8.b *yəbḡód* ‘he goes’ in which **w* is realised word-medially as /b/ can be compared to 7.b *aḡád* ‘to go’ in which **w* has no consonantal reflex in word-initial position:

- 8.a *śəbr* ‘view, opinion’ (root */ś-w-r/)
 b *yə-bḡód* [3M-go.IND] ‘he goes’ (root */w-ḡ-d/)
 c *ḥabz* ‘boundary mark’ (root */ḥ-w-z/)
 d *məḡábzəl* ‘large flocks of goats, sheep’ **məḡawzəl*
 e *ksb-ét* [clothes-s] ‘clothes’ (root */k-s-w/)

⁹ A few exceptions are attested in which word-initial **w* has a consonantal reflex: *bē* ‘very,’ cognate with Mehri *wīyən*, *baḥś-* ‘alone,’ cognate with Mehri *waḥś-*, the conjunction *bə-*, cognate with Mehri *wə-* (Rubin 2014: 34), and *buhāt* pl. *būhi* ‘puddle’ cognate with Arabic *wāḥah* ‘oasis’ (Western Shehret, Ahmad Hardan p.c.).

¹⁰ Historical **w* is reconstructed based on comparison with cognates in Mehri and the other MSAL.

¹¹ One anonymous reviewer suggests this could be due to spread of [+consonantal] in pre- and post-consonantal positions.

f *εkból* ‘truces’ (root */k-w-l/)

A few words exist in which historical *y has the reflex /b/ in the right-hand leg of a consonant cluster, as in 9.:

- 9.a *šəkbét* ‘to spend the hot period’ cp. *ekyét* ‘to be during the hot period’ (root /k-y-t/)
 b *aʕbíd* ‘to visit during the Eid festival,’ *de-na-ʕbód-ən* [CONT_1PL_visit_during_Eid-IND] ‘we are visiting during the Eid festival,’ *a-ná-ʕbid* [FUT-1PL-visit_during_Eid.SUBJ] ‘we visit during the Eid festival’ cp. *ʕayd* ‘Eid’ (root */ʕ-y-d/)
 c *aǧbét* ‘to anger’ (Eastern, cp. Central *aǧyéṭ*) (root /ǧ-y-t/)

4.3. /b/ as reflex of historical *b

/b/ functions as the reflex of historical *b in word-initial, pre- and post-consonantal and word-final position, as in:

- Word-initial
 - 10.a *béləǧ* ‘to reach puberty; to arrive/be able to arrive [at a place]’
 - b *berók* ‘to kneel’
 - c *bəhl-ét* [word-s] ‘word’
- Pre-consonantal
 - 11.a *y-šábbəd* [3M-separate_from.IND] ‘he separates from’
 - b *šəbh* ‘fat n.’
 - c *húbʕ-ət* [moving_a_lot-FS] ‘moving a lot f.s.’
 - d *šəbt-ín* [have_big_belly-NOM] ‘having a big belly’
 - e *yó-bləǧ* [3MS-reach_maturity.SUBJ] ‘he reaches maturity; he arrives/is able to arrive’
- Post-consonantal
 - 12.a *šəšból-k* [cool_down-1/2MS.PERF] ‘I/you m.s. cooled down’
 - b *ʕaǧb-ún* [love-NOM] ‘lover’
 - c *məkbér-ət* [cemetery-s] ‘cemetery’

- Word-final
 - 13.a *ħolób* ‘to milk’
 - b *řágəb* ‘to like’
 - c *řhab* ‘to drag’

Thus, /b/ functions both as the reflex of historical *b and of historical *w, occasionally of *y. /b/ rarely occurs as the reflex of historical *w in word-initial position (footnote 9), and word-final /b/ is always a reflex of historical *b. In the left- or right-hand leg of consonant clusters, the historical distinction between *w and *b is suspended (*yəbgód* ‘he goes’ < */w-ğ-d/, *yóbləğ* ‘he reaches maturity [subj]’ < /b-l-ğ/; *śəbr* ‘opinion’ < */ś-w-r/, *śəbh* ‘fat n.’ < /ś-b-ħ/; *idbér* ‘hornet’ < */y-d-b-r/, *ək̀ból* ‘truces’ < */k-w-l/).

5. Word-medial realisation of /b m/ as [y]~[əy]

This section describes synchronic alternations of /b m/ with [y]~[əy]. In word-medial position, /b m/ may take the allophone [y]~[əy] between underlying /e~/i/ (also, from our data, /ə/) and a stressed mid front or back vowel (Dufour 2016: 40, 41). As Dufour shows, depending on lexeme /ebé/, /emé/ /ebó/ and /emó/ can result in intervocalic elision or in realisation of [y]~[əy]. In the case of /ibé/, /ibó/, /imó/, /ebé/ and /emé/, the realisation from the data currently available appears to be always [y]~[əy].¹² In the examples given below, significant dialect differences are noted. Where attested, this section compares inflections in which /b m/ are realised as [y]~[əy] with inflections from the same lexeme or root in which /b m/ take the canonical allophones [b m].

5.1. Nominals

Root-final /b/ (14.a–d), impressionistically less commonly root-final /m/ (14.e–f), take the allophone [y] before certain stressed nominal suffixes. /b m/ in 14. fall between underlying /i~/e/ and a stressed mid vowel, with /n/ in 14.a raising stressed /e/ to [i].

¹² Jarred Brewster (p.c.) makes the interesting suggestion, which he is currently exploring, that [y]~[əy] functions to repair hiatus in certain cases of intervocalic elision of /b m/.

- 14.a *hīly-ín* [milking-VN] ‘milking’¹³ (Eastern, cp. Central Western *halōt*) cp. *yə-hēlb*
[3MS-milk.IND] ‘he milks’
- b *ʕənšy-ét* [spider-s] ‘spider’ cp. *ʕonókub* ‘spiders’ (root /ʕ-n-k-b/)
- c *dīryót* ‘Darbat [place name]’ (root /d-r-b/)
- d *šīry-ót* [post-monsoon.ADJ-FS] ‘pertaining to the post-monsoon period’ cp. *šerb*
‘post-monsoon period’
- e *tīly-út* [darkness-s] ‘darkness’ (root /t-l-m/)
- f *xūy-ēt* [tent-s] ‘tent’ cp. *xēm* ‘tents’

Root-medial /b/, and impressionistically less commonly root-medial /m/, are realised as [y]~[əy] in the onset to a final stressed syllable in certain non-derived nominal forms. Examples in 15. all share the underlying template Ceb/méC, with root-final gutturals /g ʕ x/ causing vowel lowering to [a]~[ā] in 15.b–d:

- 15.a *gəyél* ‘mountains’ cp. *gəbl-i* [mountain_man-ADJ] ‘mountain man’
- b *səyáx-t* [manure-s] ‘manure’ cp. *məsbáx-t* ‘manure heap’ [manure_heap-s]
- c *šəyāǧ* ‘dyes’ cp. *šəbǧ-át* [dye-s] ‘dye’
- d *śəyāh* ‘handsome m.pl.’ cp. *śəbh-át* [handsome-s] ‘handsome s.’
- e *səyéb* ‘reason’ cp. *esbéb* ‘to cause’¹⁴
- f *ṭəyél* ‘silver containers for bride’s possessions’ cp. *ṭəbl-ét* [silver_container-s]
‘silver container for bride’s possessions’
- g *rəyéḥ* ‘arrows’ cp. *rəmh-át* [arrow-s] ‘arrow’
- h *kəyéṭ~kəyé* ‘women’s headcloth’ (root /k-m-m/) (cf. Johnstone 1981: 131)¹⁵

5.2. Verbs

In certain verbs, root-final /b/ and /m/ take the allophone [y]~[əy] before the stressed 3fs vowel-initial perfect verb subject suffix *-ót*, nasalised and raised to *-ūt* due to nasal effect in the case of root-final /m/ (Dufour 2016: 39–40), as in 16.a–d /b/ > [y]; 16.e–i /m/ > [y].

¹³ Adjacent nasals cause /e/ to raise to [i] and /o/ to raise to [u]. Syllable restructuring under the effect of a sonorant causes the initial vowel to lengthen in examples (a) and (c–e) and in relevant examples in 16. (Dufour 2016: 39).

¹⁴ Cp. *ḍbeb* ‘flies’ (Johnstone 1981: 45).

¹⁵ Our y given in Johnstone and Rubin as i, but in Dufour (2016) as y.

- 16.a *ḵēry-ót* [approach-3FS.PERF] ‘she approached’ cp. *ḵérəb-ḵerb* ‘to approach’
 b *ʕagy-ót* [like-3FS.PERF] ‘she likes’ cp. *ʕágəb* ‘to like’ (Central mountains, cp. Eastern *ʕajót*, Central Western *ʕagót*)
 c *sīly-ót* [wait-3FS.PERF] ‘she waited’ cp. *sīlab~selb* ‘to wait’
 d *ʕhey-ót* [drag-3FS.PERF] ‘she dragged’ cp. *ʕhab* ‘to drag’
 e *ḥily-ót* [dream-3FS.PERF] ‘she dreamt’ cp. *ḥelm* ‘to dream’
 f *ṭəhy-ūt* [disappear-3FS.PERF] ‘she disappeared’ cp. *ṭəhém* ‘to disappear’
 g *śəy-ūt* [sell-3FS.PERF] ‘she sold’ cp. *śēm* ‘to sell’ (Eastern, cp. Central Eastern, Central and Central Western *śūt*)
 h *štəy-ūt* [buy-3FS.PERF] ‘she bought’ cp. *śotém* ‘to buy’ (Eastern, cp. Central Eastern, Central and Central Western *štūt*)
 i *zahy-ūt* [come-3FS.PERF] ‘she came’ (also *zahūt* in the same dialects, cp. 1.d)

Root-medial /b/ and, impressionistically less commonly /m/, take the allophone [y] in the onset to a final stressed syllable in the indicative, occasionally subjunctive (17.b), of trilateral and quadrilateral verbs. In these cases, /b m/ fall between underlying /i~/e/ and a stressed mid vowel, with /o/ nasalised and raised by /m/ to [ū] (17.f-g) and /e/ nasalised and raised to [ī] (17.h). Examples include:

- 17.a *yə-tyók* [3M-be_given_liability.IND] ‘he is given a liability’ cp. *yəṭbók* ‘he is given a liability [subj]’
 b *ha-yə-tyél* [FUT-3M-take_long_time.SUBJ] ‘he will take a long time’ cp. *eṭbél* ‘to take a long time’
 c *d-i-šəşyéł* [CONT-3M-cool_down.IND] ‘he cools down’ cp. *šəşbél* ‘to cool down’
 d *d-i-kēryól* [CONT-3M-crawl.IND] ‘he is crawling’ cp. *ekérbel* ‘to crawl’
 e *d-i-ṭēryól* [CONT-3M-cover_with_tarpaulin.IND] ‘he is covering with tarpaulin’ cp. *ṭárbəl* ‘tarpaulin’
 f *yə-tyúr* [3M-ripen.IND] ‘it m. ripens’ cp. *yəṭmúr* ‘it ripens [subj]’
 g *yə-xyús* [3M-rot.IND] ‘it m. rots’ (root /x-m-s/)
 h *yə-gyíd* [3M-freeze.PL.IND] ‘they m. freeze’ (root /g-m-d/)

The allophonic lenition of /b/ to [y] creates (near-)minimal pairs in some dialects: *ʕəşbét* ‘solidarity’ contrasts with *ʕəşyéṭ* ‘hard work; graft,’ both from the consonantal root /ʕ-ş-b/; in the dialect of the

second author, spoken in Eastern Dhofar Jufa and Sadh, $\text{ʕ}̣\text{əjy}̣\text{ót}$ ‘she loves’ contrasts with $\text{ʕ}̣\text{aj}̣\text{ót}$ ‘she likes,’ both from the root /ʕ-j-b/.

Thus, *y* functions as the reflex of historical *b, as a phoneme in its own right, and as a lenited allophone of synchronic /b/ and /m/.

Table 2. sums up the diachronic and synchronic reflexes of *b, *m, *w, *y. # denotes word boundary, C denotes consonant, V denotes ‘vowel,’ and ~ denotes lexical variation.

	VCV ¹⁶	#_	_#	_C	C_
*b	elision~y	b	b	b	b
*m	elision~y	m	m	m	m
*w	elision	elision	V~elision	b	b
*y	elision	y~elision	y~V~elision	y	y~b

Table 2. Reflexes of *b, *m, *w, *y

6. A phonetic rationale for the patterning of /b/ with /m y/ *w

In Section 3., we have seen that /b/ patterns with /m y/ in being subject to elision between phonological vowels and in Section 4. that /b/ patterns with /m/ in taking the allophone [y]~[əy] between an underlying /e~/i/ and a stressed mid front or back vowel on a lexeme-by-lexeme basis. Here we consider the phonetic lenition of /b/ in word-medial position.

/b/ as a reflex of both *w and *b is frequently lenited to a voiced bilabial fricative or sonorant in word-medial position, and we believe that the glide allophone [y] of /b/ and the patterning of /b/ with /m y/ *w may be motivated by the tendency of word-medial /b/ to lenite at the phonetic level. Word-medial lenition in cases such as these is described in the literature as ‘sonorisation’ (Szigetvári 2008) or ‘continuity lenition’ (Katz 2016; Katz and Pitzanti 2019). Here we adopt the term ‘continuity lenition.’ Continuity lenition results in the stop increasing in intensity, thus becoming more vowel-like and minimising ‘the auditory disruption [it creates] in the context of high-intensity sounds’ (Katz 2016: 43). Coronal and velar plosives are also subject to continuity lenition in Shehret, as they are in Mehri (Watson *et al.* in prep.); however, impressionistically /b/ in Shehret is more consistently subject to

¹⁶ Within the prosodic word, allowing for variable maintenance or elision in case of nouns examined in Section 3. Variation with [y]~[əy] depends at least partially on dialect and on the quality of the vocalic environment, as noted above.

lenition, and is typically subject to greater lenition, than either the coronal or the velar plosives. This is of interest cross-linguistically, as the Romance languages, for example, show a trend for lenition to apply most frequently to velars¹⁷ and least frequently to labials (Hualde, Nadeu and Simonet 2010; MacLeod 2020; cf. Recasens 2015¹⁸).¹⁹ The predilection for lenition of /b/ in Shehret, however, may be due to inventory constraints (Ortega-Lebaria 2003): while lenited /g/ could be confused with the ‘unbreathed’ uvular fricative /ǧ/ and lenited /d/ with the ‘unbreathed’ (voiced) interdental fricative /ǧ̣/, /b/ in Central and Eastern Shehret has no synchronic labial sonorant or bilateral fricative with which it could be confused. Impressionistically, /b/ lenition appears to depend on the quality of the following vowel, with lenition more common before central and mid front vowels (/ə e ε/) than before low and back vowels (/a o ɔ/), as found in literature on lenition in Spanish and English (Ortega-Lebaria 2003).

Phonetic lenition of Shehret /b/ is optional, and where it occurs produces a cline, from frication to complete sonorisation. As in the case of voiced plosive lenition in Spanish (e.g. Soler and Romero 1999; Martínez-Celdrán, Fernández-Planas and Carrera-Sabaté 2003; Katz 2016), /b/ lenition typically does not occur following a nasal, as in Shehret *səmbik* (< /sənbik/) ‘boat.’²⁰ Lenition in Shehret commonly occurs where /b/ falls in the onset to an unstressed syllable, as is typically found cross-linguistically (Gordon 2011), particularly where it is separated from a following consonant by an essentially non-phonological intrusive vowel resulting from infelicitous consonant contact (Hall 2006), or where it falls in the coda to a word-medial consonant cluster; however, /b/ lenition also occurs in the onset to stressed syllables. While speakers are aware of the glide allophone of /b/ and /m/ in post-consonantal position, such that *y* is given by literate speakers in written representations of Shehret words, phonetic lenition of /b/ resulting in frication or sonorisation is beyond the level of speaker awareness. When literate speakers were asked during fieldwork which consonants were involved in the words, they say, for example, /z/, /r/, /b/ and /g/ for *zərbég* ‘[place name]’ and /k/, /s/, /b/ and

¹⁷ The cross-linguistic tendency for closure duration to decrease as the place of articulation decreases in anteriority leads to the greater probability for velar plosives to lenite than alveolar followed by labial (Ham 2001).

¹⁸ Recasens (2015: 18) shows for Catalan that while /g/ is most commonly lenited, /b/ did not show more resistance to lenition than /d/.

¹⁹ However, Kirchner’s survey of lenition in 272 languages appears to falsify the hypothesis of a place-of-articulation asymmetry (Kirchner 1998: 6): for example, Lomongo (data cited from Hulstaert 1961) and Tamazight Berber (data cited from Abdel-Massih 1971) both lenite /b/ to the exclusion of coronal and velar stops.

²⁰ However, some tokens of post-nasal plain ‘unbreathed’ plosive lenition are attested among our speakers, even in wordlist data, as in *ndəxét* [nðəxet] ‘incense,’ and *səmbik* [səmbik] ‘boat.’

/t/ for *ksbét* ‘clothes,’ even where /b/ is lenited to a sonorant.²¹ This may be at least partly due to the lenited variant maintaining its bilabial feature and to the fact that lenition occurs at a low phonetic level.

6.1. The role of speech rate and lenition

The degree of plosive continuity lenition is anticipated to depend on speech rate, being more likely to occur in fast, casual speech than in careful speech (e.g. Kirchner 1998, 2001, 2004; Warner 2011; Melero-Garcia 2021). For this paper, we examine wordlist data produced at a careful speech rate. We assume that the rate of continuity lenition will increase in narrative speech and in fast-speech data; this has been found to be the case comparing word-list data with narrative data in the sister language, Mehri (Watson *et al.*, in prep.). Acoustic data were elicited by providing speakers with wordlists using the Arabic-based orthography developed during the DEAMSA project and asking them to pronounce each word clearly three to five times at normal speed. The speakers were unaware of the purpose of the exercise at the time of recording. The data presented from J028, a male aged 35, and J019, a male aged 62, both from Jufa and the tribe of Bayt al-Kathir, were recorded during the Covid-19 pandemic on the Voice Memos app in iPhone by the second author, then converted to WAV files by Chris Norton prior to segmentation and analysis through Praat (Boersma and Weenick 2017). Data from J001 and J116a were collected in the University of Leeds phonetic laboratory in April 2019 and saved in WAV format 44 kHz, 16 bit; J001 is a 38-year-old male from Gabgabt and the tribe of Bayt Ṣāmir Gīd, and J116a is a 32-year-old female from Tāqah and the tribe of Bayt al-Maṣṣani. J019, J028 and J116a were brought up speaking Shehret at home and learnt Arabic at school. J001 was brought up as a balanced bilingual in Mehri and Shehret and learnt Arabic at school.²² In the drawings of Praat textgrids provided in this paper, tier 3 is used to note lenition (L /b/ = lenited /b/, PL /b/ = partly lenited /b/), pre-voicing (PV), intrusive vowel (IV) and plosive burst (B); tier 4 notes stress: secondary stress (uf), primary stress (sf). For analysis, the spectrogram view range was set at 0-10,000 Hz and the dynamic range at 50dB. In this section, we begin by looking at acoustic features of non-lenited /b/ before examining tokens of lenited and partly lenited /b/.

²¹ Although /w/ is not part of the synchronic phonology of Central and Eastern Shehret, it does occur in Arabic loanwords and in words adopted from Mehri, so speakers are aware of the distinction between a bilabial obstruent and a labio-velar sonorant.

²² Additional speakers recorded in the field using a Laryngograph EGG-D200 with an ECM 500L lapel microphone exhibited similar lenition patterns. Their data will be analysed in future work.

6.1.1. Non-lenited /b/

Non-lenited /b/ has clear voicing throughout as evidenced by the voice bar, a significant drop in amplitude compared to adjacent sonorants, lack of clear formant structure, and a distinctive burst. An example of non-lenited word-medial /b/ is given in Figure 1. *səmbiḳ* ‘boat,’ produced by J001. An example of non-lenited word-initial /b/ is given in Figure 2. *bek* ‘with you m.s.,’ produced by J116a.

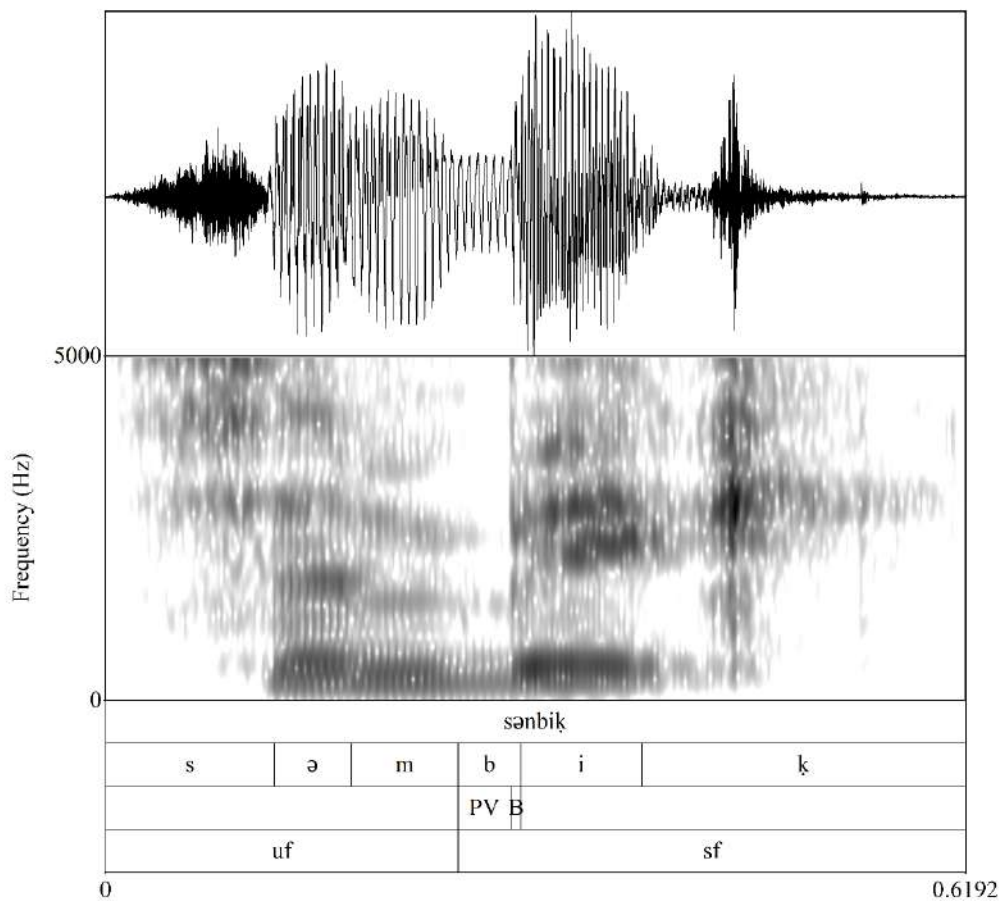


Figure 1. J001: *səmbiḳ* ‘boat’

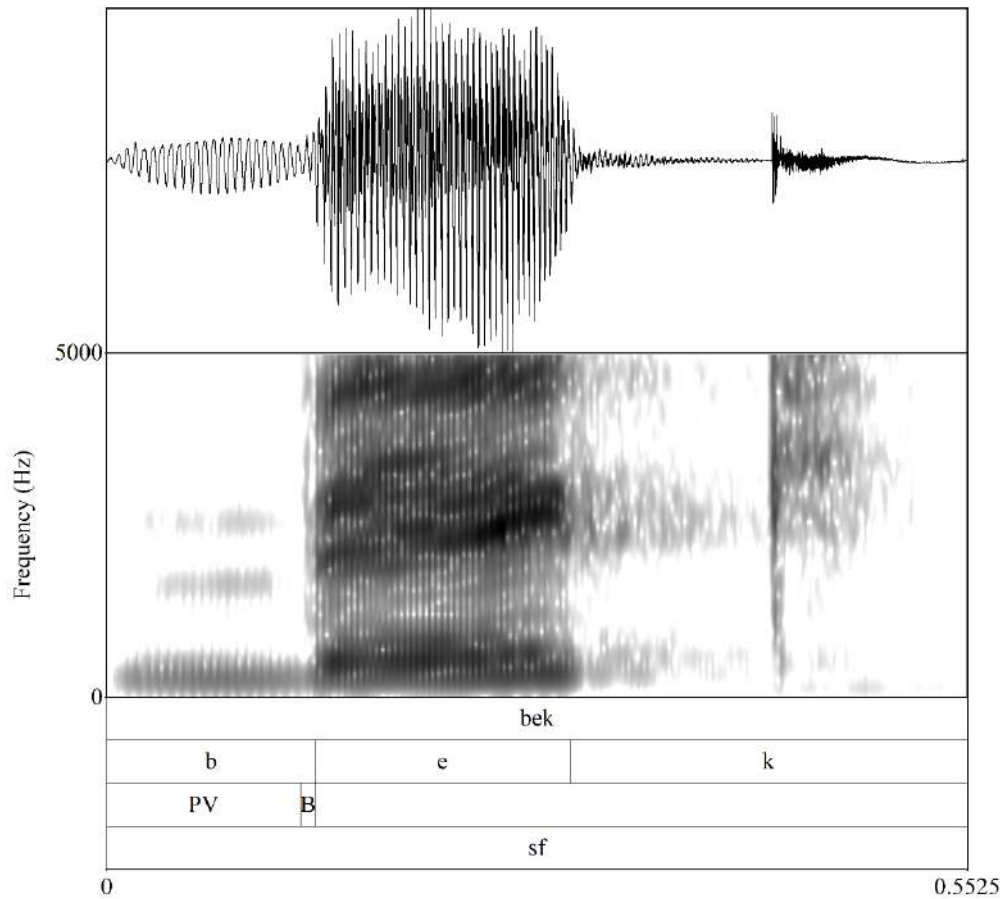


Figure 2. J116a: *bek* ‘with you m.s.’

6.1.2. Lenited and partly lenited /b/

Lenited /b/ was identified by the two authors auditorily and acoustically. Auditorily, lenited /b/ was identified by listening with headphones from the latter part of the preceding vowel to the midpoint of the following vowel to determine whether a plosive, fricative or sonorant was perceived. Acoustically, lenited /b/ displays a lower drop in amplitude than non-lenited /b/, clear formant structure throughout the articulation, and lack of a clear burst, as seen for *zábġat* ‘euphoria’ in Figure 3, produced by J028 and *ṭablét* ‘silver box’ in Figure 4, produced by J116a.

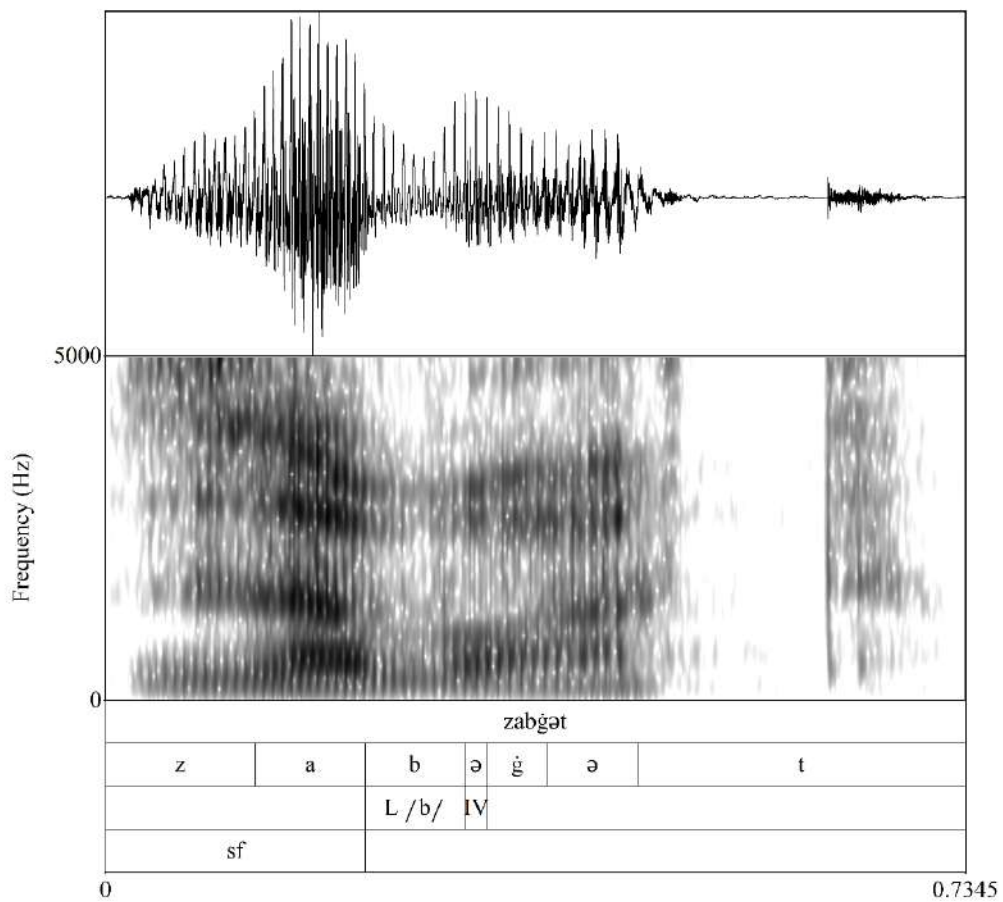


Figure 3. J028: z**á**bgat ‘euphoria’

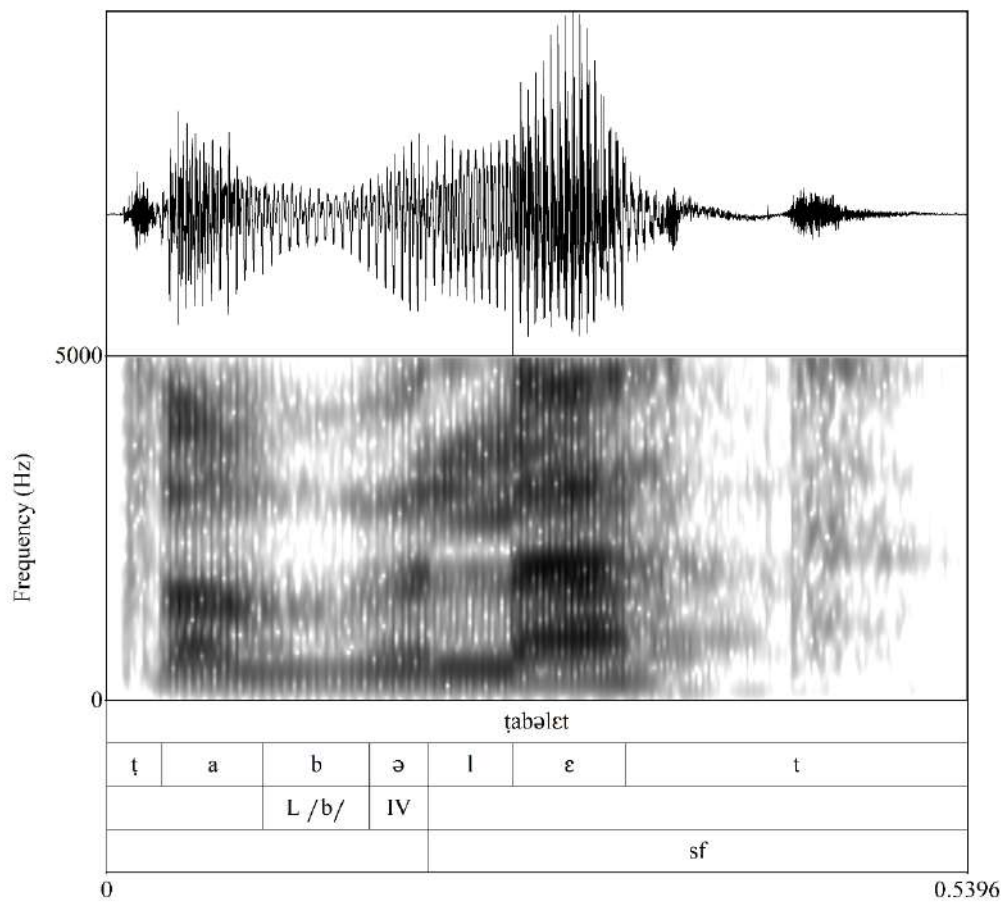


Figure 4. J116a: ṭablēt ‘silver box’

Partial lenition shows a drop in amplitude and lacks clear formant structure, as for non-lenited /b/, but is distinguished from the latter by the lack of a clear burst, as exemplified by zǎbgǎt ‘euphoria’ in Figure 5., produced by J019:

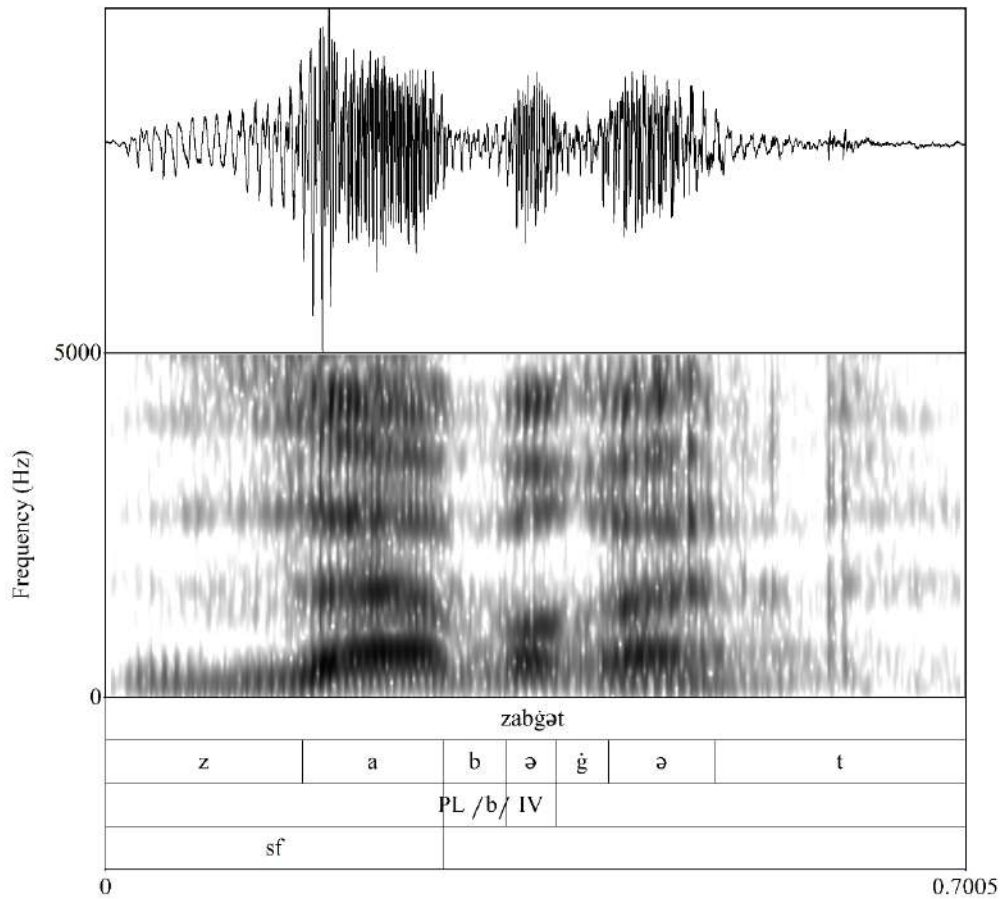


Figure 5. J019: zābgət ‘euphoria’

6.2. The role of stress

In terms of stress position, lenition is predicted to occur more frequently in the onset to an unstressed syllable than to a stressed syllable (Gordon 2011). Figure 5. of *zābgət* and Figure 6. of *šəbzím* ‘to ask s.o. to lend you s.th. for a while’ produced by J019, show lenited /b/ in the onset to unstressed syllables headed by intrusive vowels (IV).

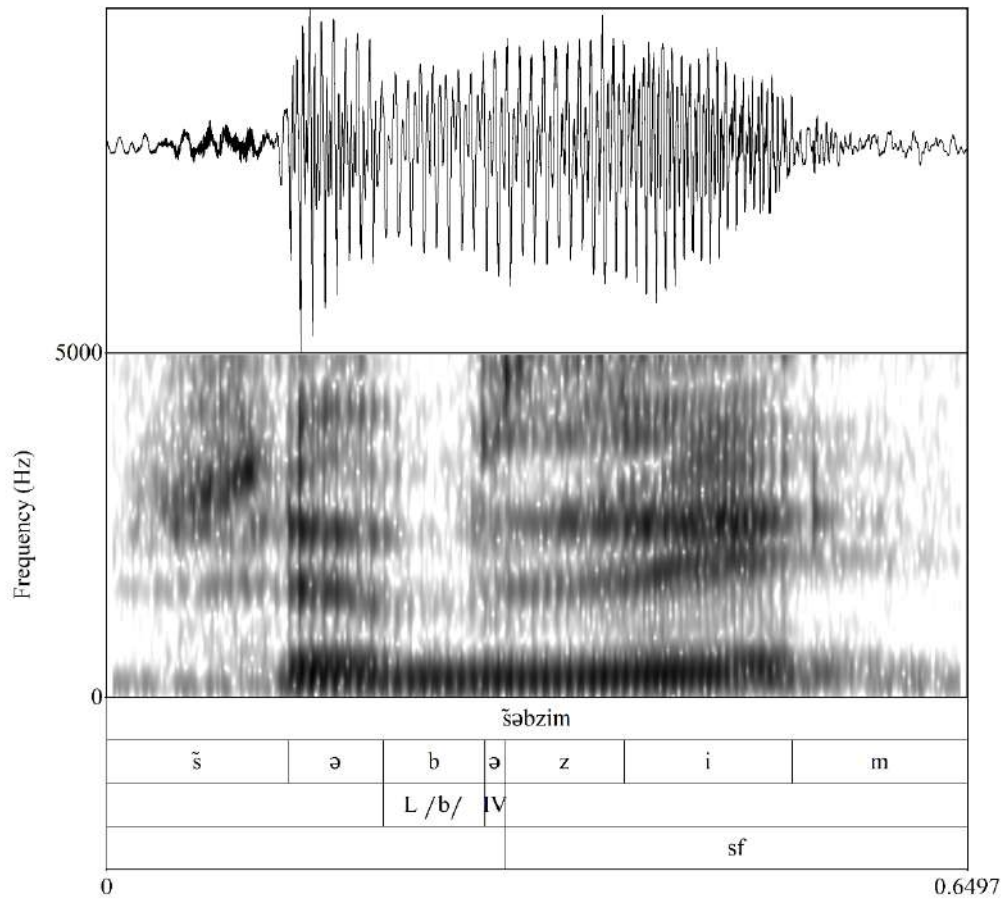


Figure 6. J019: *šəbzim* ‘to ask s.o. to lend s.th. for a while’

However, tokens of /b/ lenition are frequently attested by all our speakers in the onset to a stressed syllable, as we see in Figures 7., 8. and 9. of *zərbég* ‘[place name],’ *ksbét* ‘clothes’ and *īkbérət* ‘the graveyard.’ Of these, /b/ in Figure 9. most clearly exhibits the short duration, high amplitude and formant structure of a typical glide:

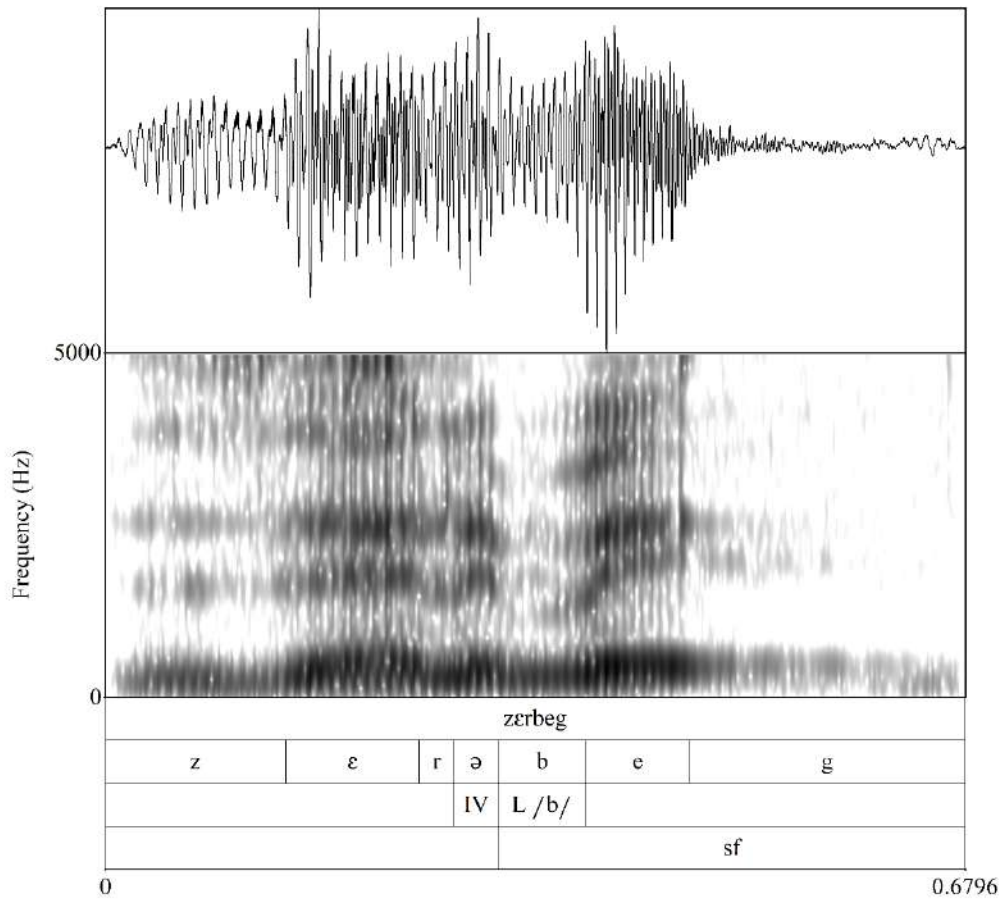


Figure 7. J019: zærbég ‘[place name]’

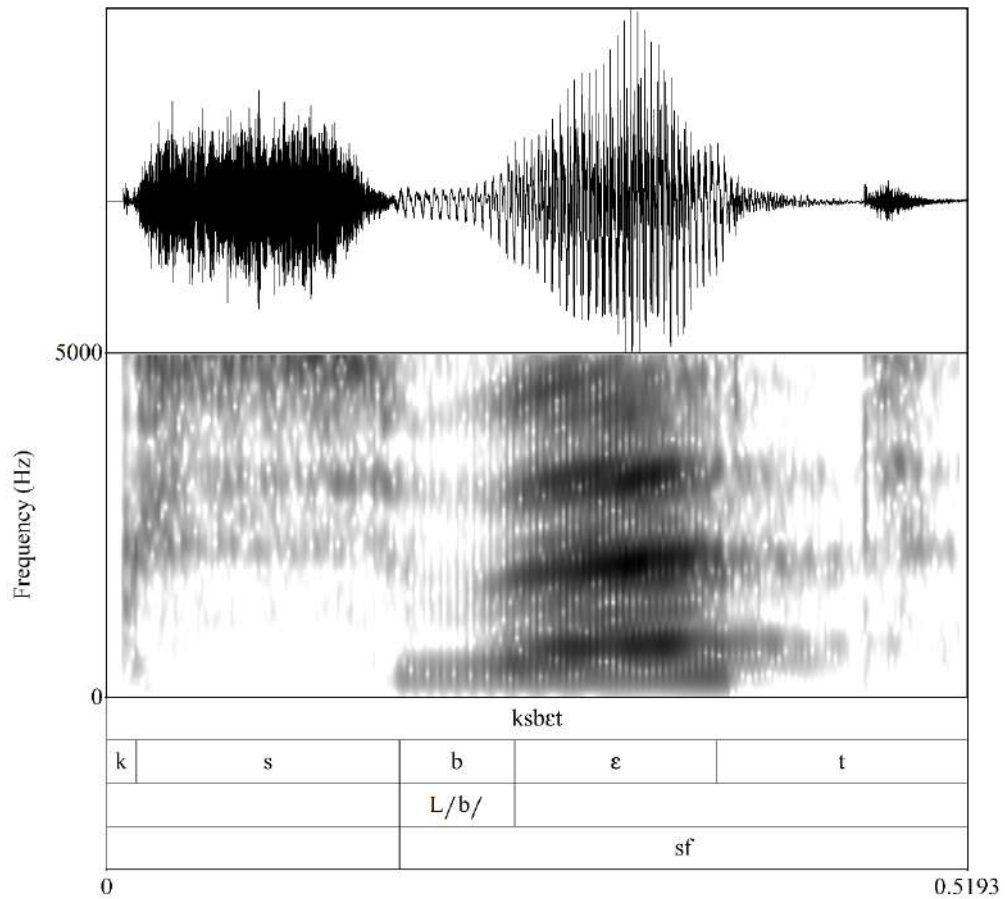


Figure 8. J116a: *ksbét* ‘clothes’

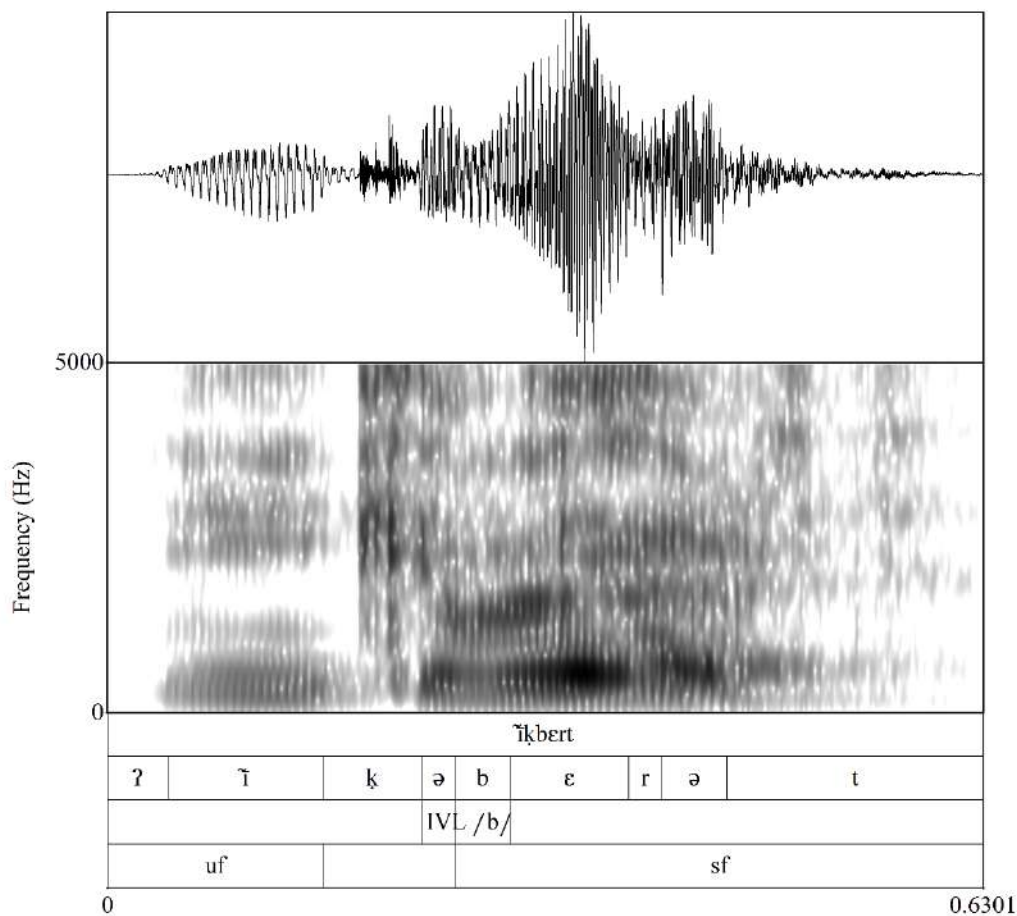


Figure 9. J001: ikbert ‘the graveyard’

6.3. The role of vowel context

Vowel context is shown to have an effect in continuity lenition in other languages (e.g. Otero-Lebaria 2003 for Spanish and English). Impressionistically, /b/ lenition in Shehret occurs more frequently before central and mid front vowels (ə, e, ε, ē) than before low and back vowels (a, o, ɔ, u); however, /b/ lenition before stressed /a/ is also attested, such that all tokens of ašbáhan ‘we were in the morning’ produced by J001 are realised with a fully lenited /b/, as in Figure 10.:

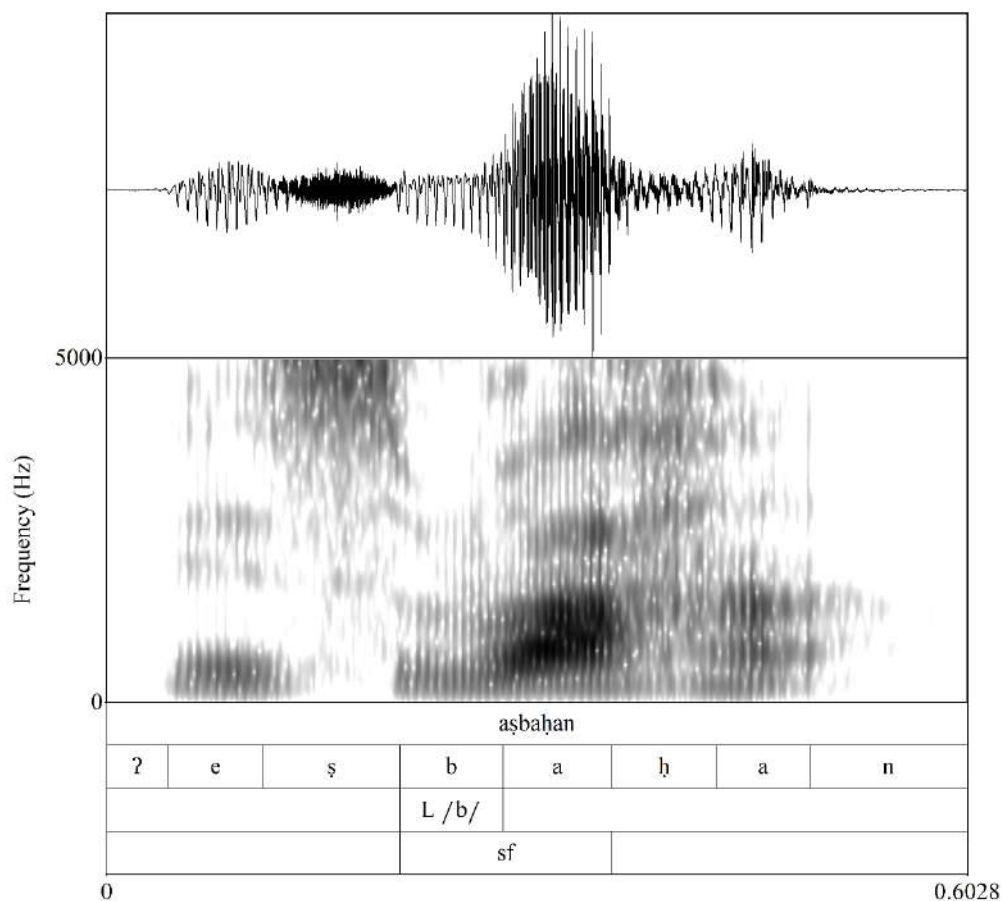


Figure 10. J001: *aşbaḥan* ‘we were in the morning’

Although certain speakers have a tendency to lenite /b/ more frequently than others, continuity lenition of /b/ does not appear to depend on the speaker’s tribe, region, age or sex. Tokens of continuity lenition of /b/ have been found in these and other data from speakers from the tribes of Bit al-Kathir, the second author’s tribe, Bit Ṣāmir Gīd, Bit al-Maṣṣani, Bit Ḥardān and Bit al-Mašīkhi, from speakers from the Central, Central Western and Eastern regions of Dhofar, and from male and female speakers of different ages and educational levels.

7. The patterning of /b m y/ and *w

The phonological patterning of /b m y/ and *w cannot be attributed to a set of shared phonological features; however, phonetically “unnatural” classes such as this are far from uncommon across the languages of the world (Mielke 2008); within Mielke’s (2008) Emergent Feature Theory, such classes can be accounted for by the pressures of phonetics, phonotactics and “external” factors. Blevins (2004) analyses the evolution of sound patterns on the basis of CHANGE, CHANCE and CHOICE. The creation

of the phonetically unnatural class of intervocalic elided consonants in Shehret appears to have arisen both through the tendency of word-medial /b/ to lenite post-lexically, thus becoming more intense and sonorant-like, and through a series of generalisations involving phonetic similarity at each stage (cf. Culicover 1970, cited in Mielke 2009, for a series of generalisations that produces the vowel class /æ a e ə o/ in Dmitriev, a dialect of Russian). In Emergent Feature Theory (Mielke 2008), phonologically active classes can result from generalisations to groups of phonetically similar segments, with both phonetics and “external” factors involved in the development of phonetically natural and unnatural classes. For the Dmitriev vowel class, the phonetic similarity metric developed by Mielke (2005) based on an objective model of phonetic similarity was demonstrated to simulate each following stage in creating the class, with the learner generalising stage by stage to phonetically similar segments from /æ/ to /æ a/, /æ a/ to /æ a ə/ and /e æ a/, /e æ a/ to /e æ a ə/, and /e æ a ə/ to /e æ a ə o/ (Mielke 2009: 34). Culicover’s (1970) vowel set generalisation is given as a series of five changes:

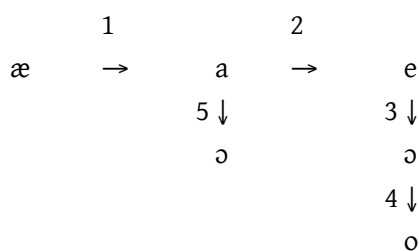


Figure 11. Dmitriev vowel set generalisation

Taking each stage as a starting point, Mielke’s simulation model generalised to /e æ a ə o/ in four out of five cases. The simulation model models the fact that natural classes based on chains of phonetic similarity are common, generalising to phonetically similar segments without the need to resort to innate phonological features or rule out attested patterns.

Although Mielke’s phonetic similarity metric does not involve innate phonological features, we refer to features in the diagram below for convenience to illustrate degrees of phonetic similarity. Each stage is represented by an arrow. For Shehret, we assume that the learner generalises from /y/ ([+high][+sonorant]) to *w (adding [+labial]) to /m/ (deleting [+high]) to /b/ (deleting [+sonorant]):

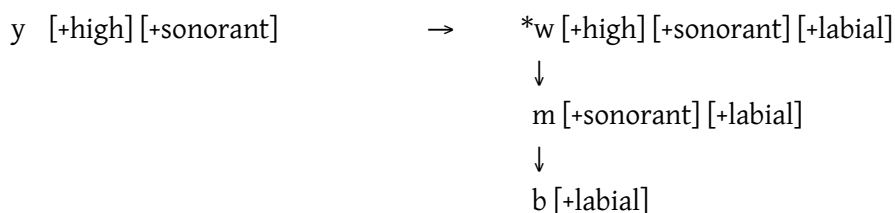


Figure 12. Shehret $y > *w > m > b$ generalisation

In this scenario, the speaker generalises from /y/, arguably the weakest, least marked segment in the set to /y/ *w, to /y/ *w m/, and to /y/ *w m b/. Hence, while /y/ and /b/ share no phonological features to the exclusion of all other segments, phonetic similarity is exhibited along the chain, with /m b/ sharing [+labial] and, in this model, distinguished by [+sonorant].

8. Conclusion

In this paper, we have provided a discussion of the class /b m y/ *w in Shehret, with focus on the phonetic and phonological behaviour of *b*. While the set of consonants subject to intervocalic deletion include /b m y/, *b* is distinguished by functioning as the reflex of both *w and *b, occasionally *y, as patterning with /m/ in alternating with [y]~[ɤy] between underlying /e/~i/ and a stressed mid front or back vowel in certain lexemes, and, in the case of historical *b, in having the reflex /y/ in a closed set of words. /b/ is also subject to phonetic, variable continuity lenition in word-medial position, both in fast, casual speech and in careful speech, and both in the onset to unstressed syllables and in the onset to stressed syllables. The set of consonants that undergo intervocalic deletion is an “unnatural” phonetic class in the sense of Mielke (2008), in that it does not include all the sonorants (excluding /l n r/), does not include all labials (excluding /f/, including /y/), and contains two consonants that share no feature to the exclusion of phonemes outside this class in the language (/y/ and /b/). We suggest that the inclusion of /b/ in this class is due to inventory constraints by which lenited /b/ conflicts with no synchronic phoneme, due to the resultant predilection of /b/ to lenite towards a sonorant word-medially, and due to pressures of phonetic similarity leading to expansion of the phonological class on a stage-by-stage basis. Thus, /b/ behaves in certain environments as an obstruent and in others as a sonorant. The discussion of /b/ continuity lenition in this paper examined wordlist data from four speakers; we assume that speech rate has an effect on lenition, such that faster rate speech and narrative data will exhibit greater lenition than carefully produced wordlist data. Future work will examine the cline of word-medial /b/ continuity lenition through the analysis of narrative data and wordlist data from further speakers. It will consider the role of the vocalic context to test the

hypothesis that continuity lenition is more frequently encountered when followed by a front central or mid vowel. It will also include statistical work on lenition of plain ‘unbreathed’ (voiced) alveolar and velar stops to test our hypothesis that /b/ lenition is more frequent and greater than lenition of either /d/ or /g/.

Abbreviations

1	first person	m.s.	masculine singular (in glosses)
2	second person	NOM	nominaliser
3	third person	PERF	perfect
ADJ	adjectival	PERF	perfect
B	plosive burst	PL	plural
CONT	continuous/habitual	PL /b/	partly lenited /b/
DEAMSA	Documentation and Ethnolinguistic Analysis of Modern South Arabian	PV	pre-voicing
		S	singular
DEF	definite	SF	primary stress
DU	dual	s.o.	someone
F	feminine	s.th.	something
FUT	future	SUBJ	subjunctive
IND	indicative	uf	secondary stress
IV	intrusive vowel	VN	verbal noun
L /b/	lenited /b/	VOC	vocative
M	masculine		

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The historical reality of the plural of paucity and the plural diminutive in Classical Arabic

Evidence from *kalām al-‘arab* (Part Two)

Francesco Grande

This study investigates the semantics of the plural of paucity and the plural diminutive, based on their attestations in the non-literary source of Classical Arabic traditionally known as *kalām al-‘arab*. In noun plural marking, the meaning of the diminutive is as elusive as that of the plural of paucity. What is known of both kinds of meanings is mainly derived from the indirect description of early lexicographers and grammarians. To assess the historical reality of this traditional semantic description, attestations from the *kalām al-‘arab* are collected, then compared to data from Arabic dialects, and finally subjected to a distributional analysis. The grammatical categories of the collective, inherent plural, and the pseudo-dual are also considered in this assessment.

Keywords: plural of paucity, diminutive, *kalām al-‘arab*, collective, inherent plural

1. Aim and introduction

This study continues an investigation of the plural of paucity and the diminutive in the noun plural marking in *kalām al-‘arab* and, generally speaking, in Classical Arabic.¹ The investigation aims at a better understanding of the semantics of both phenomena.

Their joint treatment seems to be particularly appropriate to fulfill this aim. As shown in the first installment of this study, in *kalām al-‘arab* and modern Arabic dialects occur forms such as *tumayrāt/tmērāt*, where the form *tamarāt*, traditionally described as a plural of paucity, co-occurs with the diminutive marker *.u.ay.* to denote ‘some dates’ rather than ‘dates.’ This data clarifies that the plural of paucity and diminutive *both* convey paucal meaning when combined with each other. However, a proper understanding of this semantic facet of both phenomena can only be achieved by studying them in tandem.

¹ For Part One of this study, see Grande (2021).

From a broader perspective, the investigation in the previous installment of this study of some linguistic materials attested in both *kalām al-‘arab* and modern Arabic dialects brought to light traces of paucal meaning in four nouns. In addition to the aforesaid diminutivized feminine sound plural *tumayrāt/tmērāt*² ‘some dates,’ they are the basic *countable* collectives *dhawd/dhawd-ak*³ ‘3-to-10, some (she)-camels,’ *laḥṭ-rahṭ* ‘palm(s) of the hand(s), toes’ > *rahṭ* ‘3-to-10 people’ (cp. Latin *manus* ‘hand’ > ‘band, troop’),⁴ and the diminutivized collective *dhuwayd/dhweyd*⁵ ‘3-to-10, some (she)-camels.’ From these two countable collectives emerges a category that is not traditionally recognized: the ‘collective of paucity’ (the reader is referred to Part One, Sections. 6, 7.1. for further details).

No evidence was available from these linguistic materials concerning the paucal meaning of the remaining kinds of plural: the basic broken and sound plurals of paucity, and the diminutivized broken and masculine sound plurals of paucity. This is summarized in Table 1. below.

² The lexeme *tmērāt* is from the dialect of Marâzîg (Nefzaoua region, Southern Tunisia).

³ The lexeme *dhawd-ak* is from Rwala Arabic.

⁴ In this case, the dialectal parallel is a phonological alternation (Lebanese Arabic *yərḥaṭ/yəlḥaṭ* ‘he eats with vigor’) rather than a corresponding lexeme.

⁵ The lexeme *dhweyd* is from Rwala Arabic.

Basic form				
Traditional description			[SOME]	Reliability of the traditional description
Collective	Collective proper		-	YES
	(Collective of paucity) ⁶		X	(Not applicable)
Plural	Sound plural	Masculine sound plural of paucity	?	?
		Feminine sound plural of paucity	?	?
	Broken plural	Plural of paucity	?	?
		Plural of multitude	-	?
Diminutivized form				
Traditional description			[SOME]	Reliability of the traditional description
Collective	Collective proper		?	?
	(Collective of paucity)		X	(Not applicable)
Plural	Sound plural	Masculine sound plural of paucity	?	?
		Feminine sound plural of paucity	X	YES
	Broken plural	Plural of paucity	?	?
		(Pl. of multit. not diminutivizable)	-	(Not applicable)

Table 1. Distribution of paucity in *kalām al-‘arab* and modern Arabic dialects

In the basic collectives of paucity and the diminutivized feminine sound plural, the diminutive marker *.u.ay.*, which will be henceforth referred to as ‘the diminutive,’ does not perform the semantic function traditionally ascribed to it—that is, it adds no extra meaning of physical or metaphorical smallness to a referent conceived as ‘regular’ in some physical or metaphorical respect.

Rather, in these linguistic materials the diminutive removes a semantic ambiguity involving the number value of the basic noun it is attached to: e.g., *tumayrāt/tmērāt* ‘some dates’ vs. *tamarāt* ‘some/many dates.’ The diminutive does so by selecting one number value of the basic noun over another, and by simply ‘repeating’ it: e.g., *tamarāt* ‘some/~~many~~ dates’ > *tumayrāt* ‘some dates.’ In this sense, it performs what can be provisionally defined as a ‘doubling function.’ Distributionally, the question still remains of what relationship holds in *kalām al-‘arab* between such a doubling function of the diminutive in noun plural marking and its semantics in noun singular marking, where it behaves as a diminutive in the traditional sense. In this domain, the diminutive clearly adds an extra meaning of physical or metaphorical smallness to the basic noun it is attached to (e.g., *rajul* ‘man’ > *ruwayjil* ‘small man’ in *al-Kitāb*, III, 426, and its dialectal equivalents such as *rwēzel* ‘small man’ in Denizeau 1957: 69).

⁶ This term is placed in brackets, as it is not part of the traditional description. It is rather the result of the collection and comparison of data from *kalām al-‘arab* and modern Arabic dialects; see Part One, Section 7.2.

The second installment of this study will offer a distributional analysis of the linguistic materials *dhawd/dhawd-ak*, *laḥṭ-raḥṭ*, *dhuwayd/dhweyd*, and *tumayrāt/tmērāt*, thereby including the so-called ‘collective of paucity’ in the investigation. This analysis will allow for a better understanding of the basic and diminutivized plurals of paucity, which are still semantically unclear, as well as of the diminutive in noun plural marking, and especially of its semantic relationship with the diminutive in noun singular marking. Besides the above materials, the distributional analysis will be based on additional data from *kalām al-‘arab* and modern dialects, which includes the so-called inherent plural. After some brief terminological remarks, the collective of paucity and the plural of paucity will be subjected to distributional analysis, followed by the diminutive in noun plural marking.

2. Terminological issues

The linguistic materials collected in the previous installment confirmed only in part the traditional description of some basic or diminutivized collectives and plurals in terms of paucity.

Nevertheless, it makes sense to retain the traditional terminology alluding to paucity, if only for the practical purpose of classification. This terminology remains valid insofar as it provides a *formal* criterion of classification. Unless further evidence is available, in this study the term ‘plural of paucity’ refers to *morphological* properties: for instance, what is traditionally labeled as ‘a (basic) broken plural of paucity’ is no more than a root co-occurring with a given circumfixal morpheme, such as *’a..ā* (e.g., *’aqdām* ‘feet’). At the current research stage, the only ‘plural of paucity’ that merits the name semantically is the diminutivized feminine sound plural, as illustrated in Section 1. above.

Since the traditional terminology will be chiefly used here to describe the form of collectives and plurals, a componential notation will be employed to describe their semantics, as illustrated in Table 2. below. In this terminological framework, the terms ‘collective’ and ‘plural’ themselves tend to denote a particular form rather than a particular meaning. Thus, minimally speaking, a collective can be conceived as an unmarked stem, and a plural as a marked stem, each of which denotes more entities, as illustrated in Table 3. below.

This terminological choice allows for the incorporation of recent outcomes in the study of nominal semantics that undermine a well-established semantic definition of collectives and plurals, according to which the former denote a collection and the latter denote members. Cross-linguistic evidence shows that collection-semantics can no longer be conceived as a defining trait of a collective, in that it can also be conveyed by a plural; conversely, member-semantics can no longer be conceived as a defining trait of a plural, as it too can be conveyed by a collective (see Part One, Section 2. and Acquaviva 2008).

Componential notation	Alternative terminology
[ONE]	singular, singulative
[MORE]	plurality (of collectives and plurals)
[SOME] ⁷	paucal, paucity (few, some, etc.)
[MANY] ⁸	multal (many, much)

Table 2. Componential notation

	>>> Direction of markedness >>>		Examples		Gloss
	Unmarked	Marked			
	Stem	Stem + additional marker			
Collective	[MORE]	[ONE]	tamr	tamra	date(s)
Plural	[ONE]	[MORE]	qadam	ɑqda:m	foo/eet

Table 3. Markedness-base definition of collectives and plurals

3. The distribution of the collective of paucity and the plural of paucity

3.1. Collective

A distributional study of the nouns *dhawd/dhawd-ak*, *dhuwayd/dhweyd*, *laḥṭ-rahṭ* ‘palm(s) of the hand(s), toes’ > *rahṭ*, and *tumayrāt/tmērāt* reveals that they all fall within the ‘collective’ category, which can be conceived minimally as an unmarked stem denoting [MORE] (see Table 3. above).

Morphologically, this is apparent for *laḥṭ-rahṭ* > *rahṭ*, *dhawd/dhawd-ak*, and the latter’s diminutivized counterpart *dhuwayd/dhweyd*. The diminutivized feminine sound plural *tumayrāt/tmērāt* equally falls within the ‘collective’ category, as it ultimately derives from the collective *tamr*.

On the level of meaning, *dhawd/dhawd-ak*, *dhuwayd/dhweyd*, and *tumayrāt/tmērāt* are characterized by cohesion and interchangeability, two semantic features of a collection (see Part One, Section 2.). Upon closer scrutiny, the same holds for *laḥṭ-rahṭ* > *rahṭ*, since its original referents ‘palm(s) of the hand(s), toes’ are cohesive and to some degree interchangeable. These nouns also share low animacy, another defining feature of a collection (in the case of *laḥṭ-rahṭ* > *rahṭ*, low animacy is observed, again, in its original referent ‘palm(s) of the hand(s), toes’). Finally, they semantically share individuation, a multifactorial property like collection-semantics: cross-linguistically, widespread individuation-

⁷ The alternative notation [SOME] to the exclusion of [MANY], employed in the first installment of this study, would be more accurate, but more cumbersome as well.

⁸ The alternative notation [MANY] to the exclusion of [SOME], employed in the first installment of this study, would be more accurate, but more cumbersome as well.

features are low number (i.e., [SOME]) and high animacy (Corbett 2000: 217). Specifically for *dhawd/dhawd-ak*, *dhuwayd/dhweyd*, *tumayrāt/tmērāt*, and *laḥṭ-raḥṭ* in the original sense of ‘palm(s) of the hand(s), toes,’ they all share the feature of low number, as illustrated in Section 1 above, while the feature of high animacy is quite peripheral, as it is observed only in the later meaning of *raḥṭ*, i.e., ‘3-to-10 people.’

On the level of form, the semantic features of individuation and collection-semantics are diagnosed, respectively, through countability and the capability of feminine singular agreement (see Part One, Section 3). Appreciable evidence is found in this respect. On the countability of *dhawd* and *laḥṭ-raḥṭ*, see the data reported in Part One, Section 7.1. On the feminine singular agreement of *dhawd* and *tamarāt*, see *Kitāb al-Jīm*, (III, 178, 19): *yalka‘u dhawda banī fulān, ay yaḥlibu-hā*, i.e., ‘*yalka‘* a few she-camels of s.o.’s tribe, that is milks them.F⁹’ and *tulqā fi-hi tamarāt* ‘where dates are thrown.F.’

However, a distributional asymmetry is observed in the nouns under scrutiny. On the one hand, in *dhawd/dhawd-ak*, *dhuwayd/dhweyd*, and *laḥṭ-raḥṭ* > *raḥṭ* low number, i.e., [SOME], is an instance of lexical meaning, being encoded within the stems *dhawd* and *laḥṭ-raḥṭ*. On the other hand, in *tumayrāt/tmērāt* the same feature is an instance of contextual (or derivational) meaning, the context being the morphological environment *.u.ay..āt/..ē.āt* in which the stem occurs.

In sum, in distributional terms *dhawd/dhawd-ak*, *dhuwayd/dhweyd*, *laḥṭ-raḥṭ*, and *tumayrāt/tmērāt* are ultimately collective nouns characterized by a semantic pattern of co-occurrence, in which (I) collection-semantics (cohesion, interchangeability, and low animacy) is paired with (II) low number, i.e., [SOME], intended as an instance of individuation.

The question arises whether, besides collectives, [SOME] occurs in plurals as well, especially within the pattern of co-occurrence in (I-II). To answer this question, further linguistic materials from *kalām al-‘arab* and modern dialects will be collected and subjected to a distributional analysis. As noted at the end of the first installment of this study, priority will be given to linguistic materials that include instances of plurals poorly studied in (Arabic) linguistics, such as the pseudo-dual and the inherent plural.¹⁰

⁹ For *dhawd* agreement in *ū* is also possible: *inna-hum la-dhawdu wa‘ka* ‘indeed, they are some camels hastening to the water trough’ (*al-Jīm*, III, 305). In this case *dhawd* conveys member-semantics: see Part One, Section 3.1. That a noun may oscillate between the two kinds of agreement comes as no surprise; such an oscillation is observed in broken plurals, where it is a matter of contextual meaning.

¹⁰ See Corriente (1971: 79-80, 120) and Corbett (2000: 95, 207, 286) for a cursory mention of the pseudo-dual.

3.2. Plural: ‘pseudo-dual’

The pseudo-dual is a stem marked by a bound morpheme denoting [MORE], thereby falling into the category of plural (see Blanc 1970: 45-46 and Table 3. above).

In many (though not in all) dialects, this bound morpheme is *formally* identical to the dual morpheme (e.g., *ēn*), whence the label ‘pseudo-dual.’ Semantically, the referents of the pseudo-dual are mainly paired or multiple body parts, such as eyes or fingers. Some examples of duals and pseudo-duals are given, respectively, in 1., 3., 5., 7. and 2., 4., 6., 8. below (data from Blanc 1970 and Marçais 1956):

1.	‘in-ēn eye-DU/(-PSEUDO-DU) ‘two eyes/(eyes)’ ¹¹	2.	arba‘ in-ēn (Egyptian Arabic) four eye-PSEUDO-DU ‘four eyes’ ¹²
3.	ṭar‘-īn breast-DU/(-PSEUDO-DU) ‘two breasts/(breasts)’	4.	ṭarṣ-īn (Djидjelli Arabic) molar-PSEUDO-DU ‘molars’
5.	der‘-āyen arm-DU ‘two fathoms’	6.	der‘-īn arm-PSEUDO-DU ‘arms’
7.	uṣba‘-ēn digit-DU ‘two toes, two digits’	8.	aṣāb‘-ēn (Palestinian Arabic) toes, digits-PSEUDO-DU ‘toes, digits’

Marçais (1956: 346) and Blanc (1970: 46) remark that in some dialects, the terms referring to *paired* body parts, e.g., ‘in-ēn ‘eyes’ and ṭar‘-īn ‘breasts’ in 1., 3., as well as *kəff-īn* ‘palms of the hands’ in 9. below, imply the number value ‘two’ as the preferred reading,¹³ so they are usually described as duals. For instance, Marçais (1956: 346) states: ‘La finale -īn, indice du duel, affecte [...] *kəff-īn*.’

¹¹ The bracketed gloss indicates the less frequent reading.

¹² Cp. also Djидjelli Arabic *telt ‘n-īn* ‘three eyes,’ *təmn yedd-īn* ‘eight hands’ (Marçais 1956: 347).

¹³ In Marçais’s (1956: 452) own words: ‘noms désignant des mesures de temps, de poids, de capacité, etc., noms désignant des parties doubles du corps [...]. Les premiers sont restés de vrais duels [...]. Les seconds, par contre, passés de duels à duels-pluriels.’ The pseudo-dual may refer to paired or multiple body parts due to a diachronic process of semantic change that moves along a continuum. The pseudo-dual originated as a dual referring to paired body parts (e.g., hands); later it came to refer to multiple paired body parts (e.g., molars), and finally to multiple body parts in general (e.g., limbs). Corriente (1971: 79-80, 120) posits a diachronic scenario along these lines.

By contrast, the terms referring to *multiple* body parts, e.g., *ṭarṣ-īn* ‘molars’ in 4., imply a multiple set of referents as the preferred reading. For instance, in Djidjelli Arabic ‘un terme qui désigne tel membre [...] multiple, est employé au pluriel (ongles, doigts, pattes, par exemple, etc.) [...] les mêmes formes [du duel] ont été adoptées [...]: *ṭarṣa* «molaire», forme nue *ṭarṣīn*’ (Marçais 1956: 346, 453).

Now, a set of multiple body parts (toes, digits, molars etc.) consist of referents bound to a common restricted ‘space,’ so to speak—the human or animal body, which intrinsically limits their number. That is, in terms such as *ṭarṣ-īn* ‘molars’ in 4., the number of referents is by its own nature relatively low: technically speaking, these terms denote [SOME].

However, the exact number value of a low amount of multiple body parts is not well-defined, depending on the specific nature of the multiple body parts considered: e.g., molars, fingers, toes, digits, and teeth amount to eight, ten, twenty, and thirty-two items, respectively. This is why Blanc (1970: 47) states that the body parts referred to by the dual and pseudo-dual ‘range from a minimum of two to a maximum of perhaps two dozen.’ In the typological literature, the fact that the feature [SOME] is not well-defined and has no fixed number value is a widely recognized phenomenon: Corbett (2000: 39-40) subsumes this feature under the instances of indeterminate number.

A pattern of complementary distribution therefore emerges in the semantic domain of body parts, where one and the same ending expresses the number value ‘two’ when associated with paired body parts (dual: cp. *ṭar-īn* in 3.), while expressing a low number value, i.e., [SOME], when associated with multiple body parts (pseudo-dual: cp. *ṭarṣīn* in 4.). In both cases, the default number value is an instance of lexical meaning, since it is set as ‘two’ or [SOME] depending on the semantic content of the stem.

This pattern of complementary distribution requires some specification. In Djidjelli Arabic standards of quantification, including numerals,¹⁴ behave as paired body parts, in that their ending *īn* expresses the number value of ‘two’ (dual), as in 9.-11. below (Marçais 1956: 423, 452; see also fn. 12.):

9.	<i>kāff-īn</i>	10.	<i>reṭl-īn</i>	11.	<i>mīt-īn</i>	12.	<i>khamse mij-īn</i>
	palm-DU		pound-DU		hundred-DU		five hundred-PSEUDO-DU
	‘two palms’		‘two pounds’		‘two hundred’		‘five hundred’

¹⁴ A standard of quantification is an instance of a quantity against which others are counted: see Acquaviva (2008: 96-97).

This is probably the result of analogy. Words such as *kəff-īn* in 9., which at once signify a paired body part and a standard of quantification (Marçais 1956: 423), following a well-attested semantic shift (cp. English ‘foot’), might have acted as the pivot of an analogical extension along the following lines:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|---|--------------------|
| 13. | paired body part > | etymologically related standard of q. > | any standard of q. |
| | <i>kəff-īn</i> | <i>kəff-īn</i> | <i>mīt-īn</i> |
| | ‘two palms’ | ‘two palms (measurement unit)’ | ‘two hundred’ |

However, the analogical behavior of standards of quantification seems to be subject to dialectal variation: when associated with the numeral ‘hundred,’ the ending *īn* expresses the number value ‘two’ in Djidjelli Arabic, as in 11., while expressing a low number value in Dhofari Arabic, as in 12. (Rhodokanakis 1908: 87). Given that hundreds higher than two hundred must range from three to nine, their low number value clearly corresponds to [SOME].

Marçais (1956: 347) and Blanc (1970: 46) also highlight that an ending that expresses the number value ‘two’ (dual), when associated with paired body parts, may also express a higher number value (pseudo-dual) through contextual meaning, e.g., when co-occurring with a numeral, as in 2. above (see also fn. 12 for more examples). It is not clear from Marçais’s and Blanc’s description whether this kind of pseudo-dual, resulting from contextual meaning, denotes just [MORE] or, more specifically, [SOME].

However, the pseudo-dual resulting from contextual meaning in 2. is of no relevance here. By contrast, the pseudo-dual resulting from lexical meaning, intrinsically denoting [SOME], will turn out to be relevant in due course.¹⁵

Another pattern of complementary distribution can be observed on the level of form (Blanc 1970: 47-48). The dual and pseudo-dual may exhibit different endings (cp. 5., 6.) or different stems, with the dual retaining the singular stem and the pseudo-dual adopting a broken plural stem, as in 7., 8., respectively. This *morphological* pattern of complementary distribution (see 5., 6. or 7., 8.) does not necessarily co-occur with the *semantic* pattern of complementary distribution illustrated immediately above (see 3., 4.).

¹⁵ Nor is the generic reading of this kind of pseudo-dual, i.e., the fact that *ṭarṣīn* etc., may denote [MORE] rather than [SOME], particularly relevant here. For instance, in Djidjelli Arabic *ṭarṣī-həm* ‘their molars’ is as possible as *ṭarṣī-hā* ‘her molars’ (Marçais 1956: 453 and see also 16. below). Plainly, *ṭarṣī-həm* implies a generic reading (molars of many people cannot be few), and this is an instance of contextual meaning since it is due to the suffix pronoun *-həm*. Yet, this fact does not affect the main point that the most natural reading of multiple body parts is their lexical meaning, which implies [SOME].

Further distinctive traits of the pseudo-dual are observed in its paradigm (Blanc 1970: 47-48, Marçais 1956: 453): unlike the dual, the pseudo-dual drops *n* in the pronominal construct state and exhibits gender inversion, i.e., change of gender from singular to pseudo-dual. This is exemplified by the following data:

14.	ṭarṣ-a	15.	ṭarṣ-īn	16.	ṭarṣ-ī-hā	(Djidjelli Arabic)
	molar-F		molar-PSEUDO-DU.M ¹⁶		molar-PSEUDO-DU.M-her	
	‘molar’		‘molars’		‘her molars’	

To summarize, the pseudo-dual displays the following diagnostic properties:

17. Pseudo-dual (e.g., *ṭarṣ-īn* ‘molars.M’):
- (I) gender inversion (cp. *ṭarṣ-a* ‘molar-F’)
 - (II) inanimacy
 - (III) main semantic domains:
 - a. paired body parts
 - b. multiple body parts
 - c. standards of quantification
 - (IV) number value:
 - a. paired body parts: pseudo-dual as *contextual* meaning: [MORE]
 - b. multiple body parts: pseudo-dual as *lexical* meaning: [SOME]
 - c. standards of q.: dual or pseudo-dual subject to dialectal variation: ‘two’ vs. [SOME]

The pseudo-dual as defined along these lines has been reported so far in the literature only in connection with modern dialects. The following section investigates a possible parallel of the dialectal pseudo-dual in *kalām al-‘arab*.

¹⁶ The pseudo-dual marker is masculine, in the sense that the dedicated feminine *t*-marker must be added to it to convey feminine meaning, as is shown by the following instance of the pseudo-dual, from the spoken Arabic of Tunis: *rukubtīn* ‘knees,’ from *rukba* ‘knee’ (Blanc 1970: 48).

3.3. Plural: biconsonantal sound plural

According to Blanc (1970: 46), the semantic core of the pseudo-dual is a set of referents consisting of eyes, ears, hands, feet (paired body parts), and teeth (a multiple body part).

By extension, other referents consisting of paired or multiple body parts may be morphologically realized as pseudo-duals, e.g., *ṭar'īn* 'breasts' in 3. above and *ṣarmīn* 'bowels' (Marçais 1956: 348). However, 'some dialects have widened the range [of referents] considerably. [...] The Anatolian dialects add an unusual *'ūdayn* 'sticks' [...] [T]he true dual is, on the analogy of other pseudo-duals [...] *'ūdayn*' (Blanc 1970: 46). Another instance of a pseudo-dual not denoting paired or multiple body parts is the numeral *mij-īn* 'hundreds' in Dhofari Arabic (see 12. above).

In the *kalām al-'arab* described by Sibawayhi and coeval sources, the vast majority of these or similar referents is morphologically realized as a masculine sound plural akin to the dialectal pseudo-dual, as shown in Table 4 (where grey indicates the core set of pseudo-duals).¹⁷ Effectively, these referents exhibit an (oblique) ending *īna* formally identical to *īn* in 7 out of 9 cases: *wednīn/burīna*, *yéddīn/aydīna*, *sennīn/lithīna*, *ṭar'īn/thudīna*, *ṣarmīn/ri'īna*, *'udayn/qulīna*, *mijīn/mi'īna*. For the two remaining referents, i.e., eyes and feet, the dialectal pseudo-dual has no parallel in the masculine sound plural in *kalām al-'arab*.

	Pseudo-dual			Masculine sound plural		
	SG	PL	gloss	SG	PL	gloss
Paired body parts	<i>'īn</i>	<i>'īnīn</i>	eye/s	<i>'ayn</i>	<i>a'yun...</i>	eye/s
	<i>udén</i>	<i>wednīn</i>	ear/s	<i>bura</i>	<i>burīna</i>	ear-ring/s
	<i>yédd</i>	<i>yeddīn</i>	hand/s	<i>yad</i>	<i>aydīna</i>	hand/s, paw/s
	<i>ržél</i>	<i>režlīn</i>	foo/eet, leg/s	<i>rijl</i>	<i>arjul</i>	foo/eet, leg/s
Multiple body parts	<i>senna</i>	<i>sennīn</i>	too/eeth	<i>litha</i>	<i>lithīna</i>	gum/s
Paired body parts	<i>ṭar'a</i>	<i>ṭar'īn</i>	breast/s	?	<i>thudīna</i>	breast/s
Multiple body parts	-	-	-	<i>'iḍa</i>	<i>'iḍīna</i>	limb/s
	-	<i>ṣarmīn</i>	bowels	<i>ri'a</i>	<i>ri'īna</i>	lung/upper digestive sys.
Standards of quant.	<i>mije</i>	<i>mijīn</i>	hundred/s	<i>mi'a</i>	<i>mi'īna</i>	hundred/s
Other	?	<i>'ūdayn</i>	stick/s	<i>qula</i>	<i>qulīna</i>	stick/s

Table 4. Pseudo-duals and semantically related masculine sound plurals in *kalām al-'arab*

¹⁷ The relevant sources will be provided for each term in footnotes. In Table 4 the data from *kalām al-'arab* is cited in accusative/oblique case for convenience. In the sources the same data may be also cited in the nominative case (*burūna*, etc.).

This distributional gap is not accidental. A pseudo-dual has a parallel in the masculine sound plural when it bears two co-occurring features: a biconsonantal stem and [SOME].

Thus, *‘ayn* carries neither feature, whence its inability to be morphologically realized as a masculine sound plural. The term *rijl* may refer not only to feet but also to paws,¹⁸ so it may imply the low number value ‘four,’ i.e., [SOME], but is not biconsonantal: accordingly, its morphological realization as a masculine sound plural is not possible either. As regards *burīna*, it is a biconsonantal stem referring to earrings, entities bound to a common restricted ‘space,’ the ears, which intrinsically limits their number.¹⁹ Likewise, *lithīna* is a biconsonantal stem whose multiple referent ‘gums’ is not easily quantifiable but limited in number,²⁰ and *thudīna* is a biconsonantal stem attested in a line where it refers to the breasts of mourning women, who qualify as a restricted set, relative to the women of the entire community to which they belong, e.g., a tribe.²¹ The same holds for other terms denoting multiple body parts that are not attested as pseudo-duals in the dialectal sample collected by Blanc (1970): according to early sources, *‘idīna* ‘limbs’ and *ri’īna* ‘lungs and upper digestive system’ are biconsonantal stems referring to body parts that, albeit not easily quantifiable, are limited in number.²²

Only two out of nine terms do not obey this generalization, in that they are morphologically realized as masculine sound plurals although, as far as is known, their biconsonantal stem does not co-occur with [SOME]: *aydīna* ‘hands’²³ and *qulīna* ‘sticks.’

¹⁸ See Lane (1863, s.v. *RJL*) and its sources. Lane reports this interpretation for the saying *al-rijl jubbār*: ‘it may here mean the leg or foot absolutely [...] if a beast tread upon a man.’ The interpretation goes back to *kalām al-‘arab*, being ascribed to the jurist al-Shafī‘ī (d. 820/204): *al-shafī‘ī yarā [...] nafaḥat l-dābbatu bi-rijli-hā aw khaṭabat bi-yadi-hā* (*Tahdhīb al-Lughā*, XI, 24).

¹⁹ The word occurs in *Kitāb al-‘Ayn* (VIII, 285) with the generic meaning ‘ring’ (*ḥalqa*). Admittedly, the specific meaning ‘earring’ (*qurt*) is recorded later by al-Jawharī (d. 1002/393): see Lane (1863, s.v. *BRW*).

²⁰ This term admittedly cannot be clearly traced back to *kalām al-‘arab*. As far as is known, it only occurs in *Lisān al-‘arab* (XV, 241) where it is minimally described as a plural of *litha* (*wa-litha tujma‘u lithātin wa-lithīna*).

²¹ The line in question cannot be dated. However, the non-canonical nature of *thudīna* points to its archaicity. The traditional view is that this form is an error, as reported by Lane (1863, s.v. *THDW*), who also offers the following translation of the line in which *thudīna* occurs: *wa-aṣḥabat-i l-nisā‘u musallibātin la-hunna l-waylu yamdudna l-thudīnā* ‘And the women became widowed, having woe, pulling their breasts.’ It can hardly be maintained that the form *thudīna* has been invented to fit the meter since, as the Arab lexicographers themselves notice, the more usual broken plural *thudīyya*, which is metrically equivalent, would have equally served the purpose.

²² Regarding *‘idīna*, al-Muqātil (d. 150/767) glosses it as *a‘dā‘an ka-a‘dā‘i l-jazūr* ‘parts, like the limbs of the sacrificial camel’ (*Tafsīr*, II, 437). Regarding *ri’īna*, in *Kitāb al-‘Ayn* (I, 136) it is glossed as *saḥr* (*al-saḥru wa-hiya l-ri‘a*), a term that in turn is glossed as *a‘lā l-ṣadr* ‘upper chest’ and, in greater detail, as *al-ri‘a fi l-baṭni bi-mā-shtamalāt wa-mā ta‘allaqa bi-l-ḥuḷqūm* ‘the *ri‘a* in the belly, along with what the *ri‘a* includes, and along what adheres to the gullet’ (*Kitāb al-‘Ayn*, III, 136).

²³ This form occurs in a line attributed to Abū l-Haytham (d. 37/657), one of Muḥammad’s companions (*Tāj al-‘Arūs*, XL, 353), so it may belong to a stage of the language even older than *kalām al-‘arab*. While its date is uncertain, its authenticity is proven

Besides a biconsonantal stem and [SOME], the vast majority of the masculine sound plurals under scrutiny are also characterized by gender inversion, which is morphologically realized as an alternation *at* vs. *īna*. They comprise all the items listed in Table 4. with the exception of *aydīna* and *thudīna*, namely: *burīna*, *lithīna*, *qulīna*, *mi'īna*, *'iḏīna*, *ri'īna*.

Overall, the masculine sound plural in *kalām al-'arab*, when morphologically realized as a biconsonantal stem, displays the same formal and semantic properties of the pseudo-dual summarized in 17. above, from gender inversion to equivalence or near-equivalence of semantic domains, if not of referents. *Ceteris paribus*, the masculine sound plural in *kalām al-'arab* also has a regular plural alternant: *burīna*, *lithīna*, *qulīna*, *mi'īna*, *'iḏīna*, and *ri'īna* co-exist with the feminine sound plurals *burāt*, *lithāt*, *qulāt*, *mi'āt*, *'iḏawāt*, and *ri'āt*, recorded in *al-Kitāb* (III, 337, 598) and *Kitāb al-'Ayn* (VI, 268).

The extensive sharing of properties between the dialectal pseudo-dual and the biconsonantal masculine sound plural in *kalām al-'arab* leads to the identification of the two:²⁴

18. Masculine sound plural referring to body parts, etc.

(I) cross-variety distribution: dialects ('pseudo-dual'), *kalām al-'arab* (biconsonantal stem)

(II) cross-variety variation: yes/no regular plural (in *āt*)

(III) diagnostic properties: as in (17) above

The biconsonantal masculine sound plural is morphologically underived. In this respect, it is distributionally opposed to the traditionally recognized masculine sound plural, which tends to be a derived form, either deverbal (e.g., *muslimūna* 'Muslims,' *fallāḥīn* 'peasants') or denominal (e.g., *'arabiyyūna* 'Arabs'). A further study of this opposition is left for future research.

3.4. Intermediate results: the inherent plural

The biconsonantal masculine sound plural (see 17., 18. above) shares its diagnostic properties with the so-called inherent plural of Italian (see Part One, end of Section 2.).

by a dialectal parallel, the Spanish Arabic *aydīn* (Blanc 1970: 54). The stem of *aydīna* plausibly is the *hamza*-initial broken plural *aydī* cited by al-Khalīl (*al-'Ayn*, VIII, 102). This is a further parallel between the kind of masculine sound plural under scrutiny and the pseudo-dual: cp. *aṣāb'-ēn* < *aṣābī'* in 8. above (Blanc 1970: 47). This is also the stance of the Arab lexicographers, who analyze *'aydīna* as a masculine sound plural derived from a broken plural (*jam' al-jam'*): see, e.g., *Tahdhīb al-Lughā*, XIV, 168.

²⁴ Some dialectologists have already likened the pseudo-dual to the masculine sound plural, based on the formal similarity between *īn* and *īna* (see Blanc 1970: 46 and refs. therein). Their argument, however, is not tenable; a formal similarity between two linguistic items may conceal a different semantic nature, as is shown by the dual and pseudo-dual.

This is easily gleaned from a comparison of the Italian and Arabic words listed in Table 5. below:

		SG, M	PL, M	PL, F	SG, F	PL, F	PL, M
Paired body parts	arm/s	<i>braccio</i>	<i>bracci</i>	<i>braccia</i>	(<i>dro'</i>)	—	<i>der'-īn</i>
	horn/s	<i>corno</i>	<i>corni</i>	<i>corna</i>	(<i>qarn</i>)	—	<i>qarn-īn</i>
Multiple body parts	finger/s	<i>dito</i>	<i>diti</i>	<i>dita</i>	(<i>uṣba'</i>)	—	<i>aṣāb'-ēn</i>
	limb/s	<i>membro</i>	<i>membri</i>	<i>membra</i>	<i>'ida</i>	<i>'idawāt</i>	<i>'idīna</i>
Standards of quant.	hundred/s	<i>centinaio</i>	—	<i>centinaia</i>	<i>mi'a</i>	<i>mi'īna</i>	<i>mi'āt</i>
Other	stick/s	<i>legno</i>	<i>legni</i>	<i>legna</i>	<i>qula</i>	<i>qulīna</i>	<i>qulāt</i>

Table 5. Italian inherent plural and biconsonantal masculine sound plural

In particular, gender inversion of Italian inherent plurals requires some clarification. In synchrony, the final *a* of Italian inherent plurals can be regarded as a feminine marker, which is opposed to the masculine marker *o* of the corresponding singulars, since in the nominal domain the final *a* element usually marks feminine nouns such as *cas-a* ‘house-F’ and *famigli-a* ‘family-F’ (a collective).

The Italian inherent plural displays a further diagnostic property: Acquaviva (2008: 129) underlines that its plural marker, characterized by gender inversion, ‘is nowhere else in the language an exponent for plurality.’ In this respect, the biconsonantal masculine sound plural of Arabic does not pattern with the Italian inherent plural, since the endings *ūna* and *īn* also occur, for instance, in the derived masculine sound plural, as is shown by familiar examples such as *muslimūna* and *fallāḥīn*.

That said, the sharing of properties between the two kinds of plural is quite extensive: they share all properties except for the inability to function as an exponent of plurality in other areas of grammar; furthermore, their semantic commonalities go beyond the identity of semantic domains to encompass identical referents, as is shown in Table 5. above.

The preceding discussion has shown that the biconsonantal masculine sound plural, far from being a language-specific phenomenon, can be subsumed under the category of the inherent plural, which is attested also in Italian. Accordingly, this kind of plural will henceforth be referred to as the ‘inherent masculine sound plural,’ as is schematized in 19. below.

19. Inherent plural

Inherent masculine sound plural: biconsonantal stem: *aydīna*, *thudīna*, *lithīna*, *'idīna* ...

The Italian and Arabic plurals in Table 5. are ‘inherent’ in two senses. In a semantic sense, multiple reference is ‘inherent,’ i.e., intrinsic, to these plurals since limbs tend to be conceptualized in conjunction with each other, rather than independently: see Acquaviva (2008: 17-18), Chierchia (1998:

54), and Tiersma's (1982: 835) 'Principle 1.'²⁵ In a morphological sense, multiple reference 'is inside the base for inflection' (Acquaviva 2008: 62, cp. also Tiersma 1982: 838), in that an inherent plural is *not* derived from a singular: e.g., in *kalām al-'arab*, 'iḍīna is not derived by a corresponding masculine singular *'iḍ, which is unattested.

The inherent sound plural's underivability from a singular is conducive to a reanalysis of it as an unmarked stem (Tiersma 1982: 838), and the inherent masculine sound plural is no exception to this trend. Generally speaking, the inherent plural's unmarked status is deduced from its ability to be expanded through a plural marker, a process typical of an unmarked stem (Tiersma 1982: 838; see also Table 3. above), and in the specific case of *kalām al-'arab* this is actually observed in the inherent masculine sound plurals *ayḍīna* and *aṣāb'ēn* (cp. fn. 22. above), where the expected sound plural marker *īn*, *ēn* co-occurs with a further circumfixal plural marker.

3.5. Plural: 'broken plural'

Not all referents consisting of paired or multiple body parts are morphologically realized as inherent masculine sound plurals.

They can be morphologically realized instead as broken plurals under certain conditions, as Sībawayhi explicitly states (*al-Kitāb*, III, 605-6):

It is as if the [Arabs] wanted to distinguish between masculine and feminine, as if they likened the infixal long vowel [ā] to the feminine *t*-marker, since the [singular that exhibits this kind of long vowel] is of feminine gender; [...] the people who assign *lisān* 'tongue' feminine gender, say *alsun* 'tongue' [in the plural], while those assigning it masculine, say *alsina*. So the [Arabs] also said *adhru* 'arms,' because of the feminine gender of *dhirā* 'arm,' but this scheme [of paucity] cannot be replaced by another of multitude, even if they wanted to express a high number, and the same holds for *akuff* 'palms' and *arjul* 'foot, legs.'²⁶

²⁵ Recall that multiple reference in Italian also includes the number value 'two,' as this language does not express it through the dedicated category of the dual. Therefore, in this language paired body parts such as 'arms' (*braccia*) are inherent plurals, in the sense that they tend to be conceptualized in conjunction with each other, rather than independently.

²⁶ *ka-anna-hum arādū an yafšilū bayna l-mudhakkari wa-l-mu'annathi ka-anna-hum ja'alū l-ziyādata llati fi-hi idhā kāna mu'annathan bi-manzilati l-hā'i llati fi qaṣ'atin wa-raḥaba [...] wa-ammā man annatha l-lisān fa-huwa yaqūlu alsun wa-man dhakkara qāla alsina wa-qālū dhirā' wa-adhru' ḥaythu kānat mu'annathan wa-lā yajūzu bi-hā hadhā l-binā'u wa-in 'anaw l-akthara kamā fa'ala dhalika bi-l-akuff wa-l-arjul*

This passage shows that in the *kalām al-‘arab* described by Sībawayhi, a referent consisting of paired or multiple body parts is morphologically realized as a broken plural if two conditions are met. The first condition is morphological: a broken plural of paucity *a..u* is only possible for a singular stem that refers to paired or multiple body parts (e.g., *kaff*, *rijl*, *dhirā‘*). In this semantic environment, *a..u* therefore qualifies as a regular broken plural of paucity, opposed to an ungrammatical plural of multitude.

The second condition is semantic and more specific: if the singular stem in question exhibits a long vowel before the third root-consonant, it must also convey the same meaning as the *t*-marker, in this case feminine gender. For instance, the regular broken plural of paucity *adhru‘* is possible insofar as the *ā* of its singular *dhirā‘* conveys feminine gender like the *t*-marker of *rukba* ‘knee,’ etc.

This second condition can be referred to as ‘the condition on the meaningful long vowel of the singular,’ and it appears to be attested also in another area of the grammar of *kalām al-‘arab*. In the *nomen actionis* of form II, the *ī* of the circumfixal morpheme *ta..ī* precedes precisely the third root-consonant (e.g., *tanzīl* ‘revelation’) and alternates with the *t*-marker of the circumfixal morpheme *ta..i.a* to produce the meaning of intensity or causation. In *al-Kitāb* (IV, 83) Sībawayhi describes this alternation as a pattern of complementary distribution, with *ta..ī* co-occurring with a regular third root-consonant, and *ta..i.a* with an irregular third root-consonant, which consists of a glide, as in *ta‘ziya* ‘consolation.’²⁷ To this it should be added that the irregular third root-consonant can be also a geminated one: cp. *tatimma* ‘completion, perfection’ (*Kitāb al-‘Ayn*, VIII, 111).²⁸

This data shows that the condition on the meaningful long vowel of the singular, posited by Sībawayhi for the regular plural of paucity *adhru‘*, is part of a broader pattern of complementary distribution. *The long vowel that precedes a regular third root-consonant must alternate with a t-marker that follows a glide or geminated third root-consonant.* This is summarized in 20. below, based on Sībawayhi’s statements quoted immediately above:

²⁷ The original text reads: ‘Chapter on the *t*-marker replacing another element [...] It is not possible to delete the glide *y* of *ta‘ziya* and the like’ (*bābu mā laḥaḡta-hu hā‘a l-ta‘nīthi ‘iwaḡan [...] wa-ammā ‘azzaytu ta‘ziyatan wa-naḥwu-hā fa-lā yajūzu ḥadhfu-hā*).

²⁸ Some *nomina actionis* are attested, where *ta..i.a* unexpectedly co-occurs with a regular third root-consonant. This is plausibly due to semantic analogy with *tatimma*: *takmila* ‘completion, perfection’ > *ta‘zima* ‘magnification’ > *takrima* ‘honoring.’

20. Selectional restriction

a. Implication:

If the singular...	then the plural...
paired, multiple body parts	<i>a..u.</i> , *plural of multitude

b. Environment:

$$C_1VC_2VV_xC_3 \quad / \quad C_1VC_2G_3-a_x \quad / \quad C_1VC_2C_2 -a_x$$

c. Cp.

$$tanz\bar{i}l \quad / \quad ta'ziy-a_x / \quad tatimm-a_x$$

Symbols: X = same meaning; * = ungrammatical; G = glide

In other words, the condition on the meaningful long vowel of the singular that Sībawayhi posits for the regular plural of paucity *a..u.* is empirically grounded if it derives not only from a singular long-vowel stem, e.g., *adhru'* < *dhirā'*, but also from a geminated stem with a *t*-marker, e.g., *akuff* < *kaffa* (cp. the pair *tanzīl/tatimma* in 20.c above). Interestingly, in *kalām al-'arab* the singular of the broken plural *akuff* may be either *kaff* or *kaffa*, with the latter form ending precisely with the *t*-marker: cp. *laqaytu-hu kaffata kaffata* 'I suddenly met him (lit. I met him hand in hand)' in *al-Kitāb*, III, 304; see also *al-'Ayn*, V, 282.²⁹

From a broader distributional perspective, *akuff* displays all the diagnostic properties of the inherent plural, except for an alternative regular plural (see 18. above). They are gender inversion (*kaffa* > *akuff*), inanimacy, reference to body parts, and a unique exponence of plurality.³⁰ In particular, the latter property is observed in the vowel *u* of *akuff* and, generally speaking, of *a..u.*: this is diachronically an old marker conveying [MORE], which is etymologically related to the *ū* of *-ūna* (Murtonen 1964: 32-33) and does not occur outside this circumfixal morpheme.³¹

²⁹ The English translation is based on al-Khalīl's gloss of this utterance: *mufāja'atan* '(caught) by surprise.' In this utterance, *kaffata* is diptotic because of its distributive nuance.

³⁰ In Acquaviva's (2008: 129) own words, the marker of an inherent plural 'is nowhere else in the language an exponent for plurality' (see Section 2.).

³¹ In the *kalām al-'arab* described by Sībawayhi (*al-Kitāb*, III, 579), plurals such as *rukubāt* 'knees' occur, characterized by the insertion of *u* between the second and third root-consonants (cp. the singular *rukba* 'knee'). This *u* is likely to be an instance of epenthesis rather than a device of noun plural marking.

However, the condition on the meaningful long vowel of the singular also implies that the regular broken plural of paucity *a..u.* derives not only from a singular long-vowel stem, e.g., *adhru'* < *dhirā'*, or from a geminated stem with a *t*-marker, e.g., *akuff* < *kaffa*, but also from a glide-final stem with a *t*-marker. This is schematized by the triad *tanzīl/ta'ziya/tatimma* in 20.c above. It is worth considering in this regard another term referring to paired or multiple body parts, notably *aḥqin* 'flanks.' This is again a broken plural of paucity *a..u.*, having undergone some phonological adjustment, due precisely to the glide status of its third root-consonant.³² Its singular stem is *ḥaqw* or, alternatively, *ḥaqwa*, with a feminine *t*-marker. The latter form is reported only by late lexicographical sources, from al-Fayrūzabādī (d. 817/1414) onward (*Tāj al-'Arūs*, XXXVII, 455), but its rarity is indicative of its antique nature, so it can be traced back to *kalām al-'arab*, if not earlier (on rarity as a cue of archaicity, see Ratcliffe 1998: 206). Again, an archaic paradigm characterized by gender inversion emerges: *ḥaqwa* > *aḥqin*. Overall, *aḥqin*, like *akuff*, displays all the diagnostic properties of the inherent plural, except for an alternative regular plural (see 18. above).

Ceteris paribus, *aḥqin* 'flanks' differs from *akuff* 'palms' in that it denotes [SOME], rather than [MORE], when it is used metaphorically in the sense of 'flanks of the mountain' (cp. *al-thanāyā bi-aḥqī-hā* 'the heights with their flanks' in *Kitāb al-'Ayn*, III, 254). Effectively, the metaphorical referents 'flanks' are bound to a common restricted 'space,' the mountain, which intrinsically limits their number.

Finally, the broken plural of paucity *a..i.a* seems to be distributionally akin to *a..u.* . To begin with, when denoting multiple body parts, *a..i.a* turns out to be a regular broken plural of paucity. The early lexicographers Abū 'Ubayd (d. 224/838) and Abū Ḥātim (d. 255/869) stigmatize as incorrect (*khaṭa'*), in *kalām al-'arab*, the usage of *asinna* and *arḥiya* as plurals of *sinn* 'tooth' and *raḥā* 'molar' (*Lisān al-'Arab* XIII, 220; *Tāj al-'Arūs*, XXXVIII, 134), but precisely the anomalous status of *asinna* and *arḥiya* in that stage of the language points to their status as regular plurals of *sinn* 'tooth' and *raḥā* 'molar' in a stage of the language earlier than *kalām al-'arab*. An archaic regular paradigm *sinn* > *asinna*, *raḥā* > *arḥiya* thus obtains, characterized by gender inversion (on anomaly as a cue of an older regularity, see Ratcliffe 1998: 206).

Another similarity between *a..i.a* and *a..u.* is the inherent plural status. Like *akuff* and *aḥqin*, also *asinna* and *arḥiya* display all the diagnostic properties of an inherent plural except for an alternative regular plural. In particular, the property of the unique exponence of plurality is observed in the vowel *i* of *asinna*, *arḥiya* and, generally speaking, *a..i.a*. In fact, *a..i.a* consists of the feminine *t*-marker, due to

³² Alternatively, one may assume a circumfixal morpheme *a..i.*, on which see the following footnote.

gender inversion, and a circumfixal morpheme *a..i*, whose vowel *i* is diachronically an old marker conveying [MORE], which is etymologically related to the *ī* of the rare plural *.a.ī* (Ratcliffe 1998: 105, Corriente 1971: 99) and does not occur outside this circumfixal morpheme.³³ An instance of the rare plural *.a.ī* is a quasi-synonym of *arḥiya*: *ḍarīs* '(stones resembling) molars' (*al-ḥijāratu-allatī ka-l-aḍrās: Tāj al-'Arūs*, XVI, 188). The plural *ḍarīs* is attested for *kalām al-'arab* in *Kitāb al-Jīm* (II, 195).

A final similarity between *a..i.a* and *a..u* is the irregular third root-consonant: *asinna* and *arḥiya* share with *akuff* and *aḥqin* a glide-final or geminated triconsonantal stem. Diachronically the two kinds of triconsonantal stem (glide-final, geminated) do not differ so much, as they are originally one and the same biconsonantal stem expanded through a glide or gemination. Unlike the so-called 'root determinative,' this process of biconsonantal stem expansion is to be regarded as a diachronic description, not as a reconstruction, being observed in other historically attested Semitic languages.³⁴

Distributionally, the fact that the above four plurals share the language-specific property of the expanded biconsonantal stem, as well as the properties of the inherent plural, shows that they are not a random collection, despite their small number, and rather fall into a principled category, which will be labeled hereafter as the 'inherent broken plural.'

Moreover, as is well known, the four plurals in question and broken plurals in general are derived from a root through the addition of an infixal or circumfixal morpheme. In this sense, they are *not derived from a singular*: remarkably, this is a morphological property they share with the inherent plural, including *'iḍīna*, etc., that does *not* derive from a singular *'iḍ* (see the end of Section 3.5). However, *akuff* and *aḥqin* differ from broken plurals in general in that they are morphologically less complex than their singulars: *ceteris paribus* (number-marking through apophony), *kaffa* and *ḥaqwa* display an additional bound morpheme, notably the *t*-marker, with respect to *akuff* and *aḥqin*. In this sense, they are unmarked stems, a further morphological property they share with *'iḍīna*, etc.:

³³ The term *aḥqin* could be regarded as an instance of the circumfixal morpheme *a..i*, rather than *a..u*, but such an alternative interpretation would change nothing in an analysis of this term as an inherent plural. In passing, gender inversion allows for a refinement of the traditional analysis of *a..i.a* as a circumfixal morpheme (see Part One, Section 4, fn. 22), which is now better conceived more simply as *a..i*. In the *kalām al-'arab* described by Sibawayhi (*al-Kitāb*, III, 579), plurals such as *sidirāt* 'lotus trees' occur, characterized by the insertion of *i* between the second and third root-consonants (cp. the singular *sidra* 'lotus tree'). This *i* is likely to be an instance of epenthesis rather than a device of noun plural marking.

³⁴ For the expansion of a biconsonantal stem through a glide, cp. Tigre *sm* > *asmāy* 'noun/s'; for its expansion through gemination, cp. Harsusi *ham* > *hamum* (Ratcliffe 1998: 232). On the root determinative, see Zaborski (1969).

21. Inherent plural = unmarked stem
 - a. Inherent masculine sound plural: biconsonantal stem: *aydīna, thudīna, lithīna, ‘iḏīna ...*
 - b. Inherent broken plural: expanded biconsonantal stem: *akuff, aḥqin, asinna, arḥiya*

The distributional scenario in 21., which refines and rewrites 19., raises several questions, ranging from the mutual relationship between the two kinds of inherent plural to the historical reality of the label of paucity traditionally attached to them. These issues are discussed in the following Section.

3.6. Overall distribution

3.6.1. Synchrony

The inherent plurals summarized in 21. above partly confirm the historical reality of Sībawayhi's description in terms of paucal meaning, i.e., [SOME], for the basic broken and masculine sound plurals of paucity. His description is confirmed *if and only if both kinds of plurals refer to multiple body parts or semantically close referents*, which intrinsically denote a low number. In this respect it is perhaps not accidental that, on a close reading, two examples brought by Sībawayhi to describe the basic broken plural of paucity involve precisely referents of this kind (*arjul* 'feet, legs,' *aqdām* 'id.': see *al-Kitāb*, III, 491 and Part One, Section 3.1.).

Cases in point are, for multiple body parts, *lithīna, ‘iḏīna, ri’īna, asinna, arḥiya* and *aḥqin* (the latter when metaphorically said of a mountain) and, for semantically close referents, *burīna, mi’īna*. The dialectal data, i.e., the so-called pseudo-dual, also confirms Sībawayhi's description although it does not display a biconsonantal stem.

Sībawayhi's description is not confirmed for the basic feminine sound plural: the referents consisting of multiple body parts are not necessarily realized as a plural of this kind. In *kalām al-‘arab* these referents are morphologically realized as basic feminine sound plurals in connection with a masculine sound plural of paucity, but not with a broken plural of paucity. In modern dialects, these referents are not morphologically realized as basic feminine sound plurals at all.

Finally, the selectional restriction in 20. above confirms only in part the historical reality of Sībawayhi's description regarding the broken plural of multitude. This assessment of Sībawayhi's description can be justified as follows. The impossibility of morphologically realizing the reference to multiple body parts as a plural of multitude means that the latter cannot express the low number value intrinsic to multiple body parts, i.e., [SOME], since it expresses a different number value. However, the number value other than [SOME] that the plural of multitude conveys is not necessarily a high number value, i.e., [MANY]: it may be also a *generic* number value, i.e., [MORE].

Once it has been ascertained that a plural of multitude conveys [MORE], the selectional restriction in 20. above can be straightforwardly explained in terms of a semantic incompatibility between the lexical meaning of a stem denoting [SOME], such as the one referring to multiple body parts, and a circumfixal morpheme denoting [MORE]. With respect to Sībawayhi's description, this scenario of semantic incompatibility between [SOME] and [MORE] provides no clue for an opposition paucal vs. multal meaning, contrary to what Sībawayhi states. In this respect, his description of the broken plural of multitude as conveying a multal meaning, i.e., [MANY], is not tenable. The opposition paucal vs. multal meaning posited by him might be a consequence of his theoretical need to systematize raw linguistic materials.

The semantic incompatibility of [SOME] vs. [MORE], however, clearly shows that originally a plural of multitude did not convey paucity, i.e., [SOME], in line with Sībawayhi's description, which in this respect is historically real.

The overall historical distribution of the basic collective and plural forms conveying paucity in *kalām al-'arab* is summarized in the grey cells of Table 6 below (which also include their diminutivized forms when they are clearly attested). This table integrates the outcomes concerning the collective, reached in the previous installment of this study, with the outcomes concerning the (inherent) plurals, resulting from the present installment.

Upon closer scrutiny, the inherent plurals summarized in 21. do not share only the single feature [SOME]. Since multiple body parts are not animate, are related to a common source, and can be conceived in some cases as relatively interchangeable (cp. paws, teeth), they share a more extensive semantic pattern of co-occurrence, in which (I) collection-semantics (low animacy, cohesion, and interchangeability) is paired with (II) [SOME].³⁵ What is more, the sharing of this pattern goes beyond the inherent plurals in 21. to include the collective of paucity as well, as shown in Section 3.1.

The question of the mutual relationship between the inherent broken and masculine sound plurals of paucity, raised at the end of the previous Section, becomes now even broader, to encompass the mutual relationship among both kinds of inherent plural and the collective of paucity: why should a synchronic redundancy consisting of devices of noun plural marking with identical semantics exist at all?

³⁵ Standards of quantification that are etymologically or conceptually related to body parts (see Section 3.2 above) are obviously inanimate but also interchangeable, because of their logical identity (Acquaviva 2008: 119). They are also cohesive, in that they perform the common function of quantifying, as their name suggests (Acquaviva 2008: 26, 173).

Basic form				
Traditional description			[SOME]	Reliability of the traditional description
Collective	Collective proper		-	YES
	(Collective of paucity)		X	(Not applicable)
Plural	Sound plural	Masculine sound plural of paucity	X	YES (body parts)
		Feminine sound plural of paucity	-	NO
	Broken plural	Plural of paucity	X	YES (body parts)
		Plural of multitude	-	PARTLY YES
Diminutivized form				
Traditional description				Reliability of the traditional description
Collective	Collective proper		?	?
	(Collective of paucity)		X	(Not applicable)
Plural	Sound plural	Masculine sound plural of paucity	-	NO
		Feminine sound plural of paucity	X	YES
	Broken plural	Plural of paucity	X	YES (body parts)
		(Pl. of multit. not diminutivizable)	-	(Not applicable)

Table 6. Distribution of paucity in *kalām al-‘arab* and modern Arabic dialects

3.6.2. Diachrony

Diachronically the inherent broken and masculine sound plurals of paucity and the collective of paucity are not on the same footing.

Sound plurals are historically attested earlier than broken plurals, in Akkadian (see, e.g., Ratcliffe 1998: 152, 221). Accordingly, inherent masculine sound plurals of paucity are older than inherent broken plurals of paucity. Regarding the traditionally recognized, i.e., uncountable, collectives, they are as early as sound plurals, since like the latter they are already attested in Akkadian (see, e.g., Ratcliffe 1998: 221). This means that the collective of paucity, i.e., the countable collective, is a later development.

Of the two kinds of inherent broken plurals of paucity, *a..u* exhibits the same instance of gender inversion as the inherent masculine sound plural of paucity: *at* co-occurs with [ONE], and its lack co-occurs with [SOME]. For instance, *ḥaqwa > aḥqin* parallels *litha > lithūna*. In this respect *a..u* is more conservative and older than the broken plural of paucity *a..i.a.*, displaying an opposite kind of gender inversion, in which *at* co-occurs with [SOME] and its lack co-occurs with [ONE] (e.g., *sinn > asinna*).

Returning to the collective of paucity, it shares with the inherent broken plural of paucity *a..u* (e.g., *aḥqin*) not only the semantic property of denoting [SOME], but also two morphological properties: an unmarked stem and gender inversion. In particular, the latter has the same distribution in the

collective of paucity and *a..u.*: in both of them, *at* co-occurs with [ONE] and the lack thereof co-occurs with [SOME]. For instance, *dhawd* parallels *aḥqin*, and *nāqa* parallels *ḥaqwa*.

It follows that the collective of paucity has been modeled by analogy on the inherent broken plural of paucity *a..u.* . It can hardly be maintained that such a collective has been modeled on *a..i.a*, since one displays the opposite kind of gender inversion with respect to the other: e.g., *dhawd* vs. *asinna* and *nāqa* vs. *sinm*. The overall diachronical scenario is summarized in 22. below:

22. The expression of paucal meaning: Diachronic development
- | | |
|-----------|---|
| Stage I | Inherent masculine sound plural of paucity/Collective proper (with no paucal meaning) |
| Stage II | Inherent broken plural of paucity <i>a..u.</i> /Collective of paucity |
| Stage III | Inherent broken plural of paucity <i>a..i.a</i> |

In this scenario, the diachronical distribution of the morphological and semantic features of the inherent sound and broken plurals of paucity, as well as of the collective of paucity, shows that their synchronic redundancy and cumulation, i.e., their sharing of the pattern of co-occurrence between [SOME] and collection-semantics (see Section 3.6.1.), is the result of a diachronic stratification, except for the collective of paucity, which arose by analogy.

3.6.3. Typology

The inherent broken and masculine sound plurals of paucity, as well as the collective of paucity, may be considered in connection with the other instances of noun plural marking and, broadly speaking, with the noun number system of *kalām al-‘arab*.

This language variety plausibly bears traces of a noun number system based on four number values: [ONE], morphologically realized as a singular or singulative; [TWO] as a dual; [SOME] as an inherent broken or masculine sound plural of paucity and, by analogy, as a collective of paucity (see Section 3.6.2); and [MORE] as a feminine sound plural or as a broken or masculine sound plural, other than the inherent one. A noun number system of this sort is well-attested cross-linguistically, as Corbett (2000: 23) remarks: ‘Systems with just a paucal in addition to singular and plural are rare. It is much more common to find it with a dual too’ (a case in point is Yimas, a Trans-New Guinea language, which attests to a singular, dual, paucal and plural).

In *kalām al-‘arab* a semantic asymmetry is observed among these number values: while [ONE], [TWO], [MORE], and their morphological realizations apply to referents in many semantic domains (human beings, animals, plants, tools, etc.), [SOME] is restricted to body parts and etymologically or conceptually

related meanings (e.g., standards of quantification), as schematized in 21. above. Another overarching distributional property of [SOME] is that its removal from this four-member system would yield a three-member system that is otherwise attested cross-linguistically: were [SOME] removed, the remaining three-member system consisting of [ONE], [TWO], [MORE] would be grammatical. In fact, three-member noun number systems of this kind are well known in Ancient Greek, Sanskrit, and Slovene, for example (Corbett 2000: 5, 86; cp. also Greenberg's Universal 34).

The aforesaid concomitance of semantic restrictedness and 'removability,' as it were, of the low number value [SOME] are a unitary phenomenon, the so-called 'minor number,' which is attested, for instance, in Avar, a Nakh-Daghestanian language (Corbett 2000: 96-97, 129).

From this typological perspective, the semantic restrictedness of [SOME], i.e., the fact that in *kalām al-'arab* it originally applies to multiple body parts, can be viewed along the same lines of the morphological realization of this feature as an inherent plural (see Section 3.4 above): it cannot be deemed a language-specific or anomalous phenomenon. It is rather a distinctive trait of the cross-linguistic category of minor number.

Turning to 'removability,' the other trait of minor number, it can be suggested that the four-member system of *kalām al-'arab*, including [SOME], was already decaying in this language variety, which gradually shifted to a three-member system based on [ONE], [TWO], and [MORE]. The latter system corresponds to that canonized by early grammarians and lexicographers. The decay of the original four-member system of *kalām al-'arab* seems to have left its traces in three phenomena.

First, leveling: a singular-plural paradigm with no gender inversion (e.g., *ḥaḳw > aḥqin*, *kalb > aklub*, etc.) seemingly replaces an older paradigm characterized by it (e.g., *ḥaḳwa > aḥqin*).

Second, semantic ambiguity (see Part One, Section 3.1.): a plural of paucity seemingly replaces a plural of multitude in the expression of [MORE], as in *ajniḥah*, whose referent 'wings' is not intrinsically few under the most natural reading. Likewise, a plural of multitude seemingly replaces a plural of paucity in the expression of [SOME], as in *ḥiqā*, whose referent 'flanks of the mountain' is intrinsically few under the most natural reading.

Third, semantic extension: the broken plural of paucity *a..u.* that originally refers to paired or multiple body parts may refer by analogy to body parts in general (e.g., *alsun* 'tongues') and by further analogy to natural entities (e.g., *aklub* 'dogs,' *anjum* 'stars'). The pivot for the latter kind of analogy seemingly is the spatial contiguity of these referents (Ullmann 1964: 218). Murtonen (1964: 25) underlines the spatial contiguity that links body parts to animals, plants, etc., when he states that 'the earliest elements in any language are names for concrete objects and phenomena in the immediate neighbourhood of human beings, such as nearest relatives, parts of the body, beings and phenomena

in the surrounding nature.’ This ‘analogical’ facet of the shift from a four- to a three-member system leads to a better understanding of the historical reality of the plural of paucity in its origin and evolution, as illustrated in 23.:

- 23 The historical reality of the plural of paucity
 Origin: multiple body parts, *lexical* meaning: [SOME]: ‘iḏīna, aḥqin ...
 Development:
 a. Semantic extension: standards of quantification: *mi’īna* ...
 b. Spatial contiguity: any body part, surrounding nature: *alsun, aklub, anjum* ...

The shift from a four- to a three-member system probably also accounts for morphological doublets attested in *kalām al-‘arab*, such as *ḥaqwa/ḥaqw* (with respect to *aḥqin*), and lexical doublets such as ‘iḏīna/a’ḏā’: they can be explained in terms of diachronic stratification, with the first variant belonging to the older four-member system and the second variant belonging to the recent three-member system.

4. The distribution of the diminutive

4.1. Collection-semantics as a major environment of the diminutive

According to the current understanding, the diminutive in *kalām al-‘arab* displays two oppositions on the level of meaning.

On the one hand, [SMALL] in singular marking, as in *ruwayjil* ‘little man,’ is opposed to an unexpected [SOME] (paucal meaning) in plural marking, as in *tumayrāt* ‘a few dates’ and *dhuwayd* ‘3-to-10 (she)-camels.’ On the other hand, the addition of a nuance of physical or metaphorical smallness in singular marking, as in *ruwayjil* ‘little man,’ is opposed to a quite unexpected doubling function in plural marking, as in *tumayrāt* ‘a few dates’ and *dhuwayd* ‘3-to-10 (she)-camels’ (cp. *tamarāt* ‘a few or more dates’ and *dhawd* ‘3-to-10 or more (she)-camels’).

Since both [SOME] and the doubling function occur in an environment corresponding to collection-semantics (see Section 3.1 and Part One, Section 7.2.), the latter is clearly the cause of these unexpected semantic facets of the diminutive. A thorough study of collection-semantics may therefore explain not only the puzzling semantic behavior of the aforesaid diminutivized forms, but also the still unclear semantics of the diminutivized forms summarized in the white cells of Table 6 above. A thorough study of this sort includes a componential and distributional analysis of collection-semantics as it manifests itself in *kalām al-‘arab* and, to a certain extent, cross-linguistically.

Starting from a cross-linguistic perspective, a collection can be semantically analyzed, minimally, as the combination of cohesion and interchangeability (cp. Section 3.1.). However, a collection may optionally include features such as divisibility into the minimal units forming it, and their visual perceptibility (Grimm 2018: 546-547). A collection that is neither divisible nor has perceptible minimal units is a substance: e.g., *gold*, *water*. It is a granular aggregate when it is a foodstuff or any other multiple referent that has perceptible minimal units, but is not divisible: e.g., *rice* (whose perceptible minimal units are grains). Finally, it is a non-granular aggregate when it is a divisible multiple referent, which has perceptible minimal units: e.g., *cattle*.

The aforesaid kinds of collection-semantics and member-semantics are individuation types giving rise to a scale of individuation.³⁶ Three remarks are in order here. First, while a collection is divisible (non-granular aggregate) or indivisible (substance, granular aggregate), the minimal unit it consists of is always indivisible, like a member: this is why Chierchia (1998: 54) defines both a minimal unit and a member as an individual.³⁷ Second, a non-granular aggregate shares divisibility into individuals and their perceptibility with a traditional plural, i.e., a plural conveying member-semantics: *men* is divisible into *man + man + man*, etc. (members) etc., just as *cattle* is divisible into *cow + cow + cow*, etc. (minimal units). Third, individuation types are bundles of features, which can be identified through morphological diagnostics (cp. Grimm 2018: 549, and especially his Table 20). A member is an unmarked stem expanded through a plural marker to express [MORE]. Both non-granular and granular aggregates are unmarked stems that can be expanded through a singulative marker to express [ONE], but only a granular aggregate can also be expanded through a singular marker for this purpose. The difference between a singulative and a singular marker is that one must refer to a cohesive, interchangeable item (a minimal unit), and the other must not (a member, besides a minimal unit). For instance, the English ending *s* is a singular marker, as it occurs in *ants* (minimal unit) and *boys* (members). Finally, a substance is an unmarked stem that cannot be expanded using any of the aforesaid number markers.

Having fine-tuned the definition of collection-semantics on cross-linguistic grounds, it is now time to determine how its different individuation types manifest themselves in *kalām al-‘arab*. They can

³⁶ Grimm (2018:546) refers to divisibility and indivisibility as ‘spatial separation’ or lack thereof. Grimm (2018: 548) also deals with divisiveness, which is not to be confused with divisibility. In the literature, divisiveness or, alternatively, divisivity overlaps to a good extent with what is called here interchangeability. Finally, Grimm (2018: 546-547) labels a non-granular aggregate as a ‘collective aggregate,’ but this term is avoided here since it refers to a bundle of features whose morphological realization does not necessarily correspond to a collective. This can be the case for Arabic (see immediately below), but not for English, as is shown by the word *naml* and its gloss ‘ants.’

³⁷ While sharing indivisibility, a minimal unit and a member differ as to cohesion and interchangeability.

be determined chiefly through morphological diagnostics, but a semantic study of the referents involved in such types is also helpful. What is traditionally referred to as a collective (e.g., ‘*arab* ‘Arabs,’ *naml* ‘ants’) qualifies as a non-granular aggregate because of its unmarked status, and its ability to be expanded through a singulative *at* and a singular *iyy*. This analysis is justified by the fact that *iyy* refers to individuals with high animacy who are not interchangeable, i.e., members (e.g., ‘*arab-iyy* ‘an Arab’), whereas *at* does not (e.g., *namla* ‘an ant’).

The inherent plural qualifies as a granular aggregate because of its unmarked status (see the end of Section 3.4., 3.5.) and its ability to be expanded only through a singulative *at* (e.g., ‘*ida* ‘limb,’ *ḥaqwa* ‘flank’). For the same morphological reasons, *dhawd* and *tamarāt* ‘dates,’ the basic form of *tumayrāt*, are also granular aggregates. In particular, the unmarked status of *tamarāt* is deduced from its ability to be expanded through a further plural marker besides the sound ending *āt* (see the end of Section 3.4.): in *tamarāt*, *āt* co-occurs with the infixal plural marker *a*, as first observed by Greenberg (see Ratcliffe 1998: 71-72, 221-223 for an updated discussion). A semantic consideration also corroborates this interpretation. Upon closer scrutiny *tamarāt* refers to a foodstuff (cp. *rice* above), not just fruit: the early lexicographer Abū Ḥātim (d. 255/869) defines *tamr* as dry dates that are processed (i.e., gathered and dried out) and stored collectively (Lane 1863, s.v. *TMR*). Finally, *mā’* qualifies as a substance due to its inability to be expanded by a singulative marker, etc., except for the Tamīmi dialect (see Part One, Section 4.3.).

These three individuation types related to collection-semantics, as well as the one related to member-semantics, are basic forms that function as environments of [SOME] and [SMALL] to yield diminutivized forms. It should be recalled in this regard that in *kalām al-‘arab* two kinds of basic forms are attested (see the end of Section 3.1.): those that already encode [SOME] or [SMALL] as a lexical meaning (Class I) and those that do not (Class II). All the individuation types under scrutiny are observed in both kinds of basic forms, which results in the distributional scenario summarized in Tables 7. and 8.³⁸

It is apparent that collection-semantics is the prevailing environment of the diminutive.

³⁸ All the basic and diminutivized forms mentioned in these tables are illustrated in this section, in the next section, or in the first installment of this study, except for *shuway‘irūna*, which is attested in *al-Kitāb* (III, 493-494). The widespread use of this term, beginning with the early treatises of literary criticism (e.g., by al-Jumāḥī, d. 232/847), confirms its authenticity. Finally, the term *shujayra* ‘little tree,’ reported by the early lexicographer Abū Ḥanīfa (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, I, 90), exemplifies a diminutivized minimal unit derived from a non-granular aggregate (*shajar/a* ‘tree/s’). This instance of a diminutivized form is authentic, given the dialectal parallel *ḥmeyyme* ‘un petit morceau de carbon,’ from the non-granular aggregate *ḥmūm/e* ‘(morceau de charbon’ (data from Ḥassāniyya Arabic: cp. Taine-Cheikh 1988: 90).

Semantic environment		Forms		Semantic structure					
Collection	Individuation type	Basic	Diminutivized	A	B	C	D	Basic	Diminutivized
NO	members	ṣaghīrūna	(ṣukhārū)	[MORE]	NO	YES	YES	[SMALL]	[SMALL]
YES	non-granular aggregate	—	dhubāb		YES	YES	YES	-	[SMALL]
YES	granular aggregate#1	‘idūna	—		YES	YES	NO	[SOME]	?
YES	granular aggregate#2	arjul	urayjil		YES	YES	NO	[SOME]	?
YES	granular aggregate#3	dhawd	dhuwayd		YES	YES	NO	[SOME]	[SOME]
YES	substance	ḥaṭīm	ḥuṭām		YES	NO	NO	[SOME]	[SOME]
YES	minimal unit	—	dhubāba	[ONE]	YES	?	NO	[SMALL]	[SMALL]
NO	member	ṣaghīr	ṣughār		NO	?	NO	[SMALL]	[SMALL]

Key to symbols: A: number B: cohesion, interchangeability C: perceptibility of minimal units D: divisibility

Table 7. The semantics of the diminutivized forms, from basic forms of Class I

Semantic environment		Forms	Semantic structure				
Collection	Individuation type	Diminutivized	A	B	C	D	Diminutivized
NO	members	shuway‘irūna	[MORE]	NO	YES	YES	?
YES	non-granular aggregate	—		YES	YES	YES	?
YES	granular aggregate#4	tumayrāt		YES	YES	NO	[SOME]
YES	substance	muwayha		YES	NO	NO	[SOME]
YES	minimal unit	jufayna	[ONE]	YES	NO	NO	[SMALL]
NO	member	ruwayjil		NO	?	NO	[SMALL]

Table 8. The semantics of the diminutivized forms, from basic forms of Class II

4.2. A relic diminutive

A systematic examination of all the individuation types that undergo diminutivization in *kalām al-‘arab* reveals that their morphological realizations include, besides *.u.ay.*, a relic diminutive marker *.u.ā.*, attested as early as Akkadian (Fox 2003: 229-230).

Such morphological realizations are briefly illustrated in the following. The basic form *ḥaṭīm* and the corresponding diminutivized form *ḥuṭām* refer to a substance, as they cannot be expanded using a marker (see the previous Section). The early lexicographer al-Liḥyānī (second half of the eighth century) glosses *ḥaṭīm* as ‘herbage remaining from the preceding year, because dry and broken in pieces’³⁹ (*mā baqiya min nabāt [...] ‘an-i l-liḥyānī: Lisān al ‘Arab, XII, 138*), where the verb *baqiya* ‘remaining’ denotes a part of the collection *nabāt* ‘herbage,’ corresponding to [SOME] in modern componential terms. Another early lexicographer, Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 282/895), defines *ḥaṭīm* and *ḥuṭām* as semantically

³⁹ Lane’s (1863, s.v. *ḤTM*) translation.

equivalent when glossing the term *hazm* in a line of poetry: ‘Abū Ḥanīfa [...] said [...] *hazm* [...], that is *ḥaṭīm, ḥuṭām*’ (*abū ḥanīfa [...] qāla [...] hazm [...], wa-huwa ḥaṭīm, ḥuṭām: al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, X, 200-201). Turning to *dhubāb*, this stem is attested in early Arabic lexicography with the two meanings ‘fly’ (*Kitāb al-‘Ayn*, VIII, 178; cp. also *al-Kitāb*, III, 604) and ‘flies’ (*al-Nawādir*, 50), and in the latter case it can be expanded through a singulative marker, i.e., *dhubāba*, thus qualifying as a non-granular aggregate. This semantic oscillation is authentic, as it finds a parallel in the Biblical Hebrew *zəbūb*, ‘fly’ < ‘flies’ (Fox 2003: 229). In componential terms, the stem subject to this semantic oscillation conveys the same substantive meaning in both singular and plural, its only variation being number. Accordingly, the diminutive marker that is part of this stem must convey the same substantive meaning for both number values. Since the former member of this semantic oscillation clearly conveys [SMALL], i.e., ‘(intrinsically small) fly,’ so does the latter, i.e., ‘(intrinsically small) flies,’ and not ‘some flies.’ Finally, in *Tāj al-‘Arūs* (XII, 322) *ṣughār* is said to be semantically equivalent to *ṣaghīr*, and their semantic equivalence is traced back to the dialectal usage (*alladhīna yaqūlūna*) recorded by Sibawayhi. Both forms function as an adjective (‘small’), which can be substantivized to signify ‘child.’ This data is reliable, since *ṣughār* finds a parallel in the Akkadian *ṣukhārū* ‘lads, servants’ (Fox 2003: 230), a sound plural whose stem is *ṣukhār*.

4.3. The semantics of the diminutive in noun plural marking

The diminutivized individuation types follow a pattern of complementary distribution in the domain of multiple reference: [SMALL] refers to a divisible multiple referent, while [SOME] refers to an indivisible one, as is illustrated in bold in Tables 7. and 8. above.

In particular, any individuation type follows this pattern, as is illustrated in the grey cells of Tables 7 and 8. The systemicity of this pattern allows for the following inductive generalization: the instances of the individuation types where the occurrence of [SMALL] and [SOME] is so far unclear can be assigned either feature, based on their reference to a divisible or indivisible multiple referent. These instances are marked with the symbol ‘?’ in Tables 7 and 8 and tabulated in the white cells of Table 1. Thus, a diminutivized masculine sound plural of paucity such as *shuway‘irūna* (*al-Kitāb*, III, 493-494) denotes ‘small poets’ in a metaphorical sense, i.e., ‘poetasters,’ rather than ‘a few poets,’ since ‘poets’ are a divisible multiple referent. The same holds for *futayyūna* (*al-Kitāb*, III, 491), which denotes ‘small young ones,’ not ‘a few young ones.’ Conversely, a diminutivized broken plural of paucity such as *urayjil* (*al-Kitāb*, III, 491) cannot mean ‘small paws,’ since paws are an indivisible multiple referent. Rather, *urayjil* denotes paws that are few in number, with the caveat that the most natural reading of ‘few’ is the low number value ‘four’ implied by this kind of referent. That is, *urayjil* encodes [SOME] as a lexical meaning.

In this respect, it ‘repeats’ a number value that already occurs in its basic form *arjul*, which amounts to saying that in *urayjil* the diminutive performs a doubling function (on which see Section 1.).

This pattern of complementary distribution confirms only in part the historical reality of Sībawayhi’s description. The early grammarian states that both the diminutivized broken and masculine sound plurals of paucity convey paucal meaning, i.e., [SOME] (see Part One, Section 3.2., and Section 4.1., Text 3.). Yet the pattern under scrutiny confirms his description only insofar as the diminutivized broken plural of paucity refers to multiple body parts, as illustrated in the white cells of Table 6 above. In this respect, it is totally expected that the diminutivized broken plural of paucity *ṣubayya* means ‘small boys’ in a line of poetry cited by Sībawayhi himself, in spite of the latter’s claim that it signifies ‘a few boys’ (cp. Part One, Section 3.2.).

Sībawayhi’s description therefore posits a uniform semantics in terms of [SOME] for the diminutivized plurals of paucity in *kalām al-‘arab* that does not result from the linguistic materials themselves, and must be explained otherwise. Such a uniform semantics might be due to Sībawayhi’s need to systematize raw linguistic materials: he might have exclusively assigned [SOME] to the diminutivized plural of paucity, to create a clear-cut opposition between it and the diminutivized singular, which always conveys [SMALL].

4.4. The semantics of the diminutive in noun singular marking

The distributional analysis of the basic and diminutivized individuation types can be extended to the domain of the single referent, i.e., [ONE], which may be either cohesive, interchangeable (minimal unit), or not interchangeable (member), but in any case, is *indivisible* (‘individual’), as illustrated in Section 4.1. Including the *indivisible single* referent in the picture reveals a pattern of identity between this domain and a subdomain related to the multiple referent ([MORE]): this subdomain is the *divisible multiple* referent, consisting of the non-granular aggregate and of members. In fact, the *divisible multiple* referent, like the *indivisible single* referent, conveys [SMALL]. This is illustrated in the cells in bold in Table 9. below.

Semantic environment	Forms			Semantic structure			
	Class I	Class II					
Individuation type	Diminutivized	Basic	Diminutivized	A	E	Basic	Diminutivized
members	shuway'irūna!	ṣaghīrūna	(ṣukhārū)	[MORE]	individual	[SMALL]	[SMALL]
non-granular aggregate	—	—	dhubāb		individual	—	[SMALL]
granular aggregate#1	—	'idūna	—		<i>collection</i>	[SOME]	—
granular aggregate#2	—	arjul	urayjil!		<i>collection</i>	[SOME]	[SOME]
granular aggregate#3	—	dhawd	dhuwayd		<i>collection</i>	[SOME]	[SOME]
granular aggregate#4	tumayrāt	—	—		<i>collection</i>	—	[SOME]
substance	muwayha	ḥaṭīm	ḥuṭām	[ONE]	<i>collection</i>	[SOME]	[SOME]
minimal unit	shujayra	—	dhubāba		individual	—	[SMALL]
member	ruwayjil	ṣaghīr	ṣughār		individual	[SMALL]	[SMALL]

Key to symbols: A: number E: locus of indivisibility !: meaning derived by inductive generalization

Table 9. The semantics of the diminutivized forms, from basic forms of Classes I, II - Reformulation

The substantial identity between the domain and subdomain under scrutiny is due to their sharing the same feature, namely an indivisible single referent. In fact, *a divisible multiple referent can be reduced to an indivisible single referent*, since the latter consists not only of a member but also of a minimal units. Therefore, from the viewpoint of indivisibility, [SMALL] ultimately refers to an indivisible single item.

Remarkably, the viewpoint of indivisibility also captures the subdomain not considered so far, that of the *indivisible* multiple referent. Since the latter corresponds to a granular aggregate or to a substance, a pattern of complementary distribution emerges, where [SMALL] refers to an *indivisible* single item (minimal unit, member, non-granular aggregate, members), and [SOME] to an *indivisible* collection (granular aggregate, substance). This pattern of complementary distribution, based on the examination of both singular and plural marking, replaces that outlined in the previous Section, based on the examination of plural marking alone. This revised pattern emerges from the comparison of the cells in bold and the ones in italics in Table 9. above.

A further refinement of this pattern is possible if one considers that, just as an indivisible collection consists of minimal units, a *small* indivisible collection consists of *few* minimal units.⁴⁰ In componential terms, [SOME] is not a semantic primitive, being rather the sum of [SMALL] and an indivisible collection, which by its own nature consists of [MORE], i.e., of a *multiple* set of minimal units.

⁴⁰ In the literature similar remarks are found, but *indivisibility* is not taken into account. Cp. Fück (1936: 628): 'eine kleine Mehrreit von drei bis zu zehn Einheiten.' Cp. also Corbett (2000: 22): 'The paucal is used to refer to a small number of distinct real world entities. It is similar to the English quantifier 'a few' in meaning.' For instance, the Khalilian gloss of *dhawd* focuses on the perception of this referent as 'some entities' ('*l-dhawd* is from three to ten [taken] out of a camel herd': see *al-'Ayn*, VIII, 55 and Part One, section 4.3); while Musil's gloss (1928: 336, 341) of the same referent as 'little herd' focuses on its perception as a 'small collection.'

This is schematized in 23.b.ii. below. Accordingly, the pattern of complementary distribution under scrutiny is reconceptualized as one and the same feature [SMALL], which *always refers to an indivisible referent*, regardless of whether the latter occurs in the environment of [ONE] (individual) or [MORE] (indivisible collection). This semantic behavior of [SMALL] is known as ‘permeability’ in the literature (see, e.g., Dror 2016: 106, 120), where it is invoked to explain semantic contrasts such as *a small family* vs. *small people*, where *small* refers respectively to a collection or members, as shown by the respective paraphrases ‘a small group’ and ‘small persons.’ This is summarized in 23.a.:

23. a. Permeability of [SMALL]
 [SMALL] refers to the first available indivisible referent: an indivisible collection (substance, granular aggregate) or, alternatively, an individual (minimal unit, member)
- b. The internal structure of [SOME]
- i. [SMALL] = [SMALL] + [ONE]_{INDIVIDUAL}
- ii. [SOME] = [SMALL] + [MORE]_{INDIVISIBLE COLLECTION}
- c. Isomorphism (one form—one meaning)
u.ay. = [SMALL] in all environments⁴¹

Permeability is illustrated in Table 10 below.

Semantic environment	Forms			Semantic structure		
	Class I	Class II		E	Basic	Diminutivized
Individuation type	Diminutivized	Basic	Diminutivized			
members	shuway‘irūna!	ṣaghīrūna	(ṣukhārū)	individual	[SMALL]	[SMALL]
non-granular aggregate	—	—	dhubāb	individual	—	[SMALL]
granular aggregate#1	—	‘idūna	—	collection	[SMALL]	—
granular aggregate#2	—	arjul	urayjil!	collection	[SMALL]	[SMALL]
granular aggregate#3	—	dhawd	dhuwayd	collection	[SMALL]	[SMALL]
granular aggregate#4	tumayrāt	—	—	collection	—	[SMALL]
substance	muwayha	ḥaṭīm	ḥuṭām	collection	[SMALL]	[SMALL]
minimal unit	shujayra	—	dhubāba	individual	—	[SMALL]
member	ruwayjil	ṣaghīr	ṣughār	individual	[SMALL]	[SMALL]

Key to symbols: A: number E: locus of indivisibility !: meaning derived by inductive generalization

Table 10. The semantics of the diminutivized forms, from basic forms of Classes I, II - Reformulation

⁴¹ 23.c. is not meant to register the obvious fact that *.u.ay.* conveys [SMALL], but that the latter is the only meaning of this marker, since [SOME], whenever occurring, can be reduced to [SMALL].

Permeability has two important implications for the understanding of the meaning of the diminutive in *kalām al-‘arab*. First, the distribution of [SOME] in the diminutivized plurals and collectives and, generally speaking, in their corresponding basic forms, far from being random or an invention of the grammarians, simply depends on the presence of an indivisible collection, or lack thereof. In this respect, *collection-semantics is the crucial factor in determining the semantics of the diminutive*, as alluded to in Section 4.1. Second, the relationship between [SMALL] and [SOME] is one of identity: the two features do not vary in nature, they vary in their distributional environment, as schematized in 23.b above. *Their substantial semantic identity is reflected in their identical morphological realization*, with generally one form .u.ay. for one meaning [SMALL] (isomorphism), as is schematized in 23.c. above. The relic form .u.ā. behaves in the same manner (see, e.g., *ṣughār*, *ḥuṭām* in Table 9. above).

The substantial identity between [SMALL] and [SOME] should not obscure their diachronic differentiation: [SMALL] referring to an individual develops metaphorical and pragmatic nuances, such as the aforesaid pejorative *shuway‘irūna* ‘poetasters,’ while [SMALL] referring to an indivisible collection evolves into a full-fledged number value, for which the notation [SOME] has been used consistently throughout this study. That [SMALL] referring to an indivisible collection is also a number value, which stands for three to ten entities or the like, is shown by its *countability*. The claim is usually found in the literature that this kind of [SMALL] refers to a quantity in collectives (see, e.g., Fück 1936: 628, Taine-Cheikh 1988: 90-91). If one were to concede this, a more specific definition would nonetheless be required: [SMALL] may refer to an *indivisible* or *divisible* quantity, not only in collectives, but also in plurals. Even so, this definition is not satisfactory, as it neglects the number value status of this kind of [SMALL].

4.5. Double marking

In the first installment of this study it was argued, based on data such as *tumayrāt*, ‘some dates,’ *dhuwayd* ‘some she-camels,’ and *‘ubadiyy* ‘a man from ‘Abīda,’ that in *kalām al-‘arab* the diminutive actually adds no extra meaning of physical or metaphorical smallness to the basic noun to which it is added (see Section 1.).

The substantial identity between [SMALL] and [SOME] schematized in 23.b.-c. above falsifies this interpretation. Such an identity makes it clear that the diminutive indeed adds an extra meaning of physical or metaphorical smallness to *any* diminutivized form whose basic form does not encode [SMALL], including *tumayrāt*, which now qualifies as a ‘small (indivisible) collection of dates.’ This is shown under the columns ‘Class I’ and ‘Semantic structure’ in Table 10. above.

At the same time, however, the substantial identity between [SMALL] and [SOME] also corroborates the above interpretation, since it clarifies that the diminutive adds *no* extra meaning of physical or metaphorical smallness to *any* diminutivized form whose basic form already encodes [SMALL], including *dhuwayd*, which actually means ‘a small (indivisible) collection of she-camels’ even before diminutivization (cp. *dhawd*, which conveys the same meaning). This is shown under the columns ‘Class II’ and ‘Semantic structure’ in Table 10 above. In this kind of diminutivized form, the diminutive often ‘repeats’ and retains [SMALL] of the basic form, thereby performing a sort of doubling function involving this feature. This is shown in the grey cells of Table 10. above.

A particular instance of the doubling function involves [SMALL] as a *number value* (see the end of the previous Section). In the first installment of this study (Part One, Section 7.2.), the basic form *dhawd* was shown to ambiguously convey both the number values [SOME] and [MANY] or, more accurately, [MORE] at a certain language stage, with the diminutive being added to solve this semantic ambiguity, through the ‘repetition’ and insertion of [SOME] only. In light of the foregoing, *dhawd* is better viewed as a granular aggregate that by its own nature conveys [MORE], and its semantic oscillation in number value as a function of the presence or absence of [SMALL]. Accordingly, the diminutive solves the semantic ambiguity of *dhawd* by simply ‘repeating’ and retaining [SMALL]. This is schematized in 24.a. below:

24.a.	<i>dhawd</i> [SMALL] [MORE]	b.	<i>banū_x</i> ‘ <i>abīda</i> [SMALL] [MORE]
			‘ <i>abīd</i> [MORE]
	<i>dhawd</i> [SMALL] [MORE] / [MORE] ?		‘ <i>abīdiyy</i> [SMALL] [ONE] / [ONE] ?
	<i>dhuwayd</i> [SMALL] + [SMALL] [MORE] / [MORE]		‘ <i>ubadiyy</i> [SMALL] [ONE] + [SMALL] [ONE] / [ONE]
	/ = or [FEATURE] = inserted feature		[FEATURE] = ungrammatical reading

The doubling function observable in the grey cells of Table 10 does not include ‘*ubadiyy* ‘a man from ‘Abīda,’ for the simple reason that this diminutivized form instantiates a different kind of doubling function, one that does not simply involve [SMALL]. In Part One, Section 6., the basic form ‘*abīdiyy* in the singular was shown to ambiguously refer to two ethnonyms, ‘*abīd* and ‘*abīda*, with the diminutive being added to solve this semantic ambiguity, thus yielding ‘*ubadiyy*, a diminutivized form that ‘repeats’ and retains only the instance of [ONE], i.e., the singular, that refers to ‘*abīda*. While the details of this process were not totally clear, it was nonetheless apparent that this kind of diminutive was morphologically realized as *.u.a.* only when it occurred in the environment of [ONE] (cp. *qurashiyy* vs. *quraysh*), and that

it found a semantic parallel in the dialectal *msê'îdi* 'a man from Masâ'îd.' Further details can now be provided to facilitate a thorough understanding of this kind of doubling function.

In *kalām al-'arab*, a lexical field of small animals is attested: *ju'al* 'scarab beetle,' *ṣurad* 'shrike,' *juradh* 'rat,' *khuzaz* 'male hare,' etc. (see *Kitāb al-'Ayn*, I, 229, IV, 136, VI, 94, VII, 97 and Fox 2003: 220). In these stems, a marker *.u.a.* that occurs in the environment [ONE] conveys [SMALL]. In the stem 'ubad of 'ubadiyy, the same marker *.u.a.* occurs in the same environment, so distributionally it can be assigned the same semantic content [SMALL]. In 'ubadiyy, this feature metaphorically refers to smallness in age, according to a widespread cross-linguistic pattern that construes tribe members as 'sons, children' (Jurafsky 1996: 548, 553): 'ubadiyy is likely to signify 'a child of 'Abīda.'⁴² This interpretation, based on distributional and cross-linguistic arguments, is supported by a close reading of Sībawayhi's text, where 'abīda ' 'Abīda,' the basic form of 'ubadiyy, co-occurs with the annexee *banū* in the construct state *banū 'abīda* (see *al-Kitāb*, III, 335-6 and Part One, 4.1.): in the annexee *banū*, tribe members are construed as 'sons, children,' as much as in 'ubadiyy.

This refinement in the description of the paradigm of (*banū*) 'abīda, 'ubadiyy highlights that it indeed contains a metaphorical [SMALL] ('child/ren'), but neither in the collective stem 'abīda nor in its singular marker *iy*. This metaphorical [SMALL] rather occurs *outside them* as a synthetic alternant, namely the diminutive marker *.u.a.* in the environment [ONE], and as an analytical alternant, namely the lexeme *banū*, in the environment [MORE]. Thus, two instances of [ONE] are observed in 'ubadiyy: one is the singular *iy* related to the collective 'abīda, and the other is the singular diminutive *.u.a.* related to the plural lexeme *banū*. This quite peculiar semantic structure of 'ubadiyy is straightforwardly accounted for through its comparison with its basic form 'abīdiyy. In the latter, the singular *iy* is combined with a stem 'abīd that can be ambiguously derived from the collective (*banū*) 'abīda or from the collective 'abīd, so that the [ONE] of *iy* ambiguously refers to a tribesman of the 'children of 'Abīda' or to a tribesman of the 'Abīd. *Ceteris paribus*, in 'ubadiyy the singular diminutive marker *.u.a.* is added, which crucially conveys a feature [ONE] co-occurring with [SMALL], and therefore restricts the reference of the [ONE] of *iy* to which it is added. The [ONE] of *iy* now can only refer to a tribesman of the 'children of 'Abīda,' since this is the only meaning compatible with [SMALL] of *.u.a.* . This is schematized in 24.b. above.

In 'ubadiyy, the singular diminutive *.u.a.* thus characterized clearly 'repeats' and retains the feature [ONE] of the singular *iy* to solve the semantic ambiguity between 'a child of 'Abīda' and 'a

⁴² In this sense, the distributional argument made in Part One, Sections 5, 6 that 'ubadiyy cannot convey the literal meaning 'little man from 'Abīda' remains valid.

member of ‘Abīd.’ To the extent that it exhibits two instances of [ONE], with one disambiguating the other, ‘ubadiyy performs a doubling function involving [ONE]. In this instance of doubling, the pre-existing feature subject to ambiguity is [ONE], while the feature that is inserted through diminutivization as a disambiguating device is [SMALL]. Plainly, the pre-existing and inserted features involved in this process are not one and the same thing. In this respect, this kind of doubling function clearly differs from that involving [SMALL] as a number value, where [SMALL] is at once the pre-existing feature subject to ambiguity as well as the disambiguating device.

Despite this difference, the two kinds of doubling functions converge in a major respect: in both, a number value is ‘doubled’ through diminutivization, namely [SMALL] and [ONE] or, in traditional terms, the paucal and the singular. This is illustrated in the last lines of 24.a.-b. above. In this sense, what has been provisionally defined throughout this study as the ‘doubling function’ can be identified with the phenomenon of double number marking that manifests itself in *kalām al-‘arab*, at least in the cases of ‘ubadiyy, *dhuwayd*, and *urayjil*, which semantically falls within the same individuation type as *dhuwayd*. Consequently, in *dhuwayd* and *urayjil*, what has been defined so far as ‘the diminutive that adds no extra meaning’ is now reconceptualized as a number marker (developing out of an original diminutive: see Section 4.4.), which ‘doubles’ a pre-existing number marker:

25. Double number marking in *kalām al-‘arab*

Double plural marking:	<i>dhuwayd</i> , <i>urayjil</i> :	[SMALL] _{NUM} + [SMALL] _{NUM} [MORE] _{NUM}
Double singular marking:	‘ubadiyy:	[SMALL] [ONE] _{NUM} + [SMALL] [ONE] _{NUM}
NUM = number value [SMALL] _{NUM} + [MORE] _{NUM} = paucal		

5. Conclusions

5.1. Outcomes

The category of plural of paucity described by Sībawayhi is historically founded in the case of a restricted set of referents: multiple body parts, e.g., *arjul* ‘paws.’

The plural of paucity thus characterized conveys paucity intrinsically, as a lexical meaning: e.g., the most natural reading of *arjul* in the sense of ‘paws,’ is ‘four paws.’ Paucity is a number value, as it triggers countability of the body part referents to which it applies, e.g., *arjul*. Plausibly, the resulting category of plural of paucity in *kalām al-‘arab* is not language-specific.

Semantically, a restricted set of referents conveying paucity is cross-linguistically an instance of minor number, so the plural of paucity can be defined accordingly. The inherent plural of paucity

brings to light a four-member number system for *kalām al-‘arab* (singular, dual, paucal, plural), which includes this category as a minor number. Morphologically, body part referents can be realized in Italian in peculiar ways, such as gender inversion and unique exponence, in which case an inherent plural obtains: the plural of paucity that displays similar traits, e.g., *asinna* < *sinn*, with *i* as a unique exponent, can be defined accordingly.

Like the plural of paucity, the category of plural diminutive described by Sībawayhi is also historically founded in the case of nouns referring to multiple body parts. Sībawayhi describes the plural diminutive as conveying paucity. Since the nouns referring to multiple body parts already convey paucity intrinsically, and since this meaning qualifies as a number value, Sībawayhi’s description implies that in this kind of noun the plural diminutive simply ‘repeats’ a number value; i.e., it is an instance of double plural marking in typological terms: e.g., *arjul* ‘paws’ > *urayjil* ‘paws.’ Otherwise, i.e., in the case of individuals, the plural diminutive conveys smallness like the singular diminutive: e.g., *ruwayjil* ‘little man’ and *shuway‘irūna* ‘little poets’ (in a metaphorical sense, i.e., ‘poetasters’).

Upon closer scrutiny, paucity expresses two semantic facets: multiple body parts are (I) an indivisible collection and (II) a small amount. In this sense, paucity is smallness that refers to an indivisible collection. This reanalysis realigns the plural diminutive of body part referents with the plural and singular diminutive referring to individuals, as it makes the former type of diminutive convey smallness like the latter. Smallness referring to either an indivisible collection or individuals is known in the literature as permeability.

5.2. Research perspectives

Morphologically, the inherent plural of paucity in *kalām al-‘arab* can be realized as a biconsonantal masculine sound plural, e.g., ‘*iḏīna* ‘limbs,’ which can sometimes be marked by a broken plural, e.g., *aydīna* ‘hands.’

This phenomenon is traditionally labeled *jam‘ al-jam‘*. This and other traits lead to an identification of the inherent masculine sound plural of paucity with the dialectal pseudo-dual: e.g., *aṣāb‘ēn* ‘digits’ parallels *aydīna*. In particular, instances of inherent plurals of paucity such as *aydīna* ‘hands’ and *aṣāb‘ēn* ‘digits’ raise the possibility of identifying the traditional notion of *jam‘ al-jam‘* with double plural marking.

Semantically, the inherent masculine sound plural of paucity fine-tunes the traditional distinction between collective and plural on a scale of individuation, in which low number (cp. a granular aggregate such as ‘*iḏīna*) is as significant as animacy (cp. members such as *shu‘arā*). This raises

the possibility of defining the masculine sound plural in terms of individuation, i.e., animacy and low number, rather than of animacy alone, contrary to standard assumptions.

Shifting from a synchronic to a diachronic perspective, it may be tentatively suggested that semantically the inherent broken plural of paucity develops into a broken plural of paucity in general (i.e., not referring to multiple body parts) by analogy, via spatial contiguity, thus extending to body parts in general (e.g., *alsun* ‘tongues’) and to surrounding natural entities (e.g., *aklub* ‘dogs,’ *anjum* ‘stars’). Morphologically, a defining trait of the inherent plural of paucity is the biconsonantal stem—either bare, as in the masculine sound plural, or expanded through a glide or a geminated consonant, as in the broken plural.

This process of expansion raises the possibility that the broken plural of paucity originates from the biconsonantal masculine sound plural of paucity through the addition of a glide or geminated consonant. This hypothesis in turn could refine the traditional assumption that the broken plural originates out of a collective by specifying that the broken plural originates out of an indivisible collective, i.e., a granular aggregate. This origin would explain the broken plural’s underivability from a singular and its countability as features it inherits from a granular aggregate morphologically realized as a biconsonantal masculine sound plural, e.g., ‘idīna.

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A Musandam Arabic text from Lima (Oman)

Simone Bettega and Fabio Gasparini

This paper presents a short unpublished text recorded in the town of Lima, a small settlement located on the eastern shore of the Musandam peninsula (formally an Omani exclave). The text is fully transcribed and glossed, and a discussion follows in which the main phonological and grammatical peculiarities of the informant's speech are investigated. The analysis confirms the findings of the few existing studies on Musandam Arabic, and adds some previously undocumented features, discussing their possible relations with other dialects of the Gulf Area. In particular, the hypothesis is put forward that some of the traits typically encountered in Musandam Arabic may find their ultimate origin in the southernmost regions of the Arabian Peninsula.

Keywords: Musandam, Shihhi, Persian Gulf, Oman, Arabic dialectology, language documentation

1. Introduction¹

In the Spring of 2016, Simone Bettega was lucky enough to spend a couple of days in the town of Lima (لِيْمَة),² on the eastern coast of the Musandam Peninsula. At the administrative level, the Musandam Governorate constitutes an exclave of the Sultanate of Oman, from which it is separated by the United Arab Emirates. Geographically, this mountainous and jagged strip of land extends towards Iran into the waters of the Arabian/Persian Gulf (henceforth: the Gulf), thus creating the narrow sea passage known as the Strait of Hormuz. Lima is, to this day, a relatively isolated town, only accessible by boat, since the network of partially asphalted roads that exists inside and around the settlement is not connected to the main road system of the UAE and Oman. During his stay in Lima, Simone Bettega was hosted and shown around by a local acquaintance, M. O. Al-Shehhi, who graciously agreed to having his voice recorded while illustrating certain aspects of the local culture and customs, and narrating certain episodes of his childhood. This recording session resulted in two short texts, the first of which

¹ The contribution of each author is as follows. Simone Bettega: data collection and sections 1., 2. and 5. Fabio Gasparini: phonetic analysis of data. Sections 3. and 4. have been co-authored.

² GPS coordinates: 25.942585801365187, 56.41924746003272.

is presented in the following pages. The article is structured as follows: in Section 2. we introduce the general linguistic situation of south-eastern Arabia, with a focus on the Musandam Peninsula, reviewing the existing literature on the topic. In Section 3. we present the whole text, fully transcribed, glossed and translated, along with some background information about the speaker and some considerations on the type of Arabic he employs. Finally, in Section 4., we discuss the relevant linguistic features that appear in the text, while their possible implications for the dialect geography of the area will be considered in Section 5.

2. The dialect geography of south-eastern Arabia and Musandam

It is a well-known fact that the majority of the Arabic dialects currently spoken along the eastern coast of the Arabian Peninsula, from southern Iraq to the UAE, are structurally very similar, to the point that they are all commonly rubricated under the general label “Gulf Arabic” (GA; Holes 2007). This homogeneity is obviously the result of interdialectal contact and levelling, but it also has historical roots: over the course of the centuries, several migratory waves have brought nomadic groups from the inner deserts of central Arabia (the Najd) to relocate on the shores of the Gulf, where they eventually settled, bringing their dialect with them. In time, not only did this dialect type undergo major structural changes (a process of morphological simplification that has been carefully documented in Ingham 1982), but it also became the dominant one in eastern Arabia, mostly supplanting the local, original varieties. These, however, were not entirely lost: it is believed that the similarities that exist between the dialects spoken today in places as distant from each other as Bahrain (Holes 2016), certain oases of eastern Saudi Arabia (Prochazka 1981, 1988) and the mountains of northern Oman (Holes 1989) are not coincidental. These varieties represent all that is left of a once more widespread dialect type, now reduced to a discontinuous chain of *Sprachinseln* surrounded by a sea of originally central Arabian linguistic features (Holes 1991, 2006, 2016: 18 and ff.).

The position of Musandam Arabic (MusAr) with respect to the scenario described above is not entirely clear, in part because very little is known about the varieties of Arabic spoken in the region. It seems plausible that the dialects of Musandam have enjoyed a relative degree of linguistic isolation due to the rugged orography that characterizes the peninsula. Of course, contacts with the outside world via sea routes must have been fairly constant through history, but it seems that the above-mentioned migratory processes, which brought people of Bedouin origin to resettle from central to coastal Arabia, have left Musandam mostly untouched. The question could therefore be posed of whether or not is MusAr to be considered another link in this broken chain of “old” eastern Arabian

dialects. Bibliographical sources on MusAr are, unfortunately, extremely limited, but we will now briefly review the few works that exist on the subject.

The Arabic dialects spoken in the Musandam Peninsula have often been referred to as “Šiḥḥi Arabic” (Holes 2007: 211, Watson 2011: 927). Anonby, Bettega and Procházka (forthcoming), however, remark how “alongside the Shihuh, the Dhohuri and Hadheri (urban) people are other important Arabic-speaking groups,” and that the geographical label MusAr is therefore to be preferred. It is also worth noting that, alongside Arabic, the endangered Kumzari language is spoken in Musandam (Anonby 2011 and 2012, Van Der Valt Anonby 2015). MusAr dialects are virtually undocumented: the only published article on the subject dates back to the very beginning of the 20th century (Jayakar 1904), and an MA thesis on the dialect of al-Jadi (الجددي) was defended at Leiden University some ten years ago (Bernabela 2011). Apart from these works, the aforementioned study by Anonby, Bettega and Procházka deals with demonstratives in several varieties of MusAr.

In spite of the lack of sources, the little that is known about MusAr dialects is sufficient to show that these varieties are characterized by a very high number of features that are extremely uncommon, or even unique, as dialects of Arabic go. We will not insist on this point here, since most of such features will be discussed in Section 4. Finding an answer to the more general question of how should MusAr be classified with respect to the dialect geography of south-eastern Arabia is a more complex problem, and it will be shortly addressed in the final part of this article.

3. The text

As already stated, the following text was recorded with the help of a male informant originally from the town of Lima. At the moment of the recording, the informant was in his early forties, and lived on the Omani side of the border town of Daba/Dibba (دبّا), after having spent his university years studying in the UAE. Predictably enough, several koineized features appear in his speech, most likely as a result of the long exposition to the locally more prestigious and widespread varieties of GA, of which he had active command. Whenever a potential “Gulf” influence is detectable in the text, this has been highlighted in the comment section (Section 4).

Broadly speaking, we have opted for a mostly phonemic approach to the transcription. The realization of certain underlying sounds, however, appears to be particularly variable, so that, in these cases, we have decided to stick more faithfully to the informant’s actual rendition of said sounds. These will be discussed more thoroughly in the next section, but in short they are: etymological /ʕ/, /t/, /d/, /d̪/, /d̪/ and /ā/. The text has been segmented according to the prosodic units of the original recording, so that, broadly speaking, a new line starts each time a pause longer than 0.5 second occurs.

1. *nə-ṭlaʃ* *aʃ-ʃubəḥ* *ni-mši* *l=madras-a*
 1PL-leave\PFV DEF=morning 1PL-go\IPFV DEF=school-S.F
 “We used to get out in the morning and go to school.”

2. *u=min* *ni-ryaʔ* *min* *əl=madras-a* *nə-tǧaddi*
 CONJ=from 1PL-return\IPFV from DEF=school-S.F 1PL-have_lunch\IPFV
 “And when we came back from school we had lunch.”

3. *ǧaddey-na*
 have_lunch\PFV-1PL
 “We finished eating.”

4. *u=yi-mkin* *nə-ṭlā* *l=baḥar* *mā* *aḥal=na*
 CONJ=3M-be_possible\IPFV 1PL-leave\IPFV DEF=sea with family=1PL
 “And [then] maybe we went to the sea with our family.”

5. *nə-ṭlā* *l=baḥar* ³*hnōk* *mā=na* *lyōx*³
 1PL-leave\IPFV DEF=sea there with=1PL net\PL
 “We went to the sea, down there, [taking] with us [the] fishing nets.”

6. *b=a-ḥaʃʃal=l=na* *kammeyn* *samak-a* *keḏa*
 IRR=1S-find=for=1PL some fish-S.F like_this
 “I would catch for us some fishes [or something] like this.”

7. *riyā-na* *lə=blēd*
 Return\PFV-1PL DEF=village
 “We came back to the village.”

8. *u=min* *riyā-na* *lə=blēd* *falley-na* *s=samak*
 CONJ=from return\PFV-1PL DEF=village freeze\PFV-1PL DEF=fish
 “And after coming back to the village we put the fish on ice.”

9. *šī=la* *mā=na* *maʃeynā* *faley*
 EXIST=NEG with=1PL machine\PL ice
 “We didn’t have any ice machines.”

³ The term is listed by Brockett (1985: 193) for Khabura as *layx*, pl. *alyāx/lyāx*, with the meaning of “fishing nets.”

10. *əl=faley mawyūd bi=ṭ=tarrōd ḥaytī=h⁴ min deba*
REL=ice present with=DEF=boat bring\PTCP=3S.M from Dibba
“The ice was in the boat, we brought it from Dibba.”
11. *wa=... falley-na s=samak*
CONJ freeze\PFV-1PL DEF=fish
“And... we put the fish on ice.”
12. *w=iḍa huwa fih waqat ḥadar-na deba*
CONJ=if 3S.M EXIST time go_down\PFV-1PL Dibba
“And if there was time we went down to Dibba.”
13. *w=iḍa šī=la waqat trō=na⁵ ḥādī-n tammey-na*
CONJ=if EXIST=NEG time DP=1PL remain\PTCP-PL stay\PFV-1PL
bi=lə=blēd
with=DEF=village
“And if there was no time we stayed in the village.”
14. *w=āla bōkār aṣ=ṣubaḥ*
CONJ=on tomorrow DEF=morning
“And on the next day, [in] the morning.”
15. *ya-ḥdār abū=y li=deba yi-bīṣ aṣ=samak*
3M-go_down\IPFV father=1S to=Dibba 3M-buy\IPFV DEF=fish
“My father would go down to Dibba to sell the fish.”

⁴ This verb appears here in its participial form (see Section 4.2 for the presence of a diphthong) and in (16) in the p-stem. It is most likely derived from a ζ - τ - y root, via desonorization of the initial / ζ / and develarization of the emphatic stop. Behnstedt and Woidich (2014: 406) report reflexes of the verb $\zeta a\tau$ “to give” for most Arab countries, with a number of possible modifications that mostly involve develarization of medial / τ / and the shift from / ζ / to / τ /, or the elision of the entire first syllable. The only attestation of a dialect where this element appears with initial / h / is found in south-western Turkey. As far as we are aware there is no previous documentation of this verb featuring at the same time desonorization of the first radical and develarization of the second one.

⁵ Reflexes of this same discourse particle $trō$ = are common in Northern Oman (where it appears as $tarā$ =, see examples 9 and 55 in Bettega, 2019, pp. 108 and 129 respectively), and in general on both shores of the Gulf (see Holes, 2016: 281 for Bahrain and Leitner, 2022: 229, for Khuzestan). Among the uses of this particle, both Holes and Leitner report the possibility of adversative reading. This seems precisely to be the case in (13), as in: “otherwise, if there was no time, we would remain in the village.” It is worth noting that in MusAr, as well as in Northern Oman, the particle is inflected by the suffixation of a personal pronoun, while it appears to be invariable in Khuzestan and Bahrain.

16. *u=ya-ḥti* *xawr-a* *mā=w* *minnōk*
 CONJ=3M-give\IPFV vegetable-S.F with=3S.M from_there
 “And he brought fruits and vegetables with him from there.”
17. *mawz* *u=tiffāh* *u=ʕanab* *u=...*
 banana CONJ=apple CONJ=grape CONJ
 “Bananas, apples, grape, and...”
18. *illi* *ya-qdar* *yāni* *āe=h*
 REL 3M-can\IPFV I_mean on=3S.M
 “What he could, I mean.”
19. *lakən* *aktar* *šī* *yāni* *l=xuḍraw-ōt* *yāni*
 but more thing I_mean DEF=vegetable-PL.F I_mean
 “But most of all, I mean, fruits and vegetables, I mean.”
20. *zamōn* *awwal*
 time first
 “In the past.”
21. *al=umūr* *kōn-at* *aḥsan* *an* *aḥayn*
 DEF=matter\PL be\PFV-3S.F better than now
 “Things were better than now.”
22. *u=kōn* *al=insōn* *ya-ʕmal* *yaʕni*
 CONJ=be\PFV.3S.M DEF=human_being 3M-work\IPFV I_mean
 “And the human being used to work, I mean.”
23. *u=yi-ʕtaǧal* *u=yi-kidd*
 CONJ=3M-work\IPFV CONJ=3M-earn\IPFV
 “And work, and earn [his wages].”
24. *u=yi-tāb*
 CONJ=3M-toil\IPFV
 “And toil.”

25. *ʔašān* *yi-yīb* *loqm-at* *ʔayš* *li=ʔayēl=uh*
 in_order_to 3M-bring\IPFV mouthful-S.F rice to=child\PL=3S.M
 “In order to bring a mouthful of rice to his children.”
26. *ʔayēl=uh* *mahtēy-īn* *hōda* *šī*
 child\PL=3S.M need\PTCP-PL DEM.NEAR.S.M thing
 “His children needed that.”
27. *al=...* *kōn* *rabb* *əl=usra* *l=abu*
 DEF be\PFV.3S.M head DEF=family DEF=father
 “The... The father was the head of the family.”
28. *u=yi-tʔab* *yaʔni*
 CONJ=3M- toil\IPFV I_mean
 “And he used to toil, I mean.”
29. *wa...* *w=alladi* *huwa* *yi-štaǧal* *bi=l=baḥar* *yi-štaǧal*
 CONJ CONJ=REL 3S.M 3M-work\IPFV in=DEF=sea 3M-work\IPFV
bi=l=baḥar
in=DEF=sea
 “And him who worked at sea, he worked at sea.”
30. *u=alladī* *huwa* *yə-ṭlā* *n=naxal* *yə-ṭlā* *n=naxal*
 CONJ=REL 3S.M 3M-go_up\IPFV DEF=palm 3M- go_up\IPFV DEF=palm
 “And him who worked with the palm trees, he worked with the palm trees.”
31. *ən=naxal* *bi=l=qēw*
 DEF=palm_tree in=DEF=summer
 “The palms, in the summer.”
32. *ən=naxal* *lī=ha* *dawr* *ʔkbīr* *mā=na*
 DEF=palm_tree to=3S.F role big with=1PL
 “The palms they have an important role for us.”
33. *bi=l=qēw* *fi=ha* *nxīl* *ʔktīr-a* *fi=ha* *lə=xneyzi* *fi=ha*
 in=DEF=summer in=3S.F palm\PL many-S.F in=3S.F DEF=xneyzi in=3S.M
lə=xšāb
 DEF=xšāb
 “In the summer there are many types of palm, among them the *xneyzi*, the *xšāb*.”

34. *fī=ha* *š=šahəl*
in=3S.F DEF=šahal
“The *šahəl*.”
35. *fī=ha* *nxīl* *ʾktīr-a* *lēn* *hōdi...*
in=3S.F palm\PL many-S.F until DEM.NEAR.S.F
“There are many types of palms, even those...”
36. *ši* *min=ha* *nə-xraf⁶* *min=ha* *r=rṭab*
thing from=3S.F 1PL-pick\IPFV from=3S.F DEF=fresh_date
“Some of them, we pick fresh dates from them.”
37. *n-ōkl=uh*
1PL-eat\IPFV=3S.M
“We eat those.”
38. *u=ši* *min=ha* *n-yid=ha...⁷* *hadōk*
CONJ=thing from=3S.F 1PL-cut=3S.F DEM.FAR.S.M
“And some of them, we cut them... that.”
39. *wa=yə-ṭlā* *min=ha* *s=sihḥ*
CONJ=3M-leave\IPFV from=3S.F DEF=dried_date
“And from them come dried dates.”
40. *siḥḥ* *hōda* *s=sihḥ* *ni-mli* *minn=uh*
dried_date DEM.NEAR.S.F DEF= dried_date 1PL-fill\IPFV from=3S.M
kammeyn *yirōb⁸*
some bag
“Dried dates, these are dried dates, we fill some bags with them.”
41. *u=n-ḥatt=uh* *fī=l=beyt*
CONJ=1PL-put\IPFV=3S.M in=DEF=house
“And we put them in the house.”

⁶ Holes (2001: 147) lists the same verb for Bahraini with the meaning “pick dates one by one,” while Brockett (1985: 91) gives “to climb the palm and pick fresh dates” for Khabura.

⁷ This verb appears as *gedd/yigidd* in Brockett (1985: 71), «to harvest the whole raceme of dates [...] by cutting its stalk».

⁸ Sack of dates made of palm-fronds. See Brockett (1985: 72) for Khabura (*yrāb* or *grāb*); Holes (2001: 85) for Bahrein (*ḡrāb*).

42. *u=n-ōkil minn=uh tūl (aṣ-ṣeyf?)⁹*
 CONJ=1PL-eat\IPFV from=3S.M all (DEF=summer?)
 “And we eat from those all (summer?).”

4. Commentary

In this section, we highlight some of the most relevant and typologically unusual features that appear in the text. The reader should bear in mind that this article is in no way intended as a description of the dialect of Lima (a much larger amount of data would be needed to pursue such a goal), and that the selection of traits and structures that we have operated is at least in part arbitrary (especially in the realm of morphosyntax). This short survey is intended as the first step of a documentation process that we hope can be expanded in the future.

4.1. Consonants

4.1.1. Reflexes of ق and ج¹⁰

The realization of etymological ق appears to be extremely variable in the text. Bernabela (2011: 23-4) claims that this sound normally surfaces as a voiceless uvular stop [q], though it can be sometimes spirantized to a voiceless or voiced velar fricative in intervocalic position. In our text we see several instances of this, not only in intervocalic position ([‘waxat] (12) and [‘wayat] (13) in place of [‘waqat]) but also in onset position when followed by a vowel (*bi=l=*[‘ɣe:w] instead of *bi=l=qēw*, 31 and 33). ق appears to be normally retained in pre-consonantal position (e.g. [‘loqmat], 25). Voiceless reflexes of ق are relatively common in Oman, both in the dialects of the northern interior (Holes 1989) and in those of the coastal south (Davey 2016: 34). They are, however, almost completely absent in GA, where this sound normally surfaces as a voiced velar stop¹¹. This is all the more surprising in light of the fact that

⁹ Here the recording is interrupted by a series of loud noises. Only the first syllable of the last word of the text is clearly audible, so we have tried to reconstruct it on the basis of the sentence’s meaning.

¹⁰ When referring to the consonants that form the root of a word, we have decided to use Arabic graphemes instead of Latin transcription in order not to commit to a specific pronunciation (since in some cases the “original” rendition of these sounds, if one existed, is unclear).

¹¹ A single occurrence of [g] appears in our text, in the word *ya-qdar* “can, be able to” (18), actually realized as [‘jagda]. We believe this to be a clear example of influence from GA. In particular, it is possible that the whole word is to be considered as a lexical loan from GA, since other verbs with the same meaning are in use in the area (Jayakar 1904: 259 gives *ṣabbar* or *abbar* for Musandam, and *rām* is commonly heard in northern Oman).

etymological ج systematically surfaces as [j]¹² in the text, e.g. *ni-ryaʔ* [ni.ɟ'jaʔ] (2), *mawyūd* [maw'ju:d] (10), *yi-yīb* [ji'ji:b] (25). Bernabela (2011: 22) maintains that [j] and [ɟʒ] appear to be in free variation in the dialect of al-Jadi, but in the speech of our informant not a single instance of [ɟʒ] was recorded¹³. It has to be noted that [j] is the typical GA realization, while the aforementioned Omani dialects have a velar stop [g] in its place. In this respect, then, this variety of MusAr appears to be characterized by an admixture of GA and Omani traits (so that, for instance, it would not fall in any of the four categories that Holes 1989 proposed for the classification of Omani dialects).

4.1.2. Reflexes of ɟ

One of the most distinctive features of MusAr phonetics is the realization of etymological ɟ, as already noted in Jayakar (1904:249-50) and Bernabela (2011:24-5). This phoneme is realized most of the time as a retroflex approximant [ɟ], such as in *riyā-na* [ɟi'jæ:na] (7) and *ḥadar-na* [ħa'dæ.ɟna] (12).

In intervocalic position, ɟ is realized as a retroflex flap [ɟ̣], as in *yirōb* [ji'ɾo:ʔp] (40). After another consonant ɟ is realized as an alveolar flap [ɾ]: *trō-na* ['tro:na] (13), *l=madras-a* [lmæ'dræsa] (1); this realization is attested also in other contexts where the default [ɟ] realization would be expected, such as in *dawɾ ʔkbīɾ* ['dæwɾ ək'bi:ɾ] (32).

When ɟ is geminate as a phonotactic effect of assimilation of an adjacent sonorant, it is usually realized as an alveolar trill [r]: *min riyā-na* [mər:i'jæ:na] (8), *kōn rabb* ['ko:r:ab:] (27). If an emphatic consonant is found in the preceding syllable, pharyngealization spreads to the rhotic /r/, which is then realized as a pharyngealized voiced alveolar trill [rʕ]: *bi=ṭ=tarrōd* [bitʕ:a'rʕ:o:d] (10); *xudraw-ōt* [xudʕrʕa'wo:t] (19); *r=ṛtab* [rʕ:tʕaβ] (36). The same happens with ɟ̣: *nə-ṭlā* ['nətʕʕlā:] (4).

4.1.3. Reflexes of ʕ

According to Bernabela (2011:26, see also Jayakar 1904: 249-50), ʕ has developed in a glottal stop /ʔ/ in most environments, although word-medially and in coda position it can sometimes be completely elided, in which case compensatory lengthening of the neighboring vowels takes place. In the speech of our informant, ʕ has mostly disappeared, causing the lengthening of the neighboring vowel in every position but utterance-initial: *w=fala > w=āla (14), *maʕ=na > mā=na (5, 9 and 32), *nə-ṭlaʕ > nə-ṭlā (4).

¹² This has been transcribed as <y> in the text.

¹³ Jayakar (1904: 249) appears to be of no use in this respect. He only passingly (and oddly) reports that “the letters ج, ح and خ are interchangeable as in some other modern dialects of Arabic.” We have observed nothing of the sort in our text.

Utterance-initial ʕ is realized as a glottal stop, at least in the word *ʔašān*, probably due to phonotactic constraints (i.e. #V syllables are not tolerated). More occurrences of word-initial ʕ would however be needed to better assess this phenomenon.

The rules just discussed know several exceptions in the text. ʕ is maintained in tokens such as *ʕanab* (17), *ya-ʕmal* (22), *ʕayš* (25), and sometimes one observes variation in the realization of the same lexical item, e.g. *yi-tāb* (24) ~ *yi-tʕāb* (28); *yāni* (18 and 19) ~ *yaʕni* (22 and 28). We believe the explanation of such “irregularities” to be sociolinguistic in nature, i.e. due to contact with GA as well as other varieties of Arabic, to which our informant has been intensively exposed; besides, this phenomenon is probably reinforced by the artificial and semi-formal context of the recording (including the interviewer’s being a non-native speaker).

4.1.4. Reflexes of ڌ and ڌ

According to Jayakar (1904: 249), etymological fricative ڌ has turned into the corresponding stop [t] in all contexts, while its voiced counterpart has more varied reflexes (apparently [d], [d] or [z]). Bernabela (2011: 26) simply reports that all interdental fricatives have become stops, although he notes that “one may occasionally hear an interdental fricative being articulated, but this is probably due to the influence of MSA.” To this, we may add that influence from GA is likely to play a role as well, since in this variety interdental fricatives have been retained.

As was the case for ʕ, reflexes of ڌ and ڌ appear to be very variable in our text, and this is probably due to our speaker’s idiolect being affected by other varieties of Arabic. Demonstratives appear to systematically feature a stop (*hōda*, 26 and 40; *hōdi*, 35; *hadōk*, 38), as does the relative pronoun *alladi* (29 and 30). The conditional particle *ida*, on the other hand, appears twice with a fricative (12 and 13), and the same is true of *keḏa* (6). Etymological ڌ is retained in *ktīr* (33 and 35), but oddly enough lost in *aktar* (19), in spite of the fact that these two words come from the same root.¹⁴

A most peculiar reflex of ڌ is encountered in lines 8 to 11, where the words *faley* “ice” and *falley-na* “we froze” (both from an original root *t - l - ǧ*) are used repeatedly. No other root appears in the text in which this sound change is attested. To the best of our knowledge, the /t/ > [f] sound change has not been reported for any Musandam or Omani dialect, and neither is it attested in GA. The only eastern Arabian dialects in which this shift occurs are the Baḥārna dialects of Bahrain (Holes 2016: 59). We are

¹⁴ Note that *ida* and *ktīr* are specifically listed by Bernabela as two typical elements in which the fricative realization can be encountered.

inclined to believe that these specific lexical items, both connected to a technology of relatively recent introduction in the area, are to be regarded as lexical loans. It is not impossible that, for some reason, the first refrigerators that arrived in Musandam were brought there from Bahrain, which can explain the intrusion of an otherwise entirely undocumented phenomenon. Obviously, this is just a hypothesis (and a hard-to-prove one at that), and much is yet unknown about Musandam dialects, so that future research in the area might lead to different explanations.

4.1.5. Reflexes of ض and ظ

Few occurrences of these two sounds appear in the text, so that it is not possible to have a complete picture of the situation. It seems reasonable to suppose that the dental fricative ظ has been conflated with the corresponding stop (as is mostly the case with the other dental fricatives), leaving only ض in the dialect. Bernabela (2011: 26) claims that this is precisely what happened in the dialect of al-Jadi.

In general, however, the status of ض in the dialect is not entirely clear. While this sound is retained in *xuḍraw-ōt* [xuḍ^ʁr^ʁa'wo:t] (19), it is clearly articulated as a labio-velar approximant in *xawra* ['xaw.ɾa] (16; note that the latter is just the singular form of the former). A short footnote in Bernabela (2011: 15) informs us that the [d^ʁ] > [w] shift is allegedly reported in the dialect of Ghumda (غمضاء), some four kilometers south of al-Jadi, but not in al-Jadi itself. The word *qēw* ['ɣe:w] “summer” appears twice in the text. This word is normally realized as *gēḍ* [ge:ḍ^ʁ] in GA (see for instances Holes 2011: 444). In light of this, we must either postulate that an earlier /ḍ^ʁ/ > /d^ʁ/ shift was later followed by a /d^ʁ/ > /w/ one, or that both /ḍ^ʁ/ and /d^ʁ/ underwent this process independently. The former explanation is obviously more convincing, but the details of this phenomenon remain in general unclear (we do not know, for instance, if this shift is environmentally-conditioned, and if so, by what type of environments). This represents an important open question on which future studies on MusAr should focus.

4.1.6. Reflexes of ل

Bernabela (2011: 25) notes that etymological ل is sometimes realized as [r] in his texts, and that in some cases [l] and [r] appear to be allophones in free variation. We have observed nothing of the sort in the speech of our informant (i.e. all historical ل are realized as such, see for instance *nā-ṭlaṣ*, 1; *fallay-na*, 8; *awwal*, 20). In two cases, however, etymological ل is entirely elided. This happens with the preposition *ṣala* (18), which appears as *āe=h* (followed by a 3S.M suffix pronoun), and with the adverb “now” (21), realized as *aḥayn* (historically derived from the lexicalization of the definite article *al* plus the word *hīn* “time,” and normally encountered in the form *alḥīn* in the rest of the Gulf; see Section 4.2 on the

presence of a diphthong here). With only two occurrences of this phenomenon, it is hard to say whether or not it represents a recurring and regular feature of this dialect, and further observations are needed on this point, also in order to determine which contexts trigger this type of elision. It is worth noting, however, that the disappearance of ʃ can bring forth the emergence of vocalic clusters which are unusual as varieties of Arabic go.

4.1.7. Devoicing in utterance-final position

Devoicing in utterance-final, pre-pausal position is a phenomenon well attested across many Arabic vernaculars. As for the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, this process (often accompanied by various secondary articulations such as glottalization, aspiration and neutralization) has been documented for San'ani, Hadrami and other north Yemeni varieties (Jastrow 1984; Behnstedt 1985; al-Saqqaf 2000-2002) as well as for Modern South Arabian (Watson and Asir 2007; Watson and Bellem 2011), and therefore it is considered an areal linguistic feature of the South-Western Peninsula (Watson and Bellem 2011:252).

MusAr shows clear signs of lenition and devoicing in pre-pausal position of voiced and voiceless stops. Voiced stops are either devoiced, as in *yi-kidd* [ji'kit:] (23) or lenited, as it is the case of spirantization of /b/: *lā-xšāb* [lə'xs^saβ] (33), *r-rṭab* [r^ʕ:t^ʕaβ] (36). Voiceless stops are clearly aspirated: *hadōk* [hæ'do:k^h] (38). Bernabela (2011: 27-8) reports the same for al-Jadi.

4.2. Vowels

4.2.1. *ʔimāla* and reflexes of *ā*

ʔimāla (“inclination”) is a term often used in studies of Arabic linguistics to refer to the fronting and raising of short and long *a*. In our text, *ʔimāla* is rare: it never occurs with short *a* in final position (see e.g. *madrasa*, 1; *samak-a*, 6; *huwa*, 12; *fī=ha*, 33), and this stands in open contrast with what Bernabela (2011: 30) reports for the dialect of al-Jadi, where the feminine ending “is consistently raised to *i*” and the 3S.F suffix pronoun *-ha* can be raised to *-hi* as well.

ʔimāla does occasionally occur in the case of medial long *ā*, in the words *blēd* [blēd] (7, 8 and 13), *ʔayēl* [ʔayēl] (25 and 26) and *maḥtēy-īn* [maḥtēyīn] (26). In all other cases (except for the word *ʔašān*, 25), long *ā* is backed to [ō]. Examples are numerous and include *hnōk* (5), *bōkir* (14), *xuḍraw-ōt* (19) and *hadōk* (38). Bernabela (2011: 32-3) similarly reports that, in al-Jadi, historical *ā* has largely disappeared. According to him, it is not always easy to predict whether an [ō] or [ē] reflex will be found in its place, but as a general rule, it would seem that [ē] is only attested when the vowel is both preceded and

followed by a non-velarized, non-nasal front consonant¹⁵ (otherwise the [ō] reflex obtains). Bernabela also notes that the feminine plural nominal marker *-āt* systematically surfaces as *-ōt*, no matter the consonantal environment. All this seems to be in accordance with our data, the only exception being represented by *yirōb* (40), where [ē] would be expected instead.

The backing of long *ā* is a well-known and widely attested phenomenon in the Gulf Area. Holes (2016: 28), for instance, notes that, in the Bahraini dialects spoken by Sunni Arabs, *ā* “has a backed and rounded quality in any phonetic environment,” and Johnstone (1976: 23) also noted how in GA in general central [ā] is often difficult to distinguish from backed [ā̰], and that in some cases the two would seem to be in free variation.

4.2.2. Diphthongs and diphthongization of long vowels

Several interesting phenomena connected to diphthongs are present in the text. Firstly, the dialect of our informant seems to retain etymological diphthongs, which are normally not monophthongized. In the case of original /ay/ diphthongs, the quality of the vowel is raised to an open /e/ [ε] unless preceded by a back consonant, and examples include s-stem forms of final weak or geminated verbs (*ǧaddeyna*, 3; *tammeyna*, 13), the dual ending (*kammeyn*, 6 and 40) and other lexical elements (*šayš*, 25; *beyt*, 41). In the case of original /aw/ diphthongs, the quality of the vowel is backed to [a] (*mawyūd*, 10; *mawz*, 17; *dawr*, 32). The only recorded exception to this trend is represented by the word *šī* “thing,” where the original diphthong (*šay) has been reduced to a long vowel. Every occurrence of *šī* in the text appears to be monophthongized, no matter the role that the word fulfils in the sentence: grammaticalized existential marker (*šī=la*, 9 and 13), quantifier (*šī min=ha*, 36 and 38) or part of a comparative construction (*aktar šī*, 19). Bernabela (2011: 38) reports that in al-Jadi “The monophthongisation of the OA diphthongs *ay and *aw to *ē* and *ō* respectively is not complete, especially for the former, as it is still slightly diphthongal.” This process would seem to be even more incomplete in the speech of our informant (also because certain lexical items that Bernabela lists as systematically showing monophthongization retain their diphthong in our text, e.g. *dawr*). Interestingly enough, retention of diphthongs is characteristic of the “older” Baharna dialects of Bahrain, “where elderly and uneducated speakers typically have the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ rather than the mid-vowels /ē/ and /ō/” (Holes 2016: 66).

¹⁵ Specifically, Bernabela notes that “Bilabials, labio-dentals, alveolars and palatals [...] are here considered as front consonants. Next to all the postalpalatal consonants, retroflex *r* counts as a back consonant as well.”

A second very interesting phenomenon observed in the speech of our informant is the tendency to diphthongize etymological long vowels. This trait is attested, although often poorly described, in several Arabic dialects. However, as far as we are aware, diphthongization of etymological long vowels has only been documented in coda position (some examples in Yemeni dialects can be found in the commentaries to maps 014 and 015 in Behnstedt 2016¹⁶; see Mion 2008 for a more general survey). Furthermore, in many cases it only occurs in pause, and seems not to be connected to the presence of guttural sounds (the Arabic of Nazareth documented by Zu'bi 2017 is a good example of these last two points)¹⁷. In our text, on the contrary, diphthongization is also found in non-final syllables, in non-pausal contexts, and it appears to be triggered by adjacent guttural consonants. With only three recorded occurrences, it is hard to determine what kind of rationale underlies this phonological process (also because it appears to affect both *ā* and *ī* vowels, yielding identical results), but, as anticipated, the long vowel undergoing diphthongization is always preceded by a guttural or emphatic consonant. The relevant examples are *maṣaynaʃ* < **maṣānaʃ* (9), *ḥaytī=h* < **ḥātī=h* (10) and *aḥayn* < **alḥīn* (21, see Section 4.1 above for the loss of *l* in this word). Note that at least one counterexample appears in the text, namely *ḥādī-n* (13), in which *ā* is preceded by a guttural but not diphthongized.

Although more research is clearly needed on this point, it might be worth pointing out that back consonants cause following high long vowels to diphthongize also in Mehri, one of the five Modern South Arabian languages spoken in Southern Oman (Watson *et al.* 2020: 17). Allomorphy can be observed, for instance, in the singular feminine future participial suffix *-īta* in *kətbīta* ‘will write f.s.’ vs. *ṣəṭṭayta* ‘will feel pain f.s.’ and *yaṣṣayta* ‘will be afraid f.s.’

4.3. Phonotactics

4.3.1. Elision

Bernabela (2011: 49) claims that all etymological short high vowels in CvCVC sequences are systematically elided. This appears to be confirmed in our data, where we find *blēd* < **bilād* (7, 8 and 13), *hnōk* < **hunāk* (5), but *zamōn* < **zamān* (20), *ʔašān* < **ʔašān* (25), *ʔayēl* < **ʔayāl* (25 and 26) and *hadōk* < **hadāk* (30). Two interesting cases of elision are those that appear in 32 (*kbīr*), 33 and 35 (*ktīr*).

¹⁶ Behnstedt suggests an intermediate passage in which the original long vowel is centralized, e.g. *tūr* > *tōr* > *ṭawr* or *tīb* > *tēb* > *ṭayb*.

¹⁷ Note also that *ʔimāla* does occasionally cause diphthongization in certain varieties of Arabic: Maltese for instance had *ie* < **ā* (Avram 2016: 166-168). In this case, however, the resulting diphthong is ascending, while in our text we are looking at descending ones.

According to Bernabela, short *a* in CaCīC patterns is never elided, so that we shouldn't see any elision here. However, we know that, in the Gulf area, the quality of this vowel is often high, also because it can trigger the affrication of velar stops in front vowel environments typical of GA (see Johnstone 1976: 30 for examples of *čibīr* and *čitīr* in Kuwaiti Arabic). In the case of these two elements, then, if we believe *a* to be the original short vowel, we should postulate three separate diachronic stages, namely *CaCīC > *CiCīC > CCīC.

Bernabela also notes that “In verbs that end with –vC, this last vowel is prone to elision when a vowel-initial suffix is added to the base.” We have one very clear example of this in (42), where the verb *n-ōkil* features a short vowel which is, conversely, lost in (37), where a 3S.M pronoun is suffixed to it, giving *n-ōkl=uh*.

4.3.2. Anaptyxis and *gahawa syndrome*

An epenthetic vowel is inserted after the first consonant whenever a CCC cluster is created by the juxtaposition of different words or morphemes. We see examples of this in 5 (*l=baḥar* ³*hnōk*), 32 (*dawr* ³*kbīr*), 33 and 35 (*nxīl* ³*ktīra*). This is consistent with Bernabela (2011: 40-1), who also claims that a pause counts as a consonant for the purpose of word-final consonantal clusters (in other words, word-final consonant clusters are not allowed in the dialect). As a consequence of this, CC# segments are normally resolved as CvC#¹⁸. In our text, we see several examples of CvCC lexical elements resyllabicated in CvCvC: since none of those occur in pause, it is probable that an original epenthetic vowel has been reinterpreted as part of the root in all these words (e.g. *ṣubəḥ* < **ṣubḥ*, 1; *baḥar* < **baḥr*, 4 and 5; *ahal* < **ahl*, 4; *naxal* < *naxl* 30 to 32¹⁹). Some of these could look like examples of the so-called *gahawa syndrome*, but by looking at certain verbal forms that appear in the text, it is easy to establish that the *gahawa syndrome* is not active in the dialect of our informant (see for instance 16, *ya-ḥti* in place of **ya-ḥati* – or possibly **y-ḥati* after resyllabication – and 22, *ya-ṣmal* in place of **ya-ṣamal* or **y-ṣamal*).

4.3.3. Assimilation

In the text, sonorants undergo assimilation in various cases. We see two examples of complete assimilation of *l* when followed by an *n* sound. This happens in 4 (*mā ahal=na*, actually pronounced

¹⁸ Bernabela further comments that the same process applies to word-initial #CC clusters. In our text, we have no word with an initial CC cluster appearing at the beginning of an utterance, so that it is impossible to confirm this claim.

¹⁹ The quality of the epenthetic vowel is normally [ə], but it seems to be realized as [a] when preceded by a guttural.

māhan=na) and 6 (*b=aḥaṣṣal=l=na*, actually *b=aḥaṣṣan=na*). Furthermore, assimilation takes place when *n* precedes *r*, even across word boundaries: *min riyāna* [mər:i'j æ:na] (8) and *kōn rabb* ['ko:r:ab:] (27).

4.4 Morphosyntax

4.4.1. Collectives and agreement

Several collective nouns appear in the text, most notably *samak* “fish” (8, 11 and 15), *naxal* “palm trees” (30, 31 and 32), *rṭāb* “fresh dates” (36) and *siḥḥ* “dried dates” (39, 40). A singulative can be derived from most collectives by the addition of the suffix *-a(t)*, as exemplified by *samak-a*, in (6). Being morphologically akin to masculine singular nouns, collectives often trigger masculine singular agreement (*rṭāb n-ōkl=uh* “fresh dates, we eat them,” 36 and 37; *s=siḥḥ ni-mli minn-uh...* “the dried dates, we fill with them...,” 40). However, collectives can sometimes trigger feminine singular agreement, as is the case with “proper” plural nouns lacking individuation (Brustad 2000: 52 ff.). An example of the former phenomenon is found in (32), *ən=naxal lī=ha* “palm trees, they have...,” while we have an example of the latter in (21), *əl=umūr kōn-at* “things were...”

Several collective nouns in Arabic possess an apophonic plural that is normally employed with the meaning of “types of X” (X being the entity the collective describes, see Sallam 1979: 24). In our text, the plural of *naxal*, *nxīl*, is used with this very meaning in (33), *nxīl ʔktīr-a fī=ha lə=xneyzi fī=ha lə=xṣāb* “many types of palm trees, among them the *xneyzi*, among them the *xṣāb*,” where the speaker uses the apophonic plural before listing all the different subspecies of palm trees that used to be grown around Lima. Note that this plural also triggers feminine singular agreement in both the adjective and the pronoun.

4.4.2. Existentials and negation

In the text, the particle *fīh* is used once as an existential element with the meaning “there is/are” (*fīh waqat*, 12). This is a very common feature, shared by a very high number of Arabic dialects, from Egypt to the Levant to eastern Arabia. Interestingly enough, it would seem that the negative counterpart of *fīh* (*šī=la*) has a different origin, namely the word for “thing,” *šay*, which further developed into *šī* via monophthongization, as discussed in Section 4.2.

Negation is probably one of the most intriguing aspects of MusAr. Bernabela (2011: 53, 86-87) observes how both verbs and nominal sentences can be negated with the enclitic *-lu* (alternatively, preposed *mā* can be used). This behavior is unique among all known varieties of Arabic (even in the

few dialects where negation can be realized by the use of a suffix only, this suffix systematically contains a *š* element, while this is not the case in MusAr, where the negation is clearly derived by **lā*).

In our text, this suffixal negator appears twice (in the form *=la*), in both cases in the context of an existential sentence. Note in particular 12 and 13, where the opposition between affirmative *fih* and negative *šī=la* is clearly visible (*w=iḍa huwa fih waqat ḥadarna deba w=iḍa šī=la waqat trō=na ḥādīn tammeyna bi=lā=blēd* “If there was time we would go to Dibba, and if there wasn’t we would stay in the village”), but see also 9 (*šī=la mā=na maṣaynaḥ falay*, “We didn’t have ice machines”).

On the topic of the opposition between *fih* and negative *šī*, Bernabela (2011: 61) thus comments: “In the recorded texts, ‘there is / are’ is expressed consistently with *fih*. Elicitation, however, also yielded *šī*, and since the negative equivalent ‘there is / are not’ is always expressed with *šilu* or *mā šī / šay* (never *mā fih*), it is likely that *fih* has been imported.” It is certainly possible that *šī* represents the “original,” autochthonous element in MusAr, while *fih* constitutes a borrowing from GA or some other dialect.²⁰ Be that as it may, it is also possible that the two are now becoming semantically specialized, the former to be used in negative sentences only and the latter in affirmative ones.

As a last note, the negative existential closely resembles that of existential negation in the Modern South Arabian languages, where a structure EXIST + NEG (*šī + lā*) is attested (Simeone-Senelle 2011: 1078). According to Lucas (2020: 650-6), both the use of *šī* as an existential predicate in Arabic dialects and postverbal negation through *lā* in MusAr (an unicum among Arabic varieties) are the result of transfer from MSAL due to earlier strict contact.

4.4.3. Some remarks on clause combining and the verbal system: *s-* and *p-*stem verbs, active participles and the *b-* prefix

The text offers a limited but interesting set of examples of the functions and uses of the various verbal forms that exist in the dialect. The verbs in lines (2) to (4) well illustrate the opposition between suffix-stem verbs (normally encoding perfective aspect) and prefix-stem verbs (normally expressing the imperfective). The passage (2) *u=min ni-rya? min əl=madrās-a nə-tḡaddi* (3) *ḡaddey-na* (4) *u=yi-mkin nə-ṭlā l=baḥar* can be translated as “And when we came back from school, we had lunch. After lunch,

²⁰ The idea that *šī* represents the original existential element of MusAr is further reinforced by this passage from Holes (2016: 24): “the functions of *šī/ šay* in the Baḥārna dialects, the Omani dialects and those of the Gulf coast which neighbour Oman (Rās al-Khayma, Dubai), are virtually identical with those of *šī* in Yemen.” The use of *šī*, in other words, would represent yet another shared trait among the varieties that belong to the “older” dialectal stratum in south-eastern Arabia, i.e. the dialects that existed in the area before the arrival of Bedouin peoples from Najd (as discussed in Section 2).

sometimes we went down to the sea.” Here it can be noted how the mere juxtaposition of a *p*- and an *s*-stem verb is sufficient to convey the idea of temporal sequentiality, without the use of any temporal adverb, conjunction or discourse marker other than two long pauses right before and after the *s*-stem verb (*ǧaddey-na*). This phenomenon is what Persson (2015: 254-5) refers to as *gram switching*, on which she writes:

The fairly well-defined aspectual values associated with Gulf Arabic verb forms, especially the prefix form and the suffix form, are employed in various ways in clause combining to signal clause hierarchy and discourse structure. This is done without recourse to conjunctions or discourse markers. Simple switches between grams (verb forms) are used to signal temporal/conditional clauses, relative clauses, final clauses and other non-main clause linking as well as narrative background/foreground.

Asyndetic clause combining returns in (15), though this time without a gram switch. This line offers a perfect example of the type of semantic ambiguity that is typical of such constructions, which Persson (2009) dubs circumstantial qualifiers (CQ). In the case of *ya-ḥdər abū-y li=deba yi-bīf əs=samak*, it is difficult to say whether the second clause is to be interpreted as coordinated to the first one (in which case the sentence would translate as “My father would go down to Dibba and sell the fish”) or as a final subordinate (thus giving the English translation “My father would go down to Dibba in order to sell the fish”). This inherent ambiguity is highlighted by Persson (2009: 257) herself, when she writes that “a CQ at clause level consisting of an asyndetically appended clause sometimes has an alternative reading as an ordinary coordinated clause.”

Yet another example of semantic ambiguity resulting from asyndetism can be seen in (13), here involving an active participle: *w=iḍa šī=la waqat trō=na ḥādī-n tammey-na bi=lə=blēd*. It is hard to tell whether the following *s*-stem verb should here be regarded as subordinated or coordinated to it – and this in addition to the fact that the two verbs are close synonyms, which further complicates translation into English. The sentence could be tentatively rendered as “and if there was no time, we stayed, remaining in the village” or “and if there was no time, we ended up remaining in the village” (literally: “we remained remaining”).

As far as active participles are concerned, in (10) we find *ḥaytī=h* “we had brought/used to bring it.” Like the one in (13), this participle is plural, but the final *n* of the plural suffix is here lost due to the suffixation of the pronoun. This same phenomenon is reported for al-Jadi by Bernabela (2011: 69), who further comments that this stands in opposition with the suffixation of personal pronouns to *singular* active participles, in which case an infix *-in(n)-* is obligatorily inserted between the participle and the pronoun. Though we have no example of this in our text, fieldwork observations made by Simone

Bettega confirm that this feature is widespread in MusAr (on the importance of the post-participial *-in(n)-* infix in Arabian dialects, see Holes 2011).

Finally, a passing comment is due on the only occurrence of the *b-* prefix that appears in the text. The *b-* prefix is the main verbal prefix found in the Arabic dialects of the eastern Peninsula²¹. It has been variously described as a marker of futurity and intention, but Persson (2008) correctly points out that it is better envisioned as a modal marker of *irrealis*. Among the various uses of this element, Persson notes that it sometimes appears introducing verbs that express the habitual past. This observation is remarkable in that this specific use of *b-* had not been reported before in other works on GA (see for instance Johnstone 1967 or Holes 1990), nor has it been observed in subsequent studies on the topic (Eades 2012 and Bettega 2019, both focused on Omani dialects, and Holes 2016: 301-2, on Bahraini Arabic). It is therefore an interesting finding that the only occurrence of *b-* that appears in our text is precisely of this kind, i.e. the prefixed verb is actually used to express the habitual past (see 6, *b=a-ḥaṣṣal=l=na kammeyn samak-a*, which can be variously translated as “I used to catch us some fishes” or “I would catch us some fishes”). This confirms Persson’s claims on the subject, and expands on Bernabela’s (2011: 87) observation that *b-* is used in MusAr to express futurity.

5. Discussion

The text presents all the traits that have already been described as typical for (at least some varieties of) MusAr. These include: disappearance of etymological /ʕ/, conditioned fricativization of /q/, retroflex reflexes of /r/, merger of dental fricatives with the corresponding stops, fronting or (more commonly) backing of etymological /a:/, and the suffix negative clitic *=la*. Some phenomena appear in the text that were either scarcely or entirely undocumented, namely: shift from /dʕ/ to /w/, occasional disappearance of etymological /l/, retention of etymological diphthongs, diphthongization of etymological long vowels when preceded by back consonants. All these phenomena (except the retention of diphthongs) only appear irregularly within the text. It is presently impossible to tell whether these traits would occur systematically, or at any rate more often, in the speech of informants who have been less exposed to other varieties of Arabic. All of this further demonstrates that MusAr varieties abound with traits that, from the perspective of Arabic dialectology, are typologically unusual, and henceforth worth of further investigation.

²¹ Pan-Gulf *rāḥ* and Omani *ha-* can be sporadically encountered, but are markedly rarer. On the topic see Bettega (2019), in particular Sections 5.1 and 5.3.2.

MusAr varieties, in particular, share several important isoglosses with those dialects that, as discussed in Section 2 and according to Holes (2016: 18ff.), form a broken chain of closely related varieties all around the periphery of the Arabian Peninsula. Holes lists five fundamental features that characterize these dialects, namely: voiceless reflex of /q/; 2S.F suffix pronoun *-iṣ*; post-participial *-in(n)-* infix; 2S.F independent pronoun *intīn* and 2PL.M independent pronoun *intūn*; existential *šī* or *šay*. Several of these traits have been discussed in the preceding pages. Those that haven't (most notably the pronominal forms) are also attested in MusAr (Simone Bettega's own notes, and Bernabela 2011: 47-8). It would seem, then, that Musandam varieties of Arabic are to be included in this dialectal group of probable south-western Arabian descent. This hypothesis is further reinforced by the observation, made by Anonby, Bettega and Procházka (forthcoming), that the unusual forms of the singular demonstratives found in many MusAr dialects are only paralleled by certain south-western Arabian varieties (mostly in western Yemen and southern Saudi Arabia). In addition to this, the oral traditions of the tribes which inhabit Musandam appear to corroborate such theory, since they claim Yemeni ancestry (see Jayakar 1904: 247; van der Walt Anonby 2018: 625 for more details on this point). The idea that several of the features we have discussed might have originated in south-western Arabia, and were later exported to Musandam, would also explain some of the striking similarities that MusAr varieties show with some of the Modern South Arabian languages. This potential connection, as we have seen in Section 4.4, has been highlighted by other authors before, in particular with respect to the most obvious of these traits, namely the postposed negation. Other highly unusual traits observed in MusAr, however – traits which are not shared with other known varieties of Arabic – are encountered today in at least some of the MSAL, including conditioned diphthongization of etymological long vowels (see Section 4.2), retroflex reflexes of /r/ and inconsistent realization of /ʕ/²². Obviously, this point as well is just a tentative hypothesis, and would need more in-depth investigation to be substantiated.

As a final note, we would like to point out how, in spite of the fact that the dialect of our text presents a remarkably high number of phonological features that are unusual for the area in which it is spoken, it is also characterized by a typical GA feature, namely the realization of etymological *č* as [j]. Given that this realization is consistent and invariable in the speech of our informant, we are inclined to believe that this is not an idiolectal feature caused by long exposition to GA; rather, it is likely that this represents the standard realization of this sound in the dialect of Lima, and possibly

²² Retroflexes are rarely attested in the MSAL, but not unheard of; see Watson (2012: 13): "Before coronals, /r/ may form a retroflex cluster with the following coronal in both dialects, as in ba[r̥r̥] 'we already.'" Inconsistent realization of /ʕ/ is a typical feature of Mehreyet, where this sound can be realized as /ʔ/ or entirely elided (Watson 2012: 14).

other locations in Musandam. This fact comes as no surprise, if one considers that phonologically “mixed” dialects of this type (where typical “Bedouin” and “sedentary” features intermingle) are also commonly encountered on the northern Omani coast. It seems probable that prolonged contact with groups that ailed from other parts of the Gulf via maritime trade routes has, through the course of time, brought some typically GA traits in the coastal towns of Musandam. It is also worth pointing out that, if we move past the level of morpho-phonology, we find the syntax of this dialect to be relatively similar to that of other varieties of Arabic spoken along the Gulf Coast and in Oman (with the obvious exception of negative structures). Other studies have highlighted the fact that, while phonological differences between the various dialects of the area are known and well-documented, it is still unclear to what level do they differ in terms of syntactic behavior (see e.g. Eades and Persson 2013: 343). The study by Bettega (2019) on the verbal system of Omani Arabic would seem to suggest that this variety has more in common with GA than a superficial observation of its phonetic inventory would lead one to believe. It is therefore not impossible that MusAr varieties, too, will prove less “idiosyncratic” in terms of grammatical structure, once additional studies on the topic are carried out. This, however, is at present impossible to demonstrate, and must remain the subject for future investigations.

Appendix: list of abbreviations

1	1 st person	IPFV	imperfective aspect
2	2 nd person	M	masculine
3	3 rd person	NEAR	near deixis
CONJ	conjunction	PFV	perfective aspect
DEF	definite	PLURAL	plural
DEM	demonstrative	PTCP	participle
DP	discourse particle	REL	relative pronouns
F	feminine	S	singular
FAR	far deixis		

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Impoliteness strategies at a Jordanian hospital Emergency Room

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Impoliteness as a natural phenomenon is observed in many face-to-face encounters. It is employed to cause offense and attack the face of the hearer and sometimes over-hearers. One of the researchers who was working at the University of Jordan Hospital noticed that patients and/or their relatives use verbal and nonverbal impolite behaviour when addressing the hospital staff and doctors. In order to investigate the various strategies utilised by Arabic speaking patients and/or their relatives to express impoliteness towards the Emergency Room (ER) staff at a Jordanian hospital, observation and note-taking were used to collect the impolite instances for a period of 30 days during April 2014. A total of 100 face-to-face interactions, which included impolite expressions were collected. The results of the study showed that the patients and their relatives used 208 impoliteness instances while interacting with the admin staff, nurses and doctors. The most used strategy of impoliteness was 'bald on record impoliteness' followed by 'negative impoliteness,' 'positive impoliteness,' 'sarcasm or mock politeness' and 'withhold politeness.' The study concludes that the various types and strategies of impoliteness used by the patients and/or their relatives were aiming at offending and threatening the face of the hospital staff and doctors, and this behaviour, as observed in the various interactions that took place, could be attributed to their dissatisfaction of the health care services provided.

Keywords: impoliteness, rudeness, face threatening acts, Emergency Room, health care

1. Introduction

Politeness, which can be observed in most of our daily conversations, has been the main concern of pragmatic studies during the last few decades. However, researchers have paid little attention to everyday communicative realities, such as rudeness, disrespect, and impoliteness. It is believed that the study of impoliteness is necessary because it is an important social phenomenon, and "it is highly salient in public life" (Culpeper 2013: 2). According to Culpeper (2011: 254), "Situating behaviors are viewed negatively – considered 'impolite' – when they conflict with how one expects them to be, how one wants them to be and/or how one thinks they ought to be." Such behaviours will have some

emotional and psychological impacts on at least one participant (i.e., they cause offence). These aspects of language use are directed towards attacking face, an emotionally sensitive concept of the self (Brown and Levinson 1987). Therefore, our current study is primarily an attempt to examine this neglected aspect of language, and it aims to investigate the impoliteness strategies used by patients and/or their relatives, and which are directed towards the Emergency Room (ER) staff (i.e., admin staff, nurses and doctors) at a Jordanian hospital.

Emergency rooms face daily challenges that other departments do not usually encounter. According to the Medical Insurance Exchange of California (2010: 1), such challenges include "emergency conditions that may be unpredictable, uncomfortable, and/or life-threatening; patients who present in an intoxicated state; patients who exhibit psychotic characteristics or other evidence of mental or behavioural issues; those who present as victims or perpetrators of violence; suicidal patients, pre- and post-attempt; and those who come to the emergency department frequently seeking drugs for non-therapeutic use." ER environment increases stress factors for some individuals, which may cause the person to be irritated and anxious, which may cause an aggressive behaviour. Patients may also feel that their autonomy has been challenged because doctors do not always know everything about the patients, or the patients do not know about the ER staff's procedures and their priorities. This, in turn, may cause the patients to be violent or verbally impolite.

Pho (2011) in his article "Violence is symptom of health care dysfunction" reported that "Nurses are the most frequent targets. According to a survey conducted by the Emergency Nurses Association, more than half of emergency room nurses were victims of physical violence, including being spit on, shoved, or kicked, and one in four reported being assaulted more than 20 times over the past three years." Pho added that the deterioration of the doctor-patient relationship results from "physicians are pressured to see more patients in shorter amounts of time. Patients are rightly frustrated, and some are lashing out." In Jordan, Al Emam (Feb 4, 2014) reported that "The Jordan Medical Association (JMA) seeks to put an end to assaults against doctors." She added that according to JMA President Hashem Abu Hassan, "A total of 25 cases of violence against doctors on duty were reported in 2013, most of them were in public hospitals." Although violence against doctors, and nurses has been recorded in many health institutions worldwide, and in some hospitals in Jordan, which might be due to health dysfunction, to the best of the researchers' knowledge, no studies have investigated impoliteness in a hospital setting. The researchers of the present study believe that the recorded cases of violence against doctors necessitate investigating this phenomenon to present some implications. The researchers of the present study, therefore, chose a rich resource of data represented by observing

communicative interactions in the Emergency Room of a Jordanian hospital to examine the strategies of impoliteness used by patients or their relatives towards doctors, nurses and hospital staff.

The notion of impoliteness is very often contrasted with politeness. Brown and Levinson (1987: 1) refer to politeness as minimizing the imposition on the addressee arising from a verbal act and the consequent possibility of committing a face threatening act. In contrast, impoliteness causes face threatening to the addressee. Culpeper *et al.* (2003: 1546) consider impoliteness as “communicative strategies designed to attack face, and thereby cause social conflict and disharmony.” Culpeper (2005: 38) explains that “Impoliteness comes about when: (1) the speaker communicates face-attack intentionally, or (2) the hearer perceives and/or constructs behavior as intentionally face-attacking, or a combination of (1) and (2).” Bousfield states that impoliteness is the “evil twin” of politeness, and that “impoliteness constitutes the communication of intentionally gratuitous and conflictive verbal face-threatening acts (FTAs) which are purposefully delivered” (Bousfield 2008: 72). Lakoff (1989), on the other hand, considers rude behaviour as impoliteness. She confirms that “rude behavior does not utilize politeness strategies where they would be expected, in such a way that the utterance can only almost plausibly be interpreted as intentionally and negatively confrontational” (1989: 103). In support, Rabab’ah *et al.* (2019: 26) remark that most researchers agree that the most distinguishing feature to differentiate politeness from impoliteness is ‘face threat.’ Additionally, Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni (2012: 738) state that “people refer to such functions (bodily functions) euphemistically since any violation of such a matter is considered to be a sign of impoliteness.”

The most characterizing feature of the previously mentioned definitions is intentionality. Classifying a behaviour as impolite mainly depends on the speaker’s intention and the hearer’s interpretation. A speech act is qualified as an impolite behaviour if the speaker intends purposefully to threaten the hearer's face, and the hearer understands such a behaviour as impolite. A behaviour is also impolite if the addressee or hearer understands it so, regardless of the speaker’s intentions to threaten his/her face or not. The last characterizing feature is that impoliteness is rudeness, which is intentional and quarrelsome.

The aim of the present paper is to examine verbal and nonverbal impolite behaviours in the hospital interactions taking place at a Jordanian Hospital Emergency Room using Culpeper’s (1996) impoliteness framework, which was based on Brown and Levinson’s framework of politeness. It is expected that the findings of the present research will give us insights about how patients and/or their relatives behave when they are dissatisfied with the service provided by the hospital admin staff, nurses and doctors.

2. Literature review

Research on impoliteness and responses to impolite behaviour covers a wide range of areas in this field, such as impoliteness and responses used by bilingual children (Cashman, 2006), impoliteness and gender (Mills 2005), impoliteness in TV programs (Culpeper 2005; Kanatara 2010; Dynel 2012), impoliteness across cultures (Haigh and Bousfield 2012), and impoliteness behaviour and responses in a school setting (Fania, Abdul Sattar, Mei 2014).

Since the introduction of the term impoliteness, many studies have been conducted to explore this phenomenon. Some researchers focused on the use of impoliteness strategies and how the addressees respond to such an FTA. For instance, in exploring the impoliteness strategies and the verbal resources that the Spanish/English speakers use and their responses to impoliteness, Cashman (2006) found that the model suggested by Culpeper (1996, 2005) is beneficial to identify and classify the impolite behaviour used to attack hearers' face. The study also revealed that the speakers employed a variety of impolite response strategies. The relationship between impoliteness and gender has also attracted the attention of some scholars (e.g. Mills 2005). Such studies revealed that women are always nicer and more polite. Impoliteness and response to impoliteness in TV programs have been examined, and such research has indicated that presenters use a wide range of impoliteness strategies which are in line with Culpeper's framework (1996), and that the impolite behaviour used does not only affect the addressee, but it also impacts the overhearers or third parties, who are not intended to be attacked (Culpeper 2005, Rabab'ah and Alali 2019).

Some other researchers were interested in examining impoliteness in medical contexts. For example, Kanatara (2010) analysed strategies of impoliteness used by Dr. House, the main character in the TV series - House, M.D. and the other characters' responses to them, as well as the reason(s) behind their use. The findings showed that although sarcasm is a persistent characteristic of Dr. House's talk style, he does not overtly conflict the Politeness Principle. Furthermore, in the hospital context, "although he has the legitimate power and the expert power to be direct, he opts for indirectness" (Kanatara 2010: 305). The analysis also demonstrated that most of Dr. House's interlocutors responded by using impoliteness themselves, and challenged him trying to reverse this power relationship. He also tries somehow to preserve agreement by not causing great damage to his addressees' face, but by allowing them to get the offending point of his remarks through implicature. In a study that explored impoliteness among nurses and patients, Ojwang, Ogutu and Matu (2010) found that the nurses' impolite utterances do not only indicate "rudeness," but also a violation of patients' dignity, which hinders "broader human rights such as the right to autonomy, free expression, self-determination, information, personalized attention, and non-discrimination" (Ojwang, Ogutu and Matu 2010: 110). In

a similar study based on “House,” Dynel (2012) discussed impoliteness and argued that “intentionally produced impoliteness is meant to be perceived differently by distinct hearer types” (Dynel 2012: 186) and concluded that “the speaker means impoliteness to be recognised by ratified hearers (the addressee and/or the third party), while it may be threatening to the face of any individual from among: nonparticipants, ratified hearers, or unrated hearers” (Dynel 2012: 186).

Studies have shown that people use impoliteness in different cultures, and that impoliteness is a universal phenomenon. Haugh and Bousfield (2012), for example, analysed male-only interpersonal interactions in (North West) Britain and Australia, and compared the topics of such mockery and abuse. The study indicated that jocular mockery and jocular abuse were recurrent interactional practices across both the Australian and (North West) English data sets. In a similar study, Badarneh, Al-Momani & Migdadi (2017) studied how English is used in naturally occurring interactions in colloquial Jordanian Arabic to perform acts of impoliteness. Through code-switching to English, attack on face, specifically quality face, social identity face, and association rights were identified in the data. The study also revealed that positive impoliteness and negative impoliteness strategies were used through English, and sometimes in conjunction with Arabic impoliteness resources. In the same vein, Rahardi (2017) examined linguistic impoliteness in natural utterances from a sociopragmatic perspective. The data revealed five pragmatic impoliteness categories, namely deliberate ignorance, face-playing impoliteness, face-aggravating linguistic impoliteness, face-threatening linguistic impoliteness, and face-loss linguistic impoliteness, each of which has impoliteness subcategories. In examining assertion and affiliation in terms of disagreement and impoliteness in a WhatsApp communication within a Spanish family, Fernández-Amaya (2019) concluded that disagreement within the family domain should not essentially be construed as face threatening.

Impoliteness in political discourse has also gained some researchers’ attention. Alemi and Latifa, for example, (2019) examined the linguistic features of impoliteness in the debates between the Republicans and Democrats in 2013 US government shutdown issue. The analysis indicated that the two parties similarly used all the strategies suggested by Culpeper (1996). Among the most employed impoliteness strategies were challenges, dissociating from the other, sarcasm/mock politeness, and seeking disagreement/avoid agreement.

As observed, the literature that examined impoliteness in a medical context, and more specifically in Arabic is rare; therefore, the overarching goal of the present study is to shed light on impoliteness in real life interactions taking place at a Jordanian Hospital Emergency Room to find out the impoliteness strategies that Arabic-speaking patients and/or their relatives use while interacting with

their doctors, nurses, and administrative staff. The findings of the present research will add to the growing body of impoliteness research in the health sector.

3. Methodology

3.1. Data collection procedures

To achieve the aims of the current study, the impolite behaviour at the Emergency Room of the selected Jordanian hospital was observed. During April, 2016, one of the researchers, who was an employee at ER of the selected hospital, in collaboration with two more colleagues, directly collected field notes of a total of 100 face to face interactions which included impolite behaviour between the patients and/or their relatives with the ER staff (e.g. doctors, nurses, receptionists, and accountants). These interactions were recorded either while interactions were taking place or immediately after they happened. It is worth mentioning that one of the limitations of this method is that neither the researcher nor her colleagues could write down a lot of details related to the interactions or even remember all the impolite utterances said. The patients and their relatives, who were observed to behave impolitely, were asked sign a consent form, before leaving the hospital, for using the communication that took place at the ER for research purposes. They signed the consent forms in which they gave the approval to the researchers of the current study to use their interactions and behaviour for research purposes only and that their names will not be disclosed.

3.2. Data analysis

The present study is both quantitative and qualitative. The recorded data were quantitatively analysed to find out the frequencies and percentages of the impoliteness strategies used either by the patients and their relatives. Impoliteness instances were categorized using Culpeper's (1996) categorization: *bald on record impoliteness, positive impoliteness, negative impoliteness, sarcasm or mock politeness* and *withhold politeness*. These impoliteness strategies were also analysed qualitatively by illustrating each one with examples from the data. The Arabic scripts which included impoliteness were first written using the IPA alphabet and then translated into English (for abbreviations used see appendix).

3.3. Data Analysis Framework

Goffman (1967) notes that there are three types of impoliteness: insults, disagreeing and 'unwitting' offences. Culpeper *et al.* (2003) state that Goffman's (1967) categorization of impoliteness may be

helpful, but is not all encompassing. Therefore, Culpeper (1996) proposes a framework of impoliteness, which is opposite to Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory. He considers impoliteness as "the parasite of politeness" (Culpeper 1996: 355). While politeness strategies are employed to save the face of the addressee, impoliteness strategies are utilised to threaten/attack face, which cause social dissonance. For this, Culpeper (1996: 355) presents five super strategies that language users employ to produce impolite expressions, namely bald on record impoliteness, positive impoliteness, negative impoliteness, sarcasm or mock politeness, and withhold politeness. In our present research, Culpeper's (1996) framework is used because it is one of the most appropriate framework for such a research context for two reasons. Firstly, this framework was based on Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness (1987). Secondly, the researchers' daily observation at the hospital make them feel that most of the strategies suggested by Culpeper (1996) were found in the various impolite utterances or interactions that took place at the hospital before conducting the experiment. The definition of each super strategy will be presented in the results section.

4. Findings

The Emergency Room at the selected Jordanian hospital proved to be an extremely rich source of data for impoliteness behaviour. A total of 100 communicative interactions, which included different forms of utterances displaying impoliteness, were reported. As an observer, one of the researchers, who works at the hospital, noticed that three of these interactions included physical violence as well as verbal abuse. Physical violence was not an aim in the present study; therefore, it was not mentioned in our analysis. The purpose of this study is specifically to describe the patients and/or their relatives' use of impoliteness strategies in face-to-face interactions with the ER staff (doctors, nurses, and administrative staff). In section 4.1. we will present the frequencies and percentages of impoliteness strategies used in the university hospital ER. In section 4.2., we will discuss the impoliteness strategies as they occur in context.

4.1. Impoliteness strategies used in the oral discourse in the ER

The results presented in Table 1 show the frequencies and percentages of impoliteness strategies used in the face-to-face interactions between the patients and/or their relatives and ER staff at the selected Jordanian hospital. The results show that the patients and their relatives employed various impoliteness strategies in order to attack the face of the ER staff.

Strategy	Sub-Strategy	Frequency	Total	Percentage
Bald on Record	—	69	69	33.2%
Positive Impoliteness	- Being unconcerned	6	43	20.7%
	- Using inappropriate identity markers	17		
	- Using taboo words	7		
	- Ignoring	5		
	- Using obscure or secretive language	6		
Negative Impoliteness	- Associate the other with a negative aspect	14	52	25%
	- Frightening and threatening	13		
	- Scorning, condescending	20		
	- Invading the other's space	5		
Sarcasm or mock politeness	—	28	28	13.4%
Withhold politeness	—	16	16	7.7%
Total		208	208	100%

Table 1. Frequencies and percentages of impoliteness strategies used by patients and/or their relatives at the Jordanian hospital

Table 1. reveals that bald on record was the most used impoliteness strategy (69 instances), accounting for 33.2%. The second most employed strategy was negative impoliteness (52 instances, accounting for 25%) with its sub-strategies: 'associate the other with a negative aspect,' 'frightening and threatening,' 'scorning, condescending,' and 'invading the other's space.' It is also noticed that scorning and condescending (20 instances) recorded the most used negative impoliteness strategy, followed by associate the other with a negative aspect (14 instances), frightening and threatening (13 instances), while the least used one was invading the other's space (5 instances). The third most used category was positive impoliteness, which recorded 43 instances, accounting for 20.7%. Using inappropriate identity markers registered the highest frequencies (17), while all the other strategies recorded fewer instances. It is also obvious that withhold politeness was the least used category of impoliteness (16 instances),

accounting for 7.7%. In the following sections, we will discuss the types of impoliteness strategies and its subcategories, and illustrate with examples from the data.

4.2. Impoliteness and impolite behaviour in context

4.2.1. Bald on record impoliteness

Impoliteness works when the speaker threatens the face of the hearer by directly asking for a service or by insulting the hearer because of his/her dissatisfaction. The speaker's intention in this strategy is to attack the hearer's face where the hearer does not have the power to be impolite in his/her reply (Culpeper 1996). Impolite speakers perform a face threatening act explicitly, directly and unambiguously (Culpeper 2005). This strategy was used in several situations where the patients and their relatives didn't try to soften their words, and save the hearer's face by asking the ER staff directly and impolitely to do something. The use of expressions in the situations discussed below (1-4) like *?inti ma btifhami* "You don't understand!" (Situation 1), *?aʕti:ni ?iza:zeh jo:me:n* "Give me a sick leave for two days!," *?aʕti:ni ka:set maj* (Situation 2), and *baddi:f ?atfadʕdʕal w baddi:f ?agʕud baddi: ?izazeh* "I don't want to have a seat! Give me a leave!" are all examples of bald-on record strategy, whose aim is to directly attack the hearer's face.

Situation 1

When a triage nurse refused to accept a patient sister's case in the ER because it was not an emergency, and she transferred her to the Family Medicine Department, the patient's brother disrespectfully looked the nurse up and down, and said

<i>?int-i</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>b-tifham-i</i>	<i>b-aħki:=l-ik</i>	<i>?il-bint</i>
you-SG.F	NEG.1	IMPF=understand.3SG.F	IMPF=tell.IMPF.1S=to-you.SG	DEF-girl
<i>taʕba:n-eh</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>muf</i>	<i>ga:dr-eh</i>	<i>teħk-i</i>
sick-F	and	NEG\NEG	capable-F	speak-IMPF.3SG.F

"You don't understand! The girl is very sick, and she cannot speak!"

Situation 2

One female patient asked a doctor to give her a two-day sick leave before being examined by the ER doctor. She said, *dakto:r ?ana taʕba:neh ?aʕti:ni ?iza:zeh jo:me:n* "Doctor, I am sick. Give me a sick leave for

two days.” The use of the imperative form when addressing the doctor is a bald on record impoliteness strategy.

Situation 3

When a doctor refused to give a male patient a sick leave, one of the clerks tried to calm him down:

Clerk: *haddi: ?aʕsʕab-ak w tfadʕdʕal ?uɣʕud*
 calm\IPV.2SG.M nerve\PL-your.SG.M and be_so_kind_to.IPV.M sit.IPV.M

“Calm down and have a seat!”

Patient (shouting): *badd-i=ʕ ?atfadʕdʕal w*
 want-1SG=NEG IMPF.be_seated.IPV.1SG and
 badd-i=ʕ ?uɣʕud / badd-i ?iza:zeh
 want-1SG=NEG sit\IPFV.1SG want-1SG leave

“I don’t want to calm down. I don’t want to sit down. I want a sick leave”

Shouting at the clerk, who is not even to be blamed, is a bald on record impoliteness strategy whose aim is to threaten and damage the face of the interlocutor.

4.2.2. Positive impoliteness strategies

Positive impoliteness strategies are designed to damage the addressee’s positive face wants. According to Culpeper (1996) this super strategy includes several strategies, such as ‘frighten,’ ‘condescend, scorn or ridicule,’ ‘ignore, snub the other,’ ‘invade the other's space,’ ‘explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect,’ and ‘put the other's indebtedness on record,’ ‘exclude the other from an activity, disassociate from the other,’ ‘be disinterested, unconcerned, and unsympathetic,’ ‘use inappropriate identity markers,’ ‘use obscure or secretive language,’ ‘seek disagreement,’ ‘make the other feel uncomfortable,’ ‘use taboo words,’ and ‘call the other names – use derogatory nominations’ (Culpeper 1996: 357-358).

The results of the current research showed that positive impoliteness was manifested in a number of strategies used by the patients and their relatives, such as *being unconcerned, using inappropriate identity markers, using taboo words, ignoring, using obscure or secretive language, and using a code known to others in the group. Using inappropriate identity marker* was the mostly used strategy in the data. Some patients and their relatives used the hospital staff’s first name or nickname. The use of the words like

‘yaza:leh’ (female deer), and ‘ħazzeh’ (Pilgrimage performer or old woman) are inappropriate discourse markers, which are not favoured by young females or the educated in Jordan.

Situation 4

One male patient asked a female nurse:

?imtʷwweɫ *dor-i* *ja=yaza:l-e*
 last_long\IPFV.1SG turn-my VOC=gazelle-F
 “Do I have to wait so long, doe?!”

Although *yaza:leh* ‘doe/female deer’ is a positive one, it is used in this context to denote a negative meaning. In such contexts and when said by non-intimates, such an expression is considered impolite as he is flirting with the addressee.

Situation 5

Another example of impoliteness displayed through identity markers happened when a relative called the female nurse, who was handling his patient, and said *ħazzeh* ‘old woman.’ The word *ħazzeh* is used to call uneducated old women who performed pilgrimage to Mecca in most cases. However, when this word is said to address young people in Jordan, it is a sign of disrespect and impoliteness. Moreover, to call someone *ħazzi* or *ħazzeh* is inappropriate and it is a sign of ignoring the addressee if not calling him/her by name or giving his/her identity a socially-respected title, such as, Mr., Ms. or Mrs.

The second positive impoliteness strategy employed is *ignoring and snubbing others* as failing to acknowledge other’s presence. The husband in situation 6 shouted as if the intern doctor was not a doctor.

Situation 6

While a resident was examining a female patient, the patient’s husband asked the nurse:

wajn *?id-dakto:r*
 where DET-doctor
 “Where is the doctor?”

The patient ignored the presence of the resident because he thinks that residents are inexperienced. Those residents are usually on their third year of practice after graduating from the School of Medicine.

Being unconcerned, as a positive impoliteness strategy, was used when patient and their relative showed disinterest in what the speaker was saying. Using the expressions as *wajn ?id-dakto:r* and *jaʃni xalasʃ ?inrawweħ* as shown in situation 7 and 8 indicate that the speakers are unconcerned and disinterested.

Situation 7

A nurse was trying to calm down the patients' family when informing them that their daughter is fine. However, the patient's mother was not concerned with what the resident doctor as saying. Ignoring the presence of the resident doctor, she said:

badd-i: ?asmaʃ min ?id-dakto:r / wajn ?id-dakto:r
want-1SG hear\IPFV.1SG from DET-doctor / where DET-doctor
“I want to hear from the doctor. Where is the doctor?”

Situation 8

While a doctor was giving instructions and advice to the patient's relatives about what to do after discharge, they interrupted him:

jaʃni xalasʃ ?in-rawweħ
mean\IPFV.3SG.M enough go_home\ipfv.1PL
“Does this mean that we can leave now?”

Their interruption and not allowing him to complete his advice indicates their unwillingness to hear and his presence ignorance.

Some patients and their relatives used *obscure or secretive language* when they did not like the doctor's behaviour or the service provided. The data revealed that some patients' relatives used a very unpopular language in the ER like Russian and French as a secretive language, which they supposed it could not be understood by the audience, especially the doctors. This impolite behaviour threatens the face of the hearers.

Use of tabooed terms associated with religion was observed in the data. Tabooed words used included damnation and use of words like ‘fuck you.’ Situations 9. and 10. illustrate this strategy, which is very offensive when used in public, and more specifically in a Muslim community.

Situation 9

The father of a child patient was nervous and angry because his son refused to obey the nurse, who wanted to give him an injection. He cursed the nurse saying:

jilʕan *sama:-k*
 damn\IPFV.3M heaven-your
 “Damn you to hell!”

The speaker here wished that the nurse had gone to hell because of the pain his son had.

Situation 10

A psychiatric male patient came to the ER; he refused the treatment and started shouting in the doctor’s face:

ʔutruk-ni *ma* *tilmis-ni*
 leave\IPV.M-me NEG touch\IPFV.2SG-me
 “Leave me! Don’t touch me!”

walla *laʔalʕan* *sama:-k*
 God\oath damn\IPFV.1SG heaven-your
 “Leave me! Don’t touch me!”

In this context, it is a curse and threatening. The same patient also cursed using tabooed words related to sex as ‘fuck you!’ and the like. This was a very difficult patient, who tried to attack the doctor even physically.

Some other patients resorted to *using a code known to others in the group* as a positive imploiteness strategy. For example, they used proverbs or popular sayings. To illustrate, see Situation 11 below:

Situation 11

One female patient's sister was angry because she felt that the health care was not equally provided. She claimed that their care was rushed and without empathy; she expressed her anger saying:

ʔil=ħa:jah kull=ha sʕa:ra-t faggu:s w=xja:r /
 DET=life all=3SG.F become-PFV.3SG.F Armenian_cucumber\PL and=cucumber\PL
 maʕ=ak wasʕtʕa b=eħtirmu:=k / ma maʕ=ak
 with=2SG.M connection IPFV=respect\IPFV.3PL=2SG.M NEG with=2SG.M
 wasʕtʕa ra:ħa-t ʕalaj=k
 Connection lose-PFV.3SG.F upon=2SG.M
 “Life has become cucumber and Armenian cucumber. If you have connections, they will respect you. If not, they won't.”

The patient's sister used the Arabic proverb 'life has become cucumber and Armenian cucumber,' meaning that people are unequally treated. By using the above expression the girl attacked the face of the ER staff by using a code known to the group. In Jordanian Arabic, *xja:r* 'cucumber' refers to underprivileged people, and *faggu:s* 'Armenian cucumber' to the elite. The proverb derives from the fact that the Armenian cucumber is always more expensive than cucumber.

4.2.3. Negative Impoliteness

Negative impoliteness happens when the speaker aims to damage the hearer's negative face. Culpeper divided this major strategy into: 'frighten,' 'condescend, scorn or ridicule,' 'invade the other's space,' 'explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect,' 'put the other's indebtedness on record,' and 'Violate the structure of conversation; i.e. *interrupt*' (Culpeper 1996: 357). A number of negative impoliteness strategies were observed in the data. For example, the data have shown that Frightening and threatening strategy was used to damage the addressee's face as shown in Situation 12.

Situation 12

One male patient was shouting at the clerk who was busy registering other patients, and refused to wait:

Patient: ʔismaʕ ʕala=j b=agull=ak badd-ak

listen.IPV.M upon=1SG IPFV=say\IPFV.1SG=2SG.M want-2SG.M
 tsazzil=ni / badd-ak tsazzil=ni
 register\IPFV.2SG.M=1SG / want-2SG.M register\IPFV.2SG.M=1SG

“Listen! I tell you: “You must register me. You must register me.”

Clerk: ?iltazim el-dor w=haddi ?afs'ab-ak
 respect\IPV.2SG.M DET=turn and=calm\IPV.2SG.M nerve\PL-your.SG.M

“Calm down and wait for your turn!”

In this context, using commands as in ?ismaf ?alaj' (Listen!) and repeating the utterance 'bagullak baddak tsazzilni baddak tsazzilni' (I am telling you that you have to register me!) is a face-threatening act. Insisting that the clerk has to register her by using command statements indicates that he is threatening the clerk.

Another negative impoliteness strategy, which included imposition, was invading the other's space. Some patients positioned themselves closer to the staff than the relationship permits as in the following interaction (Situation 13), which took place at the ER reception.

Situation 13

Male patient: ma:l-ek za?la:n-eh
 why-you.F.SG angry-F

“Why are you angry?”

Nurse: tfad'd'al / kif b-agdar ?axdum-ak
 please how IPFV=can\IPFV.1SG serve\IPFV.1SG-you

“Yes. How can I help you?”

Male patient: bas ?ihki:-l-i mi:n mza?l-ek
 just tell\IPV.F=to-me who upset-PFV.3SG.M=you.SG.F

“Just tell me who has made you angry?”

Asking personal questions like 'ma:lek za?la:neh?' 'Why are you angry?' and repeating the same question in the second turn shows the speaker's impoliteness as he was invading the nurse's space. Other patients used the strategy of condescend, scorn or ridicule, as observed in interactions 14 and 15.

Situation 14

A male patient was dissatisfied with the doctor's treatment. While the doctor was leaving the room, he asked the nurse:

billa:hi ʃalaj-ki m-ahu χiri:ʒ...
 God\oath by-you.SG.F INT-he graduate
 “Isn't he a graduate of...?”

This is said to scorn the doctor and state indirectly that they are unqualified because Jordanians know that most students who go to study in the mentioned country are high school low achievers (High School score= 50%-70%).

Situation 15

A patient was very angry because the clerk was not in his office. The clerk was praying and when he returned to his desk, the following conversation took place:

Patient: *la:zem ʔatʔaxxar ʃaʃa:n ʔinta ta:rek*
 Necessary be_late\IPFV.1SG because you.SG.M leave\PTCL
ʃuyla-k w t'a:leʃ
 work-your.SG.M and leave\PTCL
 “Should I be served late because you are leaving your work?!”

Clerk: *ʔinta ma ʔila-k daxal ʔatʔlaʃ min maka:n-i:*
 you.SG.M NEG for-you.SG.M business leave\IPFV.1SG from place-my
willa la
 or no

“This is none of your business if I leave my place or not!”

As noticed in the turn of the clerk, his response is an attack to the patient's face. The patient got angry and upset. Therefore, he tried to emphasise his power over the clerk and to belittle him by being contemptuous. In fact, the hospital which we collected the data from is a governmental hospital, which means that patients don't pay and charges; it is the government which pays because they are covered.

Claiming that they pay the hospital staff's salary, which aims to belittle them, is impolite and incorrect. Besides, the way the utterance was said indicated how angry and how impolite he was.

ʔinta hon b=tʔstayil bi=flu:s=i w-flu:s
 you.SG.M here IPFV=work\IPFV.2SG.M with=money=1SG and=money
ʔil=mardʕa ʔil=θanj-i:n / yasʕbin ʔann=ak badd-ak
 ART=patient/PL ART=other-PL / against_will from=2SG.M want-2SG.M
tdʕal ga:ʕid ʔa =maktab=ak
 remain\IPFV.2SG.M seat\PTCL upon=desk=2SG.M

“You are employed here by my money and other patients’ money. You must stay at your desk and register patients.”

4.2.4. Sarcasm or mock politeness

The FTA is performed with the use of “politeness strategies that are obviously insincere, and thus remain surface realizations.” Culpeper *et al.* (2003) states that tonal and other phonological properties can be used to make some utterances intensely impolite, which on the surface, seem to be polite. Sarcasm can be as saying "You are too smart!" to someone who answers your question stupidly. The data revealed that some patients and their relatives employed sarcasm in order to attack the addressee’s face as in the following interaction as shown in Situation 16.

Situation 16

A male patient was angry for waiting too long in the ER; he came to the clerk’s office complaining:

Patient: *ʔihna wara:=na mafa:yel / xalsʕu:=na /*
 we behind=1PL work\PL let\IPV.2PL=1PL
badd=i: ʔadʕal yom k:amil fi: ʔitʕ-tʕaware?
 want-1SG stay\IPFV.1SG day whole in DET=emergency\PL
 “We are very busy. Just let’s finish. Do I have to stay all day long at the emergency room?”
 Clerk: *b=iʕi:n=ak ʔalla:h / badd=ak titʕammal*
 IPFV=help\IPFV.3G.M=2SG.M God / want=2SG.M tolerate\IPFV.2SG.M
ʔwaj / niðʕa:m ʔid-dor ʔin=na mabni ʔala mabdaʕ
 a_little / system DET=turn by=1PL build\PTCL upon principle

ʔit-taqji:m el=mabdaʔi: li=wadeʃ ʔil=mari:d^s-ah
 DET=evaluation DET=preliminary for=condition DET=patient-F
w=ʔit^s=t^sawa:reʔ fi:-ha ħal-at ħariʒ-eh kθi:r-eh ʔil=jom
 and=DET=emergency\PL in=3SG.F case-PL critical-F many-F DET=day

“God help you! You have to wait for some time. Your turn is based on the initial medical diagnosis of the patient and emergency. There are so many critical cases today.”

The patient interrupted her, and said at a high pitch and sarcastically:

ʃukran kti:r ʃil=ik
 thank much upon=you.SG.F
 “Thank you very much!”

4.2.5. Withhold politeness

Withhold impoliteness can be realized through “...the absence of politeness work where it would be expected” (Culpeper 1996: 357). For instance, failing to congratulate a friend on his university graduation may be considered as intentional impoliteness (Culpeper 2005: 42). Some patients failed to be polite where it would be expected, such as failing to thank the doctor after their treatment by just turning around without even saying ‘thank you.’ This strategy is illustrated in Situation 17.

Situation 17

After the nurse put the IV fluid to a male patient, his wife said:

χala:s^s ʔirħamu-h / ʃaððabtu el-walad
 enough pity\IPV.P-him / torture\PFV.2PL DEF-boy
 “That is enough! Have mercy on him. You are torturing the child!”

Instead of thanking the nurse, she mistreated her by asking her not to hurry and to give the patient her full attention and care. Again instead of saying ‘thank you,’ the mother blamed the nurse and accused her of torturing the child.

4.2.6. Other impoliteness categories

The researchers were able to classify the majority of the impolite utterances registered at the hospital ER according to Culpeper's framework (1996). However, some utterances were difficult to classify under any of Culpeper's (1996) super-strategies. The data included some religious expressions that intend to replace other impolite expressions. Several patients and/or their relatives were not satisfied with the medical care and service provided at the hospital, so they produced some religious utterances to express their dissatisfaction, and upset to calm themselves down. Some expressions found in the data are:

1. *ʔastayfiru* *alla:h*
ask_forgiveness\IPFV.1SG God
“May Allah forgive me!”

2. *ja=alla:h*
VOC=God
“O Allah!”

3. *ħasb-ij-a* *alla:h* *wa* *niʕm-a* *al-waki:l*
sufficient-(to)-me-ACC God and excellent-ACC DEF=trustee
“Allah is sufficient for me, and how fine a trustee He is”

4. *la* *ħawl-a* *wa* *la* *quwwat-a* *ʔilla* *bi-lla:h*
NEG power-ACC and NEG strength-ACC except in-God
“There is no power and no strength except in God”

5. *la* *ʔila:h-a* *ʔilla* *alla:h*
NEG divinity-ACC except God
“There is no god but Allah”

All of the above expressions are religious phrases, which Muslims use to show complaint, and dissatisfaction. Because they admit they are powerless, they either ask Allah for forgiveness (1.) or ask God to revenge for them from the intended person (3.).

Thomas (2006) suggests that, in most daily interactions, there is a non-ratified hearer (bystander or an overhearer) to whom the speaker does not wish to communicate meanings. The third party is “a participant entitled to listen (and does listen) to the speaker and to draw inferences according to the speaker’s communicative intention, even though he/she is not the party addressed” (Dyner 2012: 169). Culpeper's (1996) framework of impoliteness could not account for all impolite instances registered in the data of the present research. Such impolite utterances involved a number of individuals, other than addressees, whether or not they are the parties verbally attacked. The researchers of the present study found such instances difficult to classify according to Culpeper’s framework (1996) because the third party (overhearers) were offended although they were not targeted or they were not verbally attacked. In one of the registered impolite situations, a patient was talking to the hospital staff politely, but he turned to his wife and told her off during the clinical examination. He did not show any respect to the doctors, the nurses, or even the other patients who are waiting by saying “It is all because of you and your children. You are going to kill me!” Then the patient verbalised his anger to God and entrusts justice to God. This utterance did not only attack his wife’s face, but also all the audience at the ER.

4.2.7. Paralanguage and non-verbal features

According to Culpeper (1996: 363), “A number of paralinguistic and non-verbal aspects contribute to the creation of a threatening atmosphere.” Paralinguistic features were employed to signal impoliteness in many of the interactions that took place between the ER staff, doctors and nurses on one hand, and the patients and their relatives on the other hand. Paralanguage features included facial expressions, pitch, and voice quality.

Eyes are often called ‘the windows of the soul’ as they can send many different non-verbal signals. As a normal part of communication, eyes can be used to send many non-verbal signals; impolite signals are included. Through observation, the researchers noticed that many ER patients and/or their relatives tended to use their eyes to express dissatisfaction by looking up and down the ER staff when they were not happy with what is being said or with the service they are offered. This can be quite impolite and insulting, and hence indicate a position of presumed dominance, because the person effectively says “I am more powerful than you, you are unimportant and you will submit to my gaze.” Staring at another’s eyes is another type of eye contact usually used to send impolite messages. Some of ER patients and/or their relatives expressed their anger through staring at the hospital staff, doctors, and nurses’ eyes. The staff, however, responded by looking away and ignoring such gazes because they were used to experiencing such behaviours and they were prepared to behave like that in such situations.

Intonation can also be recruited in the pursuit of impoliteness. Intonation is the variation of spoken pitch; it indicates the speaker's attitude, satisfaction and the emotions. In most conversations, the voice is normal at the beginning of the speech, rises at the information focus word (or syllable), and then falls back to normal, and drops to low at the end of the sentence. The researchers noticed that many ER patients and/or their relatives tended to use a very high pitch to express their anger and dissatisfaction with the ER department services. Through observation, it was found that women's voices were pitched higher than men's when they were angry.

5. Discussion and implications

The first aim was to investigate impoliteness strategies utilized by patients and/or their relatives. The study revealed that the patients and/or their relatives used five major categories of impoliteness strategies to attack the face of their interlocutors (i.e., doctors, nurses and administrative staff). This finding lends support to previous politeness research (e.g., Culpeper 1996; Culpeper *et al.* 2003; Culpeper 2005). The findings also support Bousfield (2008), Culpeper *et al.* (2003), and Culpeper (2005) that impoliteness is a strategy used to intentionally attack face and intensify the face damage, cause social conflict and disharmony, and show dissatisfaction and rudeness.

One of the most significant findings of the present research is that bald on record was the mostly used impoliteness strategy (33.2%). The patients and/or their relatives used bald on record impoliteness to express clear insult to their interlocutors, viz., admin staff, nurses and doctors. This strategy registered most of the impoliteness instances found in the data. They did not soften their words to save the face of their interlocutors. The patients and their relatives also resorted to a number of positive politeness strategies (25%), viz., being unconcerned, using inappropriate identity markers, ignoring the other, and using obscure or secretive language. Being unconcerned was manifested clearly in some utterances like *baddi asmaʕ min eldakto:r / wajn ?id=dakto:r* "I want to hear from the doctor! Where is the doctor?" By saying so, the patient's relative did not consider the resident, a doctor. Ignoring and snubbing others to show their failure to acknowledge the presence of the other was another impoliteness strategy used to insult the resident by saying *wajn ?id=dakto:r?* "Where is the doctor?" The addresser did not consider the resident a doctor. Sometimes, patients and their relatives used nicknames to address the ER staff like *ja yaza:leh!* "female deer" and *ħazzeh* "a woman who performs Hajj to Mecca," which are considered inappropriate in a formal situation. Another positive impoliteness strategy employed was using tabooed terms or obscure/secretive language. Most of the tabooed terms were related to religion, such as damnation.

Negative impoliteness was also noticeable in the data collected. The main types found in the data were frightening and threatening, scorning and condescending and invading the other's space. Some patients tried to frighten their interlocutors by showing their power. Other patients ridiculed the doctors by emphasising the fact that they are graduates of X country. Jordanians have less trust and confidence in graduates of non-Jordanian universities, such as non-western universities. The last positive strategy employed was invading the other's space, where the addressers position themselves closer to the hearers than the relationship permits as asking the hospital clerks “Why are you angry?”

Some patients and their relatives employed sarcasm or mock politeness in order to attack the addressee's face, in Culpeper's (1996) terms, as an impoliteness strategy. When a patient's relative said, “They are graduates of Harvard,” he sarcastically implied that they are not graduates of Harvard and they are unqualified. In Partington's words (2007), they use mock politeness to be interesting and memorable. Finally, withhold politeness was used to attack the Jordanian hospital staff, doctors and nurses. It refers to the absence of politeness where is required. Not thanking a doctor after finishing the treatment is an example of such a strategy.

One of the most important contributions of this research to impoliteness research, is that the analysis showed that there are some expressions some cultural and religious expressions, to express complaint, and dissatisfaction with the services provided, were difficult to classify under any of the categories suggested by Culpeper (1996), such as *?astayfiru alla:h* ‘May Allah forgive me!’ or *hasbija alla:h wa ni?ma alwaki:l* ‘Allah is sufficient for me, and how fine a trustee he is.’ Another important result is that the patients and their relatives used a number of paralanguage features to signal impoliteness in many interactions that took place at the ER of the Jordanian hospital. Such paralinguistic features include staring and high pitch of voice to indicate anger and dissatisfaction.

Based on the findings of the study, the researchers present some implications for the participant Jordanian hospital. Since patients who come to the ER are always critical cases and their relatives are always nervous, angry, and impatient because they want to feel that the admin staff, nurses and doctors are perfectly doing their job, they are advised to take these circumstances into consideration when receiving patients in the ER. This will increase the patients' level of satisfaction, and decrease their complaints, and impolite behaviour. However, one of the limitations of this research is that the impolite behaviour, whether it was verbal or nonverbal was not audio or video-recorded, made it difficult to capture all impoliteness strategies used by the patients or their relatives.

Glosses

By and large, glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing rules:

ACC	Accusative	PL	Plural
DEF	Definite article	PTCL	Participle
F	Feminine	SG	Singular
IPFV	Imperfective	VOC	Vocative particle
IPV	Imperative	-	morpheme border
INT	Interrogative particle	=	clitic border
M	Masculine	\	nonconcatenative morphology
NEG	Negative	/	intonational boundary
PFV	Perfective		

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A cross-cultural analysis of disagreement strategies in Algerian and Jordanian Arabic

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This study aims to explore the use of disagreement strategies in two Arabic dialects: Jordanian and Algerian Arabic. It also investigates the effect of social status on the choice of disagreement strategies adopting Muntigl and Turnbull's (1998) taxonomy. To achieve these objectives, 40 participants (20 Jordanians and 20 Algerians) were randomly recruited to respond to a discourse completion task (DCT). The participants were requested to read six situations and to react to them by making disagreements with people of higher, equal and lower statuses. A mixed-method approach was used to analyse the data. The results showed that the participants in the two study groups share similar preferences in the use of two main disagreement strategies that scored the highest in High to Low, Low to High, and in Equal statuses. The findings are discussed in the light of (im)politeness and provide implications for socio-pragmatic research in Arabic linguistics.

Keywords: disagreement strategies, Speech Act Theory, (im)politeness

1. Introduction

Competency in language requires that the speaker is communicatively competent in using appropriate linguistic forms in various social settings without causing any confusion or breakdowns in communication. Hymes (1972) devised the concept of communicative competence (i.e., the ability of the language user to function communicatively in social settings) in response to earlier theories of formalism (Chomsky, 1965) which emphasised linguistic competence at the expense of functional (i.e., communicative) competence. Hymes' (1972) proposition does not, by any means, undermine the individual's linguistic competence—which refers to knowledge of the rules of constructing language—rather, it adds the need for the language user to be competent at the sociolinguistic and discourse levels (i.e., the appropriate use of language in communicative situations).

In order for a language user to achieve communicative competence and successfully communicate with others, s/he needs to be competent in the use of speech acts and to be aware of politeness strategies. Speech acts such as greeting, apologizing, complimenting among others are culture-specific (see Alghazo, Bekaddour, Jarrah and Hammouri 2021; Alghazo, Zemmour, Al Salem and Alrashdan

2021). Therefore, research in intercultural pragmatics has emphasized the need to explore the realization of speech acts in different languages and cultures and to compare and contrast the use of speech acts among both typologically-distant and typologically-close languages. This study responds to such calls and aims to investigate disagreement strategies in two typologically-related languages (Jordanian and Algerian Arabic). When people exchange ideas and beliefs, they may (dis)agree with each other. Disagreement—which is defined as the “expression of a view that differs from that expressed by another speaker” (Sifianou 2012: 1554)—may sometimes cause conflicts between interactants.

Disagreement was investigated in different languages and from different perspectives. In this study, disagreement is investigated cross-culturally by exploring Algerian and Jordanian Arabic speakers’ use of disagreement strategies. The analysis is rooted in Muntigl’s and Turnbull’s (1998) classification of strategies. The data were collected by means of a discourse completion task (DCT) which contains six situations of high, low, and equal statuses. The participants were 30 Jordanian and 30 Algerian Arabic speakers who were selected randomly and asked to use their own Arabic dialect when responding to the situations. The study seeks answers to the following research questions:

1. What are the disagreement strategies used by Algerian Arabic and Jordanian Arabic speakers?
2. What are the similarities and/or differences between the two groups in the use of strategies?
3. To what extent does social status affect the choice of strategies?

2. Theoretical framework and literature review

2.1. Speech Act Theory

In pragmatics, as argued by Austin (1962), a speech act allows a speaker to perform an act via uttering words; thus, words are used to perform actions. A group of verbs, then, are referred to as performative verbs as they enable the speaker to perform a particular action, e.g. promising in ‘I promise that I will be there on time.’ A speaker can also produce an utterance that does not explicitly contain a performative, yet such an utterance has an implicit act, e.g. ‘I will pick you up after school’ (Austin 1962). Each speech act, according to Austin (1962) consists of three levels: a locutionary act, an illocutionary act and perlocutionary act. The locutionary act is the utterance itself which conveys a meaningful linguistic expression. The illocutionary act is the function or the intended meaning of an utterance, while the perlocutionary act is the effect the utterance has on the addressee. An illustrative example of these three levels is a teacher saying to his students: ‘If you do not complete this task, I will not let you out early’. The locutionary act is the utterance produced by the teacher and its literal meaning. The illocutionary act is an order, and the perlocutionary act is the students completing the

task and the teacher allowing them to leave early. Austin (1962) classified illocutionary acts into five categories, namely, verdictives, exercitives, commissives, behabitives, and expositives. However, these categories were revised by Searle (1976) and a new classification was proposed by him including: representatives, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives. Representatives are speech acts that allow the speaker to state his/her beliefs, to draw conclusions, to assert a certain viewpoint, and to describe a certain state of affairs, e.g. 'the weather is lovely today'. Directives are speech acts where the speaker attempts to get someone to do something for him/her, e.g. questioning, requesting, and ordering. Commissives commit the speaker to a future course of action, e.g. threatening, promising and offering. Expressives allow the speaker to express his/her feelings, e.g. happiness, sadness, and love among others. Lastly, declaratives are institutionalised speech acts that change the world and are uttered by specific individuals, e.g. pronouncing a man and woman husband and wife, and declaring war on a country among others. Studies that adopted the Speech Act Theory (SAT) as its theoretical framework mainly analysed the type of speech act performed in a certain situation by certain speakers (e.g., Kakava 2002; Al-Raba'a 2009; Parvaresh and Eslami Rasekh 2009; Al-Shorman 2016; Hassouneh and Zibin 2021; Remache and Altakhaineh 2021 among others).

In the course of investigating the notion of disagreement, it appears that there is an ongoing debate regarding its definition. For example, it was defined as the communication of an opinion or belief which is contradictory to the view expressed by the other interlocutor (Edstrom 2004). Sifianou (2012), on the other hand, suggested that disagreement is an expression of a viewpoint which is not contrary to that of the other interlocutor but simply different from it. From the viewpoint of the SAT, disagreement is an act which is produced in reaction to an act that precedes it, which suggests that it requires a prior utterance from another speaker (Soring 1977). Based on the above, it is clear that the performance of disagreement as a speech act is an important part of people's communicative behaviour, and thus, it is worthy of examination. This study adopts the SAT in addition to other theories introduced in the following sections as its theoretical framework.

2.2. Disagreement and (im)politeness

Disagreement is seen as the opposite of agreement. That is, if agreement is perceived as the desirable and preferred option (Pomerantz 1984), disagreement is regarded as the undesirable counterpart. According to Wierzbicka (1991), disagreement reflects a dual meaning: The speaker indicates "what the hearer thinks" and shows "that the hearer doesn't think the same as the speaker" (Wierzbicka (1991: 128). Rees-Miller (2000: 1088) defines disagreement as follows: "[a] speaker (S) disagrees when s/he considers untrue some proposition (P) uttered or presumed to be espoused by an addressee (A), and

reacts with a verbal or paralinguistic response, the propositional content or implicature of which is not P.” An essential feature of the speech act of disagreement is that it is a response move rather than an initiation move (see Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). However, other speech acts such as requesting and offering represent an initiation move. Indeed, disagreement occurs in contexts where there is no compliance with ideas, dissatisfaction or opposition. For this reason, (im)politeness is highly relevant to the study of the speech act of disagreement because it is necessary for speakers to save face in interaction (see Culpeper 2011).

In their everyday interactions, people usually engage in situations which threaten their face. These acts are called by Brown and Levinson (1987) Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) which directly relate to studies of speech acts. Brown and Levinson (1987: 65) define FTAs according to two basic parameters: “(1) Whose face is being threatened (the speaker’s or the addressee’s), and (2) Which type of face is being threatened (positive- or negative- face).” Goffman (1967: 5) defines face as “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself and image of self-delineated in terms of approved social attributes.” Therefore, saving face and considering others’ face help people to maintain their own face and the face of others and preserve social relationships (Goffman 1967). Therefore, politeness—which is defined by Green (1989: 145) as “consideration for one’s addressee’s feelings (or face), regardless of the social distance between the speaker and addressee”—is a variable which reflects the degree of the impact of the speech act on the face of both speakers and hearers. Speakers usually calculate the effect of their speech acts when expressing disagreement based on three social variables: the perceived social distance between the hearer and the speaker, the perceived power difference between them, and the cultural ranking of the speech act (Brown and Levinson 1987: 112-113).

2.3. Muntigl’s and Turnbull’s (1998) classification

Researchers suggested different classifications of disagreement strategies based on the various contexts of communication. The use of these strategies heavily relies on cultural differences and other social factors such as gender, age and status of the interlocutors. For example, Muntigl’s and Turnbull’s (1998) taxonomy includes five types of disagreement: Irrelevancy Claims (IC), Challenges (CH), Contradictions (CT), Counterclaims (CC) and Act Combinations (AC). These types are explained as follows:

1. *Irrelevancy Claims* (IRs) which occur immediately after, or as an overlap with, Speaker A’s initiation. IRs may begin with discourse markers (e.g., *so*). By using an IR, “a speaker asserts that the previous claim is not relevant to the discussion at hand” (Muntigl and Turnbull 1998: 229).

2. *Challenges* (CHs) usually begin with a reluctance marker that indicates disagreement with Speaker A's claim. Typically, CHs come in the form of an interrogative. They show "that the addressee cannot, in fact, provide evidence for his/her claim" (p. 230). By using CHs, speakers disagree with the previous claim and challenge Speaker A to provide evidence in support of his/her claim.
3. *Contradictions* (CTs) occur when a speaker disagrees "by uttering the negated proposition expressed by the previous claim; ... CTs often occur with a negative particle such as *no* or *not* ... or positive contradiction markers, such as *yes* or *yeah*" (Muntigl and Turnbull 1998: 230).
4. *Counterclaims* (CCs) are usually preceded by a pause, preface, or a mitigating device. By using CCs, "speakers propose an alternative claim that does not directly contradict nor challenge other's claim" (Muntigl and Turnbull 1998: 230).
5. *Act Combinations* refer to the use of a combination of the previous strategies.

2.3. Previous studies on disagreement

The literature on speech acts abounds with studies on (dis)agreement strategies in various languages. For example, Rees-Miller (2000) explored the use of linguistic features used to either soften or strengthen disagreement in English academic discourse, particularly in university courses and academic conversations. The use of disagreement was examined in relation to power, severity and context. The findings showed that university teachers use more markers of positive politeness when disagreeing with their students and less markers of positive politeness when disagreeing with peers. The results also revealed that the context—more than power and severity—plays the greatest role in the use of disagreement and the way disagreement is expressed in academic discourse.

In a study on disagreement in Persian, Masoumeh *et al.* (2012) explored how Persian male and female speakers produce the speech act of disagreement. The study tested the role of gender and formality of the context on the use of disagreement. To this end, the researchers used a triangulation of tools to collect data: a DCT, observations, and audio-visual conversations among Persian speakers. The study adopted the SAT as a framework and analysed the use of disagreement in the light of the Face Theory. The findings showed that there exists a positive correlation between the type of disagreement used and the formality of the context. The results also revealed that gender was a determinant in the degree of formality of the context in which disagreement is used.

A similar study on disagreement in Persian was conducted by Bavarsad *et al.* (2015) who investigated the ways in which the speech act of disagreement is expressed by young male and female Persian speakers. The sample was 100 participants (50 males and 50 females) randomly selected from the University of Isfahan and Islamic Azad University. The participants were asked to read nine

situations and react to them by making disagreements. The researchers used Muntigl and Turnbull's (1998) taxonomy of disagreement strategies. The analysis of the data showed that females were more cautious and used different strategies compared to males. The results also indicated that second language (L2) learners make use of similar realisations of the speech act of disagreement as do native speakers although they differ in the strategies used.

In a comparative study between Iranian English as a foreign language (EFL) learners and native English speakers, Sadrameli and Haghverdi (2016) examined the use of disagreement strategies, with the aim of finding similarities and/or differences between Iranian EFL learners and English native speakers with regard to the use of disagreement strategies taking into account power and social status. A DCT was distributed to 90 participants: 30 Iranian university students majoring in teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL), 30 native English speakers, and 30 native speakers of Persian with no English proficiency. The findings demonstrated that while the Persian native speakers used direct contradictions more than the EFL learners and native English speakers, the native English speakers used counterclaims, contradictions, and counterclaims more than their EFL and native Persian counterparts. The results also showed that the only significant difference was found with respect to disagreement with people of equal status.

The speech act of disagreement was also studied in the Arabic language. For example, Hamdan (2021) explored disagreement strategy use by Jordanian Arabic speakers and the role of gender and social status in the linguistic realisations of disagreement by the participants. The researcher analysed 28 students' interactions by means of an oral DCT which included six situations and requested the participants to disagree with two colleagues, two high-status interactants, and two low-status interlocutors. The results showed that the topic greatly influenced the choice of strategies by both males and females and that gender and status were not highly influential on the use of disagreement by the respondents.

Based on the foregoing, it is clear that despite the plethora of research on speech acts in various languages and in each of the languages under study (see, for example, Hamdan 2021 for Jordanian Arabic; Harb 2021 for Arabic; and Dendenne 2021 for Algerian Arabic), no contrastive study was conducted on the speech act of disagreement by Algerian and Jordanian Arabic speakers. Therefore, the current contrastive research seeks to investigate similarities and/or differences in the use of disagreement strategies between Algerians and Jordanians. In the few studies conducted on the expressions of disagreement, there has been no serious attempt to investigate and compare the expressions of disagreement and its strategies in two different cultures within the same language.

Therefore, the present study aims to explore how Jordanians and Algerians express disagreement in their dialects.

3. Methodology

3.1. Participants

Forty participants (20 native speakers of Jordanian Arabic and 20 native speakers of Algerian Arabic) were randomly recruited from the University of Jordan. The Algerian participants were studying at the University of Jordan at the time of data collection. The age of the participants ranged from 24 to 30.

3.2. Instrument

A DCT was designed by the researchers and was validated by five PhD students from the University of Jordan. The DCT is a questionnaire which includes naturally-occurring situations to which the respondents are asked to react by making disagreement. The DCT included instructions for the participants to respond by using their Arabic dialect (Jordanian or Algerian Arabic).

3.3. Data collection procedure

This study focused on the role of social distance or status in the choice of strategies when uttering the speech act of disagreement. The researchers were available during the administration process to answer any possible questions. Regarding the structure of the DCT, six scenarios were developed according to various degrees of power among interlocutors including high power status (two scenarios involving a father and a boss), equal power status (two scenarios including friends), and lower power status (two scenarios including a student and a son). The participants were asked to write their natural responses for each situation. Once the utterances of disagreement were identified from the responses, the taxonomy of Muntigl and Turnbull (1998) was applied for analysis.

4. Results and discussion

This section reports the findings of the analysis of the data. It begins by showing the frequency of use of the various disagreement strategies by Jordanian Arabic speakers and moves to reporting the strategies used by the Algerian speakers. Table 1. shows the frequency and percentage of disagreement strategies based on status (i.e., High, Low, or Equal) among the Jordanian speakers.

Strategies	High-Low Status		Low-Hight Status		Equal Status	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Irrelevancy</i>	06	15%	05	12.5%	0	/
<i>Challenge</i>	03	7.5%	05	12.5%	05	12.5%
<i>Contradiction</i>	13	32.5%	14	35%	16	40%
<i>Counterclaim</i>	18	45%	16	40%	10	25%
<i>Reference to Religion</i>	/	/	/	/	05	12.5%
<i>Sayings</i>	/	/	/	/	04	10%
Total	40	100%	40	100%	40	100%

Table 1. Frequency and percentage of disagreement strategies used by Jordanians

Table 1. illustrates the frequency and percentage of the Jordanian participants' use of disagreement strategies according to the social status of the interlocutor. The findings show that all disagreement strategies proposed by Muntigl and Turnbull (1998) were utilized. In addition, two other new strategies were found to be used by the participants. Here, we present and discuss examples which show how each strategy was used.

4.1. Strategies used by a high-status speaker

Based on the table above and the disagreement strategies used by the Jordanian participants, it is clear that disagreeing with someone who is lower in status (High-Low Status) was realised by means of *Irrelevancy*, *Challenge*, *Contradiction*, and *Counterclaim*. Example 1 below is from Scenario One where one of the employees is accusing others of having high salaries even though they work less hours. The strategy used is *Counterclaim* which scored the highest frequency, with 45% of the strategies used.

1. *ʕadad ʔas-sa:ʕat miʕʔal-miʕja:r ʔal-asa:si li-r-ra:tib wa-ʔinama li-kwaliti miʕli-kwantiti*

'The number of hours is not the main criterion for the salary; rather, it is the quality is not quantity.'

Thirteen participants used *Contradiction* as a strategy to disagree with a lower status individual, with 32.5%. In this example, the speaker proposed an alternative claim, i.e. the quality of the work is more important than the number of hours one works. This claim does not directly contradict with the claim of the other interlocutor; it is just another viewpoint. Another illustrative example is 2.:

2. *la: la: ʔana muʕrif ʕala haḏo:l li-mwaḏʔafi:n w-ʔana baʕatʔi ʔir-ra:tib ḥasab ʕuyul-hum*

'No, no, I am the supervisor of these employees, and I give the salary according to their work.'

In 2., the speaker disagrees with the interlocutor through negating what was said by him\her and by producing a contradiction or counterclaim, saying that since he is the supervisor, he can decide whether the employees deserve their high salaries. In other words, this supervisor provides an alternative claim about who deserves to be paid for the work, and it does not necessarily entail long hours of working.

Challenge scored 7.5% of the strategies used. In the following example, the speaker challenges the addressee to come up with evidence to support the claim.

3. *wallah ?illi Sind-uh dali:l jgadmuh*

‘Wallah, whoever has evidence can provide it.’

In 3., the speaker uses wallah ‘swear by Allah’ as a starter to show disagreement. The use of this expression suggests that the speaker has doubts about the addressee’s claim. Then, the speaker challenges the addressee by asking them to provide evidence to support their claim. Asking the addressee to provide evidence is an FTA to their negative face because it threatens their desire to be left alone.

Irrelevancy claims were also present, with 15% in statements such as the following:

4. *kul faʿxis? min-hum Sind-uh fajl-ih jlabbi ha:dza:t-hum w jhib jigð?i ?il-waggit maʿ-hum*

‘Every person has a family to meet their needs, and s/he likes to spend time with them.’

In 4., the speaker asserts that the previous claim is irrelevant to the main discussion, i.e. receiving a high salary despite the low number of hours. That is, the speaker is saying that these employees are the same as everyone else, they need to support their families and spend time with them.

4.2. Strategies used by a low-status speaker

Disagreeing with someone who is high in position (Low to High) was conducted by means of Counterclaims which scored the highest frequency with 40%. An example on Counterclaims would be Scenario Four in which the participant was requested to stick to the study of law and to disagree with someone who is higher in status (the father in this case) who prefers the scientific fields, as in the following example:

5. *wallah raj-ak Sala ra:s-i ja:bah bas b-afu:f nafs-i mirta:h-ah b-hajk taxas?us? w b-aħib ?aku:n ?insa:n b-iʿtamid falaj-h ?in-na:s fi ?umu:r-hum*

‘Wallah, your opinion is on my head, but I see myself comfortable in such a speciality, and I like to be a person whom people can rely on in their affairs.’

In 5., the speaker proposed an alternative claim and used a mitigating device to lessen the impact of disagreement with the speaker's father. This counterclaim does not directly contradict the claim of the father, i.e., the speaker said: 'I respect your opinion, dad,' but my viewpoint is that I need to study a field in which I find myself; thus, the speaker is offering another viewpoint. This is an example of an FTA to the addressee's positive face because the speaker is disapproving with the father and does not share his desire. *Contradiction* was also used by the participants who are in a lower status. As an answer for Scenario Three in which the participants were asked to disagree with their professor about the inability of women to manage work inside their homes and outside, 14 participants used *Contradiction* as a strategy to disagree, with 35% of all strategies, as in Example 6 below:

6. *la: ʕa:di b-tiʔdar ʔil-mara ʔin-ha tiftayil w-tratib ʔumu:r ʔal-bajt w bizbut^s tiftayil w hijih mitzawzih*

'No, it is normal; the woman can work and prepare the house affairs, and it is possible for her to work while she is married.'

In 6., the speaker uses *no* at the beginning to show disagreement. Specifically, the speaker uttered the negated proposition which is expressed by the previous claim, i.e. women are unable to manage their work inside and outside their homes. This is another example of an FTA to the hearer's positive face since the speaker is clearly showing disapproval.

Challenges and *Irrelevancy Claims* were equally used by the participants, with 12.5%. As for *Irrelevancy*, the Jordanian participants used a statement such as the following:

7. *ʔiða ma: ʕtayalit, ma: raħ taʕraf tgu:m bi-maha:m ʔil-bajt kama jazib hij:h za:jih min biiʔah basi:t^sah w ʔilli ħawa:laj-ha jidfaʕu:-ha la tku:n maʕzu:lih w yajr ga:dra ʕala ida:rat bajt-ha*

'If she does not work, she will not know how to do the duties at home as supposed; she comes from a simple environment, and those around her make her isolated and incapable of running her house.'

In 7., the speaker starts by using *if* to demonstrate that the previous claim is irrelevant to the main discussion, i.e. the inability of women to manage their work inside and outside their homes. The speaker is commenting on women's simple nature and the negative vibe they receive from the people with whom they interact.

The strategy of *Challenges* was used, as in Example 8:

8. *ħaj ħaja:t-i w ʔana ʔilli raħ ʔad-drus mij ʔinta*

'This is my life, and I am the one who is going to study; not you.'

In 8., the speaker challenges the previous claim by showing the addressee that they cannot know for sure whether their claim is correct or not since they have no evidence to support it. In particular, nobody can decide for you which field is suitable to your taste and your capabilities.

4.3. Strategies used by equal-status speakers

Moreover, according to the analysis of the data, the Jordanian participants frequently resorted to *Contradictions* when disagreeing with equal status individuals (friends in this case), with 40%. An example on this strategy is the following:

9. *la: ?inta ?ala xat'a? wha:d ?il-m?ja:r ?abadan mu?saħ la?anu ?ildzama:l ma: raħ jinfa?ak ?iða ka:nat axla:?a zift w mumkin tsabib ma?a:kil kθi:rah*

'No, you are wrong; this criterion is absolutely not right because beauty will not benefit you if she does not have morals, and she may cause many problems.'

In 9., the speaker uses the negative particle *no* to show disagreement. Through producing the negated proposition which is expressed by the previous claim, i.e. beauty is the main feature a man should seek in a wife, the speaker is contradicting this claim by stating that beauty will not do a man any good if the girl's manners are bad.

Another example is the following:

10. *mumkin ħak-ak saħ, bas wallah ?ajb ?ala-jk tiħki mihna li-?an-ha fd'iħah li-f-faxs' ħajd'al mitsawwil t'u:l ħajat-u*

'You might be right, but wallah [by God] it is a shame to say a profession because it is a scandal for one to stay a beggar all his life.'

In addition, *Counterclaims* were used by the participants when disagreeing with a friend who believes that the appearance of the girl is the most important criterion when choosing a wife; the counterclaim recorded 25% of the strategies proposed as in the following examples:

11. *w-il-?adzmal min-u ?axla:q-haa w di:n-ha*

'What is more beautiful is her morals and religion.'

In 11., a counterclaim was used by the speaker which does not directly challenge the claim of the other speaker, i.e., the speaker agrees that beauty is important (the original claim) but what is more important in a wife is her manners and her religious behaviour.

Challenges were also used but recorded only 5% of the whole strategies, as in the following:

12. *ru:ħ ja: zalamah w fu: b-iddi fii-ha ħilwa w madznu:n-ih bidi: waħdah tifham ſatʿajir w niyħ-ih*

‘Go, you man! and why do I want her to be beautiful while crazy? I want a girl who understands me quickly and funny.’

There were no Irrelevancy Claims in the Jordanian participants’ responses. However, the researchers found two additional strategies to be used by the respondents when disagreeing with someone who is equal in status, but were not found in situations where the speaker is of either high or low status. The first strategy is Reference to Religion, with 12.5% as in the following examples:

13a. *?allah jku:n bſu:n ?in-na:s*

‘May God be with people.’

13b. *?allah ?aſlam bi-?awdʿa:f ?n-na:s*

‘God knows the conditions of people.’

13c. *?iſſa ja: ſabd-i w ?ana baſa maſ-ak*

‘Seek for living oh my servant and I will be with you.’

In 13a.-c., the speakers are clearly using religious references, i.e. prayer to God, referring to God as the only One Who truly knows people’s conditions, and citing God’s word to show disagreement. This strategy could be followed by a number of participants to avoid bad mouthing other people. Thus, referring to religion is expected to stop you from saying negative things about the person you disagree with. In the last instance, the piece of advice offered to the addressee could be regarded as an FTA to the addressee’s negative face because it threatens their desire to be left alone and predicts a future act by them.

The second new strategy was the use of Sayings, with 10% of the whole strategies, as in the following examples:

14a. *miſ kul ?asʿa:bſ-ak wa:ħad*

‘Your fingers are not the same.’

14b. *miſ kul muzah ſizzah*

‘Not every beautiful girl is of pride.’

In 14a.-b., the speakers are citing popular sayings in a way to show wisdom. In addition, these popular sayings are common and well known to other speakers; hence, the addressees will be able to get the message loud and clear.

Turning now to the Algerian participants, Table 2. below shows the frequency and percentage of the use of disagreement strategies by the participants.

Strategies	High-Low Status		Low-Hight status		Equal Status	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Irrelevancy Claims</i>	03	7.5%	03	7.5%	0	0%
<i>Challenges</i>	09	22.5%	07	17.5%	0	0%
<i>Contradictions</i>	11	27.5%	17	42.5%	12	30%
<i>Counterclaims</i>	14	35%	13	32.5%	21	52.5%
<i>Reference to religion</i>	/	2.5%	0	0	04	10%
<i>Sayings</i>	03	7.5%	0	0	03	7.5%
Total	40	100%	40	100%	40	100%

Table 2. Frequency and percentage of disagreement strategies used by Algerians

Table 2. shows that the Algerian participants differ in the use of disagreement strategies from the Jordanian ones based on the social status of the interlocutor. In other words, not all the disagreement strategies proposed by Muntigl and Turnbull (1998) were found in the Algerians' realizations of disagreement.

4.4. Strategies used by a high-status speaker

The analysis shows that the most frequently used strategy is Counterclaims, with 35%. An instance on that would be the case when a child asks his father or mother to bring him a cat as a pet, and the answer was the following:

15. ?inta wild ma-jli:q-li-k-f gat^s, duk nzi:b-l-ak zarð kbi:r

'You are a boy; there is no need for a cat. I will bring you a big puppet.'

In 15., the parents are providing their kid with an alternative claim that does not directly contradict the child's claim. That is, both cats and rats are animals but rats cannot obviously be called pets; it is the parents' way of disagreeing with their child and be funny at the same time.

As for *Contradictions*, the results show that they were used, with 27.5, as in the following:

16. *la: ma-ka:n-f*

'No, there is not'

The strategy of *Challenges* was present as a third strategy when disagreeing with someone who is of low status as in the case of an employee who is accusing others of getting paid more than they really deserve. This strategy scored 22.5%, and this is seen in an utterance such as the following:

17. *?anta wa:-f daxl-ak*

'You! that's none of your business.'

By uttering such a sentence, the speaker is posing a threat to the positive face of the interlocutor (the employee in this case). The other strategies were *Irrelevancy Claims* and *Sayings* that had the same frequency of occurrence, with 7.5% out of the whole strategies. *Irrelevancy Claims* can be detected when responding to an employee who is accusing the staff members of stealing. The situation is exemplified as follows:

18. *kli:tu: la-bla:d ja: sara:ki:n*

'You have stolen the entire country, you bunch of robbers.'

In 18., the speaker is disagreeing with the interlocutor's claim by referring to corruption which is caused by people's greed. Thus, the reference to corruption in this situation is not relevant to the discussion at hand.

As for the use of *Sayings*, it was evident in the following examples:

19. *ʕa:nad w-la taḥsad*

'Imitate and do not envy.'

20. *?azi:n f-dafla: w-lamru:rija fi:-ha*

'The beauty is in the oleander and bitter taste in it' (the oleander is a plant that looks beautiful but is toxic in all its parts)

Finally, as shown in Table 2. above, *Reference to Religion* was not used to disagree with someone of a low status.

4.5. Strategies used by a low-status speaker

The analysis shows that when performing the act of disagreement with someone with a high status (a father or professor)—unlike high to low status—Counterclaims scored the highest strategy for the Algerians, with 42.5% as in disagreeing with a professor who doubt the ability of women in working inside their homes and outside it by saying:

21. *ka:jna li: qa:dra ʕlaʕqa:-ha*

‘She is that woman who is able of her misery.’

When responding to a professor’s claim that women cannot manage work inside and outside their homes, the participants favored the use of *Counterclaims*, with 32.5% as in the case of responding to a professor about the competence of women. One of the participants responded by the following:

22. *?l-mra li:-tawlad w-trabi: w-tnaqi: tnazam di:r kul-ʕi*

‘A woman who gives birth, raises children, and cleans can do anything.’

In 22., the speaker is providing a counterclaim to show disagreement. The discussion is about the ability of women to manage their work inside and outside their homes. Specifically, the speaker is saying that any woman who gives birth and raises her children is in fact capable of managing her work inside and outside her home because motherhood is the most difficult job in the world. Again disapproving is an FTA to the addressee’s positive face because they do not share the same wants and desires.

Challenges were also used, with 17.5% of the whole strategies. When disagreeing with their fathers’ preference for being specialized in the scientific branches, the participants provided utterances such as the following:

23. *naqra ?ali jsaʕad-ni:*

‘I study what helps me.’

Irrelevancy Claims represent the least frequently used strategy in this category, with 7.5% when disagreeing with a father as in:

24. *fi xa:tʕri: ngu:l yi:r ?asana: dʕurk naqra: baza:f*

‘Inside of me, I say: just wait, I will study hard.’

4.6. Strategies used by equal-status speakers

As for the equal status, Counterclaims scored the highest frequently used strategy, with 52.5%. An example on that strategy is the following:

25. *l-ḥaq l-ḥaq zi:n ta:ni mli:ḥ, basaḥ ?axla:q-ha: w tarbjit-ḥa hu:ma ?asaḥ*

‘Right, right, the beauty is nice but her morals and the way she was raised are better.’

Contradictions ranked second and favoured by equal-status individuals, with 30%. In the case of a speaker being requested to react negatively when a friend claims that the very first thing one should consider when getting married is the physical appearance of the wife, a participant contradicts the idea by saying:

26. *la: ra:-k ya:latʿ zi:n wa:ḥad mn ?l-maʿajir*

‘No, you are wrong; the beauty is one of many other criteria.’

26. is an evident instance of contradiction, because the speaker starts with the negative particle *no* and produces the negated proposition made by the previous claim, i.e. beauty is not the only criterion; it is one of many others.

Unlike High to Low and Low to High statuses, no frequencies were found for the Irrelevancy Claims and Challenges. Four instances, with 10% of the whole strategies were used by the participants to show Reference to Religion, as follows:

27a. *rabi:jzi:b ?l-xi:r*

‘May God bring all good things.’

27b. *nta dir ?l-xi:r w-rabi: rah jḥa:sab*

‘You do good, and God will judge.’

The least frequent strategy was the use of *Sayings*, with 7.5% as in the following:

28. *?il-zi:n ma jabni: da:r ma jwakal*

‘Beauty never builds nor feeds.’

As well as in 20., repeated here:

20. *?azi:n f-dafla: w-lamru:rija fi:-ha*

‘The beauty is in the oleander and bitter taste in it.’

5. Similarities and differences

This study aims to compare the use of disagreement strategies in Jordanian and Algerian Arabic. Based on the analysis above, to identify the similarities and differences between Algerian speakers of Arabic and Jordanian speakers of Arabic regarding disagreement strategies used for people of higher status, the researchers compared the responses of the two groups of participants to the scenarios manifested disagreement with people of higher status and it was revealed that the participants of the two study groups shared significantly similar preferences in using disagreement strategies. Nevertheless, the results of a more detailed descriptive analysis indicated that the Algerian participants used Challenges more than the Jordanian participants did; however, the two groups were quite similar in using of Counterclaims and Contradictions followed by Counterclaims as their primary and basic tool or strategy when making a disagreement with regard to the three statuses. That is, the native speakers of Arabic (both Jordanians and Algerians) who participated in the study were more concerned with saving their interlocutors' positive face as well as trying to be more indirect or be more polite in terms of social relationships while disagreeing with people of higher status. The findings can be justified partially by the fact that in terms of the influence of the social status, as far as Challenges is concerned, the Algerian participants displayed a kind of a threat to the positive face of the interlocutor, which in return might be considered as impolite as in saying:

29. *wa:ʃdaxl-ak*

'That's none of your business.'

30. *?arwa:h bajan ft'a:t-ak*

'Come on, show your cleverness.'

As for the additional strategies detected by the researchers, the use of *Reference to Religion* as a strategy to disagree was found only when disagreeing with equal status for the Jordanian participants and in high to low and equal statuses for the Algerian participants. This was explained, according to the researchers, in that both cultures make use of the religious formula to avoid any commitment to an idea that they either do not know or do not want to comment on such as:

31. *?ala:h ?aʃlam*

'God knows better.'

32. *xali: ?al-xalq li-l-xa:liq*

'Leave the creation to the Creator.'

In addition, this can be attributed to the shared historical and cultural values and to social norms as both groups share the same religious beliefs. Islam is the dominant religion in the two countries.

As for Sayings, on the other hand, as found by the researchers, they were detected in both groups. This demonstrates that both have such usage in their cultures (Jordanians and Algerians).

In closing and based on the findings reported in this study, the disagreement strategies proposed by Muntigel and Turnbull (1998) were all used by the Algerian and Jordanian participants with regard to the social status of the interlocutors. Moreover, the researchers detected during the analysis, new strategies preferred by the participants in the Algerian group and the Jordanian group, viz., reference to religion as in: 'God knows' and sayings as in: 'Not every beautiful girl is of pride'. We attribute this to the fact that both cultures use such formulae and this is used usually to avoid commenting. Moving to the most significant finding, counterclaims and contradictions were favored the most in the results by both groups. Such preference is claimed to be used by the participants in order to save the positive face of the interlocutors; in other words, both Algerians and Jordanians attempt to be more polite when facing such situations or scenarios. We conclude our discussion by claiming that differences between the Algerian participants and the Jordanian participants were expected more than similarities and this is because both groups are not the same in terms of language and cultures.

6. Conclusion

Following Muntigl and Turnbull's (1998) taxonomy of strategies of disagreement, the study has attempted to investigate the use of such strategies among Jordanians and Algerians. The results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis showed that the participants of the two study groups shared significantly similar preferences in using two main disagreement strategies that scored the highest percentage in High to Low status, Low to High status and in Equal status. The strategies are Counterclaims and Contradictions, this was justified by the concern of Jordanians and Algerians participated in the study who were more concerned with saving their interlocutors' positive face as well as trying to be more indirect or be more polite in terms of social relationships. Besides, the findings of the study implied that despite the variation between the two groups in terms of dialects and cultures groups of participants in terms of their preferences for using different disagreement strategies, a significant difference was found with respect to disagreement with people of high status. Regarding the use of the external strategies proposed by the researcher, both groups employed them when making a disagreement with equal status individuals. In conclusion, the findings of the present study answer the research questions and afford a general account of this speech act in the two languages.

Providing new and different evidence on the disagreement strategies that Algerian and Jordanian speakers tend to use when communicating in daily life.

Among the limitations of this research is that the number of the participants was small, hence no generalization can be made. Another limitation is the absence of the researcher when delivering the data for Algerians where some subjects provide the answers with the standard Arabic and this was not the request. For future studies, especially the ones dealing with dialects, the researcher might use recordings for more natural responses and for the study to be a valid one.

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Appendix 1. DCT in Arabic

عزيزتي / عزيزي المشارك...

يقوم الباحث بإجراء دراسة حول استراتيجيات عدم التوافق 'Disagreement Strategies' حيث أن هذا الإستبيان يحتوي على مجموعة من المواقف وعلى القارئ ان يضع نفسه في هذه المواقف. يرجى التكرم بتعبئة الاستبانة المرفقة بدقة و موضوعية على ان تكون الإجابة باللهجة العامية.

نحيطكم علماً أن لإجاباتكم دور أساسي في نجاح هذه الدراسة و تستخدم لاغراض البحث العلمي فقط. الرجاء أن تكون الردود غير متوافقة (إعطاء رأي مخالف) مع الحالات المذكورة أدناه. شكراً على حسن تعاونكم.

أنت مدير شركة وكنت حاضراً في إحدى الاجتماعات لمناقشة بعض شؤون الشركة و سمعت أحد الموظفين يقول: بعض موظفي هذه الشركة يتقاضون رواتب عالية بالرغم من أنهم لا يعملون أكثر من 6 ساعات يومياً. أنت تخالفه الرأي فتقول:

أنت طالب جامعي وقتت بمناقشة بعض المواضيع التي تخص مجتمعكم مع بعض اساتذتك. الدكتور يرى بانه ليس باستطاعة المرأة الجمع بين العمل و مهام المنزل و أنت تخالفه الرأي بقولك:
أنت تتحدث مع صديقك عن الزواج فيقول لك: أهم معيار يجب أخذه بعين الاعتبار عند الزواج هو أن تكون الزوجة جميلة (مزه) و أنت لا تتفق معه فتقول:

أنت نجحت في إمتحان الثانوية العامة و تريد أن تدرس تخصص الحقوق و والدك يخالفك الرأي و يقول: من الأفضل لك أن يكون توجهك للتخصصات العلمية و أنت مقتنع بمبولك فترد عليه قائلاً:
كنت أنت و صديقك في السوق و لاحظتما متسولاً فقال معلقاً: أصبح التسول مهنة اليوم لكل الناس و أنت لا تتفق معه فيما قال فترد قائلاً:

أنت أب / أم و طلب إبنك أن يحضر قطلا ليرببه في البيت وأنت ترفض طلبه و ترد قائلاً:

Appendix 2. DCT in English

Dear participant...

The researchers are conducting a study on disagreement strategies, where in this questionnaire a range of situations and the reader is kindly asked to put him/her self in these situations and write what would be said in Dialect. Please make sure to read the situation carefully before you respond. Please provide contrary opinion responses that are incompatible with the cases described below.

We inform you that your answers are essential to the success of this study and will be treated with complete confidentiality in which they will be used for scientific research purposes only. Thank you for your cooperation.

- 1) You are a company manager, and you were at a meeting to discuss some of the company's business, and you heard one of the employees saying, "Some of the employees of this company are paid a high salary even though they don't work more than 6 hours a day." You disagree and say:

- 2) You are a college student and you have discussed some of the topics that concerns your community with some of your teachers. The Doctor claim that women can't manage work with household tasks, and you disagree with him by saying:

- 3) You talk to your friend about marriage and he thinks that the most important criterion to consider in marriage is the looking (beauty) of woman and you disagree with him and say:

- 4) You passed the high school exam and you want to study law, and your dad disagrees, and says: It's better for you to choose science, however, you are convinced of your choice and say:

- 5) You and your friend were at the market and you two noticed a homeless (beggar). Your friend comments: begging has become a profession today for everyone, and you don't agree with him by saying:

- 6) You are a father/ a mother and your son asks to bring up a cat to raise at home, and you reject his request and you say:

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Congruities and incongruities in Arabic literary translation

A contrastive linguistic analysis of “The Prophet” by Khalil Gibran

Narjes Ennasser and Rajai R. Al-Khanji

Three Arabic translations of Khalil Gibran’s “The Prophet” are chosen among other available Arabic translations. Fifteen translated texts from the book were included for the analysis in this study. The three translations are by Basheer (1934), Abdelahad (1993), and Okasha (2008). The study investigates and analyzes different linguistic levels: discourse, stylistic, semantic, syntactic, and lexical among others as well as different choices made by the translators in rendering the same source text (ST) elements. The study found out that adopting different translation strategies by the translators led to different versions of the same ST. These strategies are based on the aesthetic ornamentation approach by As-Safi (2016). They include idiomaticity, stylistic considerations, cultural orientation, semantic/lexical accuracy, and syntactic accuracy.

Keywords: semantic congruities, idiomaticity, equivalence, ornamentation, aesthetics

1. Introduction

Even a competent translator is still expected to be creative to convey the spirit of a text aside from linguistic or structural complications. According to Newmark (1988: 94) a translator must empathize with the source text author, “the more you feel with the author, the better you are likely to translate; if you dislike a literary text, better not translate it at all.” Therefore, it seems that empathy in translation coupled with a keen interest in the text and its producer, is one of the major conditions for a high-quality translation.

The translation of literary texts reflects the individual experiences, emotions, perceptions, and thoughts of the text writer which are passed on to the target audience through the translator’s interpretation. In this connection, Shiyab and Lynch (2006: 265) accurately described the task of literary translation by saying that “translation should aim to reflect the same feelings, thoughts and style that are manifested in the original text. If the translation is done based on these criteria, then it is expected that the translated text will be moving and alive in ways very close to or the same as the original.”

The present research study singled out a widely known book, *The Prophet* by Gibran Khalil Gibran, for investigation and analysis as far as translation quality assessment is concerned. It is a contrastive text analysis between the English source text and its translation in Arabic. The contrastive nature of the study intends to detect both syntactic and semantic congruities and incongruities between the source text (ST) and the target text (TT).

The Prophet has been translated into over forty different languages including Arabic. Gibran is an American Lebanese poet, writer, and painter. He was born in 1883 and when he was 10 years old, he migrated to the USA with his family. He died in 1931 and was buried in Besharre, which is a small Christian Maronite town in North Lebanon. *The Prophet* is his most famous book, a masterpiece written in English and published in 1923. The book includes 26 essays in prose poetry or poetic prose, a kind of creative writing format that combines elements of some poetic forms such as metaphor and figures of speech but does not have all features of poetry such as metrical structure or rhyme structure. Therefore, poetic prose may blend features of prose and poetry together. Other features of poetic prose may contain hyperbole to create some poetic images. Gibran made use also of other features such as alliteration by repeating consonant sounds. He also made use of assonance by repeating vowel sounds. These essays introduce a synopsis of his experience and philosophy about love, marriage, children, eating, drinking, work, joy and sorrow, crime and punishment, laws, freedom, reason, and passion, etc. In his point of view, this book would show people the right way to God and peace exactly as the Bible does. Boushaba (1988: 62) says that Al-Mustafa (a transliterated form of the Arabic male's proper name meaning “the one chosen by God,” one among the many names for the Prophet Mohammad) is referred to as “a prophet of love who urges people of Orphalese, to grow out of their individual and limited selves and identify themselves with greater and universal self which is love.” In fact, this city has no real existence; however, its name might be constructed on the name of the ancient city of Orpha, a source of spiritual inspiration and different religions. This means that Gibran views God as a bond of love which ties all types of people regardless of their religions.

In fact, many people and critics have considered *The Prophet* as the new Bible of the age, as it has been recited at countless weddings and funerals, as well as in books and articles, and it is undoubtedly one of the best-selling books in our modern time as it is a very widely read book, and over 100 million copies have been sold since its original publication in 1923 (Acocella 2008).

However, the Arabic renditions of this text may not have produced a translation which reflects the contents of the source text adequately (Bushrui 2000, 2013), and consequently some incongruities that affect the intended style and meaning have resulted between the source and the target texts. Congruities and incongruities in literary translation are about how translators either succeed or fail in

conveying the idiosyncratic style of literary works (such as most literary works by Gibran) to the target language. Various linguistic and stylistic features are usually considered in assessing translation quality. They include the semantic and lexical aspects of a text as well as deviation, parallelism, foregrounding or fronting, discourse structure, deixis, viewpoint, speech and thought representation, among others.

The current study derives its significance from the fact that English and Arabic are culturally and linguistically remote languages. They do not share a common cultural heritage, nor do they have exact correspondences, grammar, or rhetoric. The challenges and the problems facing translators of *The Prophet* are, therefore, abundant. This is due to the observation that the source text writer, Gibran, employed a “prose poetry” type of a literary genre, or simply a poetry written in prose rather than verse. This indeed poses tremendous difficulties even for competent translators as they will be confronted with a heavy use of figurative language. In this connection, Bushrui (2000: 55) rightly said that most of those who wrote about Gibran never read his works in English, and therefore, any translation of his books cannot be a substitute for the original ones written in English. The study, therefore, is not only concerned with the conceptual vocabulary used in the English text and its target translated text but it is also about the cultural work of translation. That is, to look more deeply at the interaction between culture ideology, and how successful different translators were able to transfer the cultural aspects of the source text into Arabic, for example, how the transfer of the culturally embedded metaphors used in the English text were translated? How the function of the images used by Gibran in English was conveyed in Arabic? Or, how culture impacts and constrains translation.

It is hoped, therefore, that this contrastive study will show whether there was a gap between what is in the source text and what is transmitted by the translators. That is, were there ideological shifts from the original book during the process of translation? It is also hoped that the present study will fill a gap in contrastive textology research which aims at identifying strategies, problems and challenges facing translators in literary translation. Such incongruities may result from assigning different interpretations of the text by different translators.

2. Review of literature

Many scholars have focused on the faithfulness of translation and how to deliver the source text (ST) to the target text (TT). Newmark (1988: 46) defines faithful translations as “attempts to reproduce the precise context meaning of the original within the constraints of the TL grammatical structures.” This definition is, in fact, in agreement with Nida’s definition of formal equivalence (1964: 159) described as “focusing attention on the message itself in both form and content. In such a translation, one is

concerned with such correspondences as poetry to poetry, sentence to sentence, and concept to concept.”

Viewed from this formal orientation, one is concerned that the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the ST. This means that, for example, the message in the receptor’s culture is constantly compared with the source culture to determine the standards of accuracy and correctness. The above quotations by Nida and Newmark, two leading figures among translation theorists, reflect exactly what can be expected in translation on the part of highly qualified translators. However, other scholars employ different labels to define faithfulness in translation. Nord (2005: 25), for example, states that “the concept of faithfulness or ‘fidelity’ can be equated with ‘equivalence.’” As a matter of fact, the concept of “equivalence” is a controversial issue in translation studies, and it is one of the basic theoretical issues in the present study. In general, equivalence means producing the greatest possible correspondence between the source and the target texts. Steiner (1998: 460) thinks that equivalence is sought by means of substitution of “equal” verbal signs for those in the original. Baker (2005: 77) also maintains that equivalence is a central concept in translation theory. Moreover, she devoted in her well-known book, *In Other Words* (2005) six chapters to six types of equivalence, namely, equivalence at the word level, above the word level, grammatical equivalence, textual equivalence focusing on thematic and information structure, textual equivalence focusing on cohesion and finally, pragmatic equivalence dealing with coherence implicature.

3. Study objectives

To our knowledge, nothing much has been published on translation quality assessment regarding *The Prophet*. Most of the studies were comparative analyses in the field of literature or criticism. However, there is a doctoral dissertation by Boushaba (1988) analyzing some problems of literary translation about *The Prophet*. It deals with the translation of poetry from English into Arabic. Findings of this study reported that the subjectivity in the interpretation of the meaning of a source language literary text is the main obstacle in translation.

Another recent study about Gibran's *The Prophet* was a dissertation by Al-Khazraji (2014) about critical linguistic reading into the appeal of this book. Although the study did not assess translation quality, it focused mainly on analyzing the text by employing a critical discourse analysis (CDA) at a macro and micro levels in order to identify aspects of the book that contribute to its appeal. The findings of the study showed that the appeal of the universal themes and messages is attributed to Gibran’s ideology and thoughts such as hope and utopian ideals. Another important finding which is relevant to the present study is that the volume of metaphorical expressions in the entire book stands

at 83.4%. The researcher added that the aesthetic function of metaphors was to create meaning rather than to add meaning.

The objective of our study is to assess the quality of three different types of translations into Arabic of Gibran's book, *The Prophet*, written originally in English. Basheer (1934) is the first and the oldest Arabic translation at an epoch where translation tools and strategies were at their inception; it will be contrasted with two other translations by Abdelahad (1993), and Okasha (2008). More about the translators will be discussed towards the end of the article. The researchers will, therefore, explore some stylistic and semantic congruities and incongruities in translation, attempt to detect major sources of linguistic and cultural problems or difficulties encountered by the three translators, and finally, successful, and unsuccessful strategies employed by translators will be classified in terms of achievement and reduction strategies.

Fifteen texts from the book were selected for analysis in this study. Such texts encompass subtexts representing the following six major superordinate domains in the book (Al-Khazrajī 2014):

1. social activities such as work, buying and selling;
2. personal needs such as eating and drinking, and clothes;
3. family life such as marriage, children, and houses;
4. personal experiences such as love and death;
5. social institutions such as law, crime and punishment;
6. abstract concepts such as beauty and friendship.

The texts are analyzed at different linguistic levels: discourse, stylistic, syntactic, semantic and lexical among others. This analysis is meant to present a thorough comprehension of the original text in order to assess the oldest translation of the original book and to compare it with the new translations. For the sake of the analysis process, each selection is analyzed separately according to the aesthetic ornamentation approach for translating a literary work devised by As-Safi (2011, 2016). In this approach five criteria are seen to provide a comprehensive indication of literary translation strategies. They include idiomaticity, rhetorical transference, stylistic considerations, cultural orientation, and semantic accuracy. In our analysis, two types of modification are made, firstly, omitting rhetorical transference, and secondly adding lexicology by combining it to semantic accuracy in one strategy, i.e., semantic/lexical accuracy. Such modifications are relevant to our analysis as they pertain to the notions of gain and loss found in the English source text. Below is a description summarizing the strategies based on the modified ornamentation approach by As-Safi.

4. The modified ornamentation approach translation strategies

The following is a brief description of the modified approach strategies proposed by As-Safi (2016):

1. *Idiomacity*: Idiomacity is mainly indicative of idiomatic and proverbial expressions as both entail an inherently creative process of manipulation within the constructions of the TL reservoir of equivalent idiomatic expressions and proverbs. Failure to achieve this may result in literal translation.
2. *Stylistic considerations*: Style is a broad term that could stand for various concepts. However, in this study, it stands for aesthetic elements such as collocations, brevity, diction, redundancy, etc. It will also include some discussion about the structure of a paragraph or its physical appearance as well as any other important physical features, i.e., punctuation, underlining, etc.
3. *Cultural orientation*: The two notions of domestication and foreignization are important here. Domestication may contribute greatly to the naturalness and accessibility of the text. Foreignization, on the other hand, maintains the peculiar flavor of the original and contributes to the effective nature of literature.
4. *Semantic and lexical accuracy*: This strategy refers to the aesthetic framing of meaning. The choice of a proper lexical item is combined here with semantic accuracy (our addition in this approach) to account for unmotivated lexical shifts. This fourth strategy could, moreover, play a major role in shaping the figurative language, and in detecting any unmotivated semantic change.
5. *Syntactic Accuracy*: It refers mainly to syntactic distinctive features found in Gibran's *The Prophet*. An example of such features is pairing of opposites or dialectic antithesis in one synthesis as in *ascending and descending*. Other prominent syntactic features will be pointed out for comparison and contrast in translation (see also Al-Najjar 2007).

5. Data analysis

The following is a comparison and a contrast between various English texts taken from Gibran's *The Prophet* and their Arabic renditions by Basheer (1934), the oldest translation, as well as two others by Abdelahad (1993) and Okasha (2008), respectively. The three renditions will then be evaluated in terms of the five aesthetic strategies as criteria on which the analysis is based to account for congruities and incongruities in translation.

5.1. Love

Then said Almitra, speak to us of love (Gibran 1996: 11)

A. حينئذ قالت المطرّة: هات لنا خطبة في المحبة (Basheer 1934: 60)

hīnaʔiḏin qālati l-miṭratu hāti lanā xuṭbatan fi l-maḥabbati

B. No rendition of this line (Abdelahad 1993: 22)

C. وانبرت (المطرا) وقالت له: حدثنا عن الحب (Okasha 2008: 10)

wa-nbarat (il-miṭrā) wa-qālat la-hū ḥaddiṭnā ʔan il-ḥubbi

The above line is the first sentence used in the love section. Gibran used "Almitra," the name given to a woman who was a seeress, meaning in Arabic (*al-ʔarrāfa*), which might be a better translation for readers as it gives the meaning of a woman who is knowledgeable. Both translators, Basheer and Okasha kept the name "Almitra" as it is, opting for a foreignization, or an aesthetic cultural orientation strategy, while Abdelahad avoided translating the whole line. However, it will be more important to look at other words in this text. If we look at the translation of the sentence "Speak to us of love," we can notice two observations: Firstly, Okasha gave a better rendition of the word "love" as *al-ḥubb*, which is loaded with emotiveness, and "speak to us" as *ḥaddiṭnā* instead of translating them, as Basheer did by *al-maḥabba* (more general and less emotive), and *hāti la-nā xuṭba*. The context of this section of the book, to our mind, requires using the rendition of "love" given by Okasha keeping in mind that Gibran referred to "love" with the pronoun "he," as required in the source text, thus personifying it. Secondly, Okasha's rendition in Arabic of "Speak to us of love" sounds more natural. That is, it is more natural than saying *hāti la-nā xuṭbatan* because it is not a "speech." Therefore, a more appropriate lexical strategy was employed by Okasha in translating the text above.

5.2. Marriage

Give your hearts, but not into each other's keeping (Gibran 1996: 15)

A. ليعط كل منكم قلبه لرفيقه ولكن حذار ان يكون هذا العطاء لاجل الحفظ (Basheer 1934: 70)

li-juṭi kullun min-kum qalbahu li-rafiqi-hi wa-lākin ḥaḏāri ʔan jakūna haḏā l-ʔaṭāʔu li-ʔazli l-ḥifzi

B. قدموا قلوبكم هدية لمن تحبون من غير ما إستنتار. (Abdelahad 1993: 27)

qaddimū qulūba-kumu hadījatan li-man tuḥibbūna min ḡajri mā ḡistḡitārin

C. وليهب كل منكم قلبه لعشيره لكن دون أن يستأثر به. (Okashā 2008: 15)

wa-lijahib kullun min-kumu qalba-hū li-ḡaḡiri-hi lākin dūna ḡan jastḡatira bi-hi

In this text, the major problem is in translating into Arabic the expression “each other's keeping.” It is noticed that Basheer in A. above failed to give an accurate translation as he resorted to a literal translation strategy for that expression, i.e., *li- ḡazli l-ḡifzi*. On the other hand, Abdelahad and Okasha were able to preserve the beauty of the expression by using a more accurate and an aesthetic semantic strategy by the Arabic verb *jastḡatira* and the noun *ḡistḡitārin*, meaning “possessiveness.” Comparing both renditions, one may find Okasha’s translation to be even most appealing in this text.

5.3. Children

You may house their bodies but not their souls. (Gibran 1996: 17)

A. وفي طاقتكم أن تصنعوا المساكن لأجسادهم ولكن نفوسهم لا تقطن في مساكنكم.

(Basheer 1934: 74)

wa-fi ḡaḡati-kumu ḡan tasnaḡū il-masākina li-ḡazsādi-humu wa-lakinna nufūsa-humu lā taḡtunu fi masākini-kumu

B. قد تؤون أجسادهم لا أرواحهم. (Abdelahad 1993: 29)

qad tuḡwūna ḡazsāda-humu lā ḡarwāḡa-humu

C. ولقد تؤون أجسادهم لا أرواحهم. (Okashā 2008: 16)

wa-laqad tuḡwūna ḡazsāda-humu lā ḡarwāḡa-humu

It will be noticed that the Arabic rendition of the above sentence (A) regarding the concept of children in Gibran’s *The Prophet* is quite confusing, redundant, and unnecessarily long. Even though repetition in Arabic can be normal or functional, the Arabic translation by Basheer is, unfortunately inaccurate. Moreover, Basheer resorts again to a literal translation strategy, which is not suitable here at all. On the other hand, both Abdelahad and Okasha resorted to a better style requiring brevity and vividness. Both employed also a better diction choice and an appropriate semantic strategy by using the Arabic

verb *tuʔwūna* meaning “housing their bodies” instead of *tasʿnaʔū al-masākina*, therefore translating this sentence requires a proper style and an accurate lexical choice.

5.4. Giving

1. These are the believers in life and the bounty of life, and their coffer is never empty. (Gibran 1996: 20)

A. Basheer 1934: 78) ومنهم (الناس) المؤمنون بالحياة وبسقاء الحياة، هؤلاء لا تفرغ صناديقهم وخزائنهم ممتلئة أبدا.

wa-min-humu (an-nās) il-muʔminūna bi-l-ḥajāti wa-bi-saxāʔi l-ḥajāti haʔūlāʔi lā tafrayū sʿanādīqu-humu wa-xazāʔinu-humu mumtaliʔatun ʔabadan

B. Abdelahad 1993: 32) ومنكم من يعطي كل ما يملك لايمانة العميق بالحياة وبعطاياها، فلن يفرغ وفاضه.

wa-min-kumu man juʔṭī kulla mā jamliku li-ʔimāni-hi l-ʔamīqi bi-l-ḥajāti wa-bi-ʔaṭajā-hā fa-lan jafrayū wifādʿuhu

C. Okashā 2008: 19) أولئك هم المؤمنون بالحياة وما فيها من خير، فلا تفرغ خزائنهم أبدا.

ʔūlāʔika humu il-muʔminūna bi-l-ḥajāti wa-mā fī-hā min xajrin fa-lā tafrayū xazāʔinu-humu ʔabadan

The main problem in the text above is deictic: the excerpt is an example of a reference change in the target language. The author restricts “those who have little and give it all” solely to the “believers in life...” by employing the deictic expression “these”; however, Basheer, in his rendition of the excerpt, added yet another category of people thus ignoring the anaphoric “these,” i.e., *wa-min-humu al-muʔminūna b-il-ḥajāti* “and there are some who believe in life.” By contrast, Abdelahad and Okasha provided a more accurate rendition related to the English text. Moreover, Basheer opted for redundancy in the Arabic translation when he repeated the word *al-ḥajāt* “life” twice. He also gave two renditions for the word “coffer,” *xazāʔin* and *sʿanādīq*, thus offering a superfluous information. It is noticed that Abdelahad used an elegant word instead of “coffer” when he was the only one among the three translators to render it as *wifādʿahu*, a lexical item that reflects a metaphoric beauty indeed. He manipulated the Arabic idiom *xālī ʔil-wifādʿ* “empty handed.” Finally, in the text above, employing the two proper strategies of stylistic and semantic/lexical accuracy is needed to get a good translation.

2. You often say, “I would give, but only to the deserving” (Gibran 1996: 21).

A. وقد طالما سمعتك تقول متبجحا: "إنني أحب أن أعطي، ولكن المستحقين فقط." (Basheer 1934: 80)

wa-qad ṭalamā samiṣṭuka taqūlu mutabazzīḥan ʔinnanī ʔuḥibbu ʔan ʔuṣṭīa wa-lākin l-mustahiqqīna faqaṭ

B. ومنكم من يقول: "إننا نعطي حصرا من فعلا يستحق." (Abdelahad 1993: 34)

wa-min-kumu man jaqūlu ʔinnanā nuṣṭī ḥasʿran man fiṣlan jastahiqqu

C. ما أكثر ما تقول: "لتصبو نفسي إلى العطاء، ولكن لا أعطي إلا من يستحق." (Okashā 2008: 20)

mā ʔakṭara mā taqūlu la-tasʿbū nafsī ʔilā l-ṣaṭāʔi wa-lakin lā ʔuṣṭī ʔillā man jastahiqqu

In text (A) above, there is an unmotivated addition at the start of the text in translating the sentence, “you often say.” Basheer rendered this initial part in Arabic by attaching the adverb *mutabazzīḥan* “arrogantly” to *taqūlu* “you say.” In fact, he seems to have added unnecessarily a negative or an aggressive tone to the TT, which is not really expressed in the ST. This added meaning is against what Gibran has emphasized throughout his book as he meant to give a message of peace by using an inspiring and a peaceful tone. Abdelahad and Okasha, on the other hand, managed to translate this part of the text more accurately and without any addition that might create a negative emotive translation which may distort the meaning of the text. This is done through employing a strategy of semantic accuracy.

5.5. Eating and drinking

And the buds of your tomorrow shall blossom in my heart (Gibran 1996: 24).

A. والبراعم التي ستخرج منها في الغد ستزهر في قلبي (Basheer 1934: 85)

wa-l-baraʿimu l-latī sataxruzu min-hā fī l-yadi satuzhiru fī qalb-ī

B. وتزهر براعمك في الغد في قلوبنا (Abdelahad 1993: 37)

wa-tuzhiru baraʿimu-ka fī l-yadi fī qulūbi-nā

C. وتزهر براعم غدك في قلبي (Okasha 2008: 23)

wa-tuzhiru baraʿimu yadi-ka fī qalb-ī

The text above is addressed to an apple after it is eaten and what can be said to it such as “Your seeds shall live in my body” and “the buds of your tomorrow...” Although this text is short, both Basheer and Abdelahad provided a type of translation that lacks the aesthetic value of the meaning. Gibran used a metaphor, “the buds of your tomorrow,” but in A and B, the translation ignored the beauty of this part when Basheer rendered it as “any tomorrow” in Arabic when he said *fi-l-yadi* rather than “your tomorrow.” The same mistranslation of this expression was also provided by Abdelahad, thus missing the beauty of the metaphor. Therefore, the major serious problem in the text above is in mistranslating an important metaphor. Okasha in (C) managed again to provide a better translation in a short way rather than providing a lengthy and literal translation as in Basher's rendition. Although Abdelahad provided a short translation, he too missed giving a suitable metaphor translation. Okasha's translation is, for that reason more accurate semantically.

5.6. Work

You have been told also that life is darkness, and in your weariness, you echo what was said by the weary (Gibran 1996: 26).

A. فرحتم في عهد مشقتكم ترددون ما قاله قبلكم جدودكم المز عجون. (Basheer 1934: 89)

faruḥtumū fī ṣahdi maṣaqqati-kumu turaddidūna mā qālahu qabla-kumu zudūdu-kumu il-muzṣizūna

B. فرحتم ترددون هذا القول عبر ضناكم وما يردده الكادحون. (Abdelahad 1993: 41)

Faruḥtumū turaddidūna haḏā al-qawla ṣabra dʿanā-kumu wa-mā juraddiduhu il-kadiḥūna

C.حتى اصبحتم ترددون من فرط الانهاك ما يقوله المنهكون. (Okashā 2008: 26)

ḥattā ʿasʿbaḥtumū turaddidūna min farṭi l-ʿinhāki mā jaqūluhu il-munhakūna

In rendering the text above, Basheer made some unmotivated changes that negatively affected its meaning. He added the Arabic expression *zudūdu-kumu il-muzṣizūna* “your troublesome ancestors,” which is not found in the original text. The result of this addition gives a negative impression about the ancestors, something which is not expressed. Another added expression in Arabic unneeded in English is *ṣahdi maṣaqqati-kumu*. It is, in fact, a mistranslation which does not reflect the intended

meaning. The meaning of the whole text is, therefore, distorted. Abdelahd's rendition is clearer than that of Basheer. However, Okasha managed to provide a much better translation when he accurately used *ʔal-ʔinhāk*, meaning “exhaustion,” for “weariness.” His rendition of the text, in fact, reflects the meaning clearly.

5.7. Clothes

Your clothes conceal much of your beauty, yet they hide not the unbeautiful (Gibran 1996: 35).

A. إن ثيابكم تحجب الكثير من جمالكم، ولكنها لا تستر غير الجميل (Basheer 1934: 104)

ʔinna ʔjāba-kumu taḥzibu l-kaṭīra min zamāli-kumu wa-lakinna-hā lā tasturu ʔajra l-zamīli

B. إن ثيابكم تخفي الكثير من جمالكم ولكنها لا تحجب القبيح فيكم (Abdelahad 1993: 53)

ʔinna ʔjāba-kumu tuxfī l-kaṭīra min zamāli-kumu wa-lakinna-hā lā taḥzibu l-qabiḥa fī-kumu

C. إن ثيابكم تحجب من جمالكم الكثير، لكنها لا تخفي ما قبح فيكم (Okashā 2008: 36)

ʔinna ʔjāba-kumu taḥzibu min zamāli-kumu l-kaṭīra lakinna-hā lā tuxfī mā qabuḥa fī-kumu

In the text above, Basheer failed in translating the last part, i.e., “they hide not the unbeautiful,” into Arabic as *lā tasturu ʔajra l-zamīli* even though Arabic is rich with various words that can fit in this context. His literal translation of this part deprived its intended beauty as well as the stylistic eloquence. On the other hand, both Abdelahad and Okasha managed to provide what is needed here. They resorted to a much better semantic accuracy strategy when they used the Arabic expression: *lā tuxfī* or *lā taḥzibu mā qabuḥa fī-kumu*. Their aesthetic translation contributed a lot in finding the proper lexical item needed, i.e., *al-qubḥ* “the ugliness” instead of *ʔajra l-zamīli* for the English “the unbeautiful.” Moreover, the Arabic exceptive particle *ʔajra* is misleading as it is polysemic, it may mean “except” inducing the opposite meaning: “It conceals only the beautiful.”

5.8. Houses

You shall not dwell in tombs made by the dead for the living (Gibran 1996: 33).

A. أجل، ولن تقطنوا في القبور التي بناها أبناء الموت لأبناء الحياة (Basheer 1934: 103)

?azal wa-lan taqtunū fi l-qubūri l-latī banāhā ?abnā?u l-mawti li-?abnā?i l-ḥajāti

B. ولن تقطنوا في قبور سيدها الاموات للأحياء (Abdelahad 1993: 51)

wa-lan taqtunū fi qubūrin fajjadahā- l-?amwatu-lil-?ahja?i

C. لا، لن تقطنوا قبورا سيدها الموتى للأحياء (Okashā 2008: 35)

lā lan taqtunū qubūran fajjadahā - l-mawtā li-l-?ahjā?i

In (A) above, Basheer provided an Arabic translation *?abnā?u-l-mawti li-?abnā?i -l-ḥajāti* for the English “the dead for the living.” It is again both a lengthy and rather an uncommon rendition in Arabic that lacks proper stylistic and aesthetic features in literary translation. To give a back translation of Basheer’s rendition, it will be like “the sons of the death for the sons of the life,” where “sons” are not mentioned in the English text. Moreover, the expression “sons of death” is not familiar in Arabic. He also added the word *?azal* “yes” at the beginning of the text, whereas Okasha added “No, you will not” to emphasize the idea. Abdelahad and Okasha gave a better rendition when both used *l-?amwatu-lil-?ahja?i* and *l-mawtā li-l-?ahjā?i*. Such renditions are more appropriate aesthetically, direct, brief and to the point in terms of form, content, and accessibility.

5.9. Buying and selling

It is in exchanging the gifts of the earth that you shall find abundance and be satisfied (Gibran 1996: 37).

A. لأنكم بغير مبادلة عطايا الارض لن تجدوا وفرا من الرزق ولن يشبع جشعكم (Basheer 1934: 106)

li-?anna-kumu bi-yajri mubādalati Ṣaṭājā al-?ard?i lan tazidū wafran mina ar-rizqi wa-lan jaṣbaṣa zaṣaṣu-kumu

B. كما أنها تبادلكم عطاياها فتغمركم وفرتها فتكتفو وتقتنوا (Abdelahad 1993: 56)

kamā ?anna-hā tubādilu-kumu Ṣaṭājā-hā fa-taymura-kumu wafratu-hā fa-taktafū wa-taṣnaṣū

C. فإن انتم تبادلتهم نعمها نلتهم الوفرة والرخاء، وطابت بذلك نفوسكم (Okashā 2008: 38)

fa-?in ?ant-umu tabādaltum niṣama-hā niltum il-wafrata wa-r-raxā?a wa-ṭābat bi-ḍālika nufūsu-kumu

In the text above, Gibran talks positively about how the earth can yield fruits, but Basheer opted in his translation to render the text in a negative way, as he gave a threatening tone to the meaning. He, therefore, misinterpreted the text, something which is not embodied in the original ST in such a way that the optimistic message of Gibran was turned into a pessimistic one, thus not giving the intended message. Moreover, Basheer made an addition not found in the text when he translated the last part by saying “you shall be satisfied” as *wa-lan jaṣbaḥa zaḡaḡu-kumu*, rather meaning “will not satisfy your greed.” The negative connotation of the word *zaḡaḡ* “greed” is in fact not motivated at all as it needlessly adds confusion to the intended meaning of the text. Abdelahad and Okasha, on the other hand, managed in their renditions to use the intended positive message of the text. They aptly conveyed the intended meaning of the original ST, indicating a strategy of semantic accuracy.

2. For the master spirit of the earth shall not sleep upon the wind till the needs of the least of you are satisfied (Gibran 1996: 38).

A. لأن الروح السيّدة في الارض لا تنام بطمأنينة وسلام حتى تشاهد بعينها أن الصغير فيكم قد نال كالكبير بينكم
كل ما هو في حاجة اليه. (Basheer 1934: 109)

li-ʔanna ar-rūḡa as-sajjidata fi l-ʔardʕi lā tanāmu bi-ṭumʔanīnatin wa-salāmin ḡattā tuḡāhida bi-ʔajni-hā ʔanna asʕ-sʕayīra fi-kumu qad nāla ka-l-kabīri bajna-kumu kulla mā huwa fi ḡāzatin ʔilaj-hi

B. فسيدة "روح الارض" لن تستكين في الريح ما لم تقض لبنات كل واحد منهم. (Abdelahad 1993: 57)

fa-sajjidatu rūḡi l-ʔardʕi lan tastakīna fi-r-rīḡi mā lam taqḡḡi li-banāti kulli waḡidin min-humu

C. فإن روح الارض المهيمنة لن تتوسد جناح الريح وادعة حتى ينال ادناكم كفايته. (Okashā 2008: 39)

fa-ʔinna rūḡa l-ʔardʕi il-muhajminata lan tatawassada zanāḡa r-rīḡi wādiṡatan ḡattā janāla ʔadnā-kumu kifājata-hu

In this text, the first problem is in translating into English the meaning of the expression, “the master spirit of the earth.” Basheer rendered it in Arabic as *ar-rūḡa as-sajjidata fi l-ʔardʕi*, which is a confusing literal translation that may not really be accessible to many Arab readers. Abdelahad too, provided almost the same rendition in Arabic with a minor word order change, i.e., *sajjidatu rūḡi l-ʔardʕi*. Okasha tried to provide a clearer expression by adding a relevant adjective in the expression, i.e., *rūḡa l-ardʕi il-muhajminata*. Therefore, adding *il-muhajminata* “domination” to the expression instead of *sajjida*

“lady” may be a better choice for clarification. In fact, this expression “the master spirit” is difficult to translate, one may think of a kind of female or maternal divinity. The second problem is in translating the last part of the English text “till the needs of the least of you are satisfied.” In Basheer’s rendition, we observe an unmotivated addition when he referred to the word “least” in Arabic as *as^s-s^aʿayir wa-al-kabir* “the child/young and the elderly,” which is not found in the text. Abdelahad’s rendition was quite general as he included “everyone” when he rendered it as *kull-i waḥid-in min-hum* whereas the intended meaning was confined only to “the least.” However, Okasha may have given a more suitable and accurate rendition, *ʔadnā-kumu*, which is a good equivalent term. Therefore, both literal translation and explication were not the proper strategies to employ in translating the text. A brief and an accurate semantic strategy followed by Okasha seems to be the most suitable one.

5.10. Crime and punishment

You are the way and the wayfarers (Gibran 1996: 40).

A. أنتم الطريق وأنتم المطرقون (Basheer 1934: 112)

ʔantum ʔṭ-ṭarīqu wa-ʔantum il-muṭriqūna

B. فأنتم الطريق، وأنتم السائرون عليها (Abdelahad 1993: 60)

fa-ʔantum ʔṭ-ṭarīqu wa-ʔantum is-sāʔirūna ʔalaj-hā

C. ذلك أنكم السبيل، وأنتم أيضا سالكوه (Okashā 2008: 42)

ḏalika ʔanna-kumu ʔs-sabīlu wa-ʔantum ʔayḏan sālikū-hu

The text above clearly shows how a translator can either succeed or fail depending on the proper choice in using proper idiomatic expressions. The text is short, but in (A) rendition, an improper translation is clearly obvious to any native speaker of Arabic. An uncommon lexical item was chosen by Basheer, i.e., *al-muṭriqūn* for English “wayfarers.” This word seems to be quite obsolete not to mention the fact that it is also quite formal stylistically. Abdelahad used instead the Arabic word *as-sāʔirūn*, which is a suitable choice. However, Okasha employed the word *as-sālikūn*, a choice which contributes much to the aesthetic effect of the original as it offers a better vivid lexical item than a formal and literal

translation; i.e., *al-muṭriqūn*. Therefore, both Abdelahad and Okasha employed a better collocation, or a strategy of idiomaticity than Basheer.

5.11. Law

What of the cripple who hates dancers? (Gibran 1996: 44).

A. وماذا أقول في المقعدين الذين يكرهون الراقصين؟ (Basheer 1934: 119)

wa-māḍā ʔaqūlu fī-l-muqʕadīna l-laḍīna jakrahūna r-rāqisīna?

B. وماذا عن الكسيح الذي يحقد على الراقصين؟ (Abdelhad 1993: 65)

wa-māḍā ʔan il-kasīḥi l-laḍī jaḥqidu ʔalā r-rāqisīna?

C. وما يكون شأن المقعد وهو على الراقصين حاقداً؟ (Okashā 2008: 47)

wa-mā jakūnu ʔaʔnu l-muqʕadi wa-huwa ʔalā r-rāqisīna ḥāqidan?

Stylistically, Basheer’s choice of words in the excerpt above may not be appropriate for two reasons. Firstly, he made a deictic change when he changed the third person singular into a plural one for no good reason. Secondly, his literal translation of the text resulted in a less dynamic rendition when he used the verb *jakrahu* for “hate” in English. Abdelahad and Okasha used the verb *jaḥqidu* “grudge” instead, a better and more appropriate choice. However, Okasha made a better translation of the whole text than the other two translators by employing a strategy of a rhetorical force. In this way, the aesthetic features of the text are heightened through the utilization of a beautiful syntactic order.

5.12. Freedom

Verily all things move within your being in constant half embrace, the desired and the dreaded, the repugnant and the cherished, the pursued and that which you would escape (Gibran 1996: 49).

A. الحق أقول لكم، إن جميع الأشياء تتحرك في كيانكم متعانقة على الدوام عناقا نصفيا. كل ما تشتهون وما تخافون وما تعشقون وما.

al-ḥaqqā aqūlu la-kumu ʔinna zamiʔa l-ʔaʔjāʔi tataḥarraku fī kijani-kumu mutaʔāniqatan ʔalā d-dawāmi ʔināqan nisʔijjan kulla mā taʔtahūna wa-mā taxāfūna wa-mā taʔʔaqūna wa-mā tastakrihūna mā taʔʔauna warāʔa-hu wa-mā tahrubūna min-hu

B. إن الأشياء تتحرك حقا داخل انفسكم، وهي دوما في نصف عناق معكم : ما ترغبون فيه وما ترغبون عنه، ماهو متناغم ومنسجم معها ،
وما هو متنافر معها. (Abdelahad 1993: 71)

ʔinna l-ʔaǧǧāʔa tataḥarraku ḥaqqan dāxila ʔanfusi-kumu wa-hija dawman fi nisʔfi ʔināqin maʔa-kumu mā taryabūna fī-hi wa-mā taryabūna ʔan-hu mā huwa mutanāyimun wa-munsazimun maʔa-hā wa-mā huwa mutanāfirun maʔa-hā

C. ولعمري إن الامور جميعا، مرغوبة او مرهوبة، ممقوتة او محبوبة، منشودة او ممجوجة-تتتحرك كلها في أعماق وجودك، تكاد تتعانق
أبدا (Okashā 2008: 51)

wa-la-ʔamr-ī ʔinna l-ʔumūra zamiʔan maryūbatan ʔaw marhūbatan mamqūtatan ʔaw maḥbūbatan manʔudatan ʔaw mamzūzatan tataḥarraku kullu-hā fi ʔaʔmāqi wūzūdika takādu tataʔānaqu ʔabadan

The text above is an excellent example of Gibran’s use of dialectics through the “pairing of opposites,” in which opposites are formed in a balanced way, using a series of antonyms. It can be noticed that Okasha, in (C) above, attempted to preserve the aesthetic frame of meaning by employing rhyming antonyms. He did that by fronting the series of opposites to highlight them at the start of the text, and then placing the verb *ʔānaqa* “embrace” at the end. In this way, the beauty of the translation appears more clearly than it is the case in the rendition provided by both Basheer and Abdelahad. Furthermore, Abdelahad used long phrases to render the opposites while Okasha employed brief single adjectives. Basheer, on the other hand, tried to resort to rhymes in rendering the meaning of the opposites but his choices were not successful. That is, it is difficult to see adequate antonymous relations, for example, between *xāfa* “be afraid” and *kariha* “hate.” Therefore, Okasha alone was able to preserve the brevity of the original antonyms.

5.13. Self-knowledge

Say not, “I have found the truth,” but rather, “I have found a truth” (Gibran 1996: 55).

A. اجل ولا تقل في ذاتك : "قد وجدت الحق" بل قل بالاحرى : "قد وجدت حقا". (Basheer 1934: 137)

ʔazal wa-lā taqul fī ḏātika qad wazaddu l-ḥaqqā bal qul bi-l-ʔaḥrā qad wazaddu ḥaqqan

B. لا تقولوا : "إننا وجدنا الحق"، بل قولوا : "إننا وجدنا حقا". (Abdelahad 1993: 80)

lā taqūlū ʔinnā wazadnā l-ḥaqqā bal qūlū ʔinnā wazadnā ḥaqqan

C. "وجدت الحقيقة، بل قل: "وجدت بعض الحقيقة" (Okasha 2008: 59)

wa-lā taqul waẓaddtu l-ḥaqīqata bal qul waẓaddtu baḥdʿa l-ḥaqīqati

Translating this text, in fact, needs a skillful rendition particularly when dealing with the definite and indefinite articles in both languages. The indefinite article in English is easier to be expressed than in Arabic, which has no specific word. It is observed that both Basheer and Abdelahad provided the same translation for the English “I have found a truth,” which is challenging to many Arab translators. Both rendered that expression in Arabic as *qad wajaddtu ḥaqqa* and *?innā wajadnā ḥaqqa*. Any Arab reader will find ambiguity in this translation as *ḥaqqa* is uncountable. Okasha rendered it as *wajaddtu baḥdʿa al-ḥaqīqati* “I found some truth” which is expressed more clearly even though Arabic may not accept this rendition from an essentialist point of view. This view considers truth to be indivisible, and that is why it might not be accepted even though it is clear. If we are to provide a rendition, we may agree with the rendition given by Okasha but with a minor change by saying: *?iktāfatu ḥaqīqatan mā* “I discovered a truth.” It is, therefore, more accessible to an Arab reader to understand Okasha's rendition or ours from a syntactic point of view in showing the difference between the definite and the indefinite articles between the two languages. Finally, this text, as we have already noticed, is ambiguous and it seems that the three translators tried to clarify the ambiguity to make renditions easier to comprehend. However, it may not be the responsibility of the translators to interpret what is not clearly expressed in the source text.

6. Translation quality assessment

When we look at Basheer’s translation, we notice that there are some problems that include unmotivated changes such as adding unnecessary words and expressions. He may have wanted to make his renditions clearer, but the result was unfortunately complicated. He also provided unnecessary lengthy explications and nonfunctional lexical repetitions.

Stylistically, it was noticed that Basheer’s translation suffered from a deictic problem. He used personal pronouns different from those used in the source texts and this may have caused some confusion. Cases of this, for example, are frequently found between the first singular and plural pronouns. Another stylistic problem is his tendency to use a more formal diction than that found in the source text. It seems that this was done intentionally because he always provided an explanation

through footnotes. We do believe that Gibran did not make use of a formal language; on the contrary, his style was simple and easy to comprehend because his concepts were addressed to ordinary people listening to his wisdom, not in a written style.

As for the second translator, Abdelahad, we notice that his translation is different because he resorts to an avoidance strategy. That is, he avoided to translate some parts of the book such as the first concept, "the coming of the ship" and the last concept, "The Farewell." He also avoided translating all the short dialogs between Al-Mustafa and the individuals who usually ask him a regular question at the beginning of each concept. Abdelahad did not explain why he avoided translating such important texts from the book.

It is clearly noticed that Abdelahad was careful not to resort to literal translation. He mentioned this point in his Arabic introduction explaining that he benefited from the previous translations of *The Prophet* and that he avoided most of the pitfalls of his predecessors. However, based on our observation of his renditions, we can say that Abdelahad sometimes resorted to elaboration and explication, especially in texts having philosophical concepts. He also attempted to clarify what was ambiguous, admitting in his introduction that he deliberately resorted to this strategy of disambiguation for what seemed to him to be vague texts. In fact, ambiguity in translation may be a controversial issue among translation theorists. Ghazala (1995: 17-18) rightly says that

it is not the responsibility of the translator to interpret and reveal what the source texts hide or say indirectly. The readers are the only ones who decide these unseen meanings in English as well as in Arabic.

To give an example, let us look at the following from the "love" concept:

"When you love, you should not say, "God is in my heart," but rather, "I am in the heart of God" (Gibran 1996: 13)

إن أحببتم لا تقولوا : إن الله [جل جلاله] في قلوبنا بل قولوا إنا في قلب الله

?in ?ahbattum lā taqūlū ?inna ?allaha zalla zalālu-hu fi qulūbi-nā bal qūlū ?inna fi qalbi ?illah

In this illustration, we notice that Abdelahad added more clarification to God when he said "God, The Glorious." The other clarification is deictic: he changed the first-person singular to the plural one possibly for readers to have a better understanding of this text.

One more observation about Abdelahad is that he did not preserve the syntactic pairings of the parallel structures, which are abundant in the text. This can be clearly noticed in our analysis of the “freedom concept” in text 21. In this text, Abdelahad (as well as Basheer) failed to provide the proper collocations requiring merely double adjective or antonyms used in the source text. He instead used longer unparallel and long phrases.

Finally, it seems that Abdelahad, as well as the other two translators dealt with emotiveness in the same way. The following example as well as other examples in our analysis shows that he increases the level of emotiveness quite differently from the source text. This can be clearly noticed in the beauty concept:

The tired and the weary say, Beauty is of soft whisperings (Gibran 1996: 74).

أما المنهكون فيقولون عنه " الجمال همسات ناعمة تتاجي أرواحنا"

ʔa mma l-munhakūna fa-jaqūlūna ʔan-hu al-zamalu hamasātun nāʔimatun tunāzī ʔarwāḥanā

Abdelahad in this illustration, among other examples, seems to raise the level of emotiveness by adding another emotional sense not found in the source text, i.e., *tunāzī ʔarwāḥanā* تتاجي أرواحنا meaning in English “communicating with our souls.” In fact, it is beyond the scope of the present study to elaborate more on this matter though it is important to analyze at length in future research to find out if emotiveness may distort translation or not.

Regarding the third translator, Okasha, we can in this section evaluate his translation along with the other two translators according to the ornamentation approach since it appears that his renditions apply mostly to this approach. To begin with, it is observed that Okasha made serious attempts to play the role of an author to recreate the source text by approximating his renditions as much as possible. He seems to have achieved this by employing some aesthetic strategies of the ornamentation approach. By looking at the data analysis, we notice that firstly, he managed to comply with the idiomaticity strategy. In this respect, and comparing him with the two other translators, i.e., Basheer and Abdelahad, we can say that he succeeded in preserving idiomatic and proverbial expressions equivalent to those found in the source text. Thus, he achieved to a great extent, and more than the two other translators to maintain the aesthetic elements as much as possible. This can be explicitly noticed in text analysis of examples such as 2,3,8,11,12 among others.

Secondly, successfully employing the aesthetic strategy and respecting stylistic considerations, Okasha has managed more accurately than the two other translators to render collocations, idioms as well as the choice of diction and the brevity of phrases and sentences. Unlike Basheer, he did not

provide footnotes to explain certain concepts. Moreover, Both Okasha and Abdelahad avoided redundancy and repetition in their renditions throughout the translated book. Okasha's style, therefore, was quite flexible but not at the expense of his loyalty to the source text. By flexibility, we mean that he resorted to a managing strategy without seriously affecting the intended meaning. Almost all examples in the data analysis are evident to this observation.

Thirdly, regarding the cultural orientation strategy, which has to do with the two notions of domestication and foreignization, one can notice that Basheer tended to employ foreignization. That is, Basheer appears to be more concerned with maintaining the peculiar flavor of English, the result was a literal translation which did not contribute much to naturalness. This strategy meant that he attempted to preserve the linguistic conventions of the source text possibly to be faithful to the original work but at the expense of accessibility and acceptability. On the other hand, Okasha resorted to a domestication strategy in which the main criterion for a good rendition is fluency, naturalness, and intelligibility. This was achieved by rewriting the source text according to the target language and culture's values (Venuti 1995). It must be stressed here that this domestication did not seriously affect renditions made by Okasha. As for Abdelahad, he too employed domestication strategies and avoided foreignization. However, he opted for lengthy sentences, whereas all Okasha's domesticated sentences were brief and to the point. Therefore, brevity in Okasha's renditions led to a more elevated style and contributed to preserving the aesthetic features of the source text. Okasha exerted a creative effort to manipulate the target language.

Regarding the fifth strategy of lexical/semantic accuracy, which has to do with the aesthetic framing of meaning in shaping figurative language, we observe again that Okasha managed to implement this strategy more adequately than the other translators. His creative skill in maintaining the aesthetic ornamentation of the source text was manifested when translating the metaphorical language used abundantly in the book. This may be attributed to his literary talent which enabled him to render the figurative language despite all the constraints imposed by the original work. Moreover, it is noticed that he achieved to translate metaphors by attempting to be as much as possible faithful to the source text. It must be pointed out also that Abdelhad made use of this strategy but comparing him to Okasha, we observe that there is a big difference in translation quality between the two translators. This difference might be attributed to the fact that Okasha, in addition to being a well-known literary figure in the Arab world, must have benefited from the other previous translators' flaws of *The Prophet*.

6. Conclusion

In this final part of the present research, two translation notions are worth mentioning. Firstly, the notions of gain and loss. We have already noticed that the three translators in the study either added some texts or avoided to translate others. It was clear to observe how, for example, Okasha actively sought to achieve an aesthetic flavor in his translation by resorting to the strategy of gain to enhance the aesthetic force of rendition without changing the meaning of the source text; he managed to preserve the content of the message in a pleasing way. The notion of loss was manifested in Abdelahad's translation when he followed an avoidance strategy. He omitted some parts of the book as we have pointed out earlier. Therefore, comparing both translators, i.e., Okasha and Abdelahad, one can observe that Okasha did intend to achieve an approximation of the original text to the Arab readers. That is, his approach was recipient-oriented, which explains why he opted for domestication.

The second notion is about bridging the gap between artistic creation and constraints dictated by the source and target texts. This problem must be addressed in the light of the fact that translators need to be as faithful and as creative as possible to the original text. Based on our data analysis, it was obvious that Basheer could not overcome the constraints imposed by the source text on his translation. His priority was given to the preservation of the linguistic conventions to be faithful to the source text. He seems to have sacrificed the creative aspect of literary translation and the result was a distortion of renditions as well as inaccessibility, which constitutes the major flaw in literary translation. As we have mentioned, Okasha managed to mediate both the cultural and the linguistic constraints to render an Arabic text which conveyed as much as possible the source text in a creative way. His creativity made his translation both acceptable and accessible. This was only possible because of his ability to follow a successful domestication strategy. In fact, any reader can notice how the aesthetic effect of the source text was better conveyed by Okasha's manipulation of the source text, which resulted in a more intelligible, natural, and acceptable translation. Consequently, an aesthetic balance between the two texts was achieved.

Finally, regarding the notion or the strategy of explication, which is an elaboration for the sake of achieving clarity, we notice that Basheer comes first in his translation to use such a strategy. He did this to provide explanatory information for what is perceived to be a difficult readability problem. In fact, Basheer made use of explication in two cases. First within the body of the translated text when he used lengthy phrases or sentences. Second in providing more explanation than the other two translators throughout his translation of the book, Abdelahad, on the other hand, decided to avoid any footnotes. Even though footnotes are useful, we may agree with the view that they negatively affect the flow of reading as they may distract the eye from the reading material.

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Prophet Muḥammad in Dante's *Divine Comedy*

An anxiety of influence

Balqis Al-Karaki and Mahmoud Jaran

This article explores the century-long topic 'Dante and Islam' from the perspective of Harold's Bloom's theory of influence. It argues that Dante's placement of Muḥammad in *Inferno* 28 could have been caused by an 'anxiety' incited by the Islamic influence on the *Commedia* as first suggested by Miguel Asín Palacios in 1919. With the intention of complementing the close readings of Maria Corti and Karla Mallette, the article's analysis of the relevant verses in *Inferno* in light of Bloom's theory reveals that there could be more to the famous scene of torture than the medieval antagonistic or ambivalent positions from Islam. The article also tackles the history of European and Arab scholarship dealing with the topic, showing that it has been filled with religious, political and nationalistic anxieties, not ending with the censorship of the scene in most contemporary Arabic translations of Dante's *Commedia*.

Keywords: Dante, Islam, Muḥammad, Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence*

1. Introduction: beyond academia

In his bestselling book *The Strange Death of Europe*, British neo-conservative writer Douglas Murray announces that "Europe is committing suicide" (2018: 1). The rest of the title is *Immigration, Identity, Islam*, all presented as the reasons behind the alleged suicide. At least twice in his book, and on several other occasions and interviews related to its launch, Murray presents the identity of his Europe through certain artistic figures which symbolize its 'spirit,' including Dante, Bach, Goethe, St Paul and Voltaire. The listing of names is repeated again in the book, when Murray quotes Oriana Fallaci in a chapter entitled 'Prophets without Honour:' "And I inform you that I like Dante Alighieri and Shakespeare and Goethe and Verlaine and Walt Whitman and Leopardi much more than Omar Khayyam" (Murray: 145). In *The Fear of Barbarians*, Tzvetan Todorov also quotes Fallaci and highlights her use of "proper names" to make her superiority case (Todorov 2010: 46). But instead of getting to the core of the problem, Todorov suggests that *The One Thousand and One Nights*, which Fallaci also likes much less than Dante's works, should not be compared to Dante in the first place, but rather to other

“folk tales” such as the tales of the Brothers Grimm (Todorov: 47). This is Todorov’s response to Fallaci’s claim that she kept “looking and looking” to find a list of proper names which could make the Islamic tradition even remotely comparable to its European counterpart, but could only find the Qur’an, Averroes and Omar al-Khayyam (Todorov: 47).

Perhaps the problem is in the nature of such ‘looking and looking.’ Scholars or general readers who are aware of the Islamic influences on at least two of these figures, Dante and Goethe, will certainly find it frustrating that some of the books which sell best, appear to be the least aware of the complications of intellectual history, and of the fact that Dante and the Islamic tradition has been the subject of a laborious scholarly controversy for more than a century. The problem with a Fallaci-Murray discourse related to Dante is that it seems to know very little about Dante scholarship, although the latter has indeed been quite guilty of mixing knowledge with politics.

It is quite ironic that a satirist like the French writer and self-described ‘Islamophobic’ Michel Houellebecq, could be credited for realizing the problem of such ‘looking’ in his 2015 bestselling novel entitled *Submission*, released – by coincidence – on the day of the *Charlie Hebdo* shooting. The novel imagines France in 2022 under Islamic rule, and it was described by Richard Flanagan as the best of the “the several *suicide notes* for the West Houellebecq has written” (2015; emphasis ours).¹ Although Houellebecq may be considered the French, artistic version of Fallaci and Murray predicting the ‘suicide’ of Europe, there is a slight, yet important, difference. Houellebecq’s protagonist, François, a professor of French literature at Paris III and an expert on Huysmans, acknowledges his ignorance in two instances in the novel. The first is in a conversation with his student/girlfriend Myriam who decides to immigrate to Israel and asks: “When a Muslim party comes to power, it’s never good for the Jews. Can you think of a time it was?” (Houellebecq 2015: 85). François does not answer: “I let this go. I didn’t really know much about history. I hadn’t paid attention at school, and since then I’d never managed to read a history book, at least not all the way through” (Houellebecq 2015: 85). The second is during a reception on the top floor of the Institute of the Arab world, welcoming a Saudi prince, the main donor behind the new Islamic University of the Sorbonne. François meets a former colleague who is a specialist in medieval literature: “I didn’t have much to talk to him about, the field of medieval literature being basically terra incognita to me, so I wisely accepted several mezes – they were excellent, the hot and the cold ones, too. So was the wine, a Lebanese red...” (Houellebecq 2015: 196). Houellebecq’s François is certainly more aware of the fact that he *has not looked*, especially into the

¹ <https://www.theguardian.com/books/ng-interactive/2015/nov/29/best-books-of-2015-part-two>. Retrieved 9/11/2018.

medieval world, than is Murray or Fallaci. The difference is that François is far too broken on a personal level to be battling for the preservation of a collective identity anyway.

It may be true that the topics “Dante” and “Islam” or “Dante and Islam” are as political in the academic world as they are in the world of bestselling works by journalists and novelists. The academic world has sometimes been as guilty of *not looking* as much as the world of right-wing journalism consumed by the fear of ‘Islam’ and of losing Europe’s spirit embodied in Dante. Although much more rigorous than the likes of Murray and Fallaci, academic scholarship after the thesis of Asín Palacios on Islamic influences on Dante committed many acts of ‘misreading’ or ‘misprision’ in Harold Bloom’s terms; suffered from certain anxieties related to their collective spirits; and subconsciously used several defense mechanisms against a figurative death or ‘suicide.’

Although this article tackles Dante’s anxiety of influence in relation to his Islamic sources (Section 3), revealing the necessity to introduce Bloom’s theory to the discussion, it also highlights in Section 2 the anxieties surrounding the topic ‘Dante and Islam’ beginning with its medieval roots, and passing through the anxieties of Dante’s post-Palacios scholars on both sides of the controversy in view of a continuously changing political atmosphere. Whether the anxiety is religious, political, nationalistic, or poetic, it has indeed been aggravated by the paradox: Dante placed Muḥammad in hell, and is said to have been influenced by the prophet of Islam and his tradition at the same time.

2. Dante and Islam in academia: political, religious and nationalistic anxieties

In his introduction to *Dante and Islam*, Jan Ziolkowski (2015: 14) uses the expression “romantic feelings” as he describes the gap – specifically the linguistic gap – between Orientalists and Romanists whose academic field is the Middle Ages. In another article in the same volume, Maria Frank (2015: 159-160) lauds María Rosa Menocal’s description of medieval Christian attitudes towards Muslims as a sort of “anxiety.”

The two expressions: “romantic feelings” and “anxiety” (be the latter political, religious, or nationalistic), describe most attitudes related to the study of Dante and Islam. Vincente Cantarino stated that Miguel Asín Palacios’s (1919) thesis on the influence of Islamic eschatology on Dante’s conception of the otherworld, in addition to the discovery and publication of the *Liber scale Machometi* in (1949) are the two *cornerstones* of the controversy, stirring a striking “polemic throughout the republic of letters” (Cantarino 2015: 31), and at times degenerating into “a crusade to defend the glory of the *altissimo poeta* (“most revered poet”) against allegations of Muḥammadan influence” (Cantarino 2015: 31). However, such polemic, fueled with anxiety and romantic feelings, can be traced back to the views of Islam in the European middle ages, passing through Dante and Dantean scholarship, and

continue to envelop the post 9/11 world where Islam – and Islam’s historic connections with the West – is as much a political issue as it is an expanding field of academic research.

Several examples and contexts surrounding the question of the Islamic influences on Dante clearly reflect the presence of anxiety and romantic feelings, and seem to have direct impact on the academic bias in the studies on the subject. The following does not claim to provide a comprehensive overview, but rather to stress the need for a *psychological* study that includes not only Dante, but Dantean scholarship as well.

2.1. Medieval Ambivalence and Ongoing Fear

2.1.1. Islam in Medieval Europe

Medieval Europe perceived Islam as both a “military threat” and “a spiritual menace” (Frank 2015: 161; Menocal 1987),² and depicted Muḥammad for mostly polemical purposes as “a false prophet; an anti-saint; a precursor to the Antichrist or the final manifestation of the Antichrist himself...” (Di Cesare 2013: 10). Such perceptions and anxieties have been passed on to Dante, whose *Commedia* “provided a singular opportunity for the formation of a new iconographic type of the Prophet...” (Coffey 2013: 33); the pejorative content of which remains faithful to the antagonistic rather than the occasional positive depictions of Muḥammad.

Despite the hostility towards Islam as an enemy of Christianity and the demonization of its prophet in Dante’s time, the two worlds “grew closer in *intriguing* ways after a *lively* period in which Arabic works were translated into Latin,” to use Maria Corti’s words (2015: 45; emphasis ours). This is why, for example, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd are not with Muḥammad in Dante’s *Inferno*. The seemingly contrasting situation is best described in the title of Dag Hasse’s (2016) recent book, *Success and Suppression*, although the book deals with the reception of Arabic sciences in the Renaissance.

The ‘lively’ translation of such works, including the Qur’an, was not always about ‘growing closer’ in the pleasant way in which Maria Corti’s words seem to imply. Similar to the ambivalent positions from Islam and Muḥammad, the intentions behind translations were so. Palacios points to a “prestige” enjoyed by Islam because of the Muslim victories over the crusaders, leading Roger Bacon for example, a contemporary of Dante, to attribute “the defeats of the Christians precisely to their ignorance of the

² Chapter Five of Menocal’s “*The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*” is entitled: “Italy, Dante, and the Anxieties of Influence” (1987: 115-135), but bears no reference to Bloom (1997) or his theory. Part three of this article will discuss the relevance of Menocal’s chapter and its title to the methodological approach of this article.

Semitic languages and applied sciences, of which the Moslems were masters” (Palacios [1926] 2008: 506). Palacios adds that Albertus Magnus and Raymond Lull also believed in the superiority of Arab philosophers and recommended learning from them (Palacios [1926] 2008: 560), a clear way to that end was through translation. Arabic sciences and their translations into Latin would later suffer from a ‘suppression’ for ideological and scientific reasons (see Hasse 2016: 300-313), the former reflecting a European need to rid its intellectual history of its Arabic component.

2.1.2. Alfonso X

A clear example of such contrasting motivations relevant to this article, is the Arabic-Castilian and Arabic-Latin translations produced in the court of Alfonso X, or Alfonso the Wise. Alfonso ascended to the throne of Castile-Leon in 1252, having taken part, like his father, in the reconquests of Andalusia. Known for his intellectual pursuits, Alfonso was himself an author and poet. In his *Estoria de España*, the *Cantigas de Santa María* and the *Siete Partidas*, the position from Islam and Muslims is ambivalent (see Kusi-Obodum 2018; Procter 1951; O’Callaghan 1993). The *Siete Partidas*, a compendium of legislative writings overseen by the sovereign, stand as “Alfonso's proposal for a justice system that ensured the supremacy of Christianity and facilitated the conversion of Muslims,” yet at the same time “protected minorities and guaranteed their religious freedoms” (Kusi-Obodum 2018: 81). According to Kusi-Obodum, the *Cantigas*:

...reflect the historical reality of the thirteenth century, in which Christian-Muslim contact was at times hostile, and at other times co-operative. The Virgin is portrayed as the defender of Christianity; in other instances she is a friend to Muslims. Importantly, Muslims are repeatedly characterised through their devotion to Mary, offering a favourable portrayal of piety and a subtle reconciliation between Christian and Islamic theology (Kusi-Obodum 2018: 82).

Alfonso founded at Seville a general Latin and Arabic college, with Muslim and Christian teachers of medicine and science. Asín Palacios considered this achievement “eloquent of the close relationship between the two elements of the population in the first half of the thirteenth century” (Palacios [1926] 2008: 494). It was indeed a close relationship, yet never free from the realities of political conflict, religious anxieties and romantic feelings. This situation was quite similar to the earlier case of Frederick II, whose political ambitions resulted in acquiring the control of Jerusalem during the Crusades, and whose cultural ambitions included the diffusion of Arabic sciences and literatures in his court at Sicily. Dante’s position from Frederick II is itself ambivalent: while he praises the Emperor and

his son in *De Vulgari Eloquentia* for integrity, nobility, and for living “in a manner befitting man (humana secuti sunt), despising the bestial life” (Dante 1996, book I, XII, 4; Latin p. 28; English p. 29), he places him in the *Inferno* among the heretics (*Inf.* 10:119), influenced by the existing views of Frederick II by supporters of his enemy; the Pope.

2.1.3. *Kitāb al-Mi’rāj*

It is in the Toledo school of Alfonso X and under his patronage that *Kitāb al-Mi’rāj* (“Book of the Ladder” of Muḥammad) was translated from a certain Arabic original (or more) into Castilian, then to Latin and Old French. Alfonso’s Jewish physician, Abraham Alfaquím of Toledo translated the Arabic into Castilian, after which Bonaventura of Siena, an Italian notary, copyist, translator and secretary of Alfonso’s court, translated it from Castilian into Latin (*Liber scale Machometi*) and Old French (*Livre de l’eschiele Mahomet*) between 1260 and 1264. The *Liber* has been described as the “missing link” between Dante and the question of Islamic influences, probably transmitted to Dante via Brunetto Latini according to Corti (following Palacios), and it is a document that nearly proves Palacios’s thesis. The prologue to the Old French version is anxiety-filled. The translator Bonaventura of Siena states the motivation of his patron, Alfonso X, as follows:

And I translated the book most gladly for two reasons: one is in order to fulfill my lord’s commission, and the other is so that people may learn about Muhammad’s life and knowledge and so that after they have heard and become acquainted with the errors and unbelievable things that he recounts in this book, the legitimate Christian religion and truth which is in [Christ] will thus be more fitting and pleasing to embrace and keep for all those who are good Christians.³

This statement, according to Ziolkowski, reveals a “polemic motivation” and an “anti-Islamic impulse” (2015: 10-11). The translation of *Kitāb al-mi’rāj* into Latin and Romance has been considered part of Alfonso’s “Castilian project to provide fresh material for polemicists, theologians and political propaganda” (Echevarria 2012: 426), demonstrating along with the translations of the Qur’an and Hadiths “the falseness of Muḥammad’s prophetic mission” (Echevarria 2012: 426).

³ Translation in Hyatte (1997: 97). The Latin and Old French versions are in Cerulli (1949). For a full list of editions and translations, see Ziolkowski (2015: 256, endnote 37). For the Latin version, this article consults *Le Livre de l’échelle de Mahomet* (*Liber Scale Machometi*) translated by G. Besson and M. Brossard-Dandré (1991).

For Reginald Hyatte, the production of three translations of the *Liber* “requires an explanation” (Hyatte 1997: 21). Hyatte views this production as an extension of the translation project of Peter the Venerable in mid-twelfth century Toledo, which included writings on Muhammad that would reveal the errors of Islam (Hyatte 1997: 21-22). Commenting on Bonaventura’s prologue, Hyatte infers that the *Liber* translations in Alfonso’s court hoped to fortify Christians “against yielding in any way to Islam in this period of very frequent contacts – and conflicts – with the Muslim World” (Hyatte 1997: 23). Bonaventura stresses the fantastic, nonsensical nature of “unbelievable things” and “errors” in the *Liber*. So, if Dante was indeed influenced by the *Liber*, which was judged according to a measure of “truthfulness,” then Dante’s success has to do with the fact that he produced a work of *fiction*, which is not judged by the truth of facts. This is one instance where Bloom’s theory can be applied to Dante’s *Commedia*.

It is worth noting that the *Liber* anxieties and romantic feelings extend well into the 21st century in both European and Arabic scholarships. European *Liber* anxieties began at the very outset of Enrico Cerulli’s and José Muñoz Sendino’s simultaneous publication of the Latin and Old French versions of the *Liber scale Machometi* in (1949). Introduced as the missing link between Dante and Islam, Dante critics who had rejected Palacios’s thesis were forced to rethink their stance on Islamic influences on Dante, yet not without controversy.⁴ Vincente Cantarino’s (1965) article “Dante and Islam: History and Analysis of the Controversy,” discusses in detail how the discovery of the *Liber* “caused the controversy to flare up again” (Cantarinos 1965: 39). Cantarino notes the difference between Levi della Vida’s, Francesco Gabrieli’s welcoming of the *Liber* as a confirmation of Palacios’s intuition on one hand, and Bruno Nardi’s, Manfredi Porena’s, Olschki’s and Silverstein’s skeptical views of the notion that the *Liber* is “proof,” following Cerulli’s cautious approach (Cantarinos 1965: 39-42), or his “extreme prudence” in Francesco Gabrieli’s words (1954: 68). Gabrieli’s (1954) article notes the effects of Italian cultural nationalism on the rejection of Palacios’s thesis (Gabrieli 1954: 66), and encourages a more welcoming, anxiety-free approach after the discovery of the *Liber* (72-73):

...let us accept the part on which we agree rather than insist on that about which we are divided. Now that it is brought to light by the parallel work of a Spanish and Italian scholar, let us hail this new mesh in a solid and elastic net of international medieval culture which in fact (be it said to our confusion) did not know severing iron curtains and traversed the greatest physical and spiritual distances with a cooperation of intellectual forces that

⁴ The difference between Cerulli’s and Sendino’s conjectures will be introduced in the discussion of the Italian-Spanish rivalry in the section on “European Anxieties.”

might well be the envy of our UNESCO. Let us think once more, for an instant, of this magic chain: an Arabic *miraq*, a Spanish king, a Jewish physician, an Italian Notary...; and the fantasies of the Beyond which had flowered obscurely in the heart of Arabic encircle the Mediterranean, penetrate to the sweet Tuscany of the Stil Novo, and contribute to enrich the fertile humus whence will spring the supreme power of the *Comedy*, the sacred poem upon which both Heaven and Earth have placed their hands.

Arab anxieties related to the *Liber* seem to be mostly religious, especially after 9/11. In 2008, Lwiis Saliba, a Christian scholar from Lebanon, produced an Arabic translation of the *Liber scale machometi*, despite the existence of a previous one by Ṣalāḥ Faḍl in his well-known book on the influences of Islamic culture on Dante's *Comedy* (Saliba 2016; Faḍl 1986). In his introduction to Saliba's book, the poet Saḥbān Muruwwa apologizes for Saliba's choice to translate the *Liber*, assuming that the religious *iftā'* institutions will have issues with translating such a document in "Dār al-Islām" (Saliba 2016: 15), given its differences from the standard Arabic *mi'rāj* narratives. This, again, ignores the fact that an Arabic translation has already been available for more than three decades, with several editions including a recent 2018 reprint, without stirring any problems. Muruwwa criticizes the medieval Christian polemical spirit, and praises Saliba's intentions and loyalty towards 'knowledge,' 'truth,' and 'religion' (Saliba 2016: 15-16). Saliba's introduction is even more apologetic, assuming that the Arab reader will be 'disgusted' by the *Liber's* fabrications reflecting the medieval 'Western' anti-Islam polemics (Saliba 2016: 17). More shockingly, Saliba uses a *fatwa* by the Saudi Salafi scholar Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-'Uthaymīn, in which he explains the saying *nāqil al-kufr laysa bi-kāfir* ("one who transmits blasphemy is not a blasphemer"), giving the transmission of the Trinity as an example (18). Moreover, Saliba states that his translation transmits some of the "old blasphemies (*kufriyyāt*) of the West regarding Islam" (Saliba 2016: 18). Saliba's anxieties leading him to describe the Western medieval view of Islam as *kufr*, using an Islamic term in an academic study, stem from a contemporary anxiety causing him to focus on attacking all anti-Islamic polemics, especially the Christian additions to the *Liber*, which he claims to address objectively.

2.1.4. Brunetto Latini and Dante

If Corti (following Palacios) was right to assume that the *Liber* was transmitted to Dante via his teacher Brunetto Latini, then it could be useful to look at the latter's position from Islam. Little is known about Latini's diplomatic mission at the court of Alfonso X, yet his knowledge of Arab-Islamic sciences is clearly revealed in his *Trésor* (written around 1260 in Old French and translated into the Italian

vernacular as early as 1268).⁵ The ambassador's interests naturally extended to political science, and Maria Luisa Ardizzone (2016: 275) claims in a recent study that Latini was indebted, in addition to Cicero, to the political philosophy of the Arabic philosopher al-Fārābī.

In the *Trésor*, Muḥammad is depicted as an evil preacher and a monk (Latini 1993: 48). The Italian verse translations of the *Trésor* include a biography of Muḥammad: he is also depicted as a monk, a cardinal, referred to as “Maometto,” “Machumitto,” “Pelagio,” “Pelasio,” and “Malchonmetto,” and worshipped by Christians and pagans as a saint (D’Ancona 1988: 176).⁶ In an early 14th century version, ‘Pelagio’ even aspired to the papacy: “Pelagio adomandò a' chardinali il papato, / E perchè lo domandò, nolli fue dato” (Pelagio asked the cardinals for the papacy / and because he asked, nothing was given to him) (D’Ancona 1988: 176). His papacy is denied, the ‘Christian heretic’ goes to Arabia out of spite, and is torn to pieces by swine, causing his death: “I porci li dierono addosso / E tutto lo 'nfransono la chame e ll'osso” (The swine attacked him/ and broke all of his flesh and bones) (D’Ancona 1988: 177).⁷

Such was the position of Dante’s teacher, who was placed by his disciple in *Inferno* 15 of the *Commedia* for sodomy. Their encounter seems to reverse the hierarchical structure of master and disciple (see, e.g., Sarteschi 2007: 33-59; Verdicchio 2000: 61-81). This could easily fall within the psychological theory of Harold Bloom, but our focus here is on Muḥammad’s influence. However, if both Muḥammad and Brunetto Latini were considered father-figures in Dante’s eyes, or were at least viewed as threatening influences, then their placement in hell may be justified by a psychological struggle, rather than a moral judgement or a political or religious conflict.

For D’Ancona, Dante’s position from Muḥammad is quite similar to Brunetto Latini’s (1888: 217), and so is the acknowledgment of other Islamic figures which may seem like an ambivalence: Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd are placed in *Limbo*; the first circle of hell (*Inferno* 4) alongside Aristotle, Homer and Virgil. Francesco Gabrieli noted that Dante does not pay homage to Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd as Muslims, but as figures of universal knowledge (Gabrieli 1970). Those two figures in the Latin translations of their works were part of Dante’s intellectual world, and were perhaps neither ‘Muslims’ nor ‘Arabs;’ in the sense that they were not in Dante’s eye, along with the Saracens, ‘barbarians’ (see Gabrieli 1970). Dante’s *Convivio* reveals his knowledge of the works of philosophers and astronomers such as Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Rushd, al-Ghazālī, al-Biṭrūjī, Abū Ma’shar al-Balkhī, and al-Farghānī (see, e.g.,

⁵ See D’Ancona (1888).

⁶ On the negative connotations of “Malchonmetto,” see D’Ancona (1988: 177, footnote 1).

⁷ The legend has literary precedents such as *La Chanson de Roland*: “E Mahumet enz en un fosset butent/ E porc e chen le mordent e defulent” (v. 2590).

Antoni 2006). Ironically, almost all of these figures which he mentions in *Convivio* were believers in the prophecy of Muḥammad, whom Dante places in the ninth *bolgia* of the 8th circle of hell. And if Dante's problem with Ibn Rushd was indeed about his conception of the separate intellect, then it cannot be connected in any way to Muḥammad's carnivalesque torture in hell, thus making the situation less about ambivalence and more about a medieval European separation between 'Maometto' and the philosophers with latinised names. Compared to Petrarch for example, who rejected everything transmitted from Arabs: science, medicine, philosophy and literature, Dante may even strike us as pro-Arab and much more tolerant toward 'Islamic' sciences, and closer to Boccaccio's moderate position than to Petrarch's.

2.2. Palacios and beyond: re-stirring nationalistic and religious anxieties

2.2.1. European anxieties

The contrasting positions of Petrarch and Boccaccio seem to echo in the following centuries.⁸ Some authors, like Elisabetta Benigni, have demonstrated that the question of Islamic "influences" may go back to 16th century Italy, anticipating the modern controversy about Dante and the Arabs (2017: 111-138). In mainstream Dante scholarship, however, the discussion of the relationship between the *Commedia* and the Islamic world did not arise, except for some studies of secondary importance, until the thesis of Miguel Asín Palacios was released in 1919. The thesis shook, as the Spanish Arabist already predicted, the academic milieu and the specialists in medieval studies; Italians in the first place. Palacios expressed his worries in the introduction: "The greater equanimity of the modern school of Dantophiles encourages me to hope that they will not be moved to ire by suggestion of Moslem influences in the *Divine Comedy*" (Palacios [1926] 2008: 22). In an introduction to the (1925) English translation, the Duke of Alba was no less attentive to the anxiety that such publication could cause among Italian Dantists, who "particularly could with difficulty bring themselves to recognize that Moslem sources should have formed the basis for the *Divine Comedy*, the poem that symbolizes the whole culture of mediaeval Christian Europe" (Palacios [1926] 2008: 13). The Duke praised Palacios for facing the criticism, intervening in the controversy, and reversing the balance of opinion "in his favour" (Palacios [1926] 2008: 13). He concluded by explaining that that this victory and the advice of

⁸ A similar case is seen in the 16th century; in the difference between Ludovico Ariosto who was tolerant of Saracen enemies, and Torquato Tasso, who saw Muslims and Saracens as barbarians.

his friend Lord Balfour are what that encouraged him to publish the book and make it available to English-speaking readers (Palacios [1926] 2008: 16).

The two introductions reveal an all-European, especially Italian-Spanish, contest, in which the Arabs remain a mere, distant object of study. This is demonstrated by the words of Palacios who, in a seeming attempt to alleviate the anxiety emerging from this competition, argues in defense of any nation's right to participate in the glory of a masterpiece like the *Divine Comedy*. In addition to Italy, there is obviously Spain:

...if not merely the neo-Platonic metaphysics of the *Cordovan* Ibn Masarra and the *Murcian* Ibn Arabi, but the allegorical form in which the latter cast his Ascension may have exercised an influence as models, as they certainly existed as forerunners, of the most sublime part of the *Divine Comedy*, Dante's conception of Paradise, then *Spain* may be entitled to claim for her Moslem thinkers no slight share in the worldwide fame enjoyed by the immortal work of Dante Alighieri. And again, the absorbing influence exercised by the latter over *our* allegorical poets, from the end of the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, from Villena to Garcilaso, not to mention Francisco Imperial, Santillana, Mena and Padilla, would be balanced in a measure by the antecedent influence of *our* Moslem mystics in the complex genesis of the *Divine Comedy* (Palacios [1926] 2008:19-20; emphasis ours).

Palacios's eagerness to claim 'Spain's' right to participate in the Dantian glory; his insistence on the use of the adjectives 'Cordovan' and 'Murcian'; his use of the possessive 'our' before Spanish poets and Muslim mystics, while referring elsewhere to Ibn 'Arabī as a 'Spanish Sufi' (rather than 'Andalusian' for example),⁹ could all be viewed as part of a nationalistic battle filled with anxiety. This is further supported by the fact that his book was published with the support of the *Dirección general de Libro y della Biblioteca* of the Spanish Ministry of Culture, which implies, as Stefano Rapisarda claims, that the book was considered "a representative of a national culture, indeed as one of the highest products of Spanish humanistic culture" (2016: 162). In view of such a nationalistic duel, it is no coincidence that Enrico Cerulli, after the discovery of the *Liber*, chose to add the adjective 'Spanish' attached to 'Arabic' in the title of his book: *Libro Della Scala and the Question of the Arabic-Spanish sources of the Divine Comedy*.

Palacios had expected the anxiety-filled reaction of the 'Dantisti' (Giovanni Busnelli, Francesco Torraca, Ernesto Giacomo Parodi), and the Orientalists (mainly Giuseppe Gabrieli) to his work. The

⁹ One out of many examples: "As a follower of the school of Ibn Masarra, he [Ibn 'Arabī], like other Spanish Sufis, conceived hell to have the external aspect of a serpent" (Palacios [1926] 2008: 213). Interestingly enough, the phrase "like other Spanish Sufis" is omitted in the Arabic translation of the book, which will be discussed in the next section.

reaction is not surprising: Italians were preparing in those years the celebrations for the sixth centenary of the *Sommo Poeta*, around the time when a wave of nationalism hit the Peninsula in the two decades following the publication of Palacios's book. Controversy, skepticism and finally rejection prevailed in this first phase commonly called *scoppio della polemica*. The rejection was based on a set of common points: that the parallels mentioned by Palacios are very generic and of a Christian derivation; that it is impossible that Dante knew Arabic and Arabic literature or that he encountered the Arabic works claimed as possible origins by the Spanish scholar;¹⁰ and finally, and most importantly, that Palacios was unable to precisely identify the missing link or *l'anello mancante*, i.e. the exact means of transmission between the Florentine poet and Islamic eschatology.

This phase lasted until the end of the Second World War, when two scholars, the Italian Enrico Cerulli and the Spanish Muñoz Sendino, working separately, discovered and published in the same year (1949) their editions of the *Liber Scalae Machometi*. Reactions in this phase – to Cerulli's work – ranged from supportive (see Giorgio Levi della Vida 1949, fasc. 2: 337-407, Umberto Bosco 1966: 197-212) to skeptical (see Bruno Nardi 1955: 383-89 and Carlo Grabher 1955: 164- 82). Prudence and scientific rigor were the features of the Italian's publication, while enthusiasm for “the discovery” characterized the edition of the Spanish Orientalist. The difference between Cerulli's and Sendino's positions is certainly political, and may indeed be considered an extension of the Italian-Spanish anxiety-producing rivalry since Palacios. It is no coincidence that their editions of the *Liber* were issued by institutions bearing political values: the work of Cerulli by *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Sendino's by *Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores* (Sendino 1949).

The assiduous works of Dantists and Orientalists on the Islamic sources in the *Divine Comedy* in the post-war period can also be viewed in the context of an ideological-political debate which was characterized by an attempt to rebuild the major cultural systems of the world: Europe and its fragmented unity (e.g., the case of Leo Spitzer and Ernest Kantorowicz; see Celli 2013a), the reinforcement of the relationship between West and East, and the reconstruction of a Mediterranean unity. The latter aim is explicit in Cerulli, for whom the study of the cultural exchanges between the Islamic world and Europe is important for the “renewal of Western thought” towards a cultural unity of Mediterranean countries (1972: 322). This is not surprising, given the fact that in addition to being a

¹⁰ Gabrieli writes: “Della esistenza di una letteratura propriamente araba o musulmana, che non fosse quella di semplice e casuale tradizione e trasmissione della cultura antica filosofica e scientifica, penso che Dante non ebbe alcun sentore o sospetto, nonchè conoscenza diretta” (Gabrieli 2013: 85). Gabrieli (2013: 94-95) casts this severe judgment on Palacios: “l'Asin ha errato anche lui nei suoi passi anticipando frettolosamente e perciò falsando i risultati, quasi – diremmo volgarmente – legando i buoi dietro al carro.”

scholar of Semitic languages, Cerulli was a diplomat and colonial envoy to the Horn of Africa. In his study on the interactions between Cerulli's scholarly and political-diplomatic careers, Andrea Celli (2013b: 37) notes that Cerulli's two roles and natures tend to merge in his research on Dante. Indeed, Cerulli's historical-literary studies usually begin with an undeclared practical purpose: they are symbolically destined to modify and broaden borders or unite and connect worlds (Celli 2013b: 37).

Interestingly, Cerulli is among a cross-centuries list of politicians who were directly or indirectly involved in the 'Dante and Islam' scholarship: not beginning with Brunetto Latini, Guelph ambassador to the Toledan court, and not ending with the Duke of Alba, ambassador of Spain to London, who published the English translation of Palacios's book upon the request of another politician who enjoyed international fame; Arthur Balfour. This is in addition to the political and nationalist function entrusted to Palacios himself, who once occupied the positions of the president of *La Real Academia de la Lengua Española* and *Procurador en Cortes*. No wonder that his book on Dante and Islam was initially a lecture he presented on the 26th of January 1919 at the *Real Academia Española* on the occasion of his inauguration as a member of this "solemn and official" assembly.¹¹

It is indeed curious that one of the most famous works in the twentieth century on the politics of knowledge and academia, i.e. Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), does not tackle the controversy surrounding 'Dante and Islam,' although it does discuss the famous scene in *Inferno* 28 to highlight Dante's 'Orientalist' perspective of Islam (Said 2003: 68-71, see also Coggeshall 2007:133-51). The decades following the publication of *Orientalism* may be characterized by what Rapisarda describes as "political correctness in literature" (Rapisarda 2006: 162), and it is in the mid-1990s that the Italian translation of Palacios's book finally came out. The controversy took a new shape in the 1990s, especially by the intervention of an academically-authoritative figure like Maria Corti who took the debate to a new stage; to an Italian acceptance of the Islamic influences on Dante and to a celebration of multiculturalism. Although Corti's attitude is free from the political tones found in the scholarship of the first stage of the controversy, her very acceptance at times did nothing but raise further doubts and anxieties among younger scholars.¹² In the most recent book on the subject, Massimo Campanini's *Dante e l'Islam* (2019), the author writes that "it is not his intention" to discuss whether or not

¹¹ Rapisarda (2006: 163) stresses the high prestige of the *Accademia* as a developer of cultural policy. Karla Mallette cites the patriotic response of Juliàn Ribera to Palacios's lecture: "I repeat (and will repeat until satiety, since justice requires it) that the Muslims of the Peninsula were Spaniards: Spaniards in race, Spaniards in tongue, Spaniards in character, taste, tendencies and genius... and we should consider the merits of this Spanish Muslims to be our own national, Spanish wealth" (cited in Mallette 2010: 57).

¹² Among the Italian scholars who contested Corti's position is Massimiliano Chiamenti (see Chiamenti 1999: 45-51).

Muḥammad’s voyage was a source for Dante, despite the “amazing parallelism,” for the problem of influence is not yet definitively solvable due to the current state of documentation (Campanini 2019: 86).

2.2.2. Arab anxieties

The Arab reception of Palacios’s thesis has been two-fold: a celebration of the argument for the presence of Islamic influence on Dante, and a complete suppression of the scene of Muḥammad’s torture in *Inferno* 28. The anxiety in the Arab context is quite different from its European counterpart, primarily because Palacios’s thesis, as it were, sides with the Arabic-Islamic tradition. Another difference is political: the masterpieces of Arabic literature – other than the Qur’an – do not enjoy, like the *Commedia* in Italy, an official, institutional support by the state(s) to help promote a national, unifying identity, especially after the demise of Arab nationalism. It is quite ironic, as noted by Abdelfattah Kilito, that the Arabs’ very interest in al-Ma’arrī masterpiece *Risālat al-ghufrān* (“Epistle for Forgiveness”) came *after* Palacios’s claim that it could be a possible source for Dante’s *Commedia* (Kilito 2000: 19). This, if true, could be caused by some sort of inferiority complex, which makes the anxiety cultural or civilizational in part. In another, it is definitely religious: while the Spanish theorist insisted on the existence of Islamic influences on the Italian poet, the latter placed the Prophet of Islam in his Christian hell, in a scene which was never – until 2021 – fully translated into Arabic.

In the decades following Palacios’s book, hundreds of academic and non-academic essays appeared in Arab journals, magazines, and newspapers, mostly supporting Palacios’s claim enthusiastically. However, a curious case of rejection is found—ironically— in the works of the most celebrated editor of al-Mā’arrī’s *Risālat al-ghufrān*; the Egyptian scholar ‘A’isha ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (Bint al-Shāṭi’). The latter accused Palacios of partiality towards Spain and its Islamic past; of being driven by passion; of not understanding al-Mā’arrī’s purposes; and of the lack of real ‘freedom’ (‘Abd al-Raḥmān 1954: 334- 37). In her attempt to address the “alleged similarities” between Dante and al-Mā’arrī (332), the reader gets the feeling that she favours the former. The reason she gives is quite bizarre: in her eyes, al-Mā’arrī’s paradise is too earthly, unheavenly, imagined by a “deprived blind poet,” far from the celestial, spiritual, and theological prospects found in Dante’s *Paradiso* (‘Abd al-Raḥmān 1954: 333). She writes praising the *Commedia* and its distinction from *al-Ghufrān*, by describing the former as a “great poem which glorifies love and immortalizes it” (‘Abd al-Raḥmān 1954: 333): “[The *Commedia*] is a warm, flowing, human sentiment, while *al-Ghufrān* is passions depicted in bitterness, cynicism, and hidden mockery of some people’s beliefs and dreams” (‘Abd al-Raḥmān 1954: 333). The Muslim scholar

refrains from mentioning Muḥammad's torture in the *Commedia*; otherwise her praise will be interrupted by unease and religious anxiety.

The most well-known book in Arabic is Ṣalāḥ Faḍl's (1986: 21) *The Influence of Islamic Culture on Dante's Divine Comedy*, where the author paraphrases much of Palacios' thesis, introducing it to the reader as belonging to the field of comparative literature, and praising it for stirring intercultural dialogue and interaction.¹³ Another lesser-known book is the aforementioned Lwiss Saliba' *Mi'rāj Muḥammad*, the introduction of which is filled with religious anxiety as discussed in a previous section on the *Liber*. It certainly differs from Faḍl's 'dialogue and interaction' position as it expresses anger towards the medieval Christian views of Islam. The similarity, however, between – as it were – the *Muslim* Faḍl and the *Christian* Saliba is the extreme caution. The former, though discussing the Islamic sources in the ninth *bolgia* of the 8th circle of *Inferno*, simply skips the part on Muḥammad and 'Alī, although his source is Palacios who discussed the Islamic influences in this particular scene (Faḍl 1986: 125-26). Saliba, whose book discusses the Christian additions to the Islamic *mi'rāj* narratives in the aim of producing a negative image of Muḥammad, and although he discusses the *Liber's* influence on Dante, he also refrains from linking the two subjects together and tackling the part on Muḥammad's torture (Saliba 2016: 62-66). Such intentional omission, caused by religious anxiety, is also present in the Arabic translation of Palacios's book by Jalāl Maḥzar (1980). The latter deleted entire lines in which Palacios mentions the torture of Muḥammad and 'Alī, with neither a mention of this omission nor an explanation for not translating Palacios's book in full accuracy.¹⁴

The same applies for the several translations of Dante's *Divine Comedy* into Arabic, beginning with the Jordanian Christian Amīn Abu al-Sha'r's translation in 1938, who translated the *Inferno* part of the *Commedia*. Abu al-Sha'r, like Bint al-Shāṭi', dismisses any possibility of Islamic influences on Dante, and like many scholars and Arab translators, Abu al-Sha'r insists that Dante's *Inferno* sources are the classical Virgil and the Christian Bible (1938: 15-16). Abu al-Sha'r avoids translating Canto 28 in full, rephrasing the part on Muḥammad as follows: Dante arrives in the ninth *bolgia*, and 'someone' talks to him about shattered souls that suffer from bitter pain, without mentioning anywhere that this 'someone' is Muḥammad being tortured next to 'Alī (Abū al-Sha'r 1938: 162). The most well-known translation is Ḥasan 'Uthmān's (1959-1969), and according to the Italian scholar, Giuseppe Cecere, is to

¹³ In his interesting study, which collects the most important Arab contributions on Dante, Bartolomeo Pirone asserts the non-originality of Faḍl's work (Pirone 2011: 106).

¹⁴ Compare for example Palacios, *Islam and The Divine Comedy* (Palacios (1926) 2008: 70, 225) with Maḥzar, *Āthār al-Islām*, (Palacios 1980: 31, 110-111).

be considered a milestone in the history of scientific translation (Cecere 2022: 75).¹⁵ ‘Uthmān does mention the possibility of Islamic influences without giving an “anxious” opinion (‘Uthmān 1988: 59-61). However, ‘Uthmān translates the problematic Canto in full, omitting the verses about Muḥammad and ‘Alī, and he justifies the omission by saying that the deleted verses “are not worthy of translation” (‘Uthmān 1988: 371). He reprimands Dante for his “grave mistake” in the deleted verses, without explaining the exact nature of this mistake, and moves cautiously to the idea that Dante and his contemporaries were indeed appreciative of the fruits of the Islamic civilization (‘Uthmān 1988: 371).

The same approach is present in the more recent Arabic translations. Ḥannā ‘Abbūd in his 2002 translation belittles the importance of possible Islamic influences, especially al-Ma‘arrī’s, invites his readers to taste the poetry of Dante before considering Arabic influences (Dante 2002b: 29), and omits the names Muḥammad and ‘Alī from his translation of *Inferno* 28, without any mention in the footnotes of who these tortured characters are (Dante 2002b: 264-265). Kaẓim Jihād’s 2002 translation is no different. He denies the existence of any Arabic influences (Dante 2002c: 110-111), translates the famous scene, omits the names of the prophet and his cousin, and cautiously mentions in a footnote that the omitted is a name of “a fundamental Islamic figure” (Dante 2002c: 366; see footnote 1). Paradoxically, Kaẓim Jihād calls for an open, non-anxious, unbiased reading of the Comedy, yet deals with these lines with sheer caution and anxiety (Dante 2002c: 130). The most recent (2019) translation is guilty of the same, decades-long *Inferno* 28 translation anxiety: ‘Abdullah al-Najjār and ‘Iṣām ‘Alī Sayyid (2019: 55-57) write in their introduction that Dante made an ‘unforgivable’ mistake in his approach to Islam and Muslims, and in placing Muḥammad in Hell. They devote many pages to defending Islam, arguing that Dante’s mistake could not be attributed to his ignorance of Islam for he was aware of the importance of Averroism (see Dante 2019). Expectedly, they deleted the entire lines concerning the prophet and his cousin from the translation, but added a footnote, explaining that in these lines Dante ‘spoke inappropriately’ about the prophet, blinded by hate and rage that filled the Western world against Islam (377-78; see footnote 2). They repeat the phrase ‘unforgivable mistake’ in the footnote, in an attempt to deal with the anxiety. A recent 2021 edition of ‘Uthmān’s celebrated

¹⁵ Cecere praises ‘Uthmān’s profound knowledge of Dante and the European Middle Ages as follows: “Una tale ricchezza di prospettive e una tale finezza di analisi sono rese possibili non soltanto dalla personale sensibilità del ‘traduttore’ e dal suo sentimento di affinità elettiva nei confronti di un poeta pur così lontano nel tempo e nello spazio, ma anche e soprattutto dalla vastità e profondità della cultura storica, linguistica e filologica di Ḥasan ‘Uthmān: competenze che gli consentono di colmare, almeno in parte, la distanza storico-culturale dall’uomo-Dante e di addentrarsi con strumenti affidabili nell’esplorazione di quella sterminata “selva,” oscura e insieme luminosa, che è la Commedia” (Cecere 2022: 57).

translation, revised by Mu'āwiya 'Abd al-Majīd, offers a full translation of the originally deleted lines in a footnote ('Uthmān 2021: 406-407; footnote 52).

In his article about the Arabic translations of Dante and the problems of censorship, Jeffrey Einboden tackles two of these translations (Einboden 2008: 77-91). The opening of his article, however, may summarize the religious causes of the anxiety. Einboden refers to the alleged motivation behind the 2002 plot to blow up Bologna's Basilica di San Petronio; i.e. the latter's "housing of Giovanni da Modena's *Il Giudizio Finale*, a 1415 fresco which explicitly locates Muhammad, the prophet of Islam, in Hell. Da Modena, elaborating upon an episode recounted in the twenty-eighth canto of Dante's *Inferno*, portrays this religious founder unclothed, suffering, and in the clutches of a demon" (Einboden 2008: 77). And if the *The Jyllands-Posten* Muhammad cartoons controversy in 2005 and the *Charlie Hebdo* shootings in 2015 are also considered, then the anxieties of Arab scholars and translators, who have a Muslim audience in mind while writing and translating Dante, are understood and perhaps even justified.

3. Muḥammad, Dante, and Bloom: the need to misread the theory

Maria Corti outlines three methodological possibilities for studying Dante's approach to the Arabic-Latin context of his time; interdiscursivity, intertextuality, and tracing a direct source through literary history. The first addresses the circulation of a piece of information between cultural words; the second deals with an "analogical relationship" between two texts which may have been made possible through an oral summary for example; the third attempts to prove that an Arabic-Latin text enjoyed a familiarity in Dante's literary context (Corti 2015: 46).

Corti does not mention psychology as a methodological possibility, perhaps because it should rely on one of the methodologies she sketches anyway. However, the second methodology, 'intertextuality,' which was based on the idea of the 'death of the author' in its structuralist and post-structuralist approaches, was rebelled against by Harold Bloom in his work *The Anxiety of Influence* where the author is very much alive. Relying on Freudian defense-mechanisms, Bloom deemed it necessary to address an author's psychological struggles during the process of influence. He relied on an Oedipal model of a family Romance, using terminology borrowed from the Hebrew Kabbalah and Christian Gnosticism.

Bloom's theory has not been used as a critical tool in the context of 'Dante and Islam' as far as we know, although many scholars in this particular field have hinted to the existence of psychological struggles especially in *Inferno* 28. The author of *The Western Canon* considered Dante to be an ephebe of Virgil, though without any anxiety. The theory has, indeed, been used to research Virgil's influence on Dante (see, e.g., Lombardi 1992: 233-243), but not Dante's anxiety caused by the assumed influence of

Muḥammad or the Islamic tradition of *mi'rāj*, perhaps because this could stir further anxieties and destabilizations in the 'Western Canon' itself. Harold Bloom may have been aware of Palacios's thesis, but he chose to write about Dante and the Prophet of Islam as 'separate' geniuses rather than follow Palacios's claim of the existence of Islamic eschatological influences on Dante's *Divine Comedy*.

Although a chapter by María Rosa Menocal is entitled "Italy, Dante, and the Anxieties of Influence" in her book *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, thus alluding to Bloom's theory, the chapter itself does not make any reference to Bloom or his works. She does, however, refer to Dante's relationship with Brunetto Latini in Canto XV as an "oedipal struggle" (Menocal 1987: 129). And although Menocal does not apply the same description to Muḥammad, she does hint to the existence of a psychological struggle. She describes the *Commedia*'s relation to the *mi'rāj* narratives in terms very close to Bloom's *Tessera* like "countertext," "challenge," and "anti-*mi'rāj*" (Menocal 1987: 130-31), and even uses the phrase "consciously or not" when writing about Dante's case for the benefits of fundamental Christianity and his choice to write "a countertext to the *mi'rāj*" (Menocal 1987: 30), while being aware of "an omnipresent danger" of an "Arabic origin," namely the influence of Averroist thought in Northern Italy (Menocal 1987: 127). The present article takes Menocal's implied suggestion one step further: it discusses Dante and Islam through the detailed analysis of Bloom's "Anxiety of Influence," suggesting for the first time the existence of an "oedipal struggle" between Dante and Muḥammad.

3.1. The theorist's anxiety: the absence of Muḥammad as father

In *The Anxiety of Influence*, Bloom states that one of the reasons for excluding Shakespeare from his theory is historical; for Shakespeare belongs to an age "before the giant flood, before the anxiety of influence became central to poetic consciousness" (Bloom 1997: 11, 30). Dante also belongs to the previous age extending from Homer to Shakespeare, where influence was generous, and in this "matrix" stands Dante's relationship with his precursor Virgil, for the latter "moved his ephebe only to love and emulation and not to anxiety" (Bloom 1997: 122).

In "Harold Bloom and the Post-theological Dante," Paul Colilli (1990: 132) addresses the "sketchiness" of Bloom's depiction of Dante. Colilli remarks that Bloom later corrected his view of influence as belonging to post-enlightenment poets, and acknowledged in *A Map of Misreading* that "influence as antithesis is an aesthetic condition hailing back to antiquity" (Colilli 1990: 136). In our view, however, this correction is filled with anxiety. In *A Map of Misreading*, Bloom reveals how he feels about Homer being a precursor to all Western poets:

It remains not arbitrary nor even accidental to say that everyone who now reads and writes in the West, or whatever racial background, sex or ideological camp, is still a son or daughter of Homer. As a teacher of literature who prefers the Morality of the Hebrew Bible to that of Homer, indeed who prefers the Bible aesthetically to Homer, I am no happier about this dark truth than you are, if you happen to agree with William Blake when he passionately cries aloud that it is Homer and Virgil, the Classics, and not the Goths and Vandals that fill Europe with Wars (Bloom 1975: 33).

The anxiety is clear, and could be described as religious. When Dante is mentioned in this book, he is a precursor to poets like Milton, along with Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Lucretius and Tasso, and at times with Isaiah and the Hebrew Bible (Bloom 1975: 125, 131, 135). In *The Western Canon*, Bloom (1994: 89) speaks about a need to recover Dante’s “strangeness” and his “perpetual originality,” for the theorist observes that Dante “regarded himself as an authentic prophet, and gives us his *Commedia*, in effect, as the Third Testament, at least as much an authority as the Hebrew Bible and the Greek New Testament” (Bloom 2001: 9).¹⁶ An equal of Isaiah or Jeremiah, Bloom (2004: 1, 5) insists that “Dante is Dante,” meaning that he is inexplicable by historicizing him. Bloom’s Dante is indeed gazed upon through some sort of anxiety, and Bloom himself notes in the context of commenting on Dante’s *Paradiso*, that “being of the Jewish persuasion, I am not going to end anyway” (Bloom 2004: 7).

There appears to be no link between Dante the prophet and Muḥammad the prophet of Islam in Bloom’s work, apart from their existence in separate chapters in Bloom’s book *Genius: A Mosaic of One Hundred Exemplary Creative Minds* (2002). Using the Kabbalistic concept of *Sefirot* to divide the book, Bloom places Dante in the first *Sefirah*: *Keter* or “the crown,” in the second lustre (based on influence) with Lucretius, Virgil, St Augustine and Chaucer, while the first lustre contains the “comparable” figures of Shakespeare, Cervantes, de Montaigne, Milton and Tolstoy. Muḥammad is placed in the second *Sefirah*: *Hokmah* or “wisdom,” in the third lustre with The Yahwist, Socrates, Plato and St Paul (see Bloom 2002, xi-xii for an explanation of the arrangement).

Bloom (2002: 144) lauds Muḥammad’s “shattering spiritual and imaginative originality,” despite his “literary debts” to Jewish and Christian texts. He confidently claims that God alone is the speaker in the Qur’an, and because of that, he adds an anxiety-filled remark: “We can never relax as we read it,

¹⁶ In a chapter on “Pound and “Dante *Profeta*,” Louis Lohr Martz explains that that subject of Dante and the Hebrew prophets has been “extensively studied” by Italian scholars of the *Divine Comedy*, and since the notable works of Nardi (1942), Mineo (1968), the fourth chapter of Sarolli (1971), and Morghen (1983), the term “Dante *Profeta*” has become “increasingly familiar” (Martz 1998: 44 and footnote 2).

or when we recite it, alone or with others” (Bloom 2002: 144). The group whom the theorist refers to by “we” is unclear, but the anxiety is. He writes about the Qur’an’s anxiety of influence, with reference to the Jewish tradition:

For me, the Koran has a particular fascination, because it is the *largest instance* I know of what, during the last quarter-century, I have been calling “*the anxiety of influence*.” Strong prophet as Muhammad was, the Koran manifests an enormous (and overtly triumphal) struggle with the Torah and with rabbinical additions to the Five Books of Moses (Bloom 2002: 147, emphasis ours).

The theorist continues to write about the Qur’an’s “stroke” in “its contest with the Torah,” using the same framework of his theory in *The Anxiety of Influence* (Bloom 2002). In Bloom’s mind, Muḥammad went through such an anxiety in his contest with the Jewish tradition, and emerged triumphant.¹⁷ Although Bloom (2002: 143) in the first lines of his chapter on Muḥammad includes the Qur’an as one of the three texts which the Western world emerges from spiritually, alongside the Hebrew Bible and the Greek New Testament, he is shocked by the fact that “few have attempted to read the Koran.”

It would have been extremely interesting had Bloom commented on Palacios’s thesis. His model fits perfectly within the controversy over Dante’s Islamic sources, which is why we are choosing to ‘misread’ his theory: Dante suffered from an anxiety of influence, and one of his precursors was Muḥammad. The Oedipal father-son struggle reached its peak when Dante placed Muḥammad in hell and tortured him to an extent that Arab writers who admire Dante tend to avoid discussing this scene. It may not be a “family Romance”¹⁸ in Bloom’s terms because of the still-existing division between “Western” and “non-Western” literary canons. Still, Bloom’s theory makes perfect sense, especially in the part of psychological drama where feelings of *admiration* of the precursor’s work are mixed with *hostility*, and when the desire to *imitate* is mixed with the desire to rebel and become *original*. Bloom’s influence comprises “doing just the opposite” of what the precursor did or wrote, and this is evident in *Tessera*; Bloom’s second revisionary ratio. Against the threat of Muḥammad, Dante appropriated

¹⁷ Interestingly, Bloom’s idea and choice of words may not be accepted in today’s post 9/11 world, including the world of academic scholarship. The power of political correctness may even invite an author to emphasize that quoting Bloom does not mean promoting his opinions.

¹⁸ This idea exists in the classical Arabic literary tradition. Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1239) wrote in *al-Mathal al-sā’ir*: “The thoughts of minds do not procreate on their own, and their aim is to mate in order to beget their children, and I mate my thought with another as in mating between kins, and I do not fear the debilitation of my child and incline towards foreignness” (Ibn al-Athīr 1995: 143, vol. 1).

many Islamic components for his *Commedia*, and became himself the dominating influence, to the extent that such influence went unnoticed for centuries.

In the next two sections, we will discuss two instances of influence in *Inferno* 28; one with reference to the *Liber scale* as noted by Maria Corti; the other with reference to Mark of Toledo's Latin translation of the Qur'an or *Liber Alchorani* as noted by Karla Mallette. Bloom's six revisionary ratios, which are strategies of *deviating* from the precursor in order to defend the poet against the precursor's threats, are almost all evident in the examples given, along with their analogous Freudian defense mechanisms. The first two ratios, *Clinamen* and *Tessera*, are, however, the most prevalent in the following discussion.

3.2. The poet's anxiety: two examples from *Liber Scale* and *Liber Alchorani*

The two examples are from the ninth *bolgia* of Malebolge, the 8th circle of the *Inferno*, where Dante tortures Muḥammad. Interestingly, Palacios had hinted to Dante's psychological defense, but chose to describe it as sarcasm: "Here [in *Inferno*], indeed, *in sarcastic vein*, he places Mahomet, the very protagonist of the legend upon which he probably based his work" (Palacios [1926] 2008: 70, emphasis ours). María Rosa Menocal (1987: 130-31) proposes that Dante's poem is, "consciously or not" a Catholic *countertext* to Muhammad's *mi'rāj* (emphasis of "countertext" is ours; see also Hyatte 1997: 26). The term "countertext" is certainly closer to Bloom's theory, esp. *Tessera*, than "sarcastic vein," but Palacios is still credited with precedence and intuition.

Both examples discuss the Islamic influences in this part of the *Inferno*:

Mentre che tutto in lui veder m'attacco,
guardommi e con le man s'aperse il petto,
dicendo: «Or vedi com' io mi dilacco!
vedi come storpiato è Mäometto!
Dinanzi a me sen va piangendo Alí,
fesso nel volto dal mento al ciuffetto.

tutti li altri che tu vedi qui,
seminator di scandalo e di scisma
fuor vivi, e però son fessi così.
(*Inferno*, Canto 28: 28-36, Dante 1985: vol.1)

While I was caught up in the sight of him,
he looked at me and, with his hands, ripped apart

his chest, saying: ‘See how I rent myself,
‘see how mangled is Mohammed!
Ahead of me proceeds Alì, in tears,
his face split open from his chin to forelock.
‘And all the others whom you see
sowed scandal and schism while they lived,
and that is why they here are hacked asunder.
(Dante, Hollander’s translation 2002)

3.2.1. The *Commedia* and *Liber Scale*

Maria Corti (2015: 55) is convinced that the *Liber scale Machometi* is a direct source for Dante. Its descriptions of the Muslim Hell “might have struck Dante for their bloody and violent concreteness.” In discussing one example where influence is sheer; where Muḥammad speaks of the ‘sowers of discord,’ Corti writes that “Dante seems to be *amusing* himself in *Inferno* 28 as he puts into Muḥammad’s mouth the words that are spoken by Gabriel in the *Liber*” (58; emphasis in “amusing” is ours). Corti explains:

Gabriel speaks to Muḥammad about those “qui verba seminant ut mittant discordiam inter gentes” (*Liber* par. 199 “who sow words to cause discord among people”). The appearance of the metaphor of *seminare* (to sow) is certainly not a casual coincidence (compare *Inf.* 28.35 “seminator di scandalo e di scisma,” “sowers of scandal and of schism”). As often occurs, a certain feature, such as a metaphor, is able to generate thematic and formal patterns through Dante’s exceptional imagination (Corti 2015: 58).¹⁹

In a popularized old Arabic version of *mi’rāj* attributed (perhaps wrongly) to Ibn ‘Abbās (d. 687), the word *fitna* is used, and it is probably the word translated into *discordia* in the *Liber*; and later to *scisma* in Dante.²⁰ In the two contexts; the Muslim and the Christian Hell, there are those who cause such *fitna*.

¹⁹ Hyatte’s English translation from Old French is: “... and then I asked Gabriel who they were. He told me that they had spread talk in order to put people at odds” (Hyatte 1997: 97-198; see Chapter 79: 190-191). The word “spread” is not as faithful to the metaphor as in Corti’s translation. The Old French version is almost identical to the Latin: “il me dit en guise de réponse que c’étaient ceux qui sèment des mots pout mettre la discorde entre le gens” (*Le Livre de l’échelle de Mahomet* 1991: 320-21).

²⁰ Ibn ‘Abbās, *Mi’rāj al-nabī* (n.d.: 18). The text in Arabic is:

"ورأيت رجالاً ونساءً سفافيدُ النارِ تدخُلُ في أدبارهم وتخرجُ من أفواههم فقلتُ من هؤلاء يا أخي جبريلُ: قال هؤلاء
الهَمَّازونَ اللَّمَّازونَ الغَمَّازونَ ورأيتُ رجالاً يُرمونَ بشهبٍ من نارٍ فتقعُ في أفواههم وأبصارهم وتخرج من أفتيتهم
فقلت من هؤلاء يا أخي جبريلُ قال هؤلاء الذين يبتهونَ الناسَ ويرمونَ بينهم الفتنة".

In Muḥammad's hell, he appears as a curious prophet, an observer guided by Angel Gabriel who explains that the tortured they are seeing are sowers of scandals. Dante, however, puts the words in Muḥammad's mouth, while his chest is ripped apart, and his cousin 'Alī is also being tortured and is in tears. Corti described this as having been "amusing" for Dante: to have Muḥammad use the same metaphor in the absence of the original speaker, Gabriel, and in the presence of Virgil and Dante. Dante's Muḥammad is now among the condemned with causing discord and schism, confessing that he is so. Dante is faithful here to some medieval views of Muḥammad being a false prophet or a Christian priest; an evil preacher who divided the church, and perhaps also to the idea that his cousin 'Alī was responsible for dividing Islam.

It is definitely not a case of 'amusement' according to Bloom's theory. Graham Allen accurately summarizes the core of the poet's drives in Bloom's framework (though post-Miltonic poetry in that context): "the first concerns the desire to *imitate* the precursor's poetry, from which the poet first learnt what poetry was. The second concerns the desire to *be original*, and defend against the knowledge that all the poet is doing is imitating rather than creating afresh" (Allen 2000: 134; emphasis ours). The desire to imitate is clear: Dante uses the same metaphor, and almost the same scene of torture.²¹ However, his anxiety and desire to be original makes him execute the change: the protagonist of the narrative he is imitating, or even the original author, is the one being tortured, a damned soul addressed by the Roman poet Virgil, and uses Gabriel's metaphor to speak about *himself* while addressing his ephebe, Dante. And if Dante indeed knew the *Liber*, and considered himself a prophet, then his anxiety may have been aggravated by the opening lines of chapter 197 in the *Liber*: "ego Machometus, propheta et nuncius Dei" (Besson and Brossard-Dandré 1991). Dante reads the reason for punishment in Gabriel's words: "qui verba seminant ut mittant discordiam inter gentes," and driven by a desire to be original despite the imitation, he executes the first of Bloom's (1997: 14) ratios:

It is worth noting that "hamz" and "lamz" are acts condemned in the Qur'an. (See Q.104: 1) "Woe unto every backbiter, slanderer," and (Q. 68:11) "backbiter going out with slander" (Arberry's translation). Mark of Toledo's translation does not hint to a direct influence: "Heu omni stimulate et oculis insinuati derisori"; "qui iurat assidue stimulatori atque accusatori" (Pons 2006), hereafter *Liber Alchorani*. However, Mark frequently translates *fitna* into discordia (See Q.9: 47 "Se enim uobiscum exirent, conturbacionem uobis accumularent et into uos componeret discordiam..." ("Had they gone forth among you, they would only have increased you in trouble, and run to and fro in your midst, seeking to stir up sedition between you...)).

²¹ Corti notes that Dante (in the 8th *bolgia*, where "there is a veritable pandemic of slashing and cutting) also imitates the scene in this part of the *Liber* where sinners find "their lips being cut off or their tongues being pulled out with fiery pincers (*forcibus igneis*)" (Corti 2015: 55). Lwiss Saliba traces the Arabic original to al-Mundhirī's (d. 656 AH) *al-Tarḡīb wa al-tarḥīb*, where Gabriel also answers that the sinners whose lips and tongues are cut with iron pincers (*maqāriḍ min ḥadīd*) are "the orators of discord" (*khuṭabā' al-fitna*; Saliba 2016: 295, footnote 1).

Clinamen. In this ratio, Dante “swerves” from his precursor in a “corrective movement:” “The poet confronting his Great Original must find the fault that is not there” (Bloom 1997: 31).

The corresponding psychic defense is the Freudian ‘reaction-formation’ against the destructive anxiety-producing impulses of the id. Bloom (1975: 71) considers influence, especially at this stage, “a trope of rhetorical irony,” which corresponds to Palacios’s ‘sarcasm’ and Corti’s ‘amusement.’ The “intolerable presence” of the precursor drives the ego to protect and master the poet’s impulses, by voiding the original poem: “the new poem starts in the *illusio* that this absence can deceive us into accepting a new presence” (Bloom 1975: 71). It certainly took centuries for the original poem and the original metaphor to become ‘present’ again. While in this ratio, Dante’s reaction-formation made him exaggerate the contradiction and the irony: the prophet guided by an angel is being tortured, and is using the angel’s metaphor against himself: “*tutti li altri che tu vedi qui, / seminatore di scandalo e di scisma / fuor vivi, e però son fessi così.*” The metaphor is “swerved” from its original utterer and given to the mouth of the original addressee. The latter is addressing Dante who in turn is attempting to become original through this corrective movement.

Bloom’s second ratio, *Tessera*, where the poet is inclined to complete his precursor antithetically (see Bloom 1997: 14, 66), may apply to this example if we consider Dante’s switch from addressee to addresser, from a prophet to a sinner who caused discord, to be an antithesis. This, however, is clearer in the example to follow, the discussion of which will again involve “sowers of scandals and schism” and the supposed antithesis.

3.2.2. The *Commedia* and *Liber Alchorani*

In “Muhammad in Hell,” Karla Mallette discusses a possible influence of the Qur’an on the very scene in which Muhammad is tortured in *Inferno* 28. Mallette acknowledges the lack of sufficient documentary evidence for her claim, and bases her thesis on “informed speculation” which, in her view, “can advance the philological argument” (2015: 180). Mallette suggests that an event in Muhammad’s life, which is only hinted to in the Qur’an, may have contributed to his personification in Dante’s *Inferno*; namely the Islamic tradition of *sharḥ*: the opening or expansion of Muhammad’s chest (181). God opens the prophet’s chest, removes his heart and purifies it, through angels in some versions or birds as divine agents, sometimes removing something dark and sometimes washing it with water from the Zamzam well of Mecca (181).²² The purification was either a preparation for prophecy and

²² Mallette refers here to Harris Birkeland’s (1955).

revelation, or for the *mi'rāj* itself in other versions (Mallette 2015: 181-82). Although Mallette has no evidence that these narratives were transferred to the Christian world, she sees in Mark of Toledo's translation of the Qur'an, especially the verses of *surat al-inshirāḥ*, a possible source for Dante, especially as Mark's translation "heightens the physical drama of the episode," contrary to the more popular translation of Robert of Ketton (182-183). The table below explains Mallette's framework:

The Qur'an	Mark of Toledo's Translation	Inferno 28
<p>”أَلَمْ نَشْرَحْ لَكَ صَدْرَكَ * وَوَضَعْنَا عَنْكَ وَزْرَكَ * الَّذِي أَنْقَضَ ظَهْرَكَ ”* (الانشراح 3-1)</p> <p>”Alam nashraḥ laka ṣadraka * wa-waḍa'nā 'anka wizraka * alladhī anqaḍa zahraka” (Q.94:1-3)</p> <p>”Did We Not Expand thy breast for thee/ and lift from thee thy burden, the burden that weighed down thy back” (Arberry's translation)</p>	<p>”1. Nonne adaperui cor tuum/ 2. et removi a te peccatum tuum/ 3. quod tibi disruptit dorsum?/” (Mark of Toledo, Liber Alchorani, 1210-1211)</p> <p>”1. Did I not throw open your heart/ 2. and remove from you your sin/ 3. Which asunder [or shattered] your back?” (Mallette's (2015: 182) translation)</p>	<p>Mentre che tutto in lui veder m'attacco, guardommi e con le man s'aperse il petto, dicendo: «Or vedi com' io mi dilacco! vedi come storpiato è Mäometto! (Inferno 28:28-31)</p> <p>While I was caught up in the sight of him, he looked at me and, with his hands, ripped apart his chest, saying: 'See how I rent myself, 'see how mangled is Mohammed! (Hollander's translation)</p>

Mallette emphasizes Mark's use of the verb *adaperio* to translate the Arabic *nashraḥ* which roughly means "lays bare" (in contrast to Robert of Ketton's *fecit amplum*); and Mark's *disruptit* to translate the Arabic *anqaḍa zahraka*, which means "the burden that weighs heavily upon your back" (in contrast to Robert of Ketton's *turgusque graue fecimus*) (Mallette 2015: 183). Mallette suggests that Mark's

translation is informed by extraneous material from theological works and Qur'anic commentaries, which made it depict the word *nashrah* "as a corporal ordeal" (Mallette 2015: 183).²³

What makes Mallette's article extremely interesting for our discussion is her psychological analysis of Dante's influence. She views Dante's Muhammad as a "psychological nullity, a character whose emotional response to his eventful life is of little interest to his creator" (Mallette 2015: 178). Dante, however, punishing Muhammad as one of the "sowers of schism and scandal" for his rupture of the church by having his chest ruptured, opened from front to back echoing the *sharh* episode, undergoes, as can be deduced from Mallette's analysis, a psychological struggle evident in his use of crude vocabulary (Mallette 2015: 183). Although Mallette does not refer to Bloom's theory, her analysis is strikingly similar to Bloom's ratios, especially *Tessera*. Dante did not copy Mark's terminology, and Mallette suggests another, *Bloomian* evidence of influence:

If there is a response to Mark's translation in *Inferno* 28, it is found in the *dissonance* between the significance of Muhammad's ruptured body in the two texts. Like Mark's Muhammad, Dante's Muhammad is riven by God's touch, his body opened from chest to back. In Mark's translation, God shatters Muhammad in order to exalt him; the opening of Muhammad's chest serves as a preparation for prophecy in general or Muhammad's mystical journey to the next world in particular. God recalls this episode in the sura *al-inshirāh*, in order to comfort Muhammad, as if to say, "where you find my awesome power, you will also find my mercy." In the *Inferno*, in contrast, when Muhammad displays his wounds, he seems at once shamed, scandalized, and self-pitying. God has split his torso not to exalt him but rather to humiliate him. The opening of Muhammad's chest in the *Inferno* reverses the significance of the expansion of Muhammad's chest in the Qur'an. Recall the words that Muhammad speaks to Dante, in childish horror at his own mutilation: "Or vedi com' io mi dilacco! vedi come storpiato è Maometto!" [...] The scene is a grotesquerie, a carnivalesque *inversion* of an episode recounted with awe in the Islamic popular tradition (183-184; emphasis ours).

Dissonance, reversal, inversion, are all indicators of Bloom's *Tessera*; completion and antithesis: "a poet antithetically "completes" his precursor by so reading the parent-poem as to retain its terms, but to *mean them in another sense*" (Bloom 1997: 14; emphasis ours). The term means in ancient mystery cults "a token of recognition," where a fragment reconstitutes a vessel with other fragments (Bloom 1997: 14). The corresponding psychological defenses are "turning-against-the self" and "reversal:" the first is "a turning of aggressive impulses inwards;" while the second is "fantasy in which the situation of

²³ It is worth noting that Mark in *Liber Alchorani* does not emphasize the physical aspects of *sharh* in his translation of the 25th verse of *surat Tāhā* (Q.20: 25): قال ربّ اشرح لي صدري (Lord, open my Breast); as he translates it into "Dixit: "Creator, aperi mihi cor meum." This is probably because God is being addressed by Moses, and Mark was probably aware of the *sharh* episode as an event in Muhammad's life.

reality is reversed so as to sustain negation or denial from any outward over-throw” (Bloom 1975: 72). So, are these the subconscious reasons for Dante’s aggression and metamorphosis of Muḥammad; of reversing the episode and its meaning from purification to punishment? The strong poet’s imagination in Bloom’s theory is unable to see itself as perverse, and this applies to Dante, whose debasing of Muḥammad (he is ripped from his chin to his torso, his chest cut, his organs visible, his entrails dangled between his legs),²⁴ would not strike him as perverse (Bloom 1997: 85). For Bloom this would be described as an instance of “*self-saving caricature, of distortion, of perverse, wilful revisionism*” (see Bloom 1997: 30; Bloom’s emphasis), “a disciplined perverseness,” a “misunderstanding,” “misinterpretation” or “misalliance” (Bloom 1997: 95). Melancholic for his lack of priority and for his failure to have begotten himself (Bloom 1997: 96), the metamorphosis of Muḥammad was a necessary defense mechanism for Dante to turn imitation into originality; to give the initial admiration of his Muslim precursor and his narrative the mask of contempt. In *Intertextuality*, Mary Orr elaborates:

Beyond any Barthesian bruising as mark of pleasure, texts in the Bloom mindscape can therefore be raped, assaulted, disemboweled, violated, or cannibalized to any degree. Is the cover on the real perversity, even pornography of Bloom’s ‘anxiety of influence’ now blown? Is this the return of a repressed Sadean homoerotics of the mind, a belated ‘disrememberment’ of Orpheus, to grasp his vital spark as strongest poet of them all? (Orr 2003: 80).

Dante’s anxiety made him execute a tessera as to the Islamic episode. He reverses the meaning in order to achieve a poet’s strongest desire according to Bloom (1975: 12): to become an influence. He saw himself as a prophet, and was influenced by a prophet, and therefore had to turn him into a tortured sinner, and sower of schism, and to place himself in *inferno* 28 exactly where Muḥammad was in *Liber* scale, an observer next to Virgil, as Muḥammad was next to Gabriel. The more the anxiety, the more the reversal, the more the violation and scandalization. The poetic father in Bloom’s theory is the voice of “the other, “the daimon”; a voice that cannot die because it has already survived death (Bloom 1975: 19). Bloom’s poet rebels against being spoken to by the precursor, a dead man “outrageously more alive than himself,” who had the same vision as his ephebe who cannot find a substitute for his literary choice (Bloom 1975: 19).

Dante’s rebellion is clear in that he does not speak directly to Muḥammad in *Inferno* 28, despite the latter addressing him. Could Dante be executing here, in addition to *Tessera*, Bloom’s (1997) third

²⁴ *Inferno* 28: 22-27.

ratio, *Kenosis* (“breaking device”) where he accepts reduction from his “imaginative godhood” to human status by Muḥammad, who thinks Dante is one of the sinners? (see Bloom 1997: 14-15). Bloom explains that in *Kenosis* the ephebe protects himself against repetition-compulsion by emptying out himself and the precursor and by humbly ceasing to be a poet (Bloom 1997: 14-15). Dante does not answer Muḥammad question: *Ma tu chi se' che 'n su lo scoglio muse/ forse per indugiar d'ire a la pena/ ch'è giudicata in su le tue accuse?* (“But who are you to linger on the ridge/ perhaps you put off going to the torment/ pronounced on your own accusation;” *Inferno* 28: 43-45).²⁵ The poet does not answer, but awaits Virgil to answer on his behalf. Dante does not explain why he has Virgil mediate, and merely watches his own poetic creation, perhaps undergoing Bloom's fourth ratio, *Daemonization* or *Counter-Sublime*, where he reacts to his precursor's Sublime by daemonizing himself and humanizing the precursor, stressing the latter's “relative weakness” in preparation for his own transformed being (Bloom 1997: 15, 100). After all, Dante, the poet, is the “daemon” creating the scene with his own powerful, crude words, not only emphasizing his precursor's weakness but his pitifulness and shame.

Again, this happens while Dante is silent. He “curtails” or limits his presence as in Bloom's fifth ratio, *Askesis*, a “movement of self-purgation” (Bloom 1997: 15). In such a state of solitude, the poet “knows only himself and the other he must at last destroy, his precursor, who he may well (by now) be an imaginary or composite figure” (Bloom 1975: 121). Bloom elaborates on this ratio, arguing that *clinamen* and *tessera* correct the dead; *kenosis* and *daemonization* repress the memory of the dead; “but *askesis* is the context proper, the match-to-the-death with the dead” (Bloom 1975: 122). If this match is primarily about ‘curtailing,’ then most of the controversy can be understood within this framework: Dante goes to solitude and does not speak directly to Muḥammad, and has Virgil mediate between them: between the influencer and the influenced. Virgil, Dante's guide and mentor: *tu duca, tu signore, e tu maestro* (*Inferno* 2:140),” is Dante's announced choice of influence, curtailing Muḥammad's. Throughout the history of Dante scholarship, Virgil's Book Six of the *Aeneid* was considered the clearest source for Dante's *Inferno*, and it still stands between the *Commedia* and the *Liber*; between Dante and Muḥammad, especially after Palacios's thesis.

How does this match end with the poet curtailing behind his master? Virgil answers Muḥammad: *Né morte 'l giunse ancor, né colpa 'l mena»./ rispuose 'l mio maestro, «a tormentarlo;/ ma per dar lui esperienza piena,/ a me, che morto son, convien menarlo/ per lo 'nferno qua giù di giro in giro;/ e quest' è ver così com' io ti parlo* (“Death does not have him yet nor does his guilt/ lead him to torment,” replied my master/ ‘but to give him greater knowledge’/ ‘I, who am dead indeed, must shepherd him/ from circle to circle,

²⁵ Hollander's translation.

through this Hell down here/ And this is as true as that I speak to you;” *Inferno* 28: 46-51).²⁶ While Dante curtails himself, Virgil explains to Muḥammad why Dante is there, that *death has not reached him*, completely effacing the Islamic original where Muḥammad himself was guided through hell by Gabriel “*per dar lui esperienza piena*,” after his chest was opened and his heart purified with Meccan water. The precursor is about to die, and the ephebe, Dante, comes to life in his solitude.

In Bloom’s final ratio, *Apophrades*, “the return of the dead,” the poet holds his poem wide open to the precursor (Bloom 1997: 15-16). The effect is that the new poem, here Dante’s, asserts its originality despite all the anxiety and all the influence, and seems to us as readers, “as though the later poet himself had written the precursor’s characteristic work” (Bloom 1997: 16). For centuries, Muḥammad’s influence on Dante was left unnoticed, unheard of, unthinkable. Dante won the war of influence and proved his originality, until Asín Palacios said otherwise in 1919, and stirred the anxieties of Dante scholars for decades to come.

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²⁶ Hollander’s translation.

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Tunis, ville double :

le quartier consulaire médiéval comme prémices de la ville européenne

Adnen el Ghali

Thanks to the conclusion of the first trade and peace treaty between the Emirate of Tunis and the Republic of Pisa (1157), the central area called the “Frankish Quarter” of Tunis was established. Through the signing of new treaties with competing Christian powers, the “Frankish Quarter” was gradually transformed and became a “Consular District.” At the centre of this process was the fondouk, soul of the Latin Christian quarter, located between the port and the city. In this area, consular institutions gave rise to a specific set of services and equipments intended for a specific and segregated community. After four centuries of existence (1157-1535), the “Consular District” was replaced by a military citadel, the Nova Arx, designed by Italian engineers under Count Gabrio Serbelloni’s (1509-1580) command and constructed on the site of the hafsids arsenal. The Nova Arx existed for only one year (1573-1574), when it was dismantled by the Ottomans. With it, the memory of the consular presence in this part of the city vanished until the construction of the French consulate in 1860.

Keywords : fondouk, consular district, Frankish quarter, christian merchants, Tunis medieval city

1. Introduction

Point de passage obligé dans la mer méditerranée, Tunis a été l'objet de toutes les convoitises entre les diverses puissances locales et régionales et a de tous temps accueilli des voyageurs d'horizons divers. Le port de Tunis a constitué pour eux, le temps d'une halte, un lieu de répit et un comptoir de commerce. Si, à l'époque ottomane, l'histoire des établissements humains européens, organisés en quartier consulaire intra-muros, nous est connue, celle du quartier franc médiéval apparaît encore bien obscure. Le présent article se propose de reconstituer la genèse du quartier franc médiéval établi autour d'un équipement urbain peu étudié, le fondouk-consulat, et d'en dessiner les contours. L'étude

a été réalisée sur la base des sources cartographiques, imprimées et éditées ainsi que sur les travaux contemporains traitant des communautés marchandes dans le port médiéval de Tunis.¹

2. Genèse du quartier consulaire de la Tunis médiévale

Évoluant jusqu'alors à l'ombre de Kairouan puis de Mahdia, Tunis va accéder en ce XII^e siècle au rang de capitale et connaître, sous les Hafside, une expansion urbaine importante dans un contexte régional marqué par les croisades et l'expansion maritime des thalassocraties d'Italie (Brunschvig 1940: 25). Devenue l'une des plus importantes métropoles de l'Occident musulman (Daoulatli 1974: 31), la ville bénéficie des avantages que lui confère sa position stratégique et de l'attrait qu'elle exerce sur les marchands européens de plus en plus enclins à s'y installer posant ainsi la question relative aux modalités de leur établissement dans la cité musulmane.

La faculté de recevoir des populations chrétiennes européennes (*rūm*) est attestée au quartier de Bāb al Baḥr du vivant du maître soufi et théologien Ṣayḥ Sīdī Abū Saʿīd al Bājī (1156-1230) dont le compagnon ʿAlī al-Huwwārī donne pour exemple l'établissement de deux cents femmes originaires de Majorque dans « les fondouks des chrétiens situés à Bāb al Baḥr » (Ibn al-Ḥūja 1986: 378-379 ; Bachrouch 1999: 71) qui seront plus tard installées au Burj al-Maʿūrqī, situé au nord de la *Kasbah*, près de Bāb al-ʿUlūj (Daoulatli 1981: 258).

Le plus ancien traité négocié entre le souverain de Tunis et une puissance européenne (Ibn al-Ḥūja 1986: 72-74) est contenu dans une missive (De Mas Latrie 1866: 23) adressée le 10 juillet 1157 par Abū ʿAbdallah ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq ibn Abī Ḥurasān à l'archevêque de Pise rappelant et validant les dispositions d'un traité de paix arrêtées oralement par l'envoyé de la République de Pise avec l'émir de Tunis et octroyant notamment à Pise le droit d'élever un fondouk ainsi que d'autres garanties pour les biens et les marchands pisans. Celui-ci sera suivi de près par d'autres traités en renforçant et élargissant les privilèges concédés notamment lors du passage du pays sous souveraineté hafside (désormais autonome).

Ainsi, nous trouvons trace, en août 1234, d'un traité de commerce (De Mas Latrie 1866: 31) en 27 points conclu pour trente ans entre la République de Pise et l'émir hafside Abū Zakariyyāʾ (1228-1249). Les Pisans furent suivis et imités par les autres puissances maritimes européennes dans cet effort diplomatique, notamment par les républiques de Gènes, de Venise, de Florence ainsi qu'avec l'Aragon,

¹ L'aboutissement de cet article doit beaucoup aux conseils avisés de Sofien Dhif, Sabine van Sprang, Tarek Azzouzi et Sélima Lejri. Que ces chercheurs trouvent dans ces quelques lignes, l'expression de la sincère gratitude de l'auteur.

la Provence et la Sicile. Des traités seront signés leur accordant la permission « d'aller et venir librement dans toute l'étendue dans tout son empire, d'y vendre, d'y acheter et d'y établir des fondouks, des bains, des églises et des cimetières » (Dunant, 1858: 14). Un très grand nombre de Pisans étaient fixés dans les États du sultan de Tunis et la communauté des marchands pisans bénéficiait de droits spéciaux dus à l'ancienneté de sa présence en Ifrīqiya.

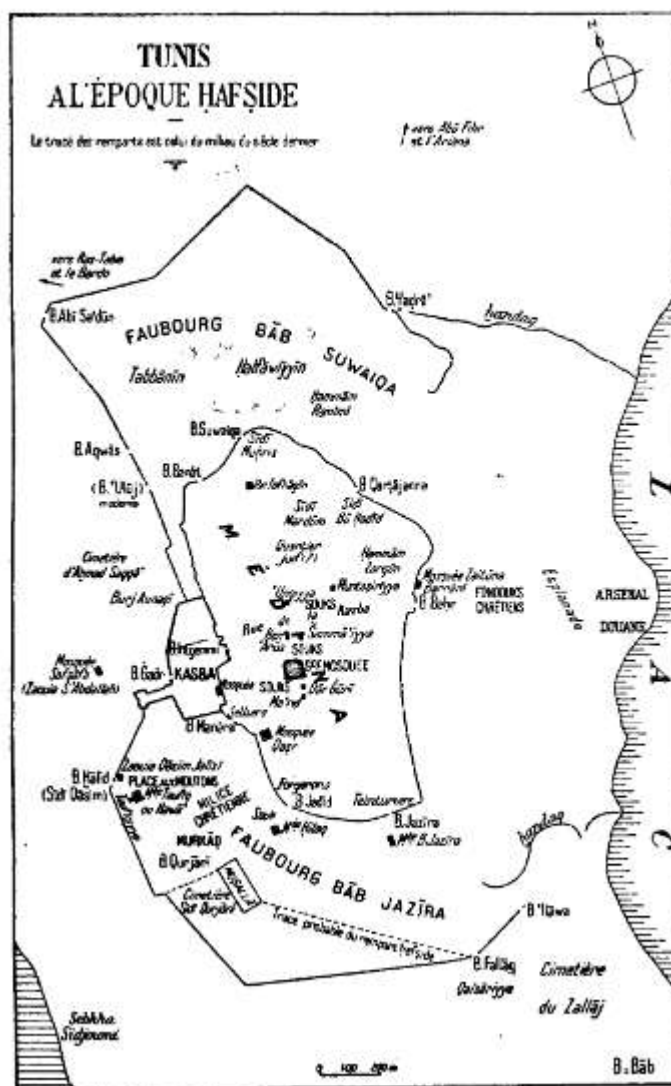


Fig. 1. Brunschvig, Robert. 1940. « Tunis à l'époque hafside », *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides. Des origines à la fin du XVe siècle*. ½. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve: 339.

C'est seulement en 1231² que la Sérénissime République de Venise conclut un accord commercial et diplomatique avec le sultanat hafside de Tunis sous le règne du même Abū Zakariyyā'. L'on pouvait désormais s'enorgueillir à Venise³ d'entretenir à Tunis un consul, un fondouk, des interprètes et même une église, située à l'intérieur du fondouk. Le sultan hafside de Tunis ne fut pas en reste et envoya de nombreuses ambassades à Venise.

Le choc de la huitième croisade renforça la présence génoise à Tunis à travers le traité du 6 novembre 1272, valable dix ans et reprenant de nombreux éléments du précédent traité (1250). Les Génois sont dans une telle phase de puissance économique et commerciale qu'ils ouvrent en 1275 un second fondouk⁴ et sont les seuls à bénéficier d'un tel privilège. Ils s'engagent néanmoins à ne pas y héberger des étrangers et à n'user que de fine monnaie d'argent ayant cours légal (Lower 2018: 187). La même année (1275), les Angevins (royaume de Sicile) établissent à leur tour un fondouk à Tunis (Lower 2018: 185).

3. Le quartier consulaire de Tunis : un dispositif d'enjeu politique et commercial ?

Les navires chrétiens avaient la faculté d'aborder dans tous les ports importants et les havres de la côte du Maghreb, dont Tunis constituait une échelle de prime importance, et sur tous les autres points du rivage, certains d'y trouver bon accueil ; les traités du moins leur donnaient le droit d'y compter, et de le réclamer des officiers royaux et de la population. En tout temps, il leur était loisible de s'y fournir des vivres, de l'eau et des agrès nécessaires à la navigation. En cas de tempête ou de force majeure, ils pouvaient même y chercher un abri et y séjourner en sécurité. Il ne leur était cependant pas permis de se livrer partout et sur tous les points à des actes de commerce. Le séjour pour affaires de négoce et pour toutes les opérations de ventes et d'achats était possible dans les ports où existaient des douanes. Nulle part nous ne trouvons la désignation précise des lieux pourvus de ces bureaux de recette, et par cela ouverts au commerce chrétien, mais notons que Léon l'Africain, qui visite la ville en 1516-1517, situe la douane à l'embouchure du lac de Tunis, en face du port de La Goulette (De Médicis 1556: 296) et à proximité de l'arsenal. Il a pu y avoir même à cet égard plusieurs changements amenés par l'ouverture ou la suppression de quelques offices de perception. Mais nous pouvons considérer Tunis comme ayant

² Brunshvig donne les dates d'établissement de consuls suivantes : de Venise à Tunis en 1231, de Pise en 1234 et de la Sicile en 1239 (Brunshvig 1940: 434).

³ Slimane Mustapha Zbiss leur attribue la paternité de la rue de la Verrerie, ainsi nommée en l'honneur de la verrerie en provenance de Venise qui y était vendue (Zbiss 1981: 14).

⁴ Sayous les considère comme étant les précurseurs en matière d'établissement de fondouk (Sayous 1929: 59).

eu presque toujours une administration ou du moins une perception des droits de douane, et par conséquent des comptoirs chrétiens. Le douanier, personnage incontournable aux fonctions diverses, est l'interlocuteur privilégié des marchands étrangers, « même si les consuls de ces communautés ont le droit de rencontrer le sultan, s'ils le désirent, une fois tous les quinze jours » (Mansouri 2004). Les marchands francs dans la ville étaient soit de passage soit résidents permanents afin de représenter les intérêts de maisons de commerce européennes tel comme la compagnie florentine des Peruzzi dont Lamberto Velluti est l'agent à Tunis de 1326 ou 1327 à 1331 ou 1332 (Valérian 2005: 437-458, 440).

Ainsi, Tunis fit partie des villes du Maghreb accueillant les principaux centres des établissements chrétiens, les fondouks et les chapelles, en un mot, les quartiers et les agonis chrétiens. Enfin, des « facteurs spéciaux gardaient les approvisionnements déposés aux fondouks, disposaient d'avance les marchés, faisaient venir les marchandises éloignées et préparaient les comptes avec la douane, afin que les navires eussent à séjourner le moins possible dans le port et se rendre sans trop tarder aux escales suivantes » (De Mas Laterie 1868: 333-334).

Ces marchands, généralement de passage, forment l'essentiel de la population des fondouks dans lequel ils résident le temps de l'escale du navire ou de régler des affaires en instances, ce qui nécessite quelques mois, ou tout simplement d'attendre la bonne saison pour reprendre la mer. Pour eux, l'existence du fondouk était la garantie de trouver, en terre étrangère, un cadre familial et commode.

Le quartier franc, espace singulier de la ville, est compris comme étant « la résultante de rapports écologiques d'ampleur historique entre la société et son espace » (Di Méo 1994: 258) et est analysé comme « la projection de toute société sur la portion de l'étendue qu'elle occupe : étendue particulièrement restreinte – dans le cas de la société urbaine- eu égard à l'importance économique⁵, sociale, politique, intellectuelle ou religieuse de cette dernière » (Bardet 1941: 147). Selon ce postulat, posé par Gaston Bardet, l'espace urbain comporte, telle une deuxième peau, un espace social, complexe et hétérogène, dont les contours sont définis par l'amplitude de l'extension de ses groupes sociaux constitutifs sur le territoire, selon un dispositif géographico-sociologique (Bardet 1945: 41-42; Manzione 2010: 193-213). Auquel cas, il est nécessaire d'en déceler les qualités propres et de révéler les dispositifs qui les démarquent des autres territoires de la ville.

Dans cette approche, le quartier consulaire est l'espace restreint qui constitue la scène où convergent circulations et interactions d'ordres multiples (économiques, politiques, intellectuelles, culturelles, scientifiques) à large rayon et qui préfigurent de leur empreinte la mondialisation, engagée

⁵ Les méthodes et pratiques financières, notamment bancaires, européennes sont ainsi restées cantonnées aux sociétés européennes de Tunis et sans effet sur les usages locaux (Brunschvig 1947: 248).

au moins dès le XV^e siècle (Bertrand & Calafat 2018: 4). Au regard de l'activité consulaire qui s'y déploie et des espaces et populations qui y sont liés, le quartier des consuls existe en tant que « quartier consulaire » au sens d'échelon « naturel » d'une vie sociale (Ledrut 1968) caractérisé par des représentations sociales spécifiques. Il se distingue tant par sa situation, en partie basse de la ville, que par une physionomie propre constituée en « fragment de paysage urbain » tranchant avec son environnement.

Ces établissements humains, connues sous le terme générique de fondouk, constitueront pour les étrangers non musulmans de passage en terre d'Islam, leur point d'ancrage et d'application de la protection nationale. Profondément liés à l'institution consulaire, ils se développeront parallèlement à celle-ci et particulièrement à l'époque hafside où leur essor, dans les principaux ports du royaume, Tunis, Bône et Bougie, reflète la capacité d'attraction de ses villes portuaires (Al-Miṭwī 1986: 156-157).

Le XIV^e siècle est celui des luttes d'influence entre Pisans, Génois, Vénitiens et Catalans. La guerre opposant les Aragonais aux Castillans épuise les ressources du royaume qui doit renoncer à ses projets en Ifriqiya. Le traité conclu en 1360 entre Hafside et Catalans constitue la dernière pièce de ce type à comporter des articles préférentiels pour ces derniers⁶. Les Catalans voient leur crédit s'affaiblir progressivement au profit des Vénitiens qui doivent faire face aux appétits français ainsi qu'à la montée en puissance de la république de Florence dès le XV^e siècle (Doumerc 1999). Les Florentins jusqu'à lors traitaient obscurément sous le nom et la protection des Pisans. Pise montre des signes d'essoufflement dont surent tirer profit les Florentins qui en firent la conquête en 1406 et se dotèrent ainsi d'un port de prime importance.

La défaite de Pise devant Florence l'amène à multiplier les ambassades auprès de la cour de Tunis mais le sultan, sensible aux qualités financières des Florentins révélées à la suite de l'introduction des florins d'or, leur accorde le droit de construire un fondouk et leur donne des garanties pour leur commerce (Melis 1990: 37). Il ne semble pas y avoir de fondouk florentin⁷ à Tunis à la fin du XIV^e siècle puisque certains marchands de cette nation résident à cette époque dans celui des Vénitiens

⁶ Notons que leur souverain est présenté par Brunschvig comme étant propriétaire de leur fondouk de Tunis (Brunschvig 1940: 44).

⁷ C'était aussi le constat de De Mas Latrie : « Nous n'avons rencontré ni dans les archives ni dans les recueils historiques de la Toscane de traité conclu directement par la république de Florence avec les rois de Tunis, du treizième au quatorzième siècle, pour garantir le maintien des franchises dont parle Villani. Peut-être les Florentins [...] se contentèrent-ils de jouir de fait, et comme d'une simple tolérance, des privilèges qu'El-Mostancer leur concéda, sans demander qu'un engagement public les leur assurât. Ces ménagements pouvaient leur être conseillés par la prudence ou imposés par les Pisans, dont ils ne pouvaient que difficilement se passer encore » (De Mas Latrie 1866: 240).

(Houssaye-Michienzi 2013: 167-168) et d'autres, dans le fondouk des Génois ou encore dans celui des Pisans.

4. Le fondouk « national » : typologie et morphologie sociale

La seconde moitié du XV^e siècle voit les Florentins disposer d'un fondouk national ainsi que l'atteste la description du quartier franc hors-les-murs de Tunis par le voyageur brugeois Anselme Adorno (1424-1483) qui le visita en 1470-1471 : « Hors de la porte orientale de la cité, sont les fondouks des marchands chrétiens étrangers : Génois, Vénitiens, Pisans, Florentins et Catalans » (Brunschvig 1936: 104-105). Cette mention est suivie d'une description des fondouks par l'auteur : « Les fondouks sont des emplacements carrés, entièrement clos de murs, qui contiennent à l'intérieur des logements nombreux et variés, mais qui ont une seule entrée. C'est là que les marchands demeurent et que leurs marchandises sont mises en vente. Le fondouk des Génois et celui des Vénitiens sont les principaux ; ils sont occupés par d'importants bâtiments. Les Génois y ont une très belle église, élevée en l'honneur de Saint-Laurent; ils y ont leur messe chaque jour. Les Vénitiens ont de même leur église dans leur fondouk, elle a été construite en l'honneur de Sainte-Marie »⁸. (Brunschvig 1936: 104-105 ; De Mas Latrie 1866: 37, 127, 199-202).

La conception du fondouk semble bien s'inscrire dans une logique de ségrégation communautaire spatiale visant à offrir aux marchands chrétiens « un cadre de vie et d'activité à l'écart du reste de la ville et de sa population » (Valérian 2005: 437-458).

L'organisation de la vie intérieure des colonies chrétiennes s'articulera ainsi « dans les fondouks où les marchands séjournaient auprès de leurs consuls et de leurs oratoires » (De Mas Latrie 1866: 335); fondouk national, bénéficiant d'un statut particulier d'extra-territorialité (Valérian 2004: 689-692) en général respecté par le souverain ce qui en fait l'espace communautaire par excellence. Au niveau de la typologie, il s'agit d'un édifice centré sur une cour intérieure, contenant des magasins et ateliers au premier niveau, et des logements à l'étage (Constable 2001: 145-146). Le premier fondouk décrit à Tunis est celui des Pisans. Dans ce premier cas, le terme fondouk renvoie à un « quartier ou fondouk particulier comportant plusieurs maisons et clos de murs » (De Mas Latrie 1886: 71). L'espace destiné

⁸ L'église de Sainte-Marie a été confiée à un prêtre pisan en 1259. Le document ne permet pas de déterminer s'il s'agit de la chapelle vénitienne ou si les Pisans disposaient de deux lieux de culte (De Mas Latrie 1866: 37). Le lieu de culte vénitien, situé à l'intérieur du fondouk, fait l'objet de l'article 27 du « Traité de paix et de commerce pour quarante ans » tuniso-vénitien du 1er avril 1251 : « Et ecclesia de fundico quod est deputatum ad nomen hominum Veneciarum apud Tunisum pro sue voluntatis arbitrio aggrandari et reformari debet » qui stipule qu'elle peut être agrandie au besoin (De Mas Latrie 1866: 199-202).

aux ressortissants (comprenant les marchands et leur suite : familles, employés et domestiques) des puissances ayant obtenu de tels privilèges, est clairement défini dans ce même premier traité tuniso-pisan de 1157 comme étant « entre le mur (de la ville de Tunis) et l'enclos (de leur fondouc ou de leurs maisons) » et dans lequel ils seront « traités avec égards et avec une affectueuse attention » (De Mas Latrie 1886: 73).

Protégé du monde extérieur, et de ses dangers, présumés ou réels, par un mur, le fondouc des marchands francs (De Mas Latrie 1886: 120) est un édifice centré sur lui-même, havre pour les marchands qui y retrouvent reconstitué un territoire national. A tel point qu'il est mentionné sous le vocable de « district » dans l'article 18 du traité tuniso-génois de commerce, rédigé en langue latine, du 18 octobre 1250 (De Mas Latrie 1886: 120).

La question de la fréquentation des lieux se pose dès lors avec acuité. Qui peut fréquenter le fondouc ? Et sous quelles conditions ? Certains articles des traités nous apportent des réponses à ce sujet. Ainsi, les fondouks de Pise et de Gênes sont séparés par un mur élevé, sur demande des Pisans faite au sultan de Tunis en 1234, afin d'empêcher toute communication entre les deux édifices. Ceci signifie que les fondouks des deux nations sont contigus et qu'ils n'étaient jusqu'alors pas séparés par une muraille.

Le dimensionnement des fondouks semble revêtir une signification symbolique en termes de puissance et de prestige. Les Pisans y consacrent un article spécifique de leur nouveau traité conclu avec Tunis le 12 août 1264 par l'ambassadeur Parent Visconti, qui mentionne que « le fondouc de Tunis, que Dieu le maintienne, devra être agrandi et augmenté (*cresciuto et ampliato*) à mesure de celui des Génois et qu'un mur sera élevé entre ces deux nations qu'elles ne se puissent visiter » (De Mas Latrie 1886: 45).

La construction des fondouks et leur entretien sont, de même, assurés par la puissance hôte (De Mas Latrie 1886: 70). La communication jusqu'à cette date était aisée et n'était-ce le conflit entre les deux puissances, elle le serait probablement restée. Si cette disposition est conséquente à une situation politique particulière, il en est d'autres plus générales, notamment celles relatives aux musulmans, qui s'imposèrent avec le temps. Ainsi, Comme le rappelle Dominique Valérian (2005: 437-458), le traité tuniso-vénitien du 5 octobre 1231, dans son article 17 (De Mas Latrie 1866: 196-199), maintient le droit d'autoriser ou non un étranger à loger dans le fondouc, mais les nations chrétiennes obtiennent progressivement, au XIV^e siècle, le droit de contrôler tout accès à l'édifice. Le traité de 1397 entre Tunis et Pise stipule ainsi dans son article 4 « que les portiers soient tels qu'ils puissent et aient le droit d'interdire l'accès aux musulmans et autres personnes sans l'accord du consul et des autres marchands » (De Mas Latrie 1866: 70-87, 347).

L'espace de la communauté peut toutefois être étendu en dehors de l'enceinte du fondouk tel que ce fut le cas en 1240 pour les Pisans dont le chapelain bénéficia d'une autorisation, délivrée par le podestat de sa nation, à occuper une boutique située à proximité du fondouk de même que l'accès à un bain apprêté spécialement pour ses nationaux, une fois par semaine (De Mas Latrie 1866: 35, 57).

Le fondouk des Florentins semble avoir été le « Fondouk Al Akaba » dont l'ambassadeur a demandé au chef de la douane la mise à disposition et dont la réfection du dallage au sol et l'achèvement des réparations nécessaires ainsi que de la muraille d'enceinte se feront aux frais de l'État hôte ; seul la construction du four et de l'église (*chiesa*) sera au frais de la nation florentine (De Mas Latrie 1866: 358).

5. La société consulaire et les équipements du fondouk de la nation

Autour du consul gravitait un monde de serviteurs et d'officiers. Le cas du fondouk des Aragonais en est une illustration. En plus de ses adjoints et de ses secrétaires, on peut mentionner :

Un chapelain et des serviteurs. Toutes ces personnes résidaient dans le fondouk catalan. Comme les autres fondouks étrangers [...] ce fondouk catalan était formé par plusieurs édifices modestes, disposés autour d'une cour centrale et de plusieurs petites cours secondaires, le tout isolé par un mur d'enceinte. C'était à la fois la maison et le bureau du Consul et de ses secrétaires et la Maison des Catalans. Tous les marchands aragonais étaient là chez eux ; ils y vivaient pendant le temps de leur séjour à Tunis. Les commerçants installés à demeure en terre ifrikyenne y habitaient aussi ; ils y avaient leurs boutiques. Ce fondouk était, en effet, essentiellement le marché catalan de Tunis. L'animation y était extraordinaire : Juifs, Musulmans et Chrétiens de toutes les nations venaient acheter, d'autant plus qu'il était proche des autres fondouks européens notamment des vieux et réputés fondouks italiens⁹ (Dufourcq 1943: 43).

Le consul reste le maître à bord. Élu par un conseil des marchands ou nommé par la métropole (roi, sénat ou autorités municipales) en qualité de fonctionnaire ou par suite du fermage de la charge, qui devient ainsi lucrative, il préside aux destinées d'un fondouk qui maintient un lien institutionnel entre la métropole et les marchands expatriés ou de passage. La présence d'un notaire national et sa faculté de rédiger des contrats et de les enregistrer quels que soient les partenaires, chrétiens, juifs ou musulmans (Valérian 2005: 442-443), font des fondouks de véritables agoras des marchands. Le consul est parfois secondé d'un conseil de marchands (souvent au nombre de douze), ce qui est le cas à Tunis

⁹ On peut mentionner, au service du consul de Venise, vers la fin du XIII^e siècle, trois ou quatre domestiques et deux chevaux (Brunschvig 1940: 439).

pour les Génois (Balard 1991: 381) et les Vénitiens (Doumerc 1999: 448), et administre différents aspects de la vie de ses nationaux. De la vie, ainsi que de la mort aussi. L'existence d'une chapelle nationale, expression de l'identité de la nation, impliquant généralement celle d'un *campo santo*. Les Génois la consacreront d'ailleurs sous le vocable de Saint-Laurent (voir *supra*), celui de la cathédrale de la métropole. L'identité du desservant est dès lors cruciale. Il doit être un national et incarner lui-même cette présence en la chapelle. Ainsi, en 1456, le Sénat de Venise, s'émeuvant de l'absence d'un chapelain à Tunis et estimant qu'il n'était pas conforme à la dignité de la Sérénissime que ses marchands se soumettent aux Génois, même en matière de culte, demandèrent l'envoi urgent d'un chapelain (Valérian 2005: 442).

En plus du consulat, de la chancellerie, des boutiques de marchands, de logements et de la chapelle, les fondouks abritaient un élément important de la vie des communautés chrétiennes de Tunis, à savoir la taverne. Réservée aux seuls chrétiens, en principe, la taverne était ouverte aux chevaliers de la Milice de Tunis, chargée de la protection rapprochée du souverain, qui étaient autorisés à aller y chercher, tous les cinq jours, un baril de vin d'une contenance de 15 litres environ ; les écuyers, une fois par semaine (Dufourcq 1966: 101).

En réalité, cette faculté de vendre le vin, activité lucrative, et donc d'en importer, n'était accordée qu'à une seule nation à la fois, devenant de fait un monopole. Les souverains hafside mettaient en adjudication la gabelle et la concurrence était rude entre les consuls. Vénitiens, Génois et Aragonais avaient successivement réussi à l'obtenir. Le consul des marchands Aragonais devint même à Tunis, le percepteur délégué de l'autorité musulmane ce qui conféra un prestige et un éclat particulier à sa fonction (Huetz De Lemps 2001: 306 ; Dufourcq 1943: 43).

A certaines époques, le pouvoir hafside jugea bon de reprendre un contrôle total sur le service de la gabelle et versa, pour avoir interrompu un usage ancien, une indemnité aux consuls d'Aragon.

Au point de vue territorial, le monde consulaire d'alors apparaît comme centré sur cette zone intermédiaire, située entre la médina intra-muros et le port qui commence à Bāb al Baḥr et s'étend le long de ce que l'on appellera au XIX^e siècle la promenade de la Marine. A part les fondouks, dont nous avons évoqué la richesse et la variété des fonctions, il est important de mentionner les autres équipements et services autour desquels se structure la vie des commerçants de passage à Tunis.

Pour ces marchands chrétiens, la douane était l'intermédiaire ordinaire et principal de leurs ventes et de leurs achats. A Tunis, comme à Bougie, l'administration des douanes était un des hauts emplois de l'État qui était souvent confié à des princes du sang, qui en devenaient surintendants (De

Mas Laterie 1866: 336).¹⁰ Le surintendant des douanes assistait à la conclusion des traités, et souvent recevait même du sultan les pleins pouvoirs pour les négocier.

Les souverains hafside savaient jouer habilement des dissensions entre les puissances européennes allant jusqu'à infliger des vexations notables à leurs représentants et même aux souverains. Le doge de Venise doit ainsi se résoudre, à la suite d'un vote du grand conseil, à faire apparaître le nom de l'émir avant le sien sur tous les documents officiels. De même, les Hafside font procéder à la démolition¹¹ de leur fondouk (Pedani 1992: 160) ce qui entraîne le boycott de l'échelle de Tunis par les Vénitiens malgré le coût financier et diplomatique à supporter. Le sultan hafside dépêchera une ambassade chargée de résoudre le différend.

Mais les fondouks n'accueillirent pas seulement des commerçants et des voyageurs, la religion eut son droit de cité avec des privilèges et une protection royale accordés aux religieux qui se fixèrent même, pour certains, à Tunis, comme les frères Prêcheurs, les Trinitaires, les frères de la Merci, les frères Cordeliers et même des frères Dominicains (De Mas Laterie 1866: 236) qui s'établissent à Tunis en 1271, enrichissant l'importante communauté chrétienne locale (Dufourcq 1943: 72) en application du traité de paix conclu entre le roi de Sicile, Charles d'Anjou (1266-1285), et al-Mustanşir (1249-1277) (Al-Miṭwī 1986: 210-211). De même le sultan d'Ifrīqiya entretenait à sa solde des chevaliers toscans, espagnols, allemands dans son armée et recourait à la course au même titre que les Chypriotes, Catalans, Vénitiens, Pisans et autres Génois et Siciliens qui la pratiquaient délibérément en Méditerranée.

Selon le jésuite belge Jean-Baptiste Gramaye (1579-1635), le quartier franc (ou consulaire) portait déjà le nom de Bāb al Baḥr, avant que les Ottomans n'investissent la ville. Pour cet auteur, celui-ci est

¹⁰ Ce terme a été choisi pour rendre les nombreuses mentions de « directeur des douanes » existantes dans les différents traités. Ainsi, dans les textes latins on retrouve les termes de dominus dugane, dominus doane, dominus duganeri, chaytus dugane, alcitus duganey aleayt de la duana. En langue arabe, il est désigné sous les termes al-Qā'id, Nazīr, Mušrif.

¹¹ Les hafside avaient de même procédé à la destruction d'un fondouk dédié à la vente du vin pour y édifier une zaouïa « située hors de la Porte de la Marine » dont l'oratoire subsiste et dont parle Anselme Turmeda dans son désormais célèbre traité Tuḥfat al-Arīb fi al-radd calā Ahl al-Ṣalīb. L'extrait en question provient de la traduction partielle incluse dans Jean Spiro (1906: 101).

Ibn Abī Dīnār mentionne le fait en précisant toutefois qu'il s'agit d'une zaouïa édifée à l'emplacement d'un fondouk servant de taverne et de lieu de débauche et al-Zarkachī mentionne l'existence d'une médersa associée à la zaouïa où l'enseignement est attesté en 1460 et confié au savant Ahmad ibn Kaḥīl (Al-Qayrawānī 1845 [1681]:146 ; Al-Zarkachī 1526 [1997]: 234, 241, 302). Le même al-Zarkachī mentionne la construction d'une mosquée à prêche agrémentée d'un minaret à Bāb al-Baḥr à l'emplacement d'un fondouk où se vend le vin. Le premier sermon y sera prononcé le mois de shacbān 682 [1283]. Il s'agit de Djāmac al-Zaytūna al-Barrānī connu aussi sous le nom de Djāmac al-Zrārciyya (Al-Zarkachī 1526 [1997]: 99). Le dynamisme des écoles, collèges universitaires (madāris) et zaouïas faisait l'admiration du monde musulman et favorisait le passage par Tunis des lettrés. Lire à ce sujet le témoignage d'al-Qalṣadī qui visita la ville en 1444 (1978: 119-120).

le troisième quartier de la ville et se trouve « près de la porte maritime dite Bab [al] Bhar, laquelle n'est éloignée du Golfe en son milieu que d'un millier de pas. C'est là que les Génois, les Vénitiens et tous les autres marchands chrétiens se rassemblent et qu'ils ont leurs hôtels, à l'écart du tumulte des foules maures ; ce quartier est pourtant si vaste qu'il compte trois cents familles, tant de Chrétiens que de Maures, mais les maisons sont modestes et un peu trop étroites » (Gramaye 2010: 47) ce qui confirme l'historien Luis del Marmol Carvajal (1520-1600), parlant de « Puerta de la Mar » et Léon l'Africain sous la dénomination « Bāb el Bahar ». Ce dernier évoque le quartier sous le vocable de bourg situé « hors de la porte appelée Beb el Behar, qui signifie la Porte de la Marine : laquelle est prochaine du lac de la Golette environ demi-mille et là vont loger les marchands chrétiens étrangers comme les Genevois, les Veneuciens, et ceux de Catalogne : lesquels ont tous leurs boutiques, magasins & hôteleries, séparées d'avec celles de Mores » (De Médicis 1556: 290). Marmol ajoute que celui-ci est « à la portée du mousquet du lac. C'est là que sont les magasins et les maisons des marchands chrétiens, qui viennent trafiquer à Tunis, et ce faubourg n'est que de trois cents maisons encore bien petites » (1574: 448-449).

Cette description de quartier consulaire est d'un grand intérêt en raison de la période historique qu'elle décrit. Tunis sous les hafside fut double, Médina et faubourgs, auxquels faisait face un modeste quartier franc, extra-muros donc, où logeaient autour de leur consul, et sous sa protection, les sujets des nations ayant conclu un traité avec Tunis. Le défaut de représentations objectives nous prive d'illustrations de la ville de Tunis telle qu'elle fut sous les hafside et de son quartier consulaire. Toutefois, l'étude des tapisseries (figure 2) réalisées sur la base des croquis de Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (c. 1504 – 1559), peintre et tapissier flamand ayant accompagné Charles Quint lors de l'expédition de Tunis, nous livre quelques informations sur l'état du quartier tel que le découvrit l'artiste, en 1533-1534. Une structure apparaît entre Bāb al Baḥr et le lac. Ceinte d'une muraille, elle est accessible par une porte monumentale et composée de longues salles longilignes, orientées d'est en ouest, couvertes de voûtes en berceau et donnant sur un espace en plein air. Il s'agit de l'arsenal (Daoulatli 1981: 105-106), Dār al-Ṣinā'a, destiné aux embarcations à faible tirant d'eau. Entre Bāb al Baḥr et l'arsenal, un espace intermédiaire, ouvert, où l'on observe clairement un minaret, celui de Djāma' al-Zaytūna al-Barrānī, et un édifice surélevé, probablement l'oratoire de Bāb al Baḥr. L'on dénote à gauche de la composition, le long des murailles, une scène de bûcher, sans doute à l'origine de la dénomination de la rue al-Mahrūq. La gravure (figure 5) de Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert (1522-1590), « La conquête de Tunis », septième tableau de l'ensemble *Les victoires de l'Empereur Charles Quint*, montre la pénétration des armées impériales – l'empereur est à cheval, en armure, à droite de la composition ; on le donne à reconnaître autant au luxe de son équipage qu'aux armes impériales gravées sur sa selle – à travers une porte monumentale faisant face à celle de Bāb al Baḥr. On remarque, à gauche de la composition, un

édifice surélevé dont le dispositif d'entrée est identique à celui de l'oratoire de Bāb al Baḥr. A droite, une tour circulaire semble représenter le minaret de la mosquée de Djāma^c al-Zaytūna al-Barrānī figuré par Vermeyen comme composé d'une partie cylindrique reposant sur une base carrée. L'œuvre (figures 6 & 7) du graveur Agostino Veneziano (c. 1490 – c. 1540) identifie clairement l'arsenal, dont on reconnaît l'une des portes monumentales, ainsi que, située entre celui-ci et la ville, une mosquée à minaret proéminent, que nous identifions à Djāma^c al-Zaytūna al-Barrānī, de même qu'un ensemble de magasins se faisant face de chaque côté de la voie libre, appelée par A. Veneziano « Piazza de Christiani » (Vilar 1991: 371), et donnant accès à Bāb al Baḥr. Cette place correspond à l'esplanade qui séparait les fondouks de l'Arsenal et servait de lieu de promenade entretenue par la présence de conteurs publics, de musiciens et de bateleurs (Brunschvig 1940: 347; 1936: 186-189).



Fig. 2. Van der Goten, Francisco. 1733-1734. « Saqueo de Tunez. » *Jornada de Tunez*, X. Vermeyen, Jan Cornelisz (peintre) Bravo, Alberto (photographe). Séville: Palacio Gótico. Salón de los Tapices. Au premier plan, l'arsenal de Tunis.



Fig 3. Hogenberg, Franz. 1569-1570. « Thvnis », *Sucesos de la Historia de Europa 1569-1570*. Madrid: Biblioteca nacional de España. ER.2901. Détail.



Fig. 4. De Pannemaker, Willem. 1548-1554. « Débarquement à la Goulette », *La Conquête de Tunis*.



1535.
TVNETAM CÆSAR, BELLI VIRTUTE TRIUMPHANS,
EGREDITVR VICTOR, CEDENS FVGIT ILICET APER.
*Aqui vées como huyó aquel Africano,
Quando Cesar triunphante y poderoso
Le ganó a Tunes con su fuerte mano,
Adonde entró con nombre victorioso.*
VII Le preux Cesar triumpnant en Affricque
Par le vouloir de Dieu, & ses amys
Thunis a prins par bellieque practique,
Dont Turcqs felons en fuytte se font mis.

Fig. 5. Coornhert, Dirck Volkertsz. 1555-1556. « La conquête de Tunis. » Les victoires de l'Empereur Charles Quint. VII.. Portland: Portland Art Museum. Don de Louis et Annette Kaufman. N° 829343.

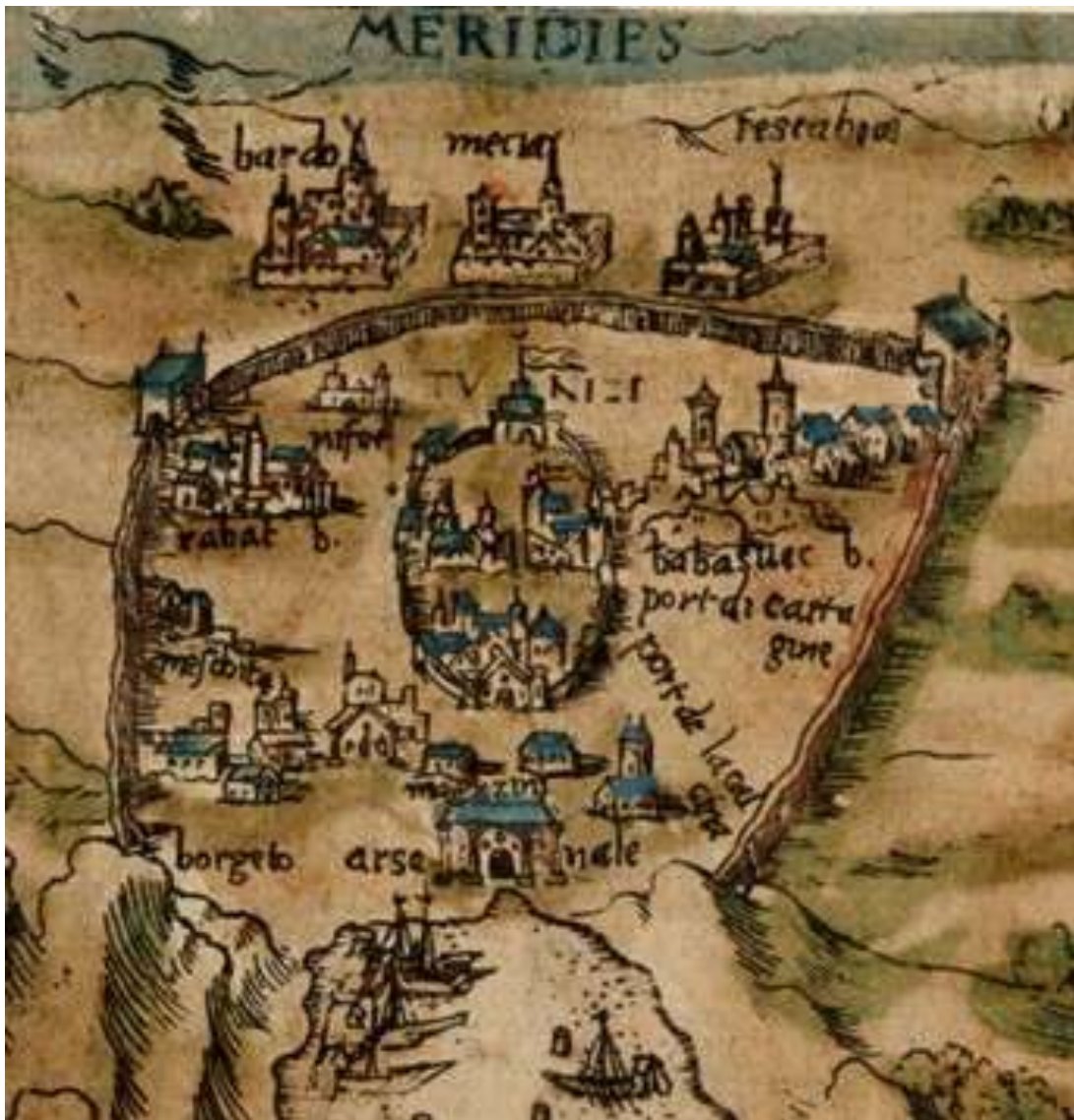


Fig. 6. Veneziano, Agostino. 1535. Détail du « Plan de Tunis. » Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps, Inc.



Fig. 7. Veneziano, Agostino. 1535. Détail du « Plan de Tunis. » Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps, Inc.
On remarque la forteresse de La Goulette sous son ancien aspect, située au centre des deux canaux contrôlant l'accès au lac.

6. La Nova Arx, un entre-deux précurseur de la genèse d'une ville européenne ?

Ce n'est pourtant pas ce quartier-ci qui sera choisi par les Espagnols comme lieu d'établissement. Ils s'établiront dans un troisième quartier, la Nova Arx, appelée aussi Fort de Tunis, véritable ville nouvelle

et place forte de la Renaissance. La construction de la *Nova Arx* fut entamée le 11 novembre 1573 et la cérémonie de consécration suivit deux jours plus tard soit le 13 novembre en introduisant une cérémonie de délimitation du centre de la place-forte par une charrue, rite du *sulcus primigenus*, où fut monté un pavillon pour la célébration de la messe. A la nouvelle forteresse de La Goulette édiflée par les Espagnols à la fin du XVI^e siècle faisait désormais face (figure 8) de l'autre côté du lac de Tunis (dénommé *stagnum*) la *Nova Arx* (figure 9), véritable cité militaire, construite sur ordre de Serbelloni, prieur de Hongrie et grand-croix de l'Ordre de Malte (Sebag 1971: 131).



Fig. 8. Braun, Georg. 1574. « Tunetis urbis, ac novae ejus arcis, et Guletæ ». *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, vol.

II, pl. 58. Source gallica.bnf.fr. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans. GE DD-2987. Collection d'Anville ; 07998. ark:/12148/btv1b8595371f

Les citadelles de La Goulette, au premier plan, et de la *Nova Arx*, au second plan, se font face.

Le piémontais Batholomeo Ruffino¹², qui assista à la prise de La Goulette par les Ottomans en 1574, rapporte le témoignage d'un seigneur-capitaine espagnol, employé de longues années à Tunis au service des armées espagnoles, répondant au nom de Cristoforo Carceres qui évoque avoir vu et touché des constructions retrouvées au fond de l'étang. Ce témoignage corrobore celui de Charles Saumagne, recueilli par Paul Sebag, « lorsqu'on creusa à la fin du XIX^e siècle le chenal de Tunis-La Goulette, la drague heurta une voûte qui traversait celui-ci de biais, dans l'orientation Carthage – colline de Sîdî Bel-Hassen » (Sebag 1971: 137). Ibn Abî Dīnār mentionne de même dans *Munis* que l'étang était autrefois couvert de vergers, d'arbres fruitiers et de plantations diverses abreuvées d'eau [potable], mais que la mer finit par l'envahir (1681: 1).

La citadelle de La Goulette était constituée de La Goulette Vieille, formée des bastions de Saint-Georges, Sainte-Barbe, Saint-Jacques et Saint-Michel, édifiée sur ordre de Charles Quint par l'architecte italien Ferra Molino, inaugurée peu avant l'abdication de Charles Quint en 1556 et de la Goulette Neuve, conçue par l'ingénieur italien Giacomo Paleazzo sur ordre de Philippe II. Cette dernière correspond à une enceinte bastionnée et était formée des bastions Saint-Martin, Saint-Philippe, Saint-Pierre (établis du côté de Carthage et qui regardaient vers l'étang), Saint-Alphonse, Saint-Jean (qui regardaient vers Radés) et Saint-Ambroise (regardant vers La Marine). Élevé « à proximité des murs de Tunis, à une distance inférieure à la portée d'une arquebuse », le fort bordait d'un côté le Lac (appelé étang dans de nombreux documents de l'époque dont la relation de B. Ruffino) et faisait face, de l'autre, aux murs de la cité, partiellement rasés sur décision de Serbelloni devant le bastion portant son nom.

¹² Bartolomeo Ruffino, originaire de Chambéry, était esclave à Alger, en compagnie de Cervantès qui lui dédia deux sonnets, quand il entreprit l'écriture d'une relation sur la prise de Tunis par les Turcs en 1574.

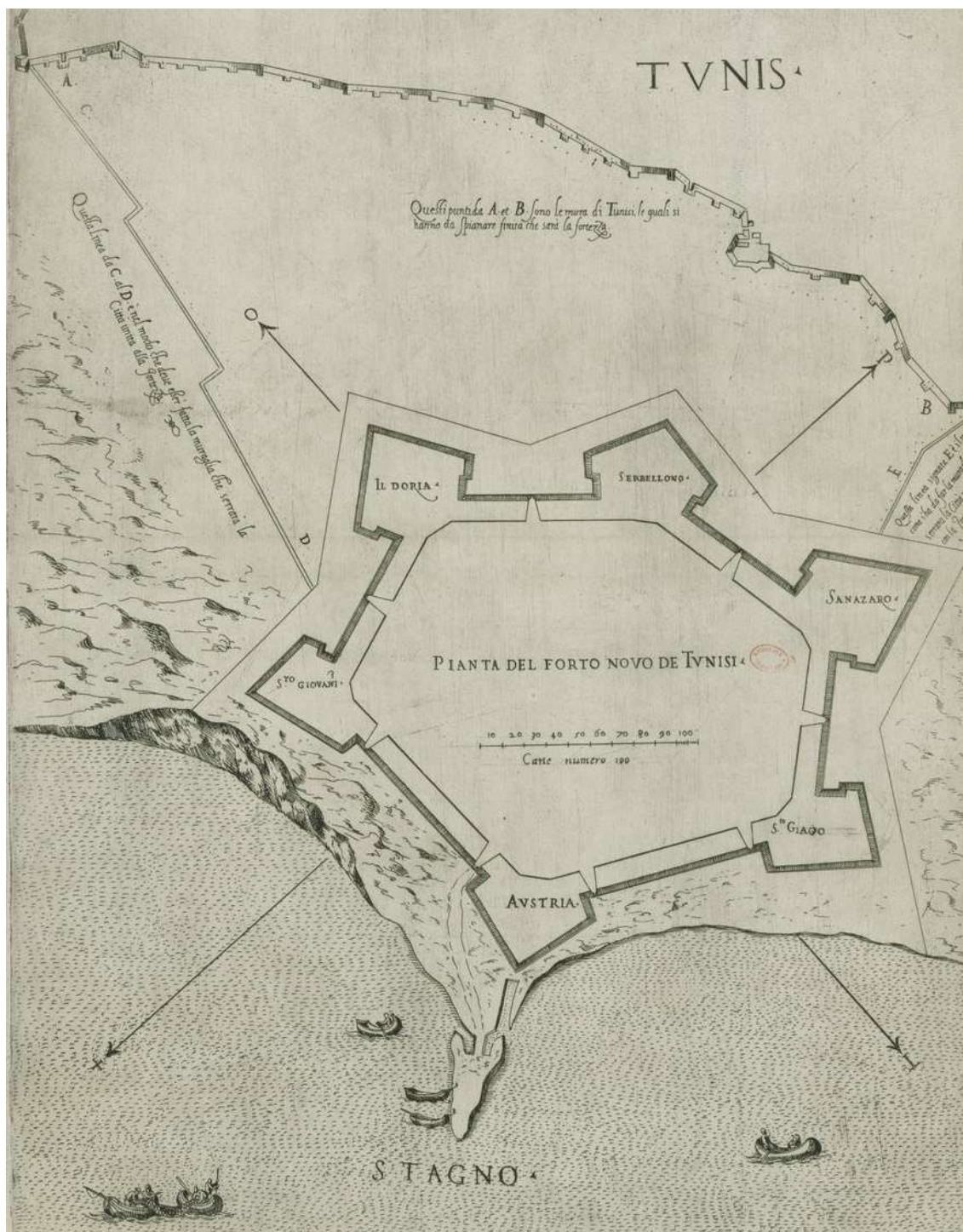


Fig. 9. Anonyme. 1574. « Pianta del forto novo de Tunisi » [La Nova Arx]. Recueil contenant des cartes et plans d'Europe méridionale, d'Afrique, d'Amérique et d'Asie de la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle et du début du XVIIe siècle. Source gallica.bnf.fr. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE DD-626 – 61RES.
<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb406457296>

Conçu en forme d'étoile à six branches, le fort s'étendait sur une dizaine d'hectares et était aménagé selon les plans en vogue à l'époque : rues tracées au cordeau, église, hôpital, boutiques (Ibn Abī Dīnār 1681: 166), magasins, fours, moulins, citernes, maisons... Le fort fut élevé entre la Porte de la Mer et le *stagnum* (lac) de Tunis. Formé de six bastions en étoile (Saint-Jean et Doria regardant vers Radès et le faubourg Bāb al-Ġazīra ; l'Autriche, sur le rivage de l'étang face à La Goulette et où se trouve le môle ; le Serbelloni, dans l'alignement de la *Kasbah*, le Salazar regardant la muraille de la cité, le Saint-Jacques regardant les olivettes de Bāb al-Suwīqa, la route de Carthage et bordant l'étang.

Reliés par des courtines et précédés de ravelins, les bastions étaient compartimentés en îlots, tracés au cordeau et divisés en lots dessinés par des géomètres et attribués aux capitaines. Ainsi maisons de pierre à rez-de-chaussée et étage s'alignaient parfaitement le long de rues régulières. Italiens et Espagnols possédaient chacun leur quartier. L'édification des maisons donna lieu à des épisodes de pillage. Les soldats-ouvriers, allant piller les belles demeures de Tunis et emportant des blocs de marbre et de hautes colonnes placées à l'angle de ces maisons. Une mosquée située près du Faubourg de Bāb al-Suwīqa, dont B. Ruffino vante la beauté, n'échappa pas à la déprédation qui eut pour résultat d'embellir le quartier que les Italiens [*sic*] établirent dans la *Nova Arx* (Sebag 1971: 140-141, 146-147).

Les déprédations ne s'arrêtèrent pas là. A l'approche de l'infant Don Juan d'Autriche (1547-1578), capitaine général et chef de l'expédition, les habitants abandonnèrent en grand nombre la ville en n'emportant pas leurs richesses avec eux. La ville, désertée et ouverte, servit de lieu d'hébergement pour les compagnies d'infanteries italienne, espagnole et allemande ainsi que pour un grand nombre de marchands et de marins. La chasse au trésor commença et la ville se transforma en champ de fouilles dont les coups de pioches et de pelles n'épargnaient aucune maison, du seuil de porte à la toiture. En huit jours, les terrains qui s'étendent entre la porte de la mer et la Marine se transformèrent en immense foire sur une longueur d'un quart de mille, on ne trouvait des deux côtés que des vendeurs installés incommodément en raison de leur grand nombre.

On accédait à ces quartiers par la Porte des Espagnols, située à l'opposé du bastion Autriche, dont B. Ruffino dit qu'elle était de fort belle facture, réalisée en briques et solide. La ville renfermait des citernes, des entrepôts de denrées (grains, biscuit, viande salée, fromage, farine, fèves) ainsi qu'un moulin, un four à pain, des magasins d'armes et munitions, des forges et même un hôpital, formé de deux tentes très vastes et d'une pharmacie. L'église est mentionnée ainsi qu'un cimetière à proximité (*campo santo*). De nombreux ordres son représentés dont Saint-François de l'Observation, Carmes, Prédicateurs, Saint-Augustin, Saint-Benoît, Notre-Dame de la Merci ainsi qu'une douzaine de prêtres

séculiers dont on ignore s'il étaient venus à la suite de la conquête espagnole de Tunis ou s'ils appartenaient aux nombreux ordres qui avaient été autorisés à s'y établir dès le XIII^e siècle.

Une véritable ville donc (al-Qayrawānī 1845 [1681]: 332) pouvant contenir huit mille hommes et qui, de fait, succédait au quartier franc hors-les-murs qui avait existé sous les hafside, et ce depuis l'érection de Tunis comme capitale et le traité tuniso-pisan de 1157, une ville européenne, construite selon les idéaux alors en vogue en Europe en la matière. Une ville qui précédera le quartier franc qui s'élaborera, petit-à-petit, dès la signature des capitulations et prendra forme à partir de l'édification du consulat de France en 1660.

Mais qu'est-il advenu du quartier franc hors-les-murs en cette période de domination espagnole ? Un élément de réponse apparaît dans la relation de B. Ruffino. En effet, envoyés en prospection pour mettre au jour citernes et puis aux abords de la Médina, les soldats-ouvriers découvrirent de nombreux puits « parmi les ruines d'un bourg chrétien qui, en des temps anciens, avait été construit sur ce point [en ce lieu] avec une église de l'Ordre de Saint-François » (Sebag 1971: 141-142). Ainsi, le faubourg chrétien était, au moment où B. Ruffino réside à Tunis, en état de désolation et réduit à l'état de ruines, ce qui explique qu'on en ait oublié jusqu'à l'existence.

Aucune mention n'est faite de ces communautés marchandes et de leurs consuls, ni dans la *Nova Arx*, ni à Tunis, ville abandonnée par la majorité de ses habitants réduits à s'enfuir dans les montagnes environnantes, ni à La Goulette (Sanchez de Castro 1601). Le système consulaire semble donc avoir été suspendu, mis à part le consulat d'Espagne fondé par Charles Quint et ayant son siège à La Goulette, et le quartier franc, ruiné. Si les religieux de Saint-François se sont bien installés à Tunis sous les Hafside (voir *supra*), nous ignorions cependant que ce fut en ce point de la ville. Une église dédiée à Saint-François et desservant la milice chrétienne (De Mas Latrie 1872: 48) du sultan hafside a bien existé, mais dans le faubourg sud, à proximité de la Kasbah (voir *supra*). Les Vénitiens avaient une église dédiée à la Sainte-Vierge, les Génois à Saint-Laurent (et à la Sainte-Vierge, voir *supra*). S'agirait-il de l'église d'une autre nation ou bien d'une simple erreur de notre témoin savoyard ?

Le consul de France Jacques Boyer de Saint-Gervais, mentionne en 1738 dans ses Mémoires qu'il avait observé à Tunis « les restes d'un Couvent de l'ordre de Saint Augustin, dont les murailles et les degrés [escaliers] subsistent, avec une forme & un arrangement dans sa structure, qui indique les dortoirs d'une Maison Religieuse » (1736: 76) dont aucune trace ne subsiste à ce jour. Il en va de même pour le vocable Notre-Dame de la Merci qui servira de dénomination à un bain. Simple hasard ou survivance des traces d'une présence chrétienne qui marqua durablement Tunis et sa population tout autant que l'Empire des Habsbourg qui entama sa période de déclin avec la perte de Tunis ?

Après son démantèlement par les Turcs, la *Nova Arx* accueillit aussi des maisons particulières et une taverne. A peu de mètres de là s'élevait un cimetière chrétien appelé « Saint-Antoine du bastion » qui deviendra la sépulture des chrétiens de la ville et la chapelle Saint-Antoine et où furent probablement enterrés les défenseurs de la *Nova Arx* (Pignon 1963: 76-77). Cette cité fut désaffectée après la conquête ottomane, reconvertie dans un premier temps en marché à grains puis investie comme « lieu de débauche », avant d'être démantelée sous le règne d'Uṣṭā Murād Dey (1637-1640) (Bachrouch 1977: 22-23) mettant fin ainsi à cinq siècles d'*urbs* chrétien occidental hors-les-murs.

7. Conclusion

Formé à partir du noyau originel du fondouk pisan, le quartier consulaire a connu une évolution linéaire faite de l'édification des fondouks destinés aux nations représentées (on en compte quatorze), de fondouks réservés aux chrétiens, sans distinction nationale, et de tavernes formant ainsi un établissement humain complexe, aux formes fluctuantes (habitations protégées par un enclos, édifice à cour centrée ou district national) et structuré autour de la douane et de l'arsenal. Fortement endommagé par les sièges successifs, et défavorisé sur le plan défensif par sa position entre le lac et la ville, le quartier consulaire de Tunis n'offre plus de vestiges à observer. Après quatre siècles d'existence (1157-1535) seuls subsistent de son environnement immédiat l'oratoire et la mosquée de Djāma' al-Zaytūna al-Barrānī. Le travail de reconstitution réalisé dans cet article vise à restituer les principales composantes du quartier consulaire et sa position dans par rapport à la ville. Il gagnerait à être poursuivi sur la base des dessins et croquis réalisés par Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen durant la campagne de Tunis (1535), visibles notamment dans les fresques murales de la *Sala de Túnez* du palais de Marmirolo à Mantoue, de la loge du palais Orsini à Anguillara et de la *Sala de Túnez* de l'Alhambra de Granada (Martinez Jimenez 2020: 133-159), dans les douze tapisseries commanditées par Marie de Hongrie pour commémorer la prise de Tunis ainsi que dans le triptyque Micault (Van Sprang 2001). Il est temps, en la matière, d'écouter ce que les images ont à nous conter.

Tableau chronologique de l'apparition de puissances européennes représentées à Tunis par un consul et y jouissant d'un fondouk national

<i>Puissance représentée</i>	<i>Établissement</i>	<i>Observations</i>
République de Pise	1157	Établissement du Fondouk ou quartier pisan consistant en maisons protégées par un enclos. Agrandi en 1264 en imitation du fondouk génois voisin. Un mur est de même construit pour séparer les deux fondouks.
Royaume d'Aragon	1227	Établissement du fondouk des Aragonais. Agrandissement obtenu en 1271.
Ville de Marseille	1228 (Établissement d'un fondouk) 1255 (Nomination d'un consul)	Il s'agit d'un statut de la ville de Marseille mentionnant le commerce avec le port de Tunis
Royaume de Sicile (Frédéric II)	1231	Établissement du Fondouk impérial de Sicile
République de Venise	1231	Établissement du Fondouk des Vénitiens. Démoli sur ordre du sultan de Tunis en 1392 (<i>circa</i>)
République de Gênes	1236	Premier Fondouk puis un deuxième édifié en 1275.
Royaume de France	1270	Pas d'établissement de fondouk.
Royaume de Navarre	1270	Pas d'établissement de fondouk.
Royaume de Sicile (sous les Angevins)	1270	Pas d'établissement de fondouk (car préexistant).
Royaume de Majorque	1313	Établissement du fondouk des Catalans.
Seigneurie de Piombino et de l'île d'Elbe	1414	Le privilège du fondouk est demandé pour les Pisans.
République de Florence (et de Pise)	1421	Établissement du fondouk des Florentins et conservation du fondouk des Pisans (car préexistant).

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Veneziano, Agostino. 1535. Détail du « Plan de Tunis. » Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps, Inc. Ca. 1560 view of Tunis by Agostino Veneziano - PICRYL Public Domain Image

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Investigating the readability of literary texts translations

A step towards formulating the ‘Nativity Hypothesis’

Mahmoud Afrouz

The present study aims at formulating a tentative hypothesis for the issue of ‘Nativity.’ It focuses on the readability level of the translations by source-language native and target-language native translators. The corpus selected for analysis was the Persian Modern novella *The Blind Owl*. The original work was written by the most widely-known Persian short-story writer Sadeq Hedayat (1903-1951) and it was translated by Bashiri (the SL native translator) in 2016 and Costello (the TL native translator) in 1957. The corpus was investigated in terms of total word number, ‘Long Words’ number, ‘Hard Words,’ ‘Gunning Fog Index’ and ‘Lexical Density’ in order to give a clear picture of the readability of the two translations. One principle in favour of the tentative ‘Nativity Hypothesis’ was found to be that TL native translators produce a wider, more domesticated, more target-reader friendly, more fluent and more readable translation than SL native translators.’ The study was just a single and humble step towards formulating the NH. Prospective researchers are encouraged to conduct confirmatory research focusing on different text-types, such as classical literary texts, and sacred texts. A researcher working on such subjects would hopefully take a further step towards the formulation of a somehow reliable ‘Nativity Hypothesis.’

Keywords: Nativity Hypothesis, readability, lexical density, Gunning Fog Index

1. Introduction

Formulating a hypothesis is, of course, by no means a simple task. It naturally requires taking a lot of factors into consideration. In the specific case of translation readability, such factors as the number of corpuses, the direction of translations from major to minor cultures or vice versa, and the text-types investigated, among others, must be considered in order to enable the researcher to confidently formulate a somehow reliable hypothesis. Although it appears as a very long journey, it really needs to be remembered that even “the longest journey begins with a single step” (Simpson and Speake 2003: 20).

In the present study, the researcher intended to take one single step to set out on this long journey of formulating a hypothesis on the issue of ‘Nativity’ (i.e., translator’s being a native of the SL or the TL) by focusing mainly on the readability of the target-text (TT). This tentative hypothesis would be called ‘the Nativity Hypothesis’ (henceforth the NH) since it describes the features of the TTs carried out by source-language native and target-language native translators. SL native translators are those who translate from their mother-language into a foreign-language and are expected to possess a “full familiarity” (Afrouz 2017: 9) with their own cultural system. Accordingly, TL native translators are defined as those who translate from a foreign language into their mother language.

As was emphasized, it was just a single step towards possibly formulating the NH and its delimitation was as follows: from among various languages, Persian was taken into consideration since it was the researcher’s mother tongue; from among various text-types, *The Blind Owl* as a masterpiece in modern Persian literature was selected since it was the only work rendered by a SL native and a TL native translator the researcher had access to.

The study seeks to find answer to the following questions:

1. What are the main formal features of the translations by the SL native and the TL native translator of the modern Persian piece of fiction?
2. How are the translations presented by the SL / TL native translator comparable in terms of readability?
3. Which translations are more foreignized or domesticated?
4. What would be the main principles of the new tentative ‘Nativity Hypothesis’?

2. Literature review

The results of previous studies comparing native and non-native translators and recent studies on *The Blind Owl* are reviewed in section 2.1 and 2.2, respectively. Section 2.3 reviews some previous studies dealing with readability issues.

2.1. Previous studies on translations of *The Blind Owl*

Differences between the culture of the source-language and the target-language pose great challenges to literary translators (Ordudari 2008a, 2008b; Parvaz and Afrouz 2021). The majority of the articles or theses conducted on *The Blind Owl* focus on the issue of culture-bound-concepts (CBCs). CBCs are those SL concepts which are “entirely unknown” (Afrouz 2019: 5) to the majority of the TL

readership. The corpus of Salehi's (2013) study investigated the strategies employed by Costello (1957) and Bashiri (1974) in rendering cultural items of *The Blind Owl*. He investigated the strategies since it is approved that they can highly affect the type of equivalents selected for the SL terms (Golchinnezhad and Afrouz 2021a, 2021b; Afrouz 2021a, 2021c, 2021d, 2022; Latifi Shirejini and Afrouz 2021a, 2021b). On the basis of Salehi's (2013) findings, Bashiri (1974) adopted more source-oriented strategies than Costello. In other words, as the researcher concluded, the TL native translator had greater tendencies towards domestication strategies than the SL native translator.

The results found by Salehi (2013) were confirmed by Dehbashi Sharif and Shakiba (2015), who had worked on the same corpus.

Interestingly, part of the results was also confirmed in the study conducted by Vasheghani Farahani and Mokhtari (2016). The word 'part' was employed here since the corpus of their study included only Costello's translation. Costello (1957) was found by them to show great tendencies towards domestication strategies. In other words, the TL native translator translated *The Blind Owl* "in a fluent way" in order "to make it more comprehensible" for the target readership (Vasheghani Farahani & Mokhtari 2016: 321).

Afrouz (2017) also compared two translations of *The Blind Owl*, one by Costello (1957) and the other by Bashiri (2013). The only difference between his corpus and those selected by the previous researchers reviewed up to now was his selection of Bahiri's then latest translation (in 2013). Afrouz's (2017) findings indicated that Costello (1957), the TL native translator, showed greater inclinations (84%) towards domestication strategies than Bashiri (70%), the SL native translator. In other words, the results found by Afrouz (2017) were in line with the findings of previous researchers.

In general, the works reviewed here revealed one significant characteristic of translations carried out by the SL / TL native translators of *The Blind Owl* which can partly contribute to the formulation of the Nativity Hypothesis. However, none of the works reviewed in this section focused on the latest translation carried out by the SL native translator (i.e., Bashiri 2016). Furthermore, none of them had concentrated on the 'readability' factor. Therefore, the present study was conducted to fill this research gap.

2.2. Studies focusing on foreignizing /domesticating translations

Oittinen (1997) investigated three Finnish translations of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (by Lewis Carroll 1865). Translations included that of "Anni Swan in 1906" which was "domesticating," "Kirsi Kunnas and Eeva-Liisa Manner in 1972" which was "free," and "Alice Martin in 1995" which was "foreignizing" (Paloposki and Koskinen 2004: 34). Anni Emilia Swan (1875- 1958) was a Finnish writer.

Eeva-Liisa Manner (1924) is a Finnish translator, poet and playwright. Kirsi Kunnas (1924-1995) was also a Finnish translator, children’s literature author and poet. Alice Martin (1959) is a Finnish translator. Unfortunately, none of the translators were native speakers; therefore, the results could not be employed and compared to the findings of the current study.

Birdwood-Hedger’s (2006) paper dealt with domestication and foreignization in English translations of *Anna Karenina*. Translators included Pevear (American) and Volokhonsky (Russian) in 2000, Nathan Haskell Dole (American) in 1886, Garnett Constance Clara Garnett (English) in 1901, Edmonds (English) in 1954, Louise and Aylmer Maude (English) in 1918. On the basis of the results, Pevear and Volokhonsky (2000) had presented the most foreignized translation of *Anna Karenina* into English. In other words, the group of translators consisting of a TL native and a SL-native translator had shown the least tendency towards domestication. The result is again of not much use in the present study since the study does not deal with collective translations.

The corpus of Brownlie’s (2006: 145) study comprised “Zola’s novel *Nana* and its five major British translations”: an anonymous translator (1884), Victor Plarr (1895), Charles Duff (1956), George Holden (1972), and Douglas Parmée (1992). The researcher found “that the first translation is adaptive to the target system, and the later translations are more source-oriented” (Brownlie 2006: 166). All translators were SL native translators.

Tobias (2006) analyzed two translations of a work by Kawabata (1926). Both translators, Seidensticker (1954) and Holman (1997), were American, although the former had presented a more domesticated translation.

Vándor (2010) dealt with some English novels written by female writers: Brontë’s *Wuthering Heights* translated by Sötér (1957), Borbás (1993), Feldmár (2006); Austen’s *Sense and Sensibility* translated by Borbás (1976) and Sillár (2008), Brontë’s *Jane Eyre* (1969) translated by Mária (1959), Zsuzsa (2007) and its adaptation for girls. All translators were SL natives.

Akef and Vakili (2010) investigated two English translations of the Persian novel *Savushun* by Ghanoonparvar (1990) and Zand (1991). Although the latter translator’s work was found by the researchers to be less source-oriented than the former’s translation, the results were not of much use in the present study since both translators were SL native speakers.

Bollettieri and Torresi (2012) worked on the two Italian translations of James Joyce’s *Ulysses*: one by Angelis (1960), and the latest one by Terrinoni and Bigazzi (2012). The two translations were carried out by TL native speakers.

Darvishi (2013) explored a corpus including two children’s novels and their six Persian translations. All translators were SL native speakers.

Vahid Dastjerdi and Mohammadi (2013) worked on the stylistic features of Austen's (1813) novel *Pride and Prejudice* and its translations into Persian by Mosaahab (1955) and Pooraanfar and Adelpoor (2007). The first translation was found to be more domesticated. Both group of translators were SL native speakers

The corpus of Heino's (2013) study consisted of the English novel *Mary Poppins* (by Pamela Lyndon Travers 1956) and its three Finnish translations called *Maija Poppanen*. The work has been translated into Finnish by Tuulio (1980), Makkonen (2009), and Kapari-Jatta (2010). The two retranslations were found to be closer to the source-text than the initial translation. As far as 'nativity' is concerned, all translators were of the same type.

Askari and Akbari (2014) focused on the two Persian translations of Orwell's *Animal Farm* by Firuzbakht (1988) and Amirshahi (2010). The retranslation was found to be more source-oriented. Both translators were TL native speakers.

De Letter (2015) dealt with translations of Thackeray's (1855) *The Rose and the Ring*. Translations investigated by her included: Lindo (1869), van der Hoeve (1888), Blom (1961), and Foppema (1976). As far as 'nativity' is concerned, all translators were of the same type.

Obeidat's (2019) study worked on methods of rendering collocations in the Arabic novel *Awlad Haratina* and its English translations by Stewart (1981) and Theroux (1988). The retranslation was found to be less source-oriented than the initial translation. Obeidat and Mahadi (2019) also investigated religious collocations in the same corpus. As far as 'nativity' is concerned, both translators were of the same type.

Ziemann (2019) investigated three English translations of a story by Schulz (1892–1942) including that of Wieniewska, Davis and Levine. While Wieniewska was a SL native translator, the two other were TL native translators. It was found that the SL native translator had shown greater tendencies towards domestication than the two TL natives.

Widman (2019) worked on *A Paixão Segundo G. H.* by the Brazilian writer Lispector (1964) and its two English translations by Sousa (1988) and Novey (2012). Both translators were of the same type.

Alshehri (2020) concentrated on three case studies: the first one consisted of Poe's *The Tell Tale Heart* and its two Arabic renditions by Alqurashi (1993) and Alawadh (1992); the second one was included O. Henry's *While the Auto Waits* and its translations by Alammar (2003) and Alawadh (1992); and the third case study comprised O. Henry's *Hearts and Hands* and its translations by Alqurashi (1993) and Alammar (2003). All translators were SL native speakers.

As the review revealed, and as far as the researcher could find, only two works investigated and compared translations carried out by both TL native and SL native speakers. Interestingly, the results

of the two works were contradictory since, in one of them, the TL native translators had shown greater tendencies towards domestication while in the other one, the case was totally different. Therefore, the current study was conducted to fill the research gap and focused on the potential influence of ‘nativity’ on the characteristics of the final product of translation and attempted to formulate a hypothesis in this regard. Formulation of such hypotheses may trigger prospective researchers to focus more on the works of both the TL native and the SL native translators and attempt either to confirm or disprove the tentative principles presented as the results in the current study.

2.3. Previous studies on ‘readability’

Readability, according to Martinc *et al.* (2021: 141) “is concerned with the relation between a given text and the cognitive load of a reader to comprehend it.” Translators “should prioritize the readability of the text for the target reader” (McDonald, 2020: 25). Some studies concentrated on the readability of texts as perceived by a particular group of people, such as foreign or second language learners (François 2009), children (Schwarm and Ostendorf 2005), or individuals suffering intellectual disabilities (Feng *et al.* 2010). While a number of studies focused on the concept of readability in specific fields of studies, such as agriculture (Madhushree *et al.* 2020) or medical texts (Leroy and Endicott 2011), others preferred to investigate the issue of readability in “generic” texts “without targeting a specific audience” or text types (De Clercq and Hoste 2016: 457-458). Some of the recently conducted studies on readability issues are reviewed below.

Simply defining readability as “what makes some texts easier to read than others,” DuBay (2004: 7) gives a short history of research in readability and the readability formulas. He first introduced a number of classic readability studies whose aim “was to develop practical methods to match reading materials with the abilities of students and adults” (DuBay 2004: 14). Then, the researcher described some recent studies which he called “the new readability studies,” including “the cloze test,” “reading ability, prior knowledge, interest, and motivation,” “reading efficiency,” “the measurement of content,” “text leveling,” etc. Reviewing a number of ‘new readability formulas,’ such as the Coleman formulas, the SMOG formula, the FORCAST formula, the ATOS formula, the Bormuth Mean Cloze formula, Dale-Chall readability formula, DuBay (2004: 62) finally asserted that “the readability formulas, when used properly, help us increase the chances of that success.”

Collins-Thompson’s (2014: 97) paper provided “background on how readability of texts is assessed automatically” and the researcher reviewed “the current state-of-the-art algorithms in automatic modeling and predicting the reading difficulty of texts,” Collins-Thompson (2014: 113)

criticized some traditional readability measures such as the Flesch-Kincaid score (Kincaid *et al.* 1975), the Revised Dale-Chall formula (Chall and Dale 1995), and the Fry Short Passage measure (Fry 1990) due to the fact that they “are based only on surface characteristics of text, and ignore deeper levels of text processing known to be important factors in readability, such as cohesion, syntactic ambiguity, rhetorical organization, and propositional density.”

De Clercq and Hoste’s (2016) study aimed at identifying “whether it is possible to build an automatic readability prediction system that can score and compare the readability of English and Dutch generic text.” They collected texts from various text types in the two languages and got the data assessed by a crowdsource and some experts. The researchers finally claimed that they have “succeeded in building a fully automatic readability prediction system for both English and Dutch generic text” (De Clercq and Hoste’s 2016: 486).

Madhushree *et al.* (2020: 508) attempted to develop a sort of readability formula by focusing on the following three readability variables “Word length, Average sentence length and Percentage technical words.” Their findings indicated “a significant relationship between the developed readability formulae with the readability formula developed by earlier social scientists” (Madhushree *et al.* 2020: 508). Also notable is the fact that the corpus opted for by the researchers was limited to agricultural texts.

Tsebryk and Botchkaryov (2021) investigated the challenges of developing a software service for text readability assessment and employed “the Python programming language and the Natural Language Toolkit (NLTK) library” (Tsebryk and Botchkaryov 2021: 1). The researchers emphasized that the “length” of sentences and words, “the variety (uniqueness)” of lexical items in the text, “the number of syllables in a sentence,” and “the presence of complex words and terms in the text” are “[a]mong the factors influencing the readability of the text” (Tsebryk and Botchkaryov 2021: 1). Their short paper did not work on a corpus to practically assess the readability of a piece of text.

Gunning Fog Index (GFI), Dale-Chall Readability Formula (DCRF), Flesch Reading Ease Test (FRET), Automated Readability Index (ARI), Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level (FKGL), McLaughlin's SMOG Formula, Coleman-Liau Index (CLI) are among the most frequently employed methods for assessing the readability of texts (Tsebryk and Botchkaryov 2021; Liu *et al.* 2021). GFI was used in the present study since the online software¹ using this metric was the most user-friendly and readily accessible one which could analyze the text and assess its readability in a fraction of a second. As far as the researcher knows, no study has yet employed the GFI to assess the readability of modern Persian

¹ <http://www.usingenglish.com/resources/text-statistics.php>

literary texts translated into English by two various types of translators (i.e., the SL / TL native translators) in order to formulate a new hypothesis.

3. Methodology

The current study is a corpus-based, descriptive, library research carried out as an attempt to formulate a new tentative Nativity Hypothesis to account for the main factor affecting translation readability.

3.1. Corpus

Sadeq Hedayat (1903-1951) is the most widely-known Persian short-story writer and contemporary novelist. He is praised by many researchers as Iran’s literary figure of paramount importance (Beard 1975), and is considered as the “most influential” and brilliant writer of modern Persian literature (Rahimieh 2014: 107).

His only novella, *بوف کور* /buf-e kur/ *The Blind Owl* (first published in 1936) is an acclaimed work of modern Persian letters which “has stirred abundant scholarly contemplation in the academic world” (Afrouz 2021b: 6). It is described by researchers and literary figures as Hedayat’s most famous and “mature” work (Katouzian 2012: 171), an “opaque masterpiece” (Beard 1979: 742), “the cult book of modern Persian literature” (Ghanoonparvar 2010: 555), “the greatest” (Farahmandfar and Samigorganroodi 2015: 25) and highly praised “work of twentieth-century Persian fiction” (Mansouri-Zeyni 2013: 553).

The “atmosphere” in *The Blind Owl* is “generally gloomy” and the “literary techniques” used by Hedayat include the “deliberate distortion of time and space for special effects,” the “juxtaposition of scenes for special effects,” the “repetition of scenes,” and “borrowing images from Indian and European sources for narrative enhancement” (Bashiri 1974: 10).

The *Blind Owl* was first translated into English in 1957 by Desmond Patrick Costello (Afrouz 2020). Costello is a TL native translator. Iraj Bashiri (2016) is the last person who rendered the novella into English. Bashiri is a SL native translator. All these characteristics made it a special work to be investigated.

Thirty percent of the entire work (including 10% from the beginning, 10% from the middle, and 10% from the end) was selected as the corpus of the study.

3.2. Procedures

The study was conducted in two stages. In the quantitative stage, the target text (TT) produced by the SL native and the TL native translators were studied in terms of the total number of words, the number of 'Long Words,' 'Hard Words,' 'Gunning Fog Index' and 'Lexical Density.' These are calculated by an online-software.² This text analyzer software was preferred to others since it was the only online and comprehensive text analyzer software the author had access to. These criteria are explained³ as follows:

- Long Words: words with “more than six characters;”
- Hard Words: “complex words” with “three or more syllables” which typically “do not contain a hyphen;”
- Lexical Density: it reveals “how easy or difficult a text is to read and is calculated using the following formula:” Lexical Density (without stop words) = (lexical words/words) * 100;
- Gunning Fog Index: it refers to the “number of years of formal education that a person requires to easily comprehend the text on an initial reading.” It is calculated using the formula: “Gunning Fog Index= 0.4 * (ASL + ((SYW/words) * 100)),” where: Average Sentence Length refers to “the number of words divided by the number of sentences” and SYW refers to the “number of words with three or more syllables.”

In the second phase, the qualitative stage, a sample of the source-text was extracted, and then, the two translations were compared in order to make the discussion more tangible.

4. Results and discussion

Table 1. shows different words, words per sentence, and the total number of characters, syllables, words, and sentences in each translation.

² Adopted from '<http://www.usingenglish.com/resources/text-statistics.php>'

³ All explanations within the double quotation marks are also adopted from <http://www.usingenglish.com/resources/text-statistics.php>

Criteria	Costello (1957)	Bashiri (2016)
Total Word Count	8561	6525
Word Count (Excluding Common Words)	3902	2958
Number of Different Words	3229	2514
Different Words (Excluding Common Words)	2731	2069
Number of Sentences	459	368
Words per Sentence	18.75	17.95
Number of Characters	45144	34679
Syllables	11624	8898

Table 1. General features of Bashiri and Costello’s translations

The TL native translator’s work was about 2000 words or 14% longer than the SL native translator’s translation. Exclusion of the number of common words does not change the percentage. Although it may be assumed that greater readability is usually associated to shorter texts, in this case (i.e., literary texts), when the translated text is shorter, it would be of greater ‘lexical density’ than longer translations of the same source-text (Table 2.). The need of the TL native translator to expand may be ascribed to his Orientalist tendencies. It is noteworthy to mention that the TL native translator showed greater tendency towards expansion in order to render nuances and explain cultural subtleties to the TT reader.

In terms of ‘Number of Different Words,’ in the TL native’s translation 12% more different words were used. As regards the ‘Number of Sentences,’ the SL native translator’s work included 12% less sentences than that of the TL native translator. Concerning the number of ‘Words per Sentence,’ the difference between the two works is less than 1% and, therefore, it seems that the ‘length of sentences’ in the two translations is not significantly different.

Table 2. reveals the readability of translations by the SL native and the TL native translators.

Criteria	Costello (1957)	Bashiri (2016)
Hard Words	7.09%	7.07%
Long Words	15.15%	15.60%
Lexical Density	37.75	39.98
Lexical Density (without Stop Words)	45.63	45.19
Gunning Fog Index	10.33	10.01

Table 2. Readability of Bashiri and Costello’s translations

As for the percentage of 'Hard Words' employed in the translations of the two translators, the difference is insignificant (0.02%).

Regarding 'Long Words,' in the SL native translator's work 'long words' are used more (0.45%) comparing to that of the TL native. Longer words can, to some extent, reduce the readability of the target text.

As regards 'Lexical Density,' the difference between the two translations is about 2%. It shows how difficult or easy a piece of text is to read. Based on what is presented in Table 2., Bahiri's work is less readable than Costello's. Phrased more accurately, the translation by the TL native translator shows greater tendencies towards providing target-readership with highly readable texts.

The SL native translator showed greater tendency towards contraction. His translation contained 2000 words less than the TT carried out by the TL native translator. The TL native translator had employed more words in an attempt to seemingly render nuances and explain cultural subtleties to the TT readers. But what would possibly be the reason behind the fact that the SL native translator did not show equal tendencies towards providing the TT readers with clarifying notes concerning cultural terms? One possible reason could be the time gap between the two works. The SL native translator's work was published 59 years after the TL native translator's work. Therefore, it would not seem improbable to expect some changes that may affect the translator's strategies, e.g. different reading habits, language change, the readership's greater knowledge of other cultures due to globalization (hence the possibility of reducing explanations of culture-specific aspects).

Concerning 'Gunning Fog Index,' the difference is insignificant and shows that anyone with 10 years of formal education can read both of these target texts and easily comprehend them.

Taking 'Long Words,' and 'Lexical Density' into consideration, we can observe that the TL native translator's work is more readable, more domesticated and more target-reader-friendly than that of the SL native translator.

4.1. Discussing a number of cases

In this section, a number of instances consisting of the source text (ST), its transliteration (Tr), and the two target texts (TTs) are compared and contrasted mainly based on the number of words, characters, sentences, etc.

ST	آیا روزی به اسرار این اتفاقات ماوراء طبیعی، این انعکاس سایه روح که در حالت اغما و برزخ بین خواب و بیداری جلوه می‌کند، کسی پی خواهد برد؟ (Shamisa 1993: 148)
Tr	/āyā-ruzī-be-asrāre-īn-etefāgate-mavara‘e-tabī‘ī-īn-en‘ekāse-sāyeye-rūh-ke-dar-hālate-eqma-va-barzakh-beyne-khāb-o-bidārī-jelveh-mīkonad-kasī-pey-khāhad-bord/ ⁴
TT1	Will anyone ever penetrate the secret of this disease which transcends ordinary experience, this reverberation of the shadow of the mind, which manifests itself in a state of coma like that between death and resurrection, when one is neither asleep nor awake? (Costello 1957: 6)
TT2	One day would someone reveal the secret behind these supernatural happenings, this reflection of the shadow of the soul that manifests itself in a coma-like limbo between sleep and wakefulness? (Bashiri 2016: 4)

Table 3. Examining one sample sentence

According to Table 3., while the TL native translator’s sentence consists of 42 words and 218 characters, the sentence translated by the SL native translator includes 30 words and 164 characters. In other words, in this instance, TT1 is 16% longer than TT2. As was illustrated in Table 1., in the translation by the TL native translator, the number of ‘long words’ exceeded that in the SL native translator’s work. Some instances could be observed in the use of the lexical items ‘wakefulness,’ ‘supernatural’ and ‘happenings.’

⁴ Persian is transliterated according to the UN System (1972). Retrieved from <http://ee.www.ee/transliteration>.

ST	افکار پوچ—باشد! ولی از هر حقیقتی بیشتر مرا شکنجه می کند: آیا این مردمی که شبیه من هستند، که ظاهراً احتیاجات و هوا و هوس مرا دارند برای گول زدن من نیستند؟ آیا یک مشت سایه نیستند که فقط برای مسخره کردن و گول زدن من به وجود آمده‌اند؟ آیا آنچه که حس می‌کنم، می‌بینم و می‌سنجم سرتاسر موهوم نیست که با حقیقت خیلی فرق دارد؟ (Shamisa 1993: 149)
Tr	/Afkāre-pūch-bāshad!-valī-az-har-haqīqatī-bīsh-tar-marā-shekan-jeh-mīkonad: āya-īn-mardomī-ke-shabihe-man-hastand-ke-zāheran-ehtiyājāt-va-havā-va-havase-marā-dārand-barāye-gul-zadane-man-nīstand? āya-yek-mosht-sāyeh-nīstand-ke-faqat-barāyeh-maskhareh-kardan-va-gūl-zadane-man-be-vojūd-āmadeh-and? āya-ānche-ke-hes-mīkonam-mībīnam-va-mīsanjam-sar-tā-sar-mohūm-nīst-ke-bā-haqīqat-kheilī-farq-dārad?/
TT1	Idle thoughts! Perhaps. Yet they torment me more savagely than any reality could do. Do not the rest of mankind who look like me, who appear to have the same needs and the same passions as I, exist only in order to cheat me? Are they not a mere handful of shadows which have come into existence only that they may mock and cheat me? Is not everything that I feel, see and think something entirely imaginary, something utterly different from reality? (Costello 1957: 7)
TT2	Absurd thoughts! Fine, but they torture me more than any reality. Are not these people who resemble me, who seemingly share my whims and desires—are they not here to deceive me? Are they not a handful of shadows that have been brought into existence only to mock and deceive me? Isn't that which I feel, see and measure imaginary throughout and quite different from reality? (Bashiri 2016: 5)

Table 4. Examining one sample paragraph

Table 4. contains one paragraph of the ST and the two TTs. Basiri's paragraph consists of 5 sentences and 66 words, while Costello's paragraph includes 6 sentences and 82 words. In other words, the TL native translator's paragraph is generally 10% longer and contains one sentence more than the SL native translator's paragraph. This increase in length has been generally assessed to result in the increase in the readability level of the TL native translator's work. Furthermore, the use of lexical items such as 'look like,' 'needs' and 'entirely' in TT 1 instead of 'resemble,' 'whims' and 'throughout' in TT 2 (as equivalents for the ST terms شبیه /shabīh/, احتیاجات /ehtiyājāt/, and سرتاسر /sar-tā-sar/) reduce the level of its 'Lexical Density.'

ST	بعد از او من دیگر خودم را از جرگه آدم‌ها، از جرگه احمق‌ها و خوشبخت‌ها بکلی بیرون کشیدم و برای فراموشی به شراب و تریاک پناه بردم. زندگی من تمام روز میان چهار دیوار اطاقم می‌گذشت و می‌گذرد. سرتاسر زندگیم میان چهار دیوار گذشته است (Shamisa 1993: 155)
Tr	/b'd-az-oū-man-dīgar-khodam-rā-āz-jargeye-ādamhā-āz-jargeye-ahmaqhā-va-khoshbakhthā-bekolī-bīrūn-keshīdam-va-baraye-farāmūshī-be-sharāb-va-taryāk-panāh-bordam-zandegīye-man-tamāmeh-rūz-mīyāne-chāhār-dīvāre-otāqam-mīgozasht-va-mīgozarad-sar-tā-sare-zendegīyām-mīyāne-chāhār-dīvār-gozashteh-ast/
TT1	After she had gone I withdrew from the company of man, from the company of the stupid and the successful and, in order to forget, took refuge in wine and opium. My life passed, and still passes, within the four walls of my room. All my life has passed within four walls (Costello 1957: 10)
TT2	After seeing her, I withdrew from the circle of people. I withdrew completely from the circle of the fools and the fortunate; and, for forgetfulness, took refuge in wine and opium. I passed, and continue to pass, my life daily within the four walls of my room. My whole life has passed within four walls (Bashiri 2016: 7)

Table 5. Examining one sample paragraph

In Table 5., although the number of words in TT1 and TT2 were approximately similar, the TL native translator’s paragraph contains one sentence more than that of the SL native. The use of ‘successful’, ‘forget’, and ‘All my life’ in TT 1 instead of ‘fortunate’, ‘forgetfulness’, and ‘My whole life’ in TT 2 (as equivalents for the ST terms ‘خوشبخت‌ها’ /khoshbakhthā/, ‘فراموشی’ /farāmūshī/, and ‘سرتاسر زندگیم’ /sar-tā-sare-zendegīyām/) reduce the level of its ‘Lexical Density.’

ST	از حسن اتفاق خانهاام بیرون شهر، در یک محل ساکت و آرام دور از آشوب و جنجال زندگی مردم واقع شده، اطراف آن کاملاً مجزا و دورش خرابه است. فقط از آن طرف خندق خانه‌های توسری خورده پیدا است و شهر شروع می‌شود. نمی‌دانم این خانه را کدام مجنون یا کج‌سلیقه در عهد دقیانوس ساخته. چشمم را که می‌بندم نه فقط همه سوراخ سنبه‌هایش پیش چشمم مجسم می‌شود، بلکه فشار آنها را روی دوش خودم حس می‌کنم. خانه‌یی که فقط روی قلمدان‌های قدیم ممکن است نقاشی کرده باشند. (Shamisa 1993: 155)
Tr	/āz-hosne-etefāq-khāne-am-bīrūne-shahr-dar-yek-mahalle-sāket-va-ārām-dūr-āz-āshūb-va-janjāle-zendegīye-mardom-vāqe'-shodeh-atrāfe-ān-kāmelan-mojazzā-va-dorash-kharābe-ast-faqat-az-ān-tarafe-khandaq-khānehaye-tū-sarī-khordeh-peydāst-va-shahr-shorū'-mīshavad-nemīdānam-īn-khāneh-rā-kodām-majnūn-yā-kaj-salīqeh-dar-ahde-daqyānūs-skhteh-cheshmam-rā-ke-mībandam-na-faqat-hameye-sūrākh-sonbehāyash-pīshe-cheshmam-mojasam-mīshavad-balke-feshāre-anha-rā-rūye-dūshe-khodam-hes-mīkonam-khāneyī-ke-faqat-rūye-qalamdanhāye-qadīm-momken-ast-naqashī-karde-bāshand/
TT 1	I am fortunate in that the house where I live is situated beyond the edge of the city in a quiet district far from the noise and bustle of life. It is completely isolated and around it lie ruins. Only on the far side of the gully one can see a number of squat mud-brick houses which mark the extreme limit of the city. They must have been built by some fool or madman heaven knows how long ago. When I shut my eyes not only can I see every detail of their structure but I seem to feel the weight of them pressing on my shoulders. They are the sort of houses which one finds depicted only on the covers of ancient pen-cases (Costello 1957: 10)
TT 2	By a lucky chance my house is located outside the city, in a quiet and restful spot, away from the hustle and bustle of people's lives. Its surroundings are completely free and around it there are some ruins. Only from the other side of the ditch some low mud-brick houses are visible and the city begins there. I do not know which madman or which ill-disposed architect has built this house in forgotten times. When I close my eyes, not only do all its nooks and crannies materialize before my eyes but I also feel their pressure on my shoulders. It is a house that could only have been painted on ancient pen-cases (Bashiri 2016: 7)

Table 6. Examining one sample paragraph

In Table 6., although the ST paragraph rendered by both translators consists of 6 sentences, Costello's paragraph includes 11 more words than that of Bashiri. One tangible instance of the increase in the level of 'lexical density' and, consequently, the decrease of the 'readability' factor, could be observed in the two equivalents 'every detail' (by Costello) and 'all its nooks and crannies' (by Bashiri) for the ST term سوراخ سنبه /sūrākh-sonbeh/. The equivalent selected by the TL native translator (i.e., 'every detail') only consists of two simple words, while the equivalent chosen by the SL native translator (i.e., 'all its nooks and crannies') consists of five words—these five words has made an informal idiom whose meaning may not be readily comprehended by the target-text readers. It is also noteworthy to mention that the idiom is documented in English monolingual dictionaries (such as Oxford Advanced

Learner’s Dictionary) as ‘every nook and cranny.’ The way it is manipulated by the SL native translator may lead to the reduction of readability and can be considered as an impediment in adequate understanding of the meaning of the target-text by the TT readers. Besides, the word كجسليقه /kaj-saliqeh/ is simply rendered by Costello as ‘fool’, while Bashiri selected ‘ill-disposed architect’ which enjoys higher ‘lexical density’ and is, consequently, less readable.

4.2. Answering the Research Questions

1. What are the main formal features of the translations carried out by the SL native and the TL native translator of the modern Persian fiction?

In terms of general formal features, the TL native translator’s work was 14% more expanded, and it contained 12% more sentences than the SL native’s translation. The TL native’s translation used 12% more different words in his translation.

2. How are the translations presented by the SL / TL native translator comparable in terms of readability?

As for readability features, the translation by Bashiri contained more ‘long words’ (0.45%) than the one produced by Costello. On the other hand, Costello’s work exceeded that of Bashiri (by 2%) in terms of ‘Lexical Density.’ Altogether, it was found that the translation carried out by the TL native translator had higher level of readability than that of the SL native translator.

3. Which translations are more foreignized or domesticated?

On the basis of what is illustrated in Table 2, the SL native translator’s work was less domesticated than that of the TL native translator. According to Munday (2016: 225), domestication “entails translating in a transparent” and “fluent” style and Venuti (1995/2008, quoted in Munday 2016: 225) “allies” domestication “with Schleiermacher’s description of translation that ‘leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author toward him.’” Furthermore domesticated texts would bring the ST “closer to the linguistic standards and literary canon of the recipient culture” and make the TT more readable for them (Venuti 1995, quoted in Bollettieri and Torresi 2012: 37). All these indicate that highly domesticated target texts would seem more readable than the foreignized ones. The factors included in Table 2, i.e., Hard Words, Long Words, Lexical Density and Gunning Fog Index, showed that Bashiri’s translation was less domesticated than Costello’s translation. In Schleiermacher’s terms, the TL native translator (Costello) has left the target readers in peace and moved the ST author towards them.

4. What would be the main principles of the new tentative ‘Nativity Hypothesis’?

On the whole, according to the tentative NH, the TL native translator’s work is more expanded, more readable, and more target-reader-friendly than that of the SL native translator.

5. Conclusion

In the present study, the researcher intended to formulate a tentative hypothesis on the issue of ‘Nativity.’ A number of previously carried out studies which focused on the product of the target- and the source-language native translators were reviewed and new results were achieved.

Ziemann (2019) found that the SL native translator had shown greater tendencies towards domestication than the TL natives. However, based on the studies conducted on *The Blind Owl*’s English translations, all researchers (i.e., Salehi 2013, Dehbashi Sharif and Shakiba 2015, Vasheghani Farahani and Mokhtari 2016, and Afrouz 2017) unanimously concluded that the TL native translator had made a more target-reader friendly translation than the SL translator. Altogether, all researchers (except one) indicated that the TL native translator produced a more domesticated translation than the SL native translator. The main finding of the present study is in line with and confirms the results found by previous studies.

Therefore, as an initial step towards formulating ‘the Nativity Hypothesis’, the tentative principle would be that ‘the TL native translators produce a translation which would be more expanded, more domesticated, more target-reader friendly, more fluent and more readable than the SL native translators.’

Of course there are many factors influencing a translator in addition to their native language, e.g. the intended audience, the translator’s purposes and principles, translation norms etc.; however, the scope of this paper was delimited to one single factor and none of those factors or variables could be investigated in this study. Other researchers would hopefully take other factors into consideration. Prospective researchers interested in the subject are also encouraged to conduct a confirmatory research focusing on other aspects such as: different text-types (e.g., informative and vocative texts); classical literary texts; sacred texts and other text-types; direction of translations; collective translations (produced by a group of natives, TL natives, or a mixed group consisting of both natives and TL natives); texts translated from major into minor cultures; the issue of foreignization (and domestication), explicitation and other stylistic issues. Each researcher who would work on such subjects, would hopefully take one step towards the formulation of a somehow reliable ‘Nativity Hypothesis.’

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Va tuje darvaze! Di Maria has been a pest all night
Evaluative language in Persian and English live football commentary

Samir Hassanvandi and Maryam Golchinnezhad

This paper explores the expression of evaluative language in live football commentary in Persian and English. The main focus of this study was to explore differences in the use of evaluation in three different modes of football live commentary provided in the UEFA Champions League (UCL) 2014 final match between Real Madrid and Atlético Madrid: live radio commentary (LRC), live TV commentary (LTVC), and live text commentary (LTC). The expressions of evaluative language were analyzed regarding Attitude. Attitude is one of three central components of the appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005) in language, which is concerned with the use of evaluative language. The study showed that attitudinal resources were prevalent and varied in the extracts analyzed. They were mainly Judgment oriented and negative. The case study was an attempt to contribute to this growing area of research by exploring the live football commentary genre. The mode of live commentary had a crucial role in determining the number of words spoken during the commentary. Also, the commentator's biased opinion was undeniable, especially in the polarity of the evaluative expressions they used. In each commentary, by nature, there was a predominantly focus on product or process. In LTC, since the commentator is watching the finished action, the focus is entirely product-oriented. LTC also has more frequent use of Affect resources due to the fact that Affect in general deals with evaluating objects and products or how products and performances are valued. In the other two modes of commentaries, given that the commentators are reporting the events happening in the game in real-time and in the spur of moment, the focus is mostly on the process.

Keywords: evaluation, appraisal theory, attitude, football, Champions League, live commentary

1. Introduction

The notion of evaluation has been the concern for many researchers and has been investigated under such various terms as stance (Biber and Finegan 1998; Conard and Bieber 2000), evidentiality (Chafe and Nichols 1986; Aikhenvald 2004), metadiscourse (Crismore 1989; Hyland 2005), subjectivity (Stein and Wright 2005; Finegan 1995), and appraisal (Martin 2000; Martin and White 2005; Jokinen and Silvennoinen 2020). Thompson and Hunston (2000: 5) take evaluation to be “the broad cover term for

the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, a viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about..." Munday (2012) points out the predominance of evaluation in communication and translation. For Volosinov (1973: 105), evaluation is an indispensable ingredient of language and that "no utterance can be put together without value judgment." For him, every utterance beyond all other things has an "evaluative orientation" (Volosinov 1973: 105). Studies of evaluation under appraisal (Martin and White 2005) have been the focus of a large body of research in recent years. It has been used by researchers in various genres including, but not limited to, political discourse and news stories (White 1998; Coffin and O'Halloran 2006; Bednarek 2006; Abasi and Akbari 2013, Ross and Caldwell 2020, Makki and Ross 2021, Xin and Zhang 2021), different types of narratives (Macken-Horarik, 2003; Page 2003; Martin 1996; Coffin 1997; Painter 2003), evaluative strategies in academic writing (Hyland 2005; Swain 2007; Pascual and Unger 2010; Jalilifar, Hayati and Mashhadi 2012), and translation and interpreting studies (Qian 2007; Munday 2012; Arjani 2012; Hassanvandi and Shahnazari 2014; Hassanvandi, Hesabi and Ketabi 2016; Kamyaneh 2020; Qin and Zhang 2020).

There are some studies applying appraisal theory (AT) to languages other than English. In Spanish, Munday (2004) applied it to reports of the 2002 football World Cup from two newspapers: *The Guardian* (UK) and *El País* (Spain) to investigate the realization of evaluation in these papers, and explored the expression of evaluation and the treatment of the same event in news reportage and journalistic commentary. In German, Becker (2009) studied English-German political interviews, focusing on the expression of Engagement. In Chinese, Xinghua and Thompson (2009) investigated the use of evaluative language in Chinese EFL students' argumentative writing. Although the framework has been applied to Persian by some researchers in various genres (Jalilifar, Hayati and Mashhadi 2012; Jalilifar and Savaedi 2012; Arjani 2012; Abasi and Akbari 2013; Hassanvandi and Shahnazari 2014; Hassanvandi, Hesabi and Ketabi 2016), none of them has applied it to the context of football in general and live commentary in particular. Thus, this study is primarily an attempt to fill this lacuna in the literature.

In doing so, the researchers will analyze three different modes of live commentaries of the UCL 2014 final match between the two Spanish teams, Real Madrid and Atlético Madrid in Persian and English. Live commentary appears to be a powerful platform for evaluative language. The live commentaries considered for the purpose of this study are live TV commentary (LTVC), live text commentary (LTC), and live radio commentary (LRC). In exploring the different modes of commentaries, the researchers adopted appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005), recent development of Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). More specifically, it is an extension of the interpersonal function in Systemic Functional

Linguistics (SFL), which is called by Halliday (1978: 117) as the “intruder function.” AT provides an analytical tool for researchers “to better understand the issues associated with evaluative resources and the negotiation of intersubjective positions and opens a new area of interpersonal meaning” (Liu 2010: 133).

The significance of the current study is twofold: first, it is an attempt to apply AT to the Persian language, which according to the available literature, is not studied. Secondly, the discourse of football and live commentary is under-researched, and it deserves more attention in the Persian context. Thus, in this study, a quite recent theory was applied to a relatively unexplored area in Persian. The main objective of the present study is to find the possible divergence between the various modes of commentaries in English and Persian, and to examine these possible differences in terms of Attitude-subsystem of AT. Drawing upon this theory, the current study attempts to address the following questions:

1. Are there any systematic differences/similarities in the way that the selected appraisal aspect manifested in the modes and languages in question?
2. What appraisal strategies in terms of Attitude sub-system do the three commentators concerned mostly rely upon during their commentaries?
3. What are the possible reasons for commentators’ inclination toward using a particular attitudinal marker under appraisal theory?

2. Literature review

A considerable amount of literature has been published on the language of sports. The following studies focus on live commentary from several perspectives.

Attempting to explain an almost new media genre which he calls online sports commentary (OSC), Lewandowski (2012) analyzed English-language online live football reports based on a methodological framework proposed by Conrad and Biber (2000) for register analysis. He aimed at comparing the register at hand with other related varieties such as written sports commentary (WSC) and sports announcer talk (SAT), to demonstrate that the register of online commentary is a combination of spoken and written language. He found that OSC shares some of its linguistic features with both SAT and WSC, and therefore is a hybrid of both registers. Bergh (2011) dealt with the use of war-inspired terminology in live football commentary. Based on cognitive metaphor theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), he tried to validate his two hypotheses: first, public football commentary is typically organized in accordance with the principles and parameters of warfare; second, this strategy is more or less a prerequisite for the successful creation of a live commentary. To test his hypotheses, he analyzed the

online live commentary of the knockout stages of the international tournament Euro 2008. His quantitative analysis of data supports the hypotheses that live football commentary is predominantly entangled with concepts and images related to war and violence.

Analyzing live football commentaries from a rather different perspective, Trouvain (2011) focused on the temporal and pitch features in live football commentaries on two different modes of commentary: television and radio. The results indicated that each commentator has a much higher pitch for the goals than for narrations in the commentary. The results further showed that although there are many similarities between TV and radio commentators, there also exists consistent differences in terms of their use of pitch, pauses, articulation rate, and amount of talk. Employing a descriptive-analytic approach, Modarres Khiyabani (2010) investigated language anomalies in the live TV commentaries provided by four prominent Iranian football commentators. The corpus for the purpose of that study included the last 15 minutes of 12 live TV commentaries of these four football commentators. The purpose of his study was to highlight the language anomalies in these commentaries, and to provide appropriate guidelines to reduce them. The findings pointed to the fact that although there exist many of such anomalies in the language of all commentators concerned, their language is still close to authentic spoken variety.

There is a growing body of literature that recognizes the significance of evaluative language in different contexts. Egging (2012) incorporated AT categorizations proposed by Martin and White (2005) into SFL in the social context of hospitals' emergency units. The analysis of evaluative language contributes to the meaning making process between the patients and doctors/practitioners in Australian hospitals. Appraisal, in her study, plays a key role in uncovering the level of pain that the patients are going through, as well as building empathy towards them on the part of the doctors. Liu (2010) applied AT to English reading comprehension skill in the setting of the college classroom. He conducted experimental research on 100 non-English major students. The results of the study revealed that the consideration of evaluative language in reading comprehension (such as words or expressions that show emotions or evaluations) can help students in understanding the writer's attitude more distinctly. Rodríguez and Hernández (2012) studied the expression of evaluative language in newspaper comment articles. The main focus of their study was to explore differences in the use of evaluations in two British national newspapers: *The Guardian* and *The Sun*. The expressions of evaluative language were analyzed with reference to attitude. The findings of their study showed the role that evaluative meanings play in the dissemination of ideology, in the constitution of textual styles and authorial identities, and in the negotiation of writer/reader relationships. Taboada, Carretero and Hinnell (2014), performed a quantitative analysis of evaluative language in movie reviews generated by

nonprofessional consumers written in English, German and Spanish. The reviews were analyzed with respect to categories of Attitude and Graduation within the Appraisal Theory. The results showed similarities in the distribution of the Appraisal subcategories across the three languages, such as the high frequency of Appreciation and the narrow relationship between the global polarity of the reviews and the individual polarity of the spans.

Previously published studies have applied AT in several contexts, but the research to date has not investigated the evaluative language in football live commentary, particularly from AT proposed by Martin and White (2005).

3. Theoretical framework

This study is based on Appraisal Theory (Martin and White 2005) which is itself embedded within the larger theory of SFL. Following is a brief introduction to AT and the way it is manifested in English.

The term ‘appraisal’ is associated with a system of interpersonal meanings attributed to the negotiation of social relations (Martin 2000; Martin and Rose 2003; Martin and White 2005). AT is, in fact, a framework that demonstrates the way “language is used to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positioning and relationships” (White 2001: 1). For Martin and Rose (2003: 22), “appraisal is concerned with evaluation, the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned.” In Munday’s words, it is “a means of understanding how opinion is being expressed and how that opinion is negotiated between writer and reader” (Munday 2004: 120). AT documents the elements that we use in this negotiating stance process, classifies them, and provides exposition on how they function in real language-speaking situation.

For Martin and White (2005: 1), appraisal and the whole realm of interpersonal function are concerned with “how writers/speakers approve and disapprove, enthuse and abhor, applaud and criticize, and with how they position their readers/listeners to do likewise.” It consists of three major sub-systems, namely ‘Attitude,’ ‘Graduation,’ and ‘Engagement.’ These are differentiated on the basis of semantic criteria rather than grammatical features. Following Martin and White (2005), Munday (2012: 24) describes them as follows:

- Attitude is concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgments of behaviour, and evaluation of things (e.g., happy, sad, horrified, etc.).
- Engagement deals with sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse. (e.g., wrong, right, stingy, skilful, cautious, brave, insightful, etc.)

- Graduation attends grading phenomena whereby feelings are amplified and categories blurred (e.g., beautiful, pleasant, brilliant, tedious, creative, authentic, etc.).

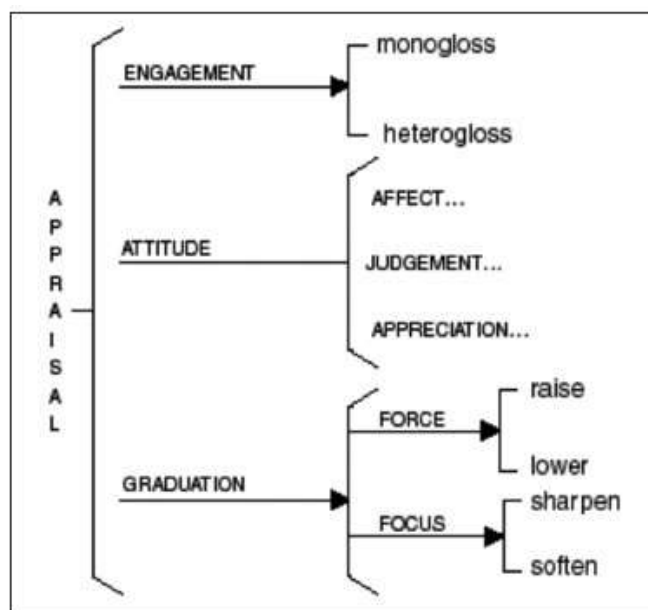


Figure 1. The Framework of Appraisal Theory (Martin and White 2005: 38)

For Wu (2013), appraisal is a comprehensive and discourse-based framework and works well in answering questions regarding the speakers/writers use of evaluative strategies, the role of evaluative language in forming authorial and textual personas, the typical evaluative strategies used in different genres and text types, and so on.

In the present study, the expressions of evaluative language are analyzed by considering Attitude. Attitude is one of three major components of the AT in language, which is related to the use of evaluative language. The expression of attitude is viewed in terms of social relationship rather than self-expression. In other words, an attitudinal position advanced by a speaker is seen as an invitation to others to align with the addresser in this value position, hence entering into a community of shared values. The system of Attitude, which is the selected aspect for this study within the overall framework of AT, is itself of three sub-divisions: Affect, Judgment, and Appreciation. According to Martin and White (2005), Affect refers to the resources for expressing feelings or forming emotional responses (e.g., happy, frightened). It is a semantic system which specifically refers to one’s emotional responses or reactions. It deals with expressing feelings or emotions. More specifically, “it is concerned with registering positive and negative feelings: do we feel happy or sad, confident or anxious, interested or bored?” (Martin and White 2005: 42). Judgment is the evaluation of human behavior regarding social conventions and refers to the institutionalization of feelings as proposals or norms about how people

should or should not behave (e.g., capable, honest): “with judgment we move into the region of meaning construing our attitudes to people and the way they behave – their behavior” (Martin and White 2005: 52). Appreciation deals with the evaluation of objects and products or how products and performances are valued (e.g., complex, important). It can be defined as those “evaluations which are concerned with positive and negative assessments of objects, artefacts, processes and states of affairs rather than with human behavior” (White 2001: 3). Each of these can be further differentiated into positive and negative in terms of polarity. The framework also distinguishes those Attitudes which are inscribed or explicit, and those which may be implied, or invoked. Martin and White (2005: 63) suggest that inscribed realizations of Attitude as well as invoked occurrences should be taken into consideration when AT is used for discourse analysis: “the selection of ideational meanings [may be] enough to invoke evaluation, even in the absence of attitudinal lexis that tells us directly how to feel.”

4. Football and live commentary

Sports and football (soccer) in particular have always been a popular type of entertainment. Television broadcasting improvements and high-quality filming technology have led football to be viewed by millions of people and be known as a common "form of popular culture" (Richard 2008: 193). It is now considered by many to be the world's most popular and followed sport in the world, which draws the attention of millions of people compared to other sports events. One particularly important football competition is the UEFA Champions League (UCL) games which are watched by millions of people each year and are advertised by UEFA's official website (<https://www.uefa.com/>) as the “the world's most watched annual sporting event.” Within such a significant scale, the role of media in broadcasting these events in the highest possible quality becomes indispensable, since “football games are media events, and the media play a decisive role in how football is staged and presented” (Lavric 2008: 5). Live commentary, as an inevitable ingredient in any sporting event, is a significant factor to be considered in broadcasting UCL competitions in Iran. Live football commentary is not only a second-by-second reporting of sport events. It has an infotainment (Chovanec 2008; Anchimbe 2008) element, which gives color to the game and makes it more enjoyable to watch. It is worth noting that infotainment is a genre of programs in between information and entertainment, and it signifies “the decline of hard news and public affairs discussion programs and the corresponding development of a variety of entertainment shows that mimic the style of news” (Baym 2008: 2276).

The word commentary has been described differently by many scholars. Crystal and Davy (1969: 125) highlight the mode and time in live commentary and define it as “a spoken account of events which are actually taking place.” Ferguson (1983: 162), describes it as an oral reporting of an ongoing

sporting activity, combined with color commentary. Pointing to its spontaneity, Delin (2000: 41) describes commentary as a type of “unplanned, stream-of-consciousness language.” Delin (2000: 46) differentiates among four functions for football commentary:

1. Narrating: describing what is happening play-by-play.
2. Evaluating: giving opinions about play, players, teams, referee decisions, etc.
3. Elaborating: giving background information about team and player records, the ground, the crowd, speculating on motives and thoughts of the players.
4. Summarizing: giving an overview of play so far.

The style of delivering a commentary can heavily rely on both the commentator’s personality, which leads to an individual style, and the country’s linguistic and/or cultural contexts. The notion of country’s style is broached by Broadcast Academy (<https://www.broadcastacademy.net>), which is established to instruct professionals and to compile guidelines and standards for sports broadcasting on an international scale. Inasmuch as basing the style of live commentary presentation on the country, literature on linguistic style of Iran will be depicted succinctly here. One of the most noticeable features of football commentary in Persian is ellipsis, especially eliminating prepositional, verb and noun phrases (Hesami and Modares Khiyabani 2013). According to Kord and Taherlu (2014), Persian commentary is categorized as a colloquial type of language that is delivered with a slow pace. Finally, Sharififar (1999) posits the substantial role of metaphor as an indispensable part of Persian literature that could also affect ‘football language’ in Iran.

5. Method

5.1. Materials

For the purpose of this study, three different modes of live commentaries were considered: Live TV Commentary (LTVC), Live Radio Commentary (LRC), and Live Text Commentary (LTC).

The data for LTVC and LRC (in Persian) were recorded from Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB) Channel 3 and IRIB Radio Varzesh, respectively. The data were transcribed and incorporated into MS word documents. The LTC data (in English) was retrieved from the website Goal (<https://www.goal.com>), which is considered as one of the most famous international football websites across the world and is the 2017 winner of the Best Sports News Site at The Drum Online Media Awards. This website provides LTC for most European club and national competitions. It should be noted that for reasons of space and time, only goal moments of the game, which are 5 in aggregate, with 20 seconds before and after them were analyzed in terms of the three commentaries concerned.

5.2. Data analysis

A combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches was used in the data analysis. First of all, by employing qualitative mode of enquiry, the attitudinal values in each of the live commentaries were distinguished, then they were codified with appraisal resources. All commentaries were annotated using the software UAM CorpusTool. This software allows the researchers to annotate a corpus of text at a number of linguistic layers. These layers can be defined and imported to UAM CorpusTool by the supplementary program SysNet Editor. While the central task of UAM CorpusTool is annotation, it also provides other functionalities, such as semi-automatic tagging, production of statistical reports from the corpus, inter-coder reliability statistics (O'Donnell 2008: 6).

After annotating the data, the statistical results provided by the software were compared and contrasted in order to pin down the potential differences between various modes of commentaries in terms of AT, particularly the Attitude subsystem. Figures 2., 3. and 4. show the interface of UAM CorpusTool and the annotation process of the data for the purpose of this study.

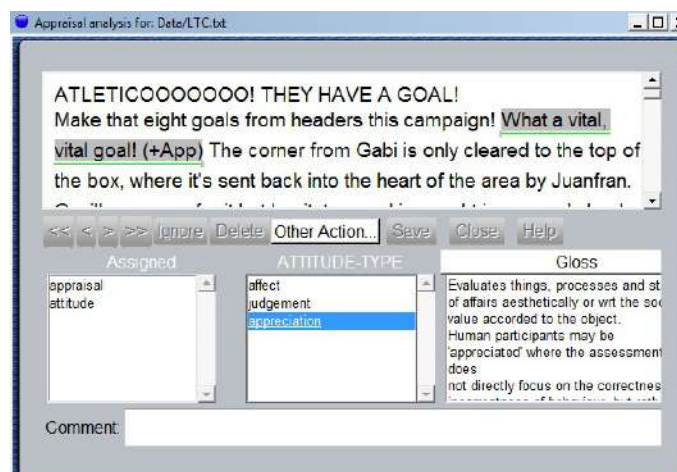


Figure 2. Annotating LTC using UAM CorpusTool

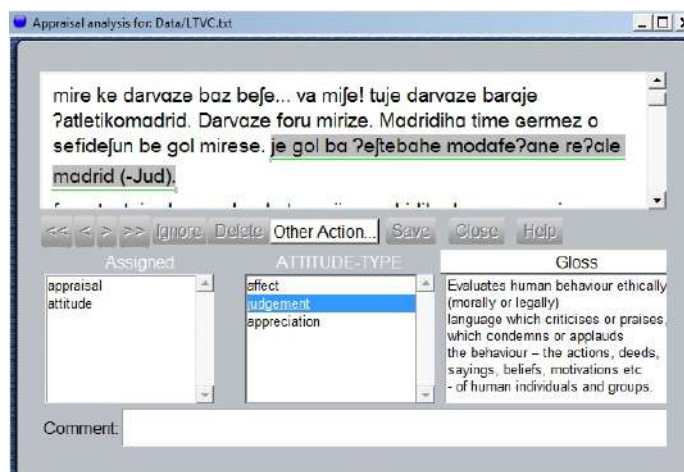


Figure 3. Annotating LTVC using UAM CorpusTool

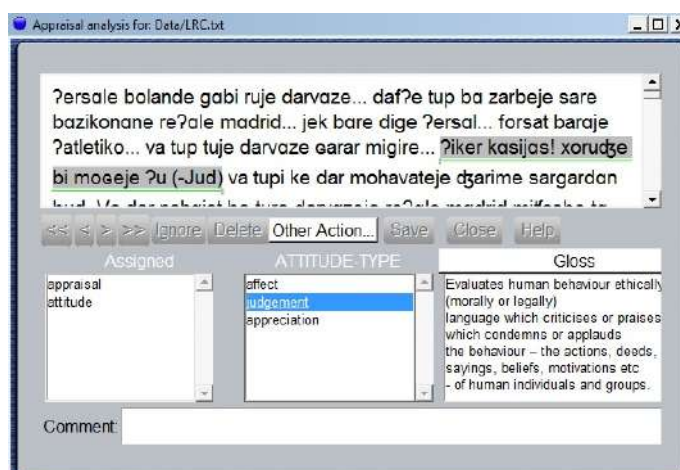


Figure 4. Annotating LRC using UAM CorpusTool

6. Results and discussion

The researchers made a comparison of the use of appraisal resources in the three different modes of the UCL 2014 final match live commentaries. The following tables show how the appraisal resources were identified in each mode (Aff stands for Affect, Jud for Judgment, and App for Appreciation). Also, the polarity is shown by a minus sign for negative and a plus sign for positive evaluative expressions. It is worth noting that for the sake of space limit, back translations of Persian texts are provided only for the evaluative expressions in LTVC and LRC.

English Live Text Commentary (LTC)	Persian Live TV Commentary (LTVC)	Persian Live Radio Commentary (LRC)
<p>ATLETICOOOOOOO! THEY HAVE A GOAL! Make that eight goals from headers this campaign! What a vital, vital goal! (+App) The corner from Gabi is only cleared to the top of the box, where it's sent back into the heart of the area by Juanfran. Casillas comes for it but hesitates, and is caught in no man's land. Godin beats his man to the ball and flicks it into the back of the net!</p>	<p><i>harekat ?az jaran- e ?atletiko... por te?dad ham hastan... je forsats... mire ke darvaze baz befe... va mi?e! tuje darvaze baraje ?atletikomadrid. darvaze foru mirize. madridiha time germez o sefide?un be gol mirese. je gol ba ?estebahe modafe?ane re?ale madrid (-Jud).</i> (Back translation: A goal as the result of Madrid's defenders's howler).</p>	<p><i>?ersale bolande gabi ruje darvaze... daf?e tup ba zarbeje sare bazikonane re?ale madrid... jek bare dige ?ersal... forsat baraje ?atletiko... va tup tuje darvaze garar migire... ?iker kasijas! xorud?e bi mogeje ?u (-Jud) (Back translation: Iker Casillas! His bad timing to come for the ball). va tupi ke dar mohavateje d?zarime sargardan bud. Va dar nahajat be ture darvazeje re?ale madrid mi?asbe ta ?atletiko jek bar sefr pi? bijofte. re?ale madrid sefr, ?atletiko madrid jek.</i></p>

Table 1. First goal commentary

As it is shown in Table 1, there is a parallel distribution of Attitudinal expressions among the commentaries with each commentator using only one attitudinal expression, which is entirely focused on the exact goal scene. LTC focuses on the importance of the goal by making a positive Appreciation (**What a vital vital goal!**), whereas both LTVC and LRC make negative Judgments. While LTVC tries to

criticize the defenders *ba ?estebahe modafe?ane re?ale madrid*, with Real Madrid's defender's howler, for the goal, LRC puts the blame on the goalkeeper *?iker kasijas! xorud?e bi moqeje ?u* Iker Casillas! His bad timing to come for the ball. Thus, every commentator viewed the goal scene differently in their perspectives. Two of them try to criticize the defenders and goal-keeper for conceding the goal, while the other tries to focus on the significance of the goal, and how important it is to score a goal in the finals.

English Live Text Commentary (LTC)	Persian Live TV Commentary (LTVC)	Persian Live Radio Commentary (LRC)
RAMOS! RAMOS! RAMOS! HE HAS DONE IT! An absolutely THUMPING header (+Jud) from the defender, who brings Los Blancos back from the dead! The corner was met by Ramos, who got enough power and placement on the header to take it past Courtois! Looks like we're heading to extra time folks! Atletico must be devastated (- Aff).	<i>forsat... tuje darvaze!</i> <i>gole tasavije madridiha</i> <i>be samar mirese. gole</i> <i>mosavije re?aliha be</i> <i>samar mirese. hame ?fiz</i> <i>hala az no(w) agaz mife.</i> ?fe goli mizane (+App). (Back translation: What a goal!) <i>sev:omin gole xodef</i> <i>dar jazdah mosabege ro</i> <i>be samar miresune. ba</i> <i>in zarbe kortwa</i> bela?xare ?estebah mikone (-Jud) (Back translation: Courtois finally makes a mistake.) <i>va darvazaf baz mife.</i> <i>serxijo ramus darvazaro</i> <i>baz mikone.</i>	<i>luka modritf mire ta</i> <i>?az samte ?fap</i> <i>darvazeje ?atletiko</i> <i>zarbeje kornar ro xodef</i> <i>bezane. nimkat</i> <i>nefinane ?atletiko</i> <i>?fefme didane ?in gune</i> <i>lahazate pajani ke fagat</i> <i>jek gam ba gahremani</i> <i>fasele daran... am:a,</i> <i>tabdil be gahremani</i> <i>nemife! je zarbeje sar</i> <i>dar saniye haje pajani...</i> <i>va gole tasavi baraje</i> <i>re?ale madrid. Jek jek</i> <i>mosavi. finale d?ame</i> <i>gahramanane</i> <i>ba?gahaje urupa. hac</i> <i>daftan ke ?fefme didane</i> <i>?in tasvir ro va ?in</i> <i>mogeijat ro nadaftan.</i> <i>gole tasavi be samar</i> <i>mirese. dijego simone</i> <i>sa?j mikone ruhije je</i> <i>timef ?az dast nare.</i> <i>tahaj:od? mikone</i>

English Live Text Commentary (LTC)	Persian Live TV Commentary (LTVC)	Persian Live Radio Commentary (LRC)
		tamafagaran ro ke time ?atletiko madrid ro tafvig bokonan. zanandeje gol kesi nist dʒoz modafe?e golzan va sarzane re?ale madrid, serxio ramus. No evaluative expressions were detected.

Table 2. Second goal commentary

In this second goal scene, LRC, surprisingly, did not make any attitudinal expression of any kind. As it is the case with most radio commentators, he rather tries to describe the details of the goal for the listeners who are unable to see the live picture. LTC made two attitudinal expressions: one positive Judgment on the goal scorer (**an absolutely THUMPING header!**) and a negative Affect on the team receiving the goal (**Athletico must be devastated**) trying to evoke the feeling of the viewers. LTVC focused on the quality of the goal by making a positive Appreciation (**ʔe goli mizane**) and once again criticizes the goal-keeper by making a negative Judgment (**kortwa bela?xare ?eftebah mikone**).

English Live Text Commentary (LTC)	Persian Live TV Commentary (LTVC)	Persian Live Radio Commentary (LRC)
BALE HAS PUT MADRID IN FRONT! Di Maria has been a pest all night, (+Jud) and he forces what looks like the winner! Shimmying down the left, he shakes off his marker before angling to beat Courtois at his near post. The keeper	je forsate ali... (+App) (Back translation:One fantastic chance...) va tuje darvaze! tuje darvaze! ba jek gol bela?xare time re?ale madrid gahremaniro be jahre madrid va baʒgahe	dar samte raste zamin ?atletiko... harekate pa be tupe di marija... di marija... mixad bere be mohavateje dʒarime... va mire... di marija forsat baraje ?u... va gole dov:om ro mizane garet beil. gole dov:om baraje time re?ale

English Live Text Commentary (LTC)	Persian Live TV Commentary (LTVC)	Persian Live Radio Commentary (LRC)
deflects the ball high with his leg, but it goes right to Bale at the far post, who nods in with conviction! (+Jud)	<i>re?ale madrid bijare... ba goli ke garet beil mizane! bolandguje varze?gaham be halate xasi ?e?lam mikone ke garet beil zanandeje gole mosabegas. negah konid ke kortwa baz ham ?estebah mikone</i> (-Jud) (Back translation: Courtois makes a mistake again.) <i>va darvaze baz mife... pas ?un bazikone ?odza? hamun garet beile velzije</i> (+Jud) (Back translation: A pass by couragous, Welsh Gareth Bale.) <i>ke tunest indzuri darvaza ro baz kone.</i>	<i>madrid. gole dov:om baraje time re?ale madrid.... nofuze gafang va zibaje</i> (+App) <i>di marijaje xastegi napazir...</i> (+Jud) (Back translation: An amazing and beautiful forward run by tireless Di Maria..) <i>va zarbeje sare garet beil... kar ra baraje re?ale madrid ta be indzaje kar tamam mikone. re?al do, ?atletiko madrid jek. zeidan dar jam?e bazikonan va tafvige havadarane re?al dar varze?gahe daluz. do jek re?al pij miofte.</i>

Table 3. Third goal commentary

LTC, in Table 3., makes two positive Judgments: one on the assist being Di Maria (**Di Maria has been a pest all night**), the other on Bale, the goal scorer (**who nods in with conviction!**). LTVC highlights the good opportunity for Real Madrid by making a positive Appreciation (**je forsate ali**). He makes a negative (**kortwa baz ham ?estebah mikone**) and positive (**?un bazikone ?odza? hamun garet beile velzije**) Judgment. LRC attitudinal expressions all focus on Di Maria, by making a positive Appreciation of his impressive running (**nofuze gafang va zibaje**), and a positive Judgment on his stamina and tiredness throughout the game (**di marijaje xastegi napazir**).

English Live Text Commentary (LTC)	Persian Live TV Commentary (LTVC)	Persian Live Radio Commentary (LRC)
YOU BET! MADRID HAVE SURELY WON IT NOW! Atletico have finally run out of gas, stopping right in the middle of the highway. Marcelo advances from a position deep on the left, and meets no resistance from the Rojiblancos. He strides right into the box and lashes a finish home, despite a touch from Courtois!	<i>marselo... marselo</i> <i>mizane va tuje darvaze!</i> <i>tamam mikone kar rol</i> <i>tamam mikone kar rol</i> <i>bolandguje varzešgah</i> <i>đzuri farjad mizane ke</i> <i>hatman ?a?šabe</i> <i>tarafdarane atletiko</i> <i>madrid ro xord karde.</i> <i>marselo, bebinid. Az</i> <i>kortwa indžur gol</i> <i>xordan ba?id bud</i> (- Jud). (Back translation: I didn't expect that Courtois receive such a goal.) <i>ham gole dov:om va</i> <i>ham gole sev:om</i> <i>vaga?an ba ?eštebahe</i> <i>?u be samar resid</i> (- Jud). (Back translation: Both the second goal and the third goal were conceded because of his howler). <i>xejli bad xord</i> (- Jud). (Back translation: so terribly received).	baz ham harekate digar... marselo va gole sev:om va <i>in tire</i> <i>xalasi bud bar</i> <i>pejkareje time</i> <i>?atletiko madrid</i> (- Aff). (Back translation: This was a firing arrow at Atletico Madrid). <i>dige xijale re?ale</i> <i>madrid, karlo andželoti,</i> <i>bazikonane ?in tim va</i> <i>havadarane re?al rahat</i> <i>mife. re?al dahomin</i> <i>đzame gahremani ro</i> <i>ham kasb mikone.</i> <i>dijego simone... baraje</i> <i>tje kasi dare kaf mizane</i> <i>mošaxas nist... am:a</i> <i>xošhalije zabi alonso</i> <i>dar đzajgah... bes:ijar</i> <i>ha?eze aham:ijat ?ast.</i> <i>bazikone mote?asebe</i> <i>re?ale madrid</i> (+Jud), (Back translation: The fanatic palyers of Real Madrid) <i>marselo... harekate</i> <i>gašange ?u...</i> (+Jud) (Back translation: Marcelo... his beautiful move)

English Live Text Commentary (LTC)	Persian Live TV Commentary (LTVC)	Persian Live Radio Commentary (LRC)
		bazi xif ro takmil mikone (+Jud).
		(Back translation: He's unplayable.)
		<i>ba nofuz be mohavateje dzarime va zarbeje mohkami (+App) ke mizane.</i>
		(Back translation: And his strong kick...)
		<i>pase gol ro kiris ronaldo dad...</i>

Table 4. Fourth goal commentary

LTC did not make any attitudinal expressions for the fourth goal. LTVC made three negative Judgments against the goal-keeper. The commentator claimed that it was surprising for the goal-keeper to concede such a goal (*Az kortwa indzur gol xordan ba?id bud*), and blamed him for the all three goals conceded (*ham gole dov:om va ham gole sev:om vaza?an ba ?estebahe ?u be samar resid*). He commented on how bad he conceded them (*/xejli bad xord*). He repeatedly blamed the goal-keeper for receiving the goals. But he seems to be the only one who blames the goal-keeper because the commentators in LRC and LTC did not share the same idea. LRC makes the most attitudinal expressions on this goal scene by making three Judgments, one Affect, and one Appreciation.

English Live Text Commentary (LTC)	Persian Live TV Commentary (LTVC)	Persian Live Radio Commentary (LRC)
MADRID HAVE A PENALTY! Ronaldo earns the spot kick after he was tripped by Godin inside the area! He's booked, and it's falling apart for Atletico	<i>Je bar dige dar mohavate dzarime... baz ham kiristiano ronaldo... penalti? Penalti... bale! penalti baraje re?al! ?aslan ?atletiko hame fizo baxt tuje ?in</i>	<i>hala inbar ronaldo dar mohavateje dzarime sarnegun mife va nogteje penalti va gole tfaharom baraje time re?al dar ?entezare ?in tim ?ast. kiris</i>

English Live Text Commentary (LTC)	Persian Live TV Commentary (LTVC)	Persian Live Radio Commentary (LRC)
(-Jud), as salt and alcohol are being thrown mercilessly into their gaping wounds. (-Aff) Only one man stepping up to take this as Courtois steadies himself... NO MISTAKE! (+Jud) He smacks it to Courtois' left, who dives the wrong way! Madrid celebrate, and La Decima is only moments away now! 4-1 to Real Madrid!	ʃahar pandʒ dagige (-Jud). (Back translation: <i>Athletico Madrid lost everything in these last 5 minutes.</i>) <i>timi ke be nazar mirese nefun dad ke ʔaslan dʒanbeje bozorgi ro nadare...</i> (-Jud), (Back translation: <i>A team that seems to show that it's not capable of being big and powerful.</i>) <i>kiristiano ronaldo dar mogabele darvaze bani ke... hala taslim mife! vagti bazi be vagte ʔezafe ʔumad kamtar kesi fekr mikard ke bazi baʔd az natidʒe jek jek, ʃahar jek befe.</i>	<i>ronaldo belaʔxare xodef ro dar ʔin mosabege be nazar mitune hevдах gole bokone... va ʔextar baraje dijego gudin. ʔatletiko madrid hala ʔextar migire. dar mohavateje dʒarime ronaldo ro sarnegun kard va je zarbe be sage paje raste ʔu zad va ʔu be ruje zamin ʔoftad va davar ham nogteje penalti ro nefun dad. ronaldo poste tup... dar ʔastaneje hevдахomin gole fasle xodef hast ke... mizane va tuje darvaze... tuje darvaze. gol baraje time reʔale madrid. ʃaharomin gole reʔale madrid ham samar mirese. reʔale madrid ʃahar, ʔatletiko madrid jek.</i> No evaluative expressions were detected

Table 5. Fifth goal commentary

In the last goal scene, LRC did not make any evaluative expression of any sort, even though LRC had the most number of words in a single goal commentary in the current corpus. This is because of the fact that a radio commentator would describe the game in detail for the listeners who do not have

access to the live pictures. LTC made two Judgments: one negative against the defeating team (it's falling apart for Atletico), and a positive one on the goal scorer who scores the goal easily (NO MISTAKE!). In order to demonstrate the bitterness of conceding a goal in the final minutes, he made a negative Affect (salt and alcohol are being thrown mercilessly into their gaping wounds). LTVC made two negative Judgments with both focusing on the defeating team and criticizing them severely for not being a major team in the European football (ʔaslan dʔanbeje bozorgi ro nadare), and on how they lost everything in the final minutes (ʔaslan ʔatletiko hame ʔfizo baxt tuje ʔin ʔfahar pandʔ dagice).

The results of the qualitative annotation of the extracts are demonstrated quantitatively in the following tables.

Feature	LTC		LTVC		LRC		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Attitude-Type	N=8		N=10		N=8		N=26	
Affect	2	25.00%	0	0.00%	1	12.50%	3	11.53%
Judgment	5	62.50%	8	80.00%	5	62.50%	18	69.23%
Appreciation	1	12.50%	2	20.00%	2	25.00%	5	19.23%
Positive-Attitude	5	62.50%	3	30.00%	6	75.00%	14	53.84%
Negative-Attitude	3	37.50%	7	70.00%	2	25.00%	12	46.15%

Table 6. Frequencies of attitudinal expressions in the commentaries

Table 6. shows the distribution of attitudinal values across the live commentaries concerned. Twenty-six attitudinal expressions were identified within the analyzed extracts, with LTVC having slightly more attitudinal expressions (10 cases) and the other two modes of commentary having a proportioned distribution (each 8 cases). The commentaries are predominantly Judgment-oriented (69.23 percent) with the commentators repeatedly evaluating the players, their moves, and the way they score goals. In this respect, LTVC uses the most Judgment-oriented expressions (80 percent). Affect is of the least concern for the commentators, with only 11.53 percent. In terms of polarity, almost half of the attitudinal expressions were positive and 42.85 percent were negative. Both LTC and LRC tend to be more positive in their commentaries (LTC by 62.50 percent and LRC by 75 percent), while LTVC is considerably negative because of the frequent negative Judgments that were made against the goal-keeper.

The distinctions in applying appraisal aspects (Attitudes) found in various modes of football live commentaries in the current case are due to several possibilities. One possible reason is the idiosyncrasies of the commentators themselves and the possible bias they may have toward a particular player or a team. As for most of the goals that were scored, there was not a unanimous opinion on who to praise or blame. The commentators had different opinions on the goal scenes. One commentator praised the goal scorer, the other blamed the goal-keeper, while one did not make any evaluations of either and mostly tried to describe the goal scene itself. The data analysis of the corpus at hand revealed that football commentators incline towards using Judgment category of Attitude more compared to other categories. This might be due to the nature of this genre, as the commentators frequently evaluate the players and staff on and off the pitch.

The other possibility might be due to the different natures and structures of these commentaries. The study found that LRC used considerably more words compared to LTC and LTVC. This is because radio commentators should describe all the details of goal scenes since the listeners do not have access to the live pictures. On the contrary, the TV commentator uses the least words to describe the goal scene, since the listeners/viewers have access to the live pictures, and this obviates the need for further details to be said. As table 7 shows word counts in each mode, LRC enjoys considerably more words than the other modes.

	LTC	LTVC	LRC
1 st goal commentary	72	43	66
2 nd goal commentary	54	59	117
3 rd goal commentary	64	78	89
4 th goal commentary	55	58	100
5 th goal commentary	78	68	125
Total	323	306	496

Table 7. Word counts of the commentaries

7. Conclusions

This study investigated the language of football from a fresh perspective. In doing so, the researchers applied the framework of Appraisal Theory (Martin and White 2005) by focusing on Attitude. The goal was to analyze the evaluative language that commentators rely upon and to find out the possible differences and similarities among different modes of live football commentaries in English and

Persian. The framework of AT was adopted because it provides important theoretical basis for a comprehensive study of evaluative language in a genre such as sports commentaries that are filled with attitudinal statements.

This case study found that attitudinally rich points showed various types in different commentaries. This case study focused on three modes of commentaries: live text commentary (LTC) in English, live television commentary (LTVC), and live radio commentary (LRC) in Persian. Despite the fact that only one game (the UCL 2014 finals) was studied, the data analysis manifested different distributions of attitudinal expressions. These differences, although small in number, are significant in scale since they happen within very small but important parts of the game, which are also very crucial in terms of appraisal values employed by the commentators. This is because these scenes are the climax of the game in which the goals are scored, and all the commentators try to be as focused as possible during these important moments to show their best capabilities in their commentary. The major finding of this study is that the commentaries indicated signs of variation both in the frequency and type of Attitude and its subsystem.

In this corpus, LTVC used attitudinal expressions more frequently. Evaluations used in LTVC are mostly Judgment-oriented, like the other two types of commentary. Because in LTVC, viewers have access to the live pictures of the game, the commentator uses fewer words to describe the goal and instead uses words to express opinions. This might be the reason why evaluative expressions, and particularly Judgment, were overused. Another reason for the frequently occurring Judgment expressions in the current case can be due to human behavior and how they should or should not behave. Commentators mostly rely on this type of Attitude to express the capability and mistakes of the players, coaches, referees, and others involved in the game. Judgment was the highly frequent category in all commentaries concerned. Another important point regarding LTVC is the polarity of these Attitudinal expressions that were surprisingly mostly negative, compared with the other modes. This might signify the commentator's bias, inclination, and idiosyncrasies towards a particular team or player.

The commentator in LRC used quite a similar number of Attitudinal expressions as well. This might inevitably stem from the different nature of this kind of commentary in which the commentator is obliged to use more words to depict the actions in the game for the listeners. Normally, in LRC, which there is more to talk about within the same period of time, there is a high chance that some of it be devoted to evaluation. Although there are many descriptions in the LRC, there is still room for making evaluations, as was the case in the current corpus. Furthermore, in LTC, there is a parallel distribution of Judgment expressions compared with that of LRC. There might be the same reason for it. The nature

of the Judgment sub-system of Attitude is very much interconnected with the kind of commentary. This is because the commentators would inevitably judge everybody involved in the game to a different extent, depending on the particular type of commentary and the time available.

The case study was an attempt to contribute to this growing area of research by exploring the live football commentary text-type. This type of language was immersed in the evaluative language, and especially Judgement. The mode of live commentary had a crucial role in determining the number of words spoken during the commentary. Also, the commentator's biased opinion was undeniable, especially in the polarity of the evaluative expressions they used. Regarding this, the questions arise: can a biased commentary affect the reception of the game by the audience? Would it have an impact on the acceptability of the live commentaries by the viewers/ listeners? This can be further addressed by conducting a reception study on the issue.

This study provided new insights into the analysis of evaluative language, especially in Persian. Since live commentary proved to be a potential area for evaluative expressions, a larger and more exhaustive corpus compilation is advisable. This issue can also be investigated from another point of view. In each commentary, by nature, there is a predominantly focus on product or process. In LTC, since the commentator is watching the finished action and consequently typing them on the screen, the focus is entirely product-oriented. In the other two modes of commentaries, since the commentators are reporting the events happening in the game in real-time and in the spur of moment, the focus is mostly on the process. Since Affect deals with evaluating objects and products or how products and performances are valued, LTC has more frequent use of Affect resources by nature.

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The *kalivarjya* concerning the prohibition of initiation during the celebration of the Vedic *sattra* rituals

Igor Spanò

The subject of *kalivarjyas*, their origin, and their place within Brahmanical ideology has attracted keen interest from various scholars. Indeed, the *kalivarjyas* constitute ‘exceptions’ to the dharmic norm that seem to invalidate the authority of the *dharmā* itself. However, they allow us to verify how the *dharmā* has been constantly adapted to the new requirements that have emerged with the transformations that have taken place in India over time in the religious and socio-political spheres. Among the *kalivarjyas*, some refer to the field of *śrauta* rituals, and the one concerning the prohibition of the *sattradīkṣā*, i.e., the initiation on the celebration of Vedic rituals of the *sattra* type, appears particularly interesting. Through the analysis of some ancient and medieval texts and based on the interpretations provided in the past by numerous scholars, in this study I attempt to offer some possible explanations to clarify the meaning and the origin of this *kalivarjya*. The explorations conducted will allow shedding new light on the way of interpreting the changes that took place in the centuries following the decline of Vedic religiosity from the ritual, juridical, and historical-political point of view. This will lead to clarifying what the bans are for, whether they are intended to preserve something from the changes themselves, and whether they are intended to preserve, or sanction established roles in society.

Key Words: *Kalivarjya*, *Dharma*, Hindu law, Vedic rituals, *Sattra* rituals

1. Foreword

In the field of Indological studies concerning the analysis of the *kalivarjyas*, or “forbidden uses in the age (*yuga*) of *kali*,” some relevant contributions have been made by Italian scholars, beginning with Della Casa (1997).¹ Carlo Della Casa important contribution took on the value of a seminal study that bore fruit in three articles by Pellegrini (1997, 1998b, 2001).

¹ Carlo Della Casa had already reflected on the *kalivarjya* topic in Della Casa (1991), entitled *Conservazione e innovazione nella cultura indiana antica*.

Following in the footsteps of these eminent scholars, this article is devoted to an interpretative analysis of the *kalivarjya* on the prohibition of initiation during the celebration of Vedic rituals of the *sattra* type.

2. The *kalivarjya* that interdicts the *sattradikṣā*

Starting with a few hints in the literature of the epic-purāṇic age (particularly in the *Nāradapurāṇa* and the *Ādityapurāṇa*), in the legal sources of later centuries, and then in the commentaries and digests (*nibandha*) of the medieval age, the Brahmanical tradition formulated the notion of *kalivarjya*, “that which is to be avoided in the Kali age,” i.e., the usages interdicted in the *kaliyuga*. According to a well-known conception of time established in the Purāṇic age, the progressive decay of *dharma* (meaning cosmic, religious, and moral law, but also legal norms)² determines the alternation of the four ages (*yugas*) of the cosmos.³ Of these, the last, the *kaliyuga*, constitutes the phase in which only a quarter of the *dharma* remained in force, an age of imbalance, iconically represented by a cow resting on a single leg (cf. Parpola 1975-1976). The most comprehensive sources mention up to fifty-five *kalivarjyas*⁴ and among them the eleventh prohibits *sattradikṣā*, that is, the initiation (*dikṣā*)⁵ of rituals of the *sattra* type (ritual sessions lasting twelve days or more). Such *kalivarjya* is first mentioned in works dating back to the 12th century. At that time, in the *Aparārkacandrikā* or *Aparārkayājñavalkīyadharmasāstranibandha*, Aparārka’s⁶ commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*,⁷ the author, citing an anonymous exegetical source on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* I, 156, merely states the prohibition of *sattra*-type rituals generically:

sattrayāgaṃ [...] na kurvīta kalau yuge

² On the conception of *dharma* with reference to legal aspects cf. Rocher (2014: 39-58).

³ On the notion of *dharma* see Halbfass (1990 [1981, 1988]: 310 ff.). On the theory of *yugas* and the conception of time see Pellegrini (1998a); Glücklich (1994: 39 ff.). For the relations between the theory of *yugas* and that of *kalivarjyas* see Wilhelm (1982).

⁴ The first source to present a complete list of the 55 *kalivarjyas* formulated over the centuries is actually very late and dates to the 17th century, when Dāmodara wrote his *Kalivarjyanirṇaya* (cf. Banerji 1999: 286). For an overview of the passages in which *kalivarjyas* are listed see Bhattacharya (1943), for a historical examination of the development of *dharma* literature see Derrett (1973).

⁵ On the unfolding of the *dikṣā* during the *sattras* see Gonda (1965: 316, n. 4).

⁶ The author seems to be identifiable with a ruler of the Śilāhāra dynasty who lived in the first half of the 12th century (cf. Olivelle 2017: 145).

⁷ On the importance of this text among *dharma* texts, see Olivelle (2019a: VII ff.).

In the *kaliyuga* the ritual of the *sattra* type is not celebrated⁸.

In the same period, Śrīdhara's *Smṛtyarthasāra*, which takes up some verses of the *Nāradapurāṇa*, in a more explicit manner, forbids the:

sattradīkṣā | (23a)

kalau yuge tv imān dharmān varjyān āhur manīṣiṇaḥ || (25cd)

The initiation [of the participants] into a sacrificial session [...].

The sages say that these are the prohibitions relating to the norm in *kaliyuga*⁹.

Around the 13th century, the prohibition of *sattra* initiation is found in the list of *kalivarjyas* within the *Smṛticandrikā* (XXXIa) of Devaṇṇa or Devānanda Bhaṭṭa.¹⁰ This work, one of the most authoritative digests compiled in South India (cf. Bhattacharya 1943: 6), states that it is now a forbidden practice to consecrate all participants to a *sattra*.¹¹

However, even earlier, by the time of Medhātithi's *Manubhāṣya* (9th - 10th centuries ca.), the *Commentary on Manu* - author of the *Mānavadharmasāstra* - the long ritual sessions of *sattras* were no longer celebrated.¹² Medhātithi's explanation for the gradual decline of these ritual practices calls into question a variety of reasons. According to the *Manubhāṣya*, the phenomenon whereby *sattras* are no longer performed could be explained by the fact that no one possesses the necessary means to perform them anymore and there is no longer any confidence in their efficacy; hence, in their ability to fulfill

⁸ For the text see *Yajñavalkyasmṛti* (1903-1904, vol. I: 233). Translations, unless otherwise specified, are by the author. Furthermore, where Western language translations of the quoted texts are available, these have been indicated to enable appropriate comparisons to be made.

⁹ For the text see Śrīdhara's *cārya* 1912. See also Arp (2000: 24).

¹⁰ For some information on the author and his works see Davis, Brick (2018: 42ff.).

¹¹ For a translation of this passage see Olivelle (2017: 177): "consecrating all people for a sacrificial session." The passage concludes with Devaṇṇa Bhaṭṭa's observation that: "In the beginning of the Kali Age great and wise men, in order to protect the people, have put a stop to these activities, after first establishing a norm. The agreement of good people is authoritative just like the Veda" (Olivelle, *ib.*). The conclusion of the reasoning derives directly from the laws established by Manu: *Mānavadharmasāstra* (MDhŚ) II, 18 states in fact that a certain usage in the legal field transmitted from generation to generation within a certain region assumes the value of good practice as it can be assumed as usage of virtuous people, i.e., respectful of the *dharma*.

¹² So much so that the first partial lists of forbidden usages were probably drawn up right around the 10th-11th centuries and, specifically regarding the *sattradīkṣā*, it was recognised as *kalivarjya* certainly not before the 8th century CE. (cf. Kāṇḍe 1946: 968; Id. 1962: 1268).

the wishes for which they were celebrated (cf. Kāṇḍe 1946: 938). However, these empirical explanations do not appear to be sufficient justifications to explain the emanation of *kalivarjya*: even if a religious practice has fallen into disuse, this does not mean that it should be set aside as no longer valid from the dharmic point of view, even in *kaliyuga*.¹³ On the contrary, *sattras* have no less validity in Medhātithi's time than they did in that of Vedic texts, such as the *Śrautasūtras* (cf. Lingat 1973: 191).¹⁴

Certainly, the time-consuming organisation of solemn Vedic rituals and the long time required for their celebration, especially for rituals of the *sattra* type, constitute fundamental elements of understanding for the formulation of this *kalivarjya*. However, the cultural situation in which the conception of the *kalivarjyas* doctrine matures requires further consideration. In fact, the era in which the lists of forbidden usages are compiled represents a period far removed from the time texts were composed: India has seen the succession of important reforms on the level of religious practices and the advent, on the political level, of new protagonists, who have taken power away from those noble groups that had been the sponsors of the Brahmans themselves in ancient times.

The latter, in turn, to guarantee themselves and the continuity of their hegemony over Indian society had been forced to sanction the dharmicity¹⁵ of new forms of worship, neglecting and letting the complex Vedic rituals progressively disappear. The Brahmans had thus already partly lost their former hegemony: they often devoted themselves to previously forbidden professions or performed rituals for women or members of social groups outside the first three classes or *trivarna* (cf. Sharma 1982 and Yadava 1979). The introduction of the *kalivarjyas* suggests that the Brahmans were perfectly clear about the idea that *dharma* is by no means immutable or eternal, that it changes, just as all human institutions do and have changed.¹⁶

However, in the attempt to explain the introduction of *kalivarjyas*, the adoption of a model of explanation based on the idea of moral relativism and conventionality of norms (cf. Bhatthacarya 1943: 177-195) applied to the Indian legal tradition seems inadequate (cf. Lingat 1973: 188; Doniger 1976: 70).

¹³ On Medhātithi's relationship with the authority represented by the *MDhŚ*, see among the most recent Yoshimizu (2012).

¹⁴ On the real authority held by the *kalivarjyas* during India's subsequent legal and cultural history, see Bhattacharya (1943: 195-203).

¹⁵ On the normative criterion established by the Brahmans to define what is *dharmic* and what is not (and thus to approve or disapprove something new), cf. Squarcini (2011a: 113-134).

¹⁶ On this topic see Dumont (1970 [1966]: 195-196); Squarcini (2011b: 27 ff.). According to Olivelle (2006: 171), the very origin of the notion of *dharma*, understood specifically as a legal norm, is linked to the customs prevailing at the time when the first *dharma* texts (*Dharmaśāstras*) were written.

The sources from which to derive the norms, that is, the cognitive means of *dharma* (*dharmaprāmānya*),¹⁷ are primarily the texts of the *śruti* and the *smṛti*. However, conflicts between the moral rules, and thus between the sources themselves, may also emerge from the comparison between them. Such conflicts call into question both the authority itself and the traditions built upon it, but they may also call into question a third component, namely society and its transformations (cf. Baxi 1983: 108).

In order to fully understand the origin of the *kalivarjyas* it is useful to reflect on the contrast between what is maintained in the texts of the legal tradition and what the commentators state referring to the world, i.e., to the customs established in the course of time, which is expressed in the concepts of *lokavidviṣṭa* (“odious to the world”) and *lokavikruṣṭa* (“despised or disapproved by the world,” cf. Lingat 1973: 190-191). This means that the Brahmins, realising the social changes that had taken place, felt at the same time that the *dharma* could no longer be based solely and exclusively on the authority represented by the texts and that the texts had to be transcended, without being denied, in the interests of preserving their own authority. Indeed, the cultural hegemony of the Brahmins could have been undermined if they had not taken on board the changes in the social context.¹⁸

As the well-known Indian jurist and politician of Dalit social extraction Bhimrao Ambedkar (2014 [1987]: 235) had already noted, the position taken by the Brahmins had been to enjoin certain prohibitions, but without ever expressing any condemnation of the ancient texts or of the hermeneutic tradition that emerged later. Therefore, because of the harmonisation of the Vedic cultural tradition with the new requirements that emerged in the following centuries, the aim of the Brahmanical class was never to point out possible errors, which would have meant opening up the possibility of a weakening of their authority and thus the risk of undermining the maintenance of their control over Hindu society. Rather, the solution was the one that emerges, for example, in the reworking of the concept of negation concerning the relationship with texts and ritual practices formulated by the *mīmāṃsākas*.¹⁹

¹⁷ On the concept of *dharmaprāmānya* see Lubin (2010).

¹⁸ For a discussion of the different historiographical positions on the function and origin of the *kalivarjyas* see Menski (2003: 137-139).

¹⁹ Cf. Derrett (1964: 102). On the connections between the reflections of the authors of the *Mīmāṃsā* school and the *dharma* texts cf. McCrea (2010).

Indeed, according to the *mīmāṃsākas* one can distinguish two types of negation: relative and absolute. This distinction is also made by Buddhist models of reasoning. For example, in a Buddhist work such as the *Tattvasaṃgraha* of Śāntarakṣita²⁰ (8th century) we find the following distinction:

tathāhi dvidivho'pohaḥ paryudāsaniṣedhataḥ (XVI, 1004ab).

Therefore, the negation is of two kinds: *paryūdasā* and *niṣedha*.

This verse finds clarification in Kamalaśīla's *Pañjikā* (Analytical Commentary), where it is explained that the two terms are to be understood as relative negation and absolute negation respectively (cf. Jha 1937: 533). Thus, the *mīmāṃsākas* forego discussing prohibitions in the absolute sense (*niṣedha*), which would have questioned the continuity and therefore the authority of the texts, thereby exposing them to conflicts and contradictions. Rather, they intend to speak of exception or exclusion (*paryudāsā*)²¹ to refer to a negation that specifically concerns the rules to be followed by those who perform a sacrifice. The concept of *paryudāsā* expresses a relative negation, i.e., a prohibition that is such as an exception.

In this regard, a philologically faithful translation of the term *varjya* allows us to reconstruct some conceptual passages useful for understanding the meaning to be attributed to these prohibitions. The term *varjya*, in fact, derives from the verbal root *vṛj-* which in the active form takes on the meanings of “to bend, turn, curve, turn,” but also “to deviate” and in the middle form those of “to choose for oneself, to select.” The adjective derived from the gerundive of *vṛj-* thus denotes what “must be excluded or avoided or abandoned” and specifically in the compounds takes on the meaning “with the exception of.” The term “exception” also resonates in other terms derived from *vṛj-*, as in the noun *varja* “that which makes an exception” and in the adverb *varjam* “except, with the exception of.” Exceptions, summarising the meanings of the root *vṛj-*, allow one to “bend” something, to turn it or go around it, to turn it in a different direction, deviating it from the established direction or the original norm (*dharma*). It is therefore not surprising that the literature on *dharma* has promoted, through the concept of *āpaddharma* (cf. Della Casa 1991; Bowles 2007), the idea that there are practices permitted only in times of crisis or change. The exception allows for selection, adaptation, or adjustment to changed circumstances. Exceptions, therefore, are permissible because they do not invalidate the norms handed down, and so do not invalidate the *dharma*, on the interpretation of which the Brahmans founded the

²⁰ For the text see Krishnamacharya (1926). For the relations between Kamalaśīla's *Pañjikā* and Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha* see Saccone (2018).

²¹ On the subject see Staal (1962: 58 ff.), but also Brough (1947).

continuity of Indian society and the perpetuation of their power over it. They are also necessary because circumstances may not only be manifold but above all may change. Devaṅṅa Bhaṭṭa indeed repeats, quoting in his commentary a statement of Vyāsa, that: “*Dharma* that contradicts *dharma* is no *dharma* at all” (Olivelle 2017: 174; see also Arp 2000: 36).

The theory of the alternation of *yugas* becomes functional to all of this at the very moment in which, in addition to providing a model for explaining the passage of time, it also provides a model within which to frame the social, political, and religious changes that legal norms must face; in short, the theory of *yugas* comes to the aid of *dharma* maintenance precisely by affirming that *dharma* changes, evolves, or rather involves itself progressively, decaying:

anye kṛtayuge dharmāstretāyāṃ dvāpare 'pare | anye kaliyuge nṛṇāṃ yugahrāsānurūpataḥ ||

In *kṛtayuga* the norms of men are other than in the *tretā(yuga)* and different in the *dvāpara(yuga)*, in the *kaliyuga* they are other [again] in correspondence with the decay of *yugas* (MDhŚ I, 85).²²

If in the *kaliyuga* only one-fourth of the original *dharma* is left, then only one-fourth of the religious rites will be practiced as well, compared to those originally elaborated in the Vedic age.

To sum up, it seems possible to affirm that the progressive elaboration and then the compilation of longer and longer lists, up to the famous systematisation in the 17th century, had a meaning that on the one hand specifically concerns not only the dimension that is the object of the ‘prohibitions,’ i.e., the *dharma*, but on the other hand also constitutes a solution concerning the maintenance of cultural hegemony by the Brahmans: to maintain the *dharma* by admitting that the Brahmans have never provided erroneous interpretations of it, but if anything since circumstances have changed, that it is now necessary to admit some exceptions, which will end up being interpreted as prohibitions or interdictions.

However, what has been said so far leaves open a not-insignificant question: what are the reasons that lead to the necessity of specifying that the prohibition of the *dikṣā* concerns the *sattras* in particular?

²² For the text see Mandlik (1992 [1886]), but I also considered Olivelle (2005). For the translation see also Doniger, Smith (1991) and Squarcini, Cuneo (2010).

3. The *sattras*, the *gavāmayana* and the *dikṣā*

The ways of performing solemn rituals, in the centuries following the composition of the *Samhitās* and then of the *Brāhmaṇas*, underwent progressive modifications until they were defined in the *Śrautasūtras*. Within this textbookish literature for the execution of the most complex sacrifices, the oldest text is probably the *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra*, composed around the sixth century BCE, though the latest ones are as recent as the fourth century CE.²³ The changes introduced aimed firstly to provide orthodox alternatives within the different schools, and secondly to simplify some passages. Concerning the *sattra* rituals in particular, even if the modalities of their execution were presumably fixed in the later phase of the Vedic period, as early as the 4th or 5th century CE (cf. Kāṇe 1936: 8; Kashikar 1998: 55, but on the dating cf. Bhattacharya 1943: 176-177), the organisation of *śrauta* rituals had become increasingly rare due to the complexity of their preparation, and most probably the celebration of long ritual sessions (*sattras*) had fallen into disuse. The oldest epigraphic evidence of the celebration of *śrauta* sacrifices, in general, belongs to the Śuṅga period. An inscription on a stone found in the mountain pass of Naneghat (Nāṅāghaṭ) and datable between 70 and 60 BCE appears significant. The inscription, engraved on the walls to the right and left of the entrance to a man-made cave, had an obvious political and propaganda significance for the Sātavāhana dynasty, which ruled the Deccan between the 3rd century BCE and the 2nd century CE. The pass was undoubtedly an important commercial junction, meaning the inscription had the effect of informing all those making the passage of their entry into a powerful and wealthy kingdom, whose ruler was able to finance various solemn sacrifices. The inscription, attributed to the will of Queen Nāyanikā, wife of Sātakarnī I, the third ruler of the Sātavāhana dynasty, recalls the execution of numerous *śrautayajñas* and on lines 4 and 5 of the right wall the same statement is repeated:

Gavāmayanaṃ yaṃño yiṭho[dakhinā dinā]gāvo 1101

a Gavāmayana sacrifice was offered, a sacrificial fee was given (consisting of) 1,101 cows.²⁴

The *sattras* (cf. Keith 1925: 349ff.; Kāṇe 1941: 1239ff.) were classified by the texts into two types: those that lasted less than a year (*rātrisattras*) and lasted from thirty nights to a hundred nights (*śatarātra*), and those that lasted a year (*sāmvatsarikasattras*) or more. If the *gavāmayana* represents the model of

²³ On the dating of these texts see Gonda (1977) and Klaus (2000).

²⁴ The text and translation given are those published by Bühler (1883: 61 and 63). See also Pathak (1959: 218).

the *sāṃvatsarikasattras*, however, the texts, as *Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra* (ŚŚS) XIII, 28, 7-8, give evidence of ritual sessions lasting three years, twelve years, one hundred years (*śatasāṃvatsara*) and even one thousand years (*sahasrasāṃvatsara*). While it is possible that the latter cases should be understood as theoretical speculations of Brahmanical circles on the borderline cases related to the very conception of sacrifice, however, it is also possible that such rituals were actually celebrated by some circles of “extreme ritualists who were prepared to explore the more radical implications of Vedic sacrificial thinking on their own persons” (Reich 2001: 147; see also Malamoud 1991: 126).

Within the *gavāmayana*, the celebrations held on the day of the *mahāvratā* at the end of the year were of exceptional solemnity. However, already at the time of the composition of the *Śrautasūtras*, this rite was perceived, regarding some performances, as characterized by a certain archaism. Indeed, some ritual sequences of the *mahāvratā*, such as the fight between an *ārya* and a *sūdra* for the possession of an animal hide, the mating between a man and a woman, and the verbal dispute between two individuals, one crippled and the other bald, were already considered obsolete by the *Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra*:

tad etat purāṇam utsannam na kāryam

this ancient and disused [rite] should not be performed (ŚŚS XVII, 6, 2).²⁵

Perhaps this judgement might be a first clue to be considered in explaining the origin of the *kalivarjya* relating to *sattradikṣā*.

However, other factors characterise the performance of the ritual sessions. Only Brahmans can take part in the *sattras*, and each of them (the texts provide for a variable number of officiants) must undergo the *dikṣā*,²⁶ so its preliminary bestowal constituted a peculiar moment in the execution of the *sattra* rituals. Brahmanical literature, depending on the schools of reference, presents different indications as to the time in which to perform the *dikṣā*,²⁷ but it always constitutes an imperative rite: for example, before performing the *gavāmayana* 17 (or 12) days were devoted to this phase (cf. ŚŚS XIII, 19, 1). As for the mode of conferral, the texts, depending on the schools, give very different instructions even for the same *sattra*, but they agree on the fact that each of the officiants imparts the *dikṣā* to

²⁵ For the text see Hillebrandt (1885-1889); for the translation see also Caland (1953).

²⁶ On the *dikṣā* and its continuity with the *upanayana* see Gonda (1965: 315ff.).

²⁷ For example, the *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* II, 371, 1 states that the *dikṣā* must take place on a single night, the eighth (*aṣṭakā*) of the month of Māgha (see the passage in Murakawa 2000).

another according to a very precise order. This begins with the *adhvaryu* who imparts it to the officiant who performs the function of *gr̥hapati*, i.e., the married man, “lord of the house” or “head of the family,” who, endowed with a certain wealth, overlaps in the organisation of the great rituals with the figure of the *yajamāna*, the patron or client of the sacrificial rite, who finances its preparation and reaps its benefits. Following Kāṇḍe 1941: 1243,²⁸ in fact:

The *adhvaryu* first gives *dīkṣā* to the *gr̥hapati* and to *brahmā*, *hotṛ* and *udagāṭṛ*; the *pratiprasthātṛ* gives *dīkṣā* to the *adhvaryu*, then to *maitrāvaruṇa*, *brāhamaṇācchaṃsin* and *prastotṛ*; the *neṣṭṛ* gives *dīkṣā* to the *pratiprasthātṛ* and the *acchāvāka*, *āgnīdhra* and *pratiharṭṛ*; the *unnetṛ* gives *dīkṣā* to *neṣṭṛ*, the *grāvastut*, and *subrahmaṇya* and lastly the *pratiprasthātṛ* or another *brāhmaṇa* (who is himself a *dīkṣita*) or a Veda student or *snātaka* gives *dīkṣā* to *unnetṛ*.

Certainly, the distinction between the role of the officiant (performed by the Brahmans) and that of the *yajamāna* appears to be annulled: the *sattrins* are all Brahmans, but since they receive the *dīkṣā* and enjoy the fruits of the celebration of the rite, it is possible to consider them all, at the same time, as also being *yajamānas*. Indeed, it is the *yajamāna* who, before being able to take part in a rite, must first undergo the *dīkṣā*, but the *sattrins* do not perform the *sattra* rituals on behalf of the *yajamāna*, but for themselves and the community. Although the texts provide that one of the officiants performs the function of *gr̥hapati*, i.e., symbolically takes upon himself the role of *yajamāna*²⁹, the distinction between the officiant and the patron of the ritual seems to have disappeared. This makes *sattras* anomalous rites because each officiant is at the same time an officiant for the other. Thus, one of the fundamental binary structures underpinning the logic governing the performance of Vedic rituals has disappeared, namely the ritual division of tasks between the class of specialists of the sacred and the noble class, a distinction that in turn reflects the alliances and the tensions in social and political relations between the two groups. Now, if in *sattras* like the *gavāmayana* the *yajamāna* is the *brāhmaṇa*, i.e., the one who performs the sacrifice is also, at the same time, the one who commissions the performance of the ritual for himself to obtain its fruits, then the *sattra* can’t be celebrated by an individual who at the same time is not also a *dīkṣita*.³⁰ The conferring of the *dīkṣā*, therefore, constitutes a necessary preliminary, without which the very possibility of undertaking a *sattra* would be lost. So, coming back to the subject that interests us here: to consider a *kalivarjya* the *dīkṣā* in *sattra* rituals means in fact to interdict the

²⁸ On the manner and sequence in which to carry out the *dīkṣā* all texts substantially agree, albeit with slight variations, see e.g., *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* XII, 1, 1, 1ff.

²⁹ On the figures of the *gr̥hapati* and the *yajamāna*, see Biardeau (1976: 37ff.); Ferrara (2018); Olivelle (2019b).

³⁰ On the identity between the *sattrin* and the *dīkṣita*, see Heesterman (1993: 175ff.).

celebration of the *sattras* themselves. This interdiction, then, was perhaps fed also by the perception of the archaic nature of the *mahāvratā*, which expresses, in some ritual scenes, practices contrary to the *dharma* defined in the following centuries.

4. The role of the officiants' wives: new reasons for interdiction

A further clarification must be added to what has just been said, which makes the moment of conferring the *dikṣā* in the *sattras* an even more complex and problematic ritual frame. If all the officiants, in turn, receive initiation at the same time one from the other, this must also happen for their wives. To take part in the different rites in which they are protagonists on the sacrificial scene, they too must receive the *dikṣā*: *anupati patnīr uttarauttaraḥ* (“Together with her husband, one wife follows the other,” *Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra* XII, 2, 16).³¹ The wives of the officiants mainly participate in the liturgical moments planned during the performance of the *mahāvratā*, attending especially to the aspects related to musical accompaniment. Indeed, during the *mahāvratā*, a central role was played by the melodies performed by the wives on a wide variety of musical instruments (cf. Jamison 1996: 98). According to the *Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa* (PB):³²

taṃ patnyo 'paghāṭilābhir upagāyanty ārtvijyam eva tat patnyaḥ kurvanti saha svargam lokam ayāmeti

The wives accompany it [= the chanting] with *apaghāṭilā*³³. So, the wives accomplish the officiant's proper task, [saying], “May we go together [with them] to the heavenly world!” (PB V, 6, 8).

Thus, starting from the indispensable role played by the wives of the sacrificers/officiants during the performance of the rite, the conferring of the *sattradikṣā* implied that the husband and the wife were placed on an equal footing, just as the officiants who joined their fires together to celebrate the *gavāmayana* were equal (cf. Heesterman 2000: 143). This equalisation of roles could also lead to the claim that, just as the *sattrins* joined a sort of travelling band (similar to the *vrātya* brotherhoods)³⁴ during a

³¹ For the text see Weber (1972 [1852]), for the translation see also Ranade (1978) and Thite (2006).

³² For the text see Kümmel *et al.* (2005), for the translation see also Caland (1931).

³³ Perhaps stringed musical instruments, similar to the *vīṇā*.

³⁴ On the similarities between the celebration of the *gavāmayana* and the *vrātyastomas* cf. Heesterman (1962). See also Pontillo (2007), which extends the analysis by also considering passages from epic literature.

year, in the same way, the women, the *sattrinīs* we might say, formed a sisterhood committed, like their officiating husbands, to earning heaven (cf. Jamison 1996: 98). In the *gavāmayana*, therefore, the exaltation of the feminine element is reinforced by the conferring of the *dikṣā* to the wives (*patnīs*): they are thus legitimated to assume a central role during the execution, going so far as to equate them with their officiating spouses/*yajamānas/sattrins*. It is conceivable then that another reason that led the compilers of the *kalivarjyas* to formulate the one concerning the *sattradikṣā* may have been also the result of an irreconcilable contradiction between the equal meaning that the *dikṣā* assumes for wives and the decay suffered over the centuries of the social and religious role of women within the conception of *dharma*. The position of women in the Middle Ages, i.e., at the time of the formulation of the *kalivarjyas*, was now equated to that of the *sūdras* (see Pellegrini 2009). They had been deprived of the right to take the active part they had once played in the rituals (cf. Jamison 2006: 200ff.), as the general decay of the element of ancient religiosity expressed in the celebration of sacrifices consolidated. The role of women within society was limited in their rights and duties by the formulation of a set of rules reserved for them, the *strīdharmā* (cf. Jamison 2018), and now mostly relegated to the family sphere. As a result, the possibility of their obtaining a role equal to that of their spouses had to be interdicted (*varjya*).

5. The multiple meanings of the term *sattra*

One must also take into account the semantic evolution of the term *sattra*. If the term, in the literature dedicated to the *śrautayajñas*, is connoted as a technical term of the ritual vocabulary that denotes precisely that type of somic sacrifices that were characterized as long ritual sessions, the meanings that the term assumes subsequently are no longer strictly related to the ritualistic sphere but have a wider meaning. For sure, in the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, the term *sattra* is often found in genitive compounds such as *brahmansattra*, indicating by now the fact that the *sattra* ritual is equated, if not identified, with the knowledge of *brahman*, that is, the dedication to the study and teaching of the *Veda*, as these lead to the realisation of the supreme principle. This identification is confirmed by Manu while discussing the different forms of impurity when he maintains that the contamination resulting from impurity (*aghadoṣa*) does not concern the *sattrins*, that is, those who are engaged in participating in the performance of a ritual session (Medhātithi's gloss makes it clear that specifically, one must mean those who are engaged in the celebration of the *gavāmayana*). The *sattrins*, therefore, are immune from contamination because they, like the rulers and those who keep a vow, are *brahmabhūtas*, that is, they have become the *brahman* (cf. *MDhŚ* V, 92). Again: Manu, dealing with the different means of livelihood,

explains that among the *dvijas* (twice-born),³⁵ as far as the Brahmins are concerned, i.e., the fourth category of men, they live exclusively on *brahmasattra*:

caturthastu brahmasattreṇa jīvati

but the fourth [type of householder belonging to the *dvija* group] lives on *brahmasattra* (MDhŚ IV, 9b).

Following Medhātithi's commentary, since *brahmasattra* ('the session of the *brahman*,' i.e., study and teaching) takes place without interruption over a long period, it is now even compared to a sacrificial session (*sattra*):

naityake nāstyanadhyāyo brahmasattraṃ hi tatsmṛtam

During the daily recitation, there is no interruption, indeed the *smṛti* [considers it] a sacrificial session of the *brahman* (MDhŚ II, 106).

Study and teaching are the activities proper to Brahmins, who need no further consecration, having acquired their status through birth and the *saṃskāra* of the *upanayana*. However, just as the daily recitation should not be interrupted – so much so that it is compared to the performance of a *sattra* – similarly, from a strictly ritual point of view, the performance of a *sattra*, such as the *gavāmayana*, cannot be interrupted by the celebration of other sacrifices, whether *śrauta* or *smārta*. The execution of the *gavāmayana* provided that, starting from the day on which the oblation for the *dikṣā* (*dikṣānīya iṣṭi*) was made, and for as long as the *sattra* was being performed, the bloody sacrifices involving the immolation of animal victims (*paśubandhas*) should be suspended, and therefore also somic sacrifices; similarly, both *iṣṭi* sacrifices (involving offerings exclusively of a vegetable nature) and *smārta* rituals were to be suspended – the latter comprising domestic rites such as daily offerings made to ancestors (*piṇḍapitṛyajña*) and deities, such as *agnihotra*, i.e., daily oblation to the fire (cf. Hillebrandt 1897: 154; Keith 1925: 349; Kāṇḍe 1941: 1243). *Smārta* rites, in particular, had acquired a special status within Vedic rituality as early as the time of the writing of the *Brāhmaṇas*. This was so much the case that they were

³⁵ Male members belonging to the first three social groups (*brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas*), to whom, in addition to the biological birth, a second birth is reserved. When they have completed the period of study to which they dedicated themselves in their youth, thanks to the ritual of *upanayana* they are born a second time, becoming full members of society, as they acquire rights and duties.

compared, as we have seen (cf. ŚB XI, 5, 6, 1), to the *sattra* rituals themselves and provided the model for the development of the later forms of ritual worship (*pūjā*) proper to Hinduism (cf. Lubin 2016). Thus reads the *Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa* (JB)³⁶:

*tāni vā etāni dikṣamāṇād utkrāmanty agnihotraṃ darśapūrṇamāsau cāturmāsyaṇi paśubandhaḥ
pitṛyajño gṛhamedho brahmaudano mithunam*

Indeed, the one who receives the *dikṣā* omits [to perform] these [rites]: the daily oblation to the fire, the new moon and full moon sacrifices, the four-month sacrifice, the animal sacrifice, the offering to the ancestors, the household ritual, the ritual offering of boiled rice to the officiants, and the sexual union (JB II, 38).

However, immediately afterwards the *brāhmaṇakāra* explains how all the ritual actions listed are not really suspended but rather assimilated into the various ritual moments of the *gavāmayana*. Thus, for example:

tad yad dikṣopasatsu svāheti vratayati tenāsya dikṣopasatsv anantaritam agnihotraṃ bhavati

He who drinks the *vrata* milk offering during the days of *dikṣā* and *upasad*, uttering the *svāhā* formula,³⁷ on the days of *dikṣā* and *upasad* he does not interrupt the *agnihotra* (JB II, 38).

If this were not so, over the year, during the celebration of the *gavāmayana* there would be a doubling of the rites, and the text seems to implicitly suggest that this excess could come to nullify the rites themselves. Among the passages that the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* (TS)³⁸ dedicates to the *sattras*, we read, in support of this interpretative hypothesis, that it is necessary to avoid repetition during the celebration of the rites. For example:

*rathaṃtarāṃ dívā bhāvati rathaṃtarāṃ nāktam ity āhur brahmavādīnaḥ kéna tād ajāmīti
saubharāṃ tṛtīyasavané brahmasāmām bṛhāt tán madhyatō dadhati vídhr̥tyai ténājāmi ||*

³⁶ For the text see Chandra, Vira (1954); for the translation see also Caland (1919).

³⁷ Milk *vrata* refers to the vow to feed exclusively on milk. The days of *upasad* or 'worship' constitute the days of celebration before proceeding to the pressing of the *soma* and, together with those dedicated to the *dikṣā*, thus precede the actual performance of the rite. The *svāhā* formula is the auspicious exclamation uttered when burning the offerings to the gods.

³⁸ For the text see Weber (1871-1872), for the translation see also Keith (1914).

Those who teach the *Veda* say, “The [chanting] *rathaṃtara* is for the day, the *rathaṃtara* for the night.” “With what is there no repetition?” He, to separate [them,] arranges in the middle as a *brahmasāman*,³⁹ during the third squeeze, the great [chant] of Sobhari.⁴⁰ Through this, there is no repetition (*TS VII, 4, 10, 2*).

The compound with a privative *ájāmi* derives from the noun *jāmi*, which commonly denotes ‘relationship,’ such as that between brother and sister (cf. MacDonell, Keith 1967 [1912], s.v.), but in ritualistic vocabulary, it assumes the technical meaning of ‘uniformity, repetition, tautology.’ So, it seems that the uniform, tautological repetition worried the Vedic ritualists, because, going back to the *JB* passage, a form of hyperritualism could be configured during the execution of the *sattras*, when the rites performed inside the *sattra* were added to those performed outside the *sattra*. The solution had been to incorporate the *śrauta* and *smārta* rites within the succession of rites performed during the *sattra*. As the centuries passed, the celebration of the *sattras* together with the other great Vedic rituals, came into crisis; probably the most pragmatic solution, which also enabled the *dharma* to adapt to contemporary customs, appeared to be that of interdicting the celebration of *sattra* through the interdiction of *sattradikṣā*, identifying it as *kalivarjya*.

However, the term *sattra* acquires a further meaning when it denotes the “five great sacrifices” (*pañcamahāyajñas*),⁴¹ that is, the *ṛṣiyajña*, *devayajña*, *bhūtayajña*, *nṛyajña*, and *pitṛyajña*, which all men, and particularly Brahmins, must perform throughout their lives, to redeem their debt, respectively to the *ṛṣis* (seers of the stanzas of the *Veda*), the gods, the beings, the men, and the ancestors (cf. *MDhŚ IV, 21*).⁴² Precisely because these rites are to be performed throughout one’s life, the author of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (*ŚB*)⁴³ had already defined them as *sattras*, and just like *sattras*, they should never be interrupted:

pañcaivā mahāyajñāḥ tānyevā mahāsattraṇi

The five great sacrifices are precisely great sacrificial sessions (*ŚB XI, 5, 6, 1*).

³⁹ The *brahmasāman*, however, assumes peculiar importance during the celebration of the *gavāmayana*. Cf. Eggeling 1885: 435, footnote 1).

⁴⁰ A Vedic poet, to whom tradition attributes the composition of some hymns of the 8th *maṇḍala* of the *Rgveda*.

⁴¹ The definition of this doctrine, together with the different rules of ritual purity and the recitation of the *Veda*, developed in parallel with that of the *āśrama* (stages of life), around the 3rd century BCE or shortly before (cf. Olivelle 2018: 17).

⁴² On this theme, see Śāstri (1971: 84-85); Malamoud (1989: 115-136).

⁴³ For the text see Weber (1964 [1849]), for the translation see also Eggeling (1963 [1882-1900]).

This identification could be seen as a further reason for the elaboration of the *kalivarjya* relating to *sattradikṣā*, because at the time when Vedic rituality had substantially been replaced by *smārta* rituality⁴⁴, and the five great sacrifices had been equated with *sattras*, the *dharma* scholars considered it superfluous to continue to keep up the institution of *sattras*, which were thus banned, since the banning of the *dikṣā* was equivalent, as we have seen, to the banning of the celebration of the *sattras* themselves.

Another element that might have influenced medieval jurists to ban *dikṣā* can be found in the fact that the term *sattra* can also generically denote any sacrificial rite. Indeed, the compound *sattradikṣā* is also found in an inscription (4th century CE) on the pillar of Allahabad glorifying the great ruler Samudragupta (cf. Chhabra, Gai 1981: 203ff.). In a context where the king is extolled for his efforts in alleviating the sufferings of the humbler strata of the population, the poor, and those burdened by lack of livelihood and afflictions, the compound *sattradikṣā* appears in line 26. Here, as suggested by Bhattacharya (1961; but see also Mirashi 1960: 144, n. 2),⁴⁵ the term *sattra* should not necessarily be understood as referring to rituals of the *sattra* type, but simply as a generic term to denote Vedic rites, so the Indian scholar proposes to interpret the compound *sattradikṣā* as a metaphorical expression indicating the ardour of sacrifice, i.e., Samudragupta's lifelong commitment⁴⁶ to alleviating the suffering of his subjects in distress.⁴⁷ Here is Lorenzen's translation (2006: 177) where, with no more connection to the long ritual Vedic sessions, *sattradikṣā* is rendered as 'good deeds:'

His mind is dedicated to the consecration of good actions [*sattra-dikṣā*] for rescuing the miserable, the poor, the unprotected, the weak.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ The expression of this new religiosity is also based on ascetic practices (*vratas*) that allow one to acquire merits that replace the rewards obtained through the celebration of sacrifices. For example, in the thirteenth book of the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh*), the *Anuśāsanaparvan* ("The Book of Instructions"), it is stated that he who for one year observes fasting for seven consecutive days, eating only on the eighth, earns the merits that are acquired with the celebration of *gavāmayana* (cf. *MBh* XIII, 106).

⁴⁵ Mirashi's article had already been published in *Epigraphia Indica* 26 (1941): 297-304, but it is not quoted by Bhattacharya.

⁴⁶ In this sense the meaning of the term *sattra* seems to converge with that of *brahmasattra* encountered in the *Mānavadharmasāstra*.

⁴⁷ The expression *sattradikṣā* occurs, in a similar form and with a similar generic meaning to the term *sattra*, in the II *āṅka* of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśakuntalā: sattreṣu dikṣitāḥ* (II, 16.).

⁴⁸ Lorenzen (2006: 177-178) also notes how in this inscription the exaltation of the sovereign's merits takes up motifs from Brahmanical ideology, but the ritualistic lexicon is used to promote the moral ideas of Buddhists and Jains.

It would seem that if the expression *sattradīkṣā* can also be understood in a generic sense as referring to the Vedic sacrificial rites, then the eleventh *kalivarjya*, the subject of this study, might not refer specifically to the *dīkṣā* of the *sattra* rituals, but to the *dīkṣā* in general, understood as the preliminary rites of the *śrauta* rituals. Indeed, several *kalivarjyas* specify the obsolete nature of Vedic rituals: in the list of 55 *kalivarjyas* of Dāmodara, No. 48 prohibits *agnihotra*,⁴⁹ No. 49 human sacrifice (*puruṣamedha*), No. 50 the celebration of *aśvamedha*, No. 51 of *rājasūya*, and finally, No. 54 prohibits animal sacrifices (*paśubandhas*), to which No. 29 is connected, prohibiting a Brahman from assuming the role of *śamitṛ*, ‘peacemaker,’ i.e., the officiant whose task it was to suffocate the animal victim during the celebration of *śrauta* rituals (cf. Kāṇe 1946: 930ff.; Heesterman 1984: 151).

6. New expressions of religiosity: from *sattras* to *tīrthayātrās*

The decline of Vedic rituals was accompanied and at the same time determined by the emergence of new forms and new expressions of Indian religiosity. Following the spread of Buddhism, the construction of the first temples, the sculptural representation of the deities, and the emergence of more personal forms of devotion (*bhakti*)⁵⁰ also changed the expressions of worship, as Vedic rituality was overlapped by the worship of deities (*pūjā*) and the practice of pilgrimages (*tīrthayātrās*).⁵¹ Pilgrimage likely took the name *tīrthayātrā*, “crossing the ford” because the oldest places of pilgrimage were traditionally the seven sacred rivers (*saptanadīs*: Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Godāvarī, Sarasvatī, Narmadā, Sindhu and Kāverī). Thus, already in the *Brāhmaṇas* mention is made of the *agniyāgas*, sacrificial rites dedicated to Agni, the Fire, to be performed at the rivers, as well as of a *sattra* which consisted of a pilgrimage proceeding upstream along the right bank of the Sarasvatī. In the twenty-fifth chapter of the *Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa* we read that the preparation for the *sārasvatasattra*⁵² consists in the *dīkṣā* of the participants and the preliminary rites that they must perform, in establishing the sacred fires that will receive the offerings and in performing the sacrifice at the full moon. Thus, *PB XXV*, 10, 11 tells us that the gods entrusted Sarasvatī with the task of supporting the sun, but the goddess lacked strength

⁴⁹ About the *varjya* related to *agnihotra* cf. Kashikar (1998: 54).

⁵⁰ See Spanò (2016) and the bibliography cited there.

⁵¹ On this topic see Bhardwaj (1983); Bakker (1990) and more recently Jacobsen (2013).

⁵² On this *sattra* cf. Austin (2008: 289-293). On the *sārasvatasattra* as the antecedent of the *tīrthayātrās* see Jacobsen (2013: 45-46) and Hildebeitel (2001: 140 ff.).

and sank: this is why the Sarasvatī river is full of bends.⁵³ At this point the text goes on to describe the central rite of the *sattra*, which is to ascend the river against the current (*pratīpam*) from west to east, to reach the source of the river:⁵⁴

pratīpam yanti na hy anvīpam aṣṭa

They [the participants] proceed against the current, for by not following the current [the source] is reached (PB XXV, 10, 12).

Forty-days' journey on horseback, from the point where the river is lost in the desert sands, is situated the source of the river (*plakṣa prāsravaṇa*). At the same distance from the earth is situated the world of heaven (*svargam lokam*), and those who participate in the *sattra* reach this goal (XXV, 10, 16). Later, in the *Tīrthayātrāparvan* of the 3rd *parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*,⁵⁵ about a hundred sacred places for pilgrimage are listed, and the sage Pulastya, addressing Bhīṣma, clearly states the equivalence of pilgrimage and sacrifice:

ṛṣiṅām paramaṃ guhyam idaṃ bhāratasattama | tīrthābhigamaṃ puṇyaṃ yajñair api viśiṣyate
||

This is the supreme secret of the Vedic seers, oh best among the Bharatas: the sacred visitation of *tīrthas* is better even than the sacrifices (MBh III, 80, 38).

Indeed, within the same *parvan*, we learn that going on pilgrimage to the forest of Naimiṣa, staying there for a month (cf. MBh III, 82, 55ab: *tatra māsaṃ vased dhīro naimiṣe tīrthatatparaḥ*), replaces the celebration of the *gavāmayana* because it enables one to obtain the same fruits as with the Vedic *sattra*.⁵⁶

gavāmayasya yajñasya phalaṃ prāpnoti bhārata

⁵³ The Sarasvatī river, mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* (cf. Ludvik 2007: 11 ff.), is variously identified with several Indian rivers. See Reusch (1995: 104) for the pilgrimage against the stream, but also Hiltelbeitel (2001: 140 ff.).

⁵⁴ On pilgrimage as a liminal activity and as a 'kinetic ritual,' for the understanding of which the category of movement is central, see Coleman, Eade (2004: 1-26).

⁵⁵ For the text see Sukthankar, Belvalkar *et al.* (1933-1971), for the translation see also Ganguli (2000 [1884-1896]) and van Buitenen (1975).

⁵⁶ Cf. Hiltelbeitel (2001: 159). The narration of the celebration of a *sattra* that brought together several sages in the Naimiṣa forest is the framework that introduces the episode.

Oh, descendant of Bharata, he obtains the fruit of the *gavāmayana* sacrifice (MBh III, 82, 56 cd).

A ritualistic exception concerning the *sārasvatasattra* appears significant. All *sattras* provide for the installation of sacred fires on the *vedi* (the sacred delimited space where the rite takes place), while the *sārasvatasattra*, according to the *Yajñaparibhāṣāsūtra* (CXLVI *sūtra*) of Āpastamba, does not provide for the installation of fire on the *uttaravedi*. The explanation for this anomaly according to Oldenberg, in his commentary on this *sūtra*, is to be found precisely in the fact that the *sattra* of the Sarasvatī provides for the officiants to move during its celebration (cf. Oldenberg 1892: 355). In this way, the *sārasvatasattra* would seem to represent an embryonic form of *yātrā*. The progressive affirmation of pilgrimages, of which some *sattras* represent the premises and concerning which the pilgrimages themselves are configured as ritual practices capable of obtaining the same fruits, meant that over time *sattras* were progressively replaced by *tīrthayātrā*. This evolution in religious practices was probably legally sanctioned precisely with the prohibition in the Kali age of the *dīkṣā* referring to *sattra* rites, while the complex *śrauta* rituals were by then set aside.

Further confirmation of what has been discussed so far comes from a passage of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*⁵⁷ in which the *dīkṣā* is identified with the *sattra* (lit. ‘the way of sitting, the session’), while the course of the session or the path to be taken during the session is denoted by the term *ayana* (*sattrāyana*).

*yā vai dīkṣā śā niṣāt | tātsattraṃ tasmādenānāsata ityāhurātha yattāto yajñāṃ tanvāte tādyanti
tānnayati yó netā bhāvati sa tasmādenānyantītyāhuḥ ||*
yā ha dīkṣā śā niṣāt | tātsattraṃ tadāyanaṃ tātsattrāyanaṃ

Indeed, the *dīkṣā* is ‘a sitting by’ (*niṣat*), that is the *sattra*. For this reason, they say of them, ‘they sit by;’ subsequently, when they perform the rite, they proceed; the one who has [been designated as] the guide guides him. For this reason, they say of them, ‘they go.’ Therefore, the *dīkṣā* is a sitting by, that is the *sattra*; that going (*ayana*), that is the ‘(per)course of the ritual session’ (*sattrāyana*) (ŚB IV, 6, 8, 1-2).

The passage, as often happens in the exegetical literature of the Brahmans, bases its argumentation on the recourse to the etymology that traces the term *sattra* back to the verbal root *sad-* ‘to sit.’ This leads

⁵⁷ The passage in question is also analysed by Heesterman (1993: 179).

the reader to distinguish the moment of the *dikṣā*, which coincides with the actual *sattra*, understood as sitting (*sat-tra*), from that of the celebration of the *sattrāyaṇa*.⁵⁸ One could assume, then, that the eleventh *kalivarjya* concerns the *sattra* identified with the moment of the celebration of the *dikṣā* (strongly connoted by Vedic religiosity), but not with that of the celebration of the ritual course (*sattrāyaṇa*), because this phase had by then evolved, in the historical developments of cultic practices, into the celebration of the *tīrthāyātrās*, the pilgrimages.

This, however, makes even more explicit the harmonising work of the Brahmans who guarantee continuity in change. Gonda (1965: 459) shows how the notion of the *dikṣā* evolved in Indian religiosity, reaching as far as modern Hindu cultic practices. Both the *pūjā* ('worship of the deity') and the decision to undertake a *tīrthāyātrā* ('pilgrimage') are preceded by some preliminary rites, which reproduce or take up, while refunctionalizing, the ancient practices that characterized the *dikṣā*: sexual continence, fasting, abstinence from meat products or salty or spicy foods, ritual ablutions, shaving the beard or cutting the hair. The contrast between the *dharma* and the changes in religious practice results in the need for Brahmans to manufacture and maintain consensus within post-classical Indian society (cf. Lingat 1973: 195).

Just the prohibition of the *dikṣā*, and therefore *lato sensu* of the *sattra* rituals, in parallel with that of other Vedic rituals, would confirm the legitimacy of expressing the religious feeling in the participation in the *yātrās*, the pilgrimages, open to all social groups, and whose origin seems likely to be traced back to a *sattra*, the *sārasvatasattra*.

7. Conclusions

In the history of Indological studies, little attention has been devoted to the *kalivarjya* related to the *sattradikṣā*, recording it in connection with other *kalivarjyas* related to other Vedic sacrifices and inserting its interpretation, although widely shared, in a historical framework related to the progressive loss of cultural and religious centrality that in the Vedic past had covered the great solemn sacrifices. In the course of this study, however, we have attempted to further deepen these analyses

⁵⁸ A further clue can be found in a passage from the *Chāndogyaopaniṣad* (VIII, 5, 1-2), which identifies the institution of *brahmacarya* with various aspects of Vedic religiosity. In the passage, a definite difference emerges between the Vedic rites, on the one hand, collected under the common designation of *yajñas*, and the *sattrāyaṇas* (the courses of the ritual sessions): *atha yad yajña ity ācakṣate brahmacaryam eva tat* ("Therefore, they declare: 'that which is the *yajña*, verily is the *brahmacarya*,'" 1) and *atha yat sattrāyaṇam ity ācakṣate brahmacaryam eva tat* ("Therefore they declare: 'that which is the *sattrāyaṇa*, verily is the *brahmacarya*,'" 2). For the text see Radhakrishnan (1953).

along two lines: the investigation of the evolution and semantic complexity of the term *sattra* and that of the historical-religious context in which the practices and concepts explored are placed.

From the historical data examined and the sources in the textual and historical-religious contexts analysed, the term *sattra* implies a multiplicity of meanings, so that it can denote

- a) long sacrificial sessions;
- b) by extension, any religious practice that extends over a long period, such as the recitation and teaching of the *Vedas* or the *pañcamahāyajñas*;
- c) Vedic rites in a generic sense.

This points to a progressive replacement in the religious practice of the ancient *sattra* rituals by new forms of worship, which probably contributed to the *kalivarjya*'s enunciation of the *sattradikṣā*.

Other reasons that might have led to the formulation of the eleventh *kalivarjya* can be inferred from an analysis of the historical evolution that led to the demise of the Vedic ritual and the emergence of new forms of expression of religiosity.

These reasons, summarizing, could be identified, first, in a general and progressive loss of authority of the Vedic sacrifices (witnessed by the formulation of various other *kalivarjyas* related to different Vedic sacrifices), which invested, in particular, the *sattras*, such as the *gavāmayana*. To be sure, the performance of these sacrifices involved a great expenditure of energy that had to be lavished in their organization and execution; moreover, as we have seen, already at the time of the writing of the *Śrautasūtra* literature some ritual segments, particularly within the performance of the *mahāvratā*, were considered obsolete. That said, it is likely that in the changed historical-religious context, the practice of pilgrimage evolved from the celebration of some *sattras*: the same *dikṣā* seems to be at the origin of some aspects of the *pūjā* and of the preliminary practices that pilgrims undergo before embarking on the journey to the sacred place. Secondly, the *kalivarjya* that we have analysed aims to specifically interdict the *dikṣā* of the *sattras*. As a preliminary rite, the *dikṣā* was imparted to the *yajamāna* (the patron of the sacrifice) and was fundamental in the performance of *śrauta* rituals, but it assumed a specific status in the *sattras*: according to a complex sequence, it was imparted to all the officiants, since they were also patrons of the sacrifice. Thus, to interdict the *dikṣā* was in fact to interdict the celebration of the *sattra* itself. Moreover, just as in other solemn rituals the *dikṣā* was also imparted to the wife of the *yajamāna*, so in the *sattras* it was imparted to the wives of all the officiants. This implied, particularly in some *sattras* like the *gavāmayana*, the assignment of important ritual roles to women as well. Another of the reasons for the formulation of the *varjya* concerning the *sattradikṣā*, therefore, could be traced back to the need to adapt the Vedic ritual to the norms developed over time concerning

women and summarized in the so-called *strīdharmā*. Finally, as a last piece of evidence, there emerges in some passages of the *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa* a concern about hyperritualism during the celebration of a *sattra*, which may have found a solution precisely in the formulation of the eleventh *kalivarjya*.

In this way, the *kalivarjya* in question is offered as a further example of inclusivism,⁵⁹ i.e., the Brahmins' ability to integrate changes within the tradition. Aware of the need to legitimise new religious practices, such as pilgrimage (and in general the new forms of devotion spread in India since the centuries between the turn of the classical age and the rise of the vulgar era), without delegitimising the previous religious tradition, the Brahmins found the solution through the promotion of the *kalivarjya* theory: the difficulty was thus avoided (*varjita* one might say!) and the continuity of their control over all expressions of *dharma* once again guaranteed. Therefore, at the dawn of the Indian Middle Ages, the prohibition of the *dīkṣā* of *sattra* rituals, i.e., the prohibition of the celebration of *sattra* rituals themselves, may have appeared as the simplest solution to adapt the norms handed down by the *dharma* texts to the evolution of contemporary customs.

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⁵⁹ On the notion of inclusivism see Hacker (1983); Della Casa (1991) and the cited bibliography; for a critical review of the concept see Halbfass (1990 [1981, 1988]: 403 ff.).

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Masāne kī horī

Singing life in the cremation ground

Erika Caranti

Named after the Hindu spring festival of *holī*, *horī* songs generally portray the frolicsome play of the day with the throwing of coloured powders by Kṛṣṇa as the main protagonist pranking Rādhā and the *gopīs* in Braj. The *horī* analysed in the present paper shows idiosyncrasies unveiling religious, theological, and ritual significance, besides offering precious insights into a ‘living tradition:’ the celebration of *holī* in the city of Banaras, at the cremation ground in *Maṇikarṇikā ghāṭ*, where *śaiva* devotees enact and ‘actualise’ the *horī*. The song depicts Śiva playing *holī* in the cremation ground with his retinue of ghostly creatures that are his favourite companions along with *aghorīs*. In place of colours, Śiva tosses the ashes from funeral pyres. In his divine dance and drumming, Mahādeva uses the poisonous snakes adorning him as water-guns to squirt venom instead of *gulāl*. The atypical choice of Śiva in one of his fearful manifestations as the subject of a *horī* is discussed through references to philosophical and theological interpretations and specific symbolism. The apparent contradiction of the celebration of a lively festival in the setting of the cremation ground, resolved in the divine character of Śiva, is illustrated and contextualised starting from textual analysis.

Keywords: Śiva, *holī*, cremation ground, *horī*, Hindustani semi-classical music, Hindustani folk songs, Banaras

1. Introduction¹

This article, in line with the conceptualisation of music as a ‘social text,’ attempts to highlight the function of song texts as mirrors reflecting—among others—religious, ritual, and social meanings and

¹ Note on transliteration: the transliteration of words originally in Devanāgarī script and the use of Hindi follows the method adopted by McGregor (*Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, 1993) mediating between a phonetic transcription and scientific transliteration. Therefore, I have opted for the transliteration system of Sanskrit omitting the ‘a’ when silent. Sanskrit terms are written in their conventional transliteration system universally accepted by scholars when they appear in a specific Sanskrit context, otherwise the system for Hindi has been used. Sanskrit words in common use—such as *śaiva*, *saṃsāra* etc.—are written according to the system of Sanskrit. Names of deities and mythological characters (e.g., Rāma, Śyāma, Mahādeva,

practices. The present argument does not purport to be an exhaustive ethnographical study, nor does it aim at providing a musicological analysis of the song presented here. Its underlying intent is to describe an idiosyncratic musical expression in which music is seen and enacted as much as it is heard. The connection between words, song, and performance illustrates how song texts are loaded with extra-musical meanings embedded in the collective cultural memory and function as commentary on rituals and beliefs. The following investigation of the lyrics of a particular *horī* represents a starting point for the exploration of music forms overlooked by scholarly research. The study of song texts sheds light on the complex significance attached to the music and the lyrics in their close interplay with the performative context and socio-cultural background.

Given the lack of literature and general paucity of studies on the topic, the basis for the present research has been provided by my time spent conducting fieldwork and living in the household of eminent exponents of the *Banāras gharānā* (music school, lineage). Although I did not have the chance to witness a *masāne kī holī* performed in a cremation ground, I could personally assess the immense popularity of the song known by the same name which is commonly sung in Varanasi during the spring festival. I had the opportunity to listen to this *horī* several times in different contexts (festivals, *holī milans*, public and private gatherings—*mafihls* and *baiṭhaks*—concerts...) performed on the occasion of *Holī* both by professional and amateur musicians and vocalists.

Among the countless festivals marking the Hindu calendar, *holī* is certainly one of the most important and popular events. Occurring in spring (*vasant*, *basant*) on the full moon day of the month of *phāgun* (*phālgun pūrṇimā*, in February-March), the festival is celebrated with gusto throughout the entire subcontinent in different traditions varying across regions. It is especially meaningful in North India and particularly cherished in the Braj region, i.e., in the places dear to the Krishnaite devotion.

The religious significance of *holī* is rooted in the Puranic story of the burning of the demoness Holikā, who was summoned by her brother, the demon king Hiranyakaśipu, to kill his son Prahlāda, a pious devotee of Viṣṇu who refused to worship his father as a god. The ritual bonfire lit on the eve of *holī*, in which effigies of Holikā are burnt, symbolises the triumph of good over evil and reminds devotees of the victory of Viṣṇu, in the form of the *avatāra* Narasiṃha (the ‘lion-man’), over

Prahlāda etc.) are written in their sanskritised form. Analogously, words such as *rāga* and *tāla*—widely known in their Sanskrit form—have been given in their conventional sanskritised spelling. Hindi terms in common use—such as Hindu, Hindustani, etc.—which have entered the English dictionary are written with their English spelling. Names of well-known places—such as Varanasi or Banaras, Vrindavan, and Awadh—and names of contemporary performers and institutions are given in their anglicised form, without diacritic marks.

Note on translation: all the translations from Hindi and Sanskrit are by the author, if not otherwise stated.

Hiranyakaśipu to restore *dharma*. The spring festival also celebrates Kṛṣṇa's play with Rādhā and the *gopīs*. Indeed, the merrymaking of the day appears as an imitation of the mischievousness of the god who takes delight in throwing coloured powder on the milkmaids of Braj.²

In South India, *holī* is linked to the divine character of Śiva and revives the well-known episode of the incineration of Kāma (*Kāma dahana* or *Madana bhasma*). Mahādeva, disturbed in his deep meditation, incinerated the god of love who attempted to shoot him with the five-flower arrow. After Kāma's wife, Rati, performed hard penance for forty days to plead with Śiva for her husband's life, Kāma was restored, but in the bodiless form of desire (*Śiva-purāṇa*, *Rudrasaṃhitā*, II, 3). *Holī*, thus, takes on the connotation of the festival of love celebrating the comeback of Kāma, forty lunar days after *vasant pañcamī*³.

Although *holī* is a Hindu festival, its relevance is not limited to the religious and ritual dimensions since it encompasses specific cultural and social significance. Its secular connotation comes to the foreground during its celebration when a temporary suspension of the established social order in terms of gender, religion, age concerns, caste hierarchies, and behavioural restrictions occurs. Role reversal and licentiousness, and physical and verbal transgression are the dominant motifs of the day. People throw coloured powder (*gulāl*, *abīr*) and squirt watercolours on one another with a type of water gun/syringe (*pickārī*). The frolicsome and permissive mood of the day includes the singing of abusive and ribald songs (*gālīs* or *gārīs*, *jogīrās*, and *kabīrs*⁴), dancing, drumming, and often the consumption of intoxicants, such as *bhāṅg*.

As most religious festivals coincide with a new season cycle, *holī* marks the beginning of the spring, when the new crops are ready to be harvested, a crucial time in a traditional society based on agricultural livelihoods.

An integral part of the merrymaking of the auspicious day is the singing of *horīs*, songs named after the festival, that are centred on the description of the joyful mood typical of *holī* imbued with spiritual overtones. The lyrics usually feature the deities of Kṛṣṇa, sometimes also Rāma and Śiva engaged in tossing *gulāl*, using *pickārīs* or singing joyful tunes.

This article examines a unique *horī* whose non-conformist nature is perfectly consonant with the spirit of the festival. This song, standing out from the conventions of the genre, has a particular

² On *holī* or *holikā* and its origin see Kane (1974: V, pt. 1: 237-240).

³ *Vasant pañcamī* is a Hindu festival falling on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of *māgh* (January-February). This day, considered the beginning of spring and herald of *holī*, is dedicated to *Sarāsvatī-pūjā*, the ritual worship of the Goddess of knowledge, music, art, speech, wisdom, and learning.

⁴ On *jogīrās* and *kabīrs* see Caranti (2022: 94).

religious, theological, and ritual relevance and offers precious material for the anthropological inquiry of a ‘living tradition’ related to a specific celebration of *holī* in the city of Banaras.

2. The music genre of *horī*

Named after the spring festival of *holī*, the music genre of *horī* includes a rich tapestry of varied music forms crossing different musical expressions. *Horī*’s ‘intra-genre heterogeneity’ (Henry 1991) can be explained by referring to its folk roots and its existence in a variety of forms and styles spanning from purely folk to semi-classical and art music.

As a folk song (*lok gīt*), *horī* is linked to the folk music of *rās* and *carcarī* that originated in the Braj region and informed the genre of *ṭhumrī* as well (du Perron 2007: 42). On the other hand, the interaction and mutual influence with art music are evident in the forms of *horī dhamār* and *horī ṭhumrī*. *Horī dhamār* is also called *pakkī horī*. The term suggests strict adherence to musical grammar and, therefore, a greater affinity to the art music genre par excellence of *dhrupad*. *Horī dhamār* is considered a ‘sub-genre’ of *dhrupad* and is, however, included in its repertoire. The form of *horī ṭhumrī*, also known as *kaccī horī*, is characterised to a greater extent by freedom and flexibility in the presentation of the *rāga* or music mode. Indeed, *horī* is generally regarded as a *ṭhumrī* sister-form, if not even a kind of *ṭhumrī*, a so-called ‘semi-classical’ genre, given its intermediary nature between art and folk music.⁵ The distinctive feature between the two forms lies in the content of the lyrics since the two genres share musical and stylistic elements.

As hinted above, *horī* songs portray the frolicsome play typical of the festival of *holī* with the throwing of coloured water and powder at one another, reminiscent of the pranks Kṛṣṇa played on the *gopīs*. The inspiring themes are mostly the episodes of the *dān-līlā* (the ‘play of the toll’)⁶ as portrayed by the sixteenth-century *bhakti* poet Sūrdās. In this narrative, while the milkmaids of Braj are going to the market to sell their products, Kṛṣṇa demands to taste them. When the *gopīs* refuse to pay the ‘toll’ of milk and curd, the god waylays and harasses them: he grabs them, tears their veils, and breaks their bangles, clay pots, and jars full of milk. This motif, extensively developed primarily by Sūrdās and *aṣṭachāp* poets, probably dates to ancient Tamil sources, including the *Cilappatikāram* and heterogeneous material (narrative, myths, and folk tales) that is mainly transmitted orally. The *dān-līlā* theme underpins songs related to the spring festival of *holī* and, specifically, is at the core of the genre

⁵ On ‘semi-classical’ and ‘intermediate’ music genres see Manuel (2015) and Caranti (2022).

⁶ *Sūrsāgar* X, 1459/2077–1749/2367. It is interesting to note that the *dān-līlā* covers 290 *pad*s, at least in the edition I consulted (Vājpeyī 1942).

of *horī*, although it features an important variation: in *horī*, Kṛṣṇa's shenanigans consist mostly of throwing *gulāl* at the *gopīs* or sprinkling coloured water with the *pickārī* rather than breaking their earthenware pots (du Perron 2007: 179).

It can be said that *horī* is predominantly in a Krishnaite idiom, even though there are certain songs depicting Rāma playing with golden *pickārīs* in Awadh or Śiva enjoying the merrymaking with his consort Pārvatī. If Rāma and Sītā enjoy *holī* with modesty and moderation, Kṛṣṇa is conventionally represented as a mischievous prankster, whereas Śiva is depicted as the loving householder, engaged in the celebration with Pārvatī and child Gaṇeṣa, or as the wild ascetic.

From a musical point of view, semi-classical *horīs* are set to the *rāgas* and *tālas* (rhythmic cycles) typical of *ṭhumrī*.⁷

Horī, similarly to its cognate semi-classical music genre of *kajrī*, can deal with social and political issues. In the years before Independence, *horīs* and *kajrīs* were composed as a means of propaganda. It has been pointed out that “the political function of *holī* is far from dead, though for intellectuals it has become a medium that is published rather than performed” (Kumar 1988: 151). After all, the denomination ‘*horī*’ indicates not only a music form but also a literary genre since it refers to a written composition featuring the theme of the genre or presented in connection to the time of the festival of *holī*. The same holds true for *horī* sister-forms: *caitī*, *kajrī*, and *jhūlā* (Caranti 2022: 113).

3. *Masāne kī holī*: the Holī of the cremation ground

The celebration of *holī* holds special significance also in Banaras, the city sacred to Śiva. Even more important and unique to Varanasi is the so-called *masāne* or *śmāśān kī holī* (‘the Holī of the cremation ground’) also known as *citā bhasm kī holī* (‘the *holī* of pyre ashes’), which takes place in the very dwelling of the god, at *Maṇikarṇikā ghāṭ*, on *phālgun śukl dvādaśī*, the day after *raṅgbharī ekādaśī* and five days before *holī*. It is believed that the day of *raṅgbharī ekādaśī* marked the *gaunā*⁸ ceremony of the divine couple of Śiva and Pārvatī: Lord Śiva after the marriage—that took place on *śivarātrī*—brought his consort from the Himalayas to his permanent abode in Banaras, and the arrival of the bride was celebrated by playing with *gulāl*. The very next day (*dvādaśī*), Śiva wanted to celebrate with his ghostly

⁷ Among the most common *rāgas* of *horī* there are *Khamāj*, *Kāfi*, *Bhairav*, *Bhairavī*, *Pīlū*, *Kalyāṇ*, *Purvī*, *Tilak Kāmod*, and *Toḍī*. As far as the *tālas* are concerned, some of the most frequently found are *Dīpcandī*, *Tintāl*, and *Jat*.

⁸ With the *gaunā* ceremony, common throughout northern India, the bride is brought to her husband's place after the farewell to her parental home (*vidāī*).

attendants (*gaṇas*) as well. Hence, a special *holī* was played with *bhūtas*, *piśācas*, *pretas*,⁹ and *aghorīs* who smeared each other with the ashes from the funeral pyres. References to this eerie playful activity are found in several *śaiva stotras*, such as the *Śivamahimna-stotra* (24):

O, You who play in cremation grounds, o Destroyer of Smara,¹⁰ your companions are
piśācas,
Your body is smeared with ashes of funeral pyres, Your garland is a string of human skulls.
All your conduct seems to be inauspicious, yet, o Bestower of boons,
You are the Supreme Auspiciousness to those who remember You.¹¹

Every year, a special *holī* is played at the burning *ghāṭ* in Banaras to commemorate such an event, according to a tradition that is regarded as immemorial. Before this celebration, devotees make an offering at the temple of Bābā Mahāśmaśāna Nātha, at *Maṇikarṇikā ghāṭ*. Traditionally, the festivity begins at noon and continues until evening. Recently, a grand ritual procession in honour of Śiva (*śobhāyātrā*) is held from the temple to *Hariścandra ghāṭ*, the second most important cremation site in the city, although traditionally the *holī* celebration used to take place at *Maṇikarṇikā ghāṭ*, the main burning ground. On this occasion, it is a custom to ritually consume *bhāmṅ*, the narcotic drink made of hemp sacred to Śiva. The *ghāṭs* echo with chants of ‘*Hara Hara Mahādeva*’ and resound with the singing of *Khele masāne meṃ horī Digambara*. Devotees attired as Śiva’s *gaṇas* dance, shout, play *ḍamru* and cymbals mixing with a large crowd of onlookers, tourists from India and abroad, and members of the *Ḍom* and *Cāṇḍāl* communities, the castes of caretakers of the cremation ground. In 2022, the event occurred on March 15th and was organised by the Kashi Mokshadayini Seva Samiti, a local NGO involved

⁹ Specifically, *bhūtas* are restless night-wander ghosts or spirits of the dead. *Pretas* (lit. ‘gone forth [from the body],’ ‘departed’) are a category of spirits of the dead who have not yet found peace since they are trying to reach the *pitṛaloka* (the ‘world of the Fathers’) and wander restlessly. In order to appease and guide them in the transition, *pretas* are offered *piṇḍas*, rice-balls symbolising the body of the deceased. If feeding and worship rituals are not properly performed by the mourning family, *pretas* can become *piśācas* and torment the living. *Piśācas* are a kind of flash-eater goblins. Eck aptly describes them as “the unsatisfied spirits of the dead, especially the spirits of those who have died violent or unnatural deaths, or those whose death rites were improperly performed” (Eck 2015: 339).

¹⁰ Another name for Kāma, the god of love.

¹¹ श्मशानेष्वक्रीडा स्मरहर पिशाचाः सहचराः चिता-भस्मालेपः स्रगपि नृकरोटीपरिकरः।
अमङ्गल्यं शीलं तव भवतु नामैवमखिलं तथापि स्मृतृणां वरद परमं मङ्गलमसि॥ २४॥

in social works founded by a *Ḍom Rājā*¹² for granting funeral rites and cremation to unclaimed dead bodies.¹³

4. *Khele masāne meṁ horī Digambara*

The *horī* singled out in the present article shows interesting idiosyncrasies for both lyrics content and performative context that are often closely interrelated. The song depicts Śiva playing *holī* in the cremation ground with his retinue of *bhūtas* and *piśācas*, the ghostly creatures that are his favourite companions, along with *aghorīs*. In place of *gulāl*, Śiva tosses the ashes from funeral pyres. The *horī* qualifies itself as atypical: there is no *Kṛṣṇa* nor *Rādhā*, neither lovers nor *gopīs*. In his divine dance and drumming of the *ḍamru*, Mahādeva uses the poisonous snakes adorning him as *pickārīs* to squirt venom instead of colours. This song, commonly sung in Banaras and Uttar Pradesh, is also known throughout North India and rendered in various styles, spanning from *bhajan* and *lok gīt* to more refined ‘semi-classical’ ones.¹⁴ Interestingly, despite the great popularity of this *horī*, I was not able to find this song text in any of the several *bhajan* anthologies and various collections I consulted. The written sources available are mostly versions taken from the Internet.¹⁵ I retrieved the only complete published text from a Marathi fiction novel (Karve 2020: 186). The following is my transcription of the lyrics based on the rendition by *pt. Channulal Mishra*, one of the most renowned vocalists of the *Banāras gharānā*.¹⁶

1. खेले मसाने में होरी दिगंबर खेले मसाने में होरी |
2. भूत पिशाच बटोरी दिगंबर खेले मसाने में होरी |

¹² He is the highest-ranking member of the community traditionally considered untouchable. The *Ḍom Rājā* is the custodian of the sacred fire used to ignite funeral pyres. On *Ḍoms* see Bryant and Peck (2009: 564).

¹³

<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/varanasi/holi-festivities-begin-with-rangbhari-ekadashi-in-kashi/articleshow/90213154.cms?frmapp=yes&from=mdr>.

¹⁴ Interestingly, a gloomy version of this song, interspersed with verses from the *mantra Svasti na indro vṛddhaśravāḥ* (*Rg Veda* I, 89, 6) has been included in the soundtrack of the 2021 crime-thriller drama streaming television series *Aarya* (season 2).

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pVUhmadsdU0>

¹⁵ <https://m.facebook.com/yehbanarashai/photos/a.176071839080803.36434.176063635748290/919370398084273/>

<https://www.jagran.com/blogs/sadguruji/%E0%A4%A6%E0%A4%BF%E0%A4%97%E0%A4%AE%E0%A5%8D%E0%A4%AC%E0%A4%B0-%E0%A4%96%E0%A5%87%E0%A4%B2%E0%A5%87%E0%A4%82-%E0%A4%AE%E0%A4%B8%E0%A4%BE%E0%A4%A8%E0%A5%87-%E0%A4%AE%E0%A5%87%E0%A4%82-%E0%A4%B9/>

<https://sujamusic.wordpress.com/category/artist/channulal-mishra/>; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1l7F_lL6ex0

¹⁶ This rendition is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=48hZq_H9w_8

3. लखि सुंदर फागुनी छटा के, मन से रंग-गुलाल हटा के
4. चिता-भस्म भर झोरी, दिगंबर खेले मसाने में होरी |
5. गोप ना गोपी श्याम ना राधा ना कोई रोक ना कौनो बाधा
6. ना साजन ना गोरी, दिगम्बर खेले मसाने में होरी |
7. नाचत गावत डमरूधारी, छोड़ै सर्प-गरल पिचकारी
8. पीते प्रेत थपोरी दिगम्बर खेले मसाने में होरी |
9. भूतनाथ की मंगल होरी देखि सिहाएं बिरज की छोरी
10. धन-धन नाथ अघोरी दिगंबर खेलै मसाने में होरी ||

1. Plays *holī* in the cremation ground, Digambara plays *holī* in the cremation ground.
2. Has gathered *bhūtas* and *pisācas*, Digambara plays *holī* in the cremation ground.
3. Look at the splendour of the beautiful day of *phāgun* and remove the coloured *gulāl* from the mind!
4. With the pouch full of ashes from funeral pyres, Digambara plays *holī* in the cremation ground.
5. There is no cowherd nor cowherdess, neither *Śyāma* nor *Rādhā*, there is no stop nor any obstacles.
6. Neither lovers, neither beautiful women. Digambara plays *holī* in the cremation ground.
7. Dances and sings, the *ḍamru*-holder sprinkles snake venom with *pickārī*-snakes.
8. *Pretas* drink it and applaud. Digambara plays *holī* in the cremation ground.
9. In seeing the auspicious *holī* of *Bhūtanātha*, the women of Braj are stunned.
10. Blessed are the *nāths* and *aghoris*! Digambara plays *holī* in the cremation ground.

Line 1. Digambara, ‘Sky-clad,’ is the only name of Śiva in this *horī*. It refers to Bhairava as *Bhikṣā mūrti*, his aspect of ‘Supreme mendicant’ who wanders the world begging for alms with *Brahmā*’s skull cup (*kapāla*) in order to atone for his sin of beheading the god. *Bhikṣā* is stark naked with a snake around his waist, having no other garment than the sky. In this song, he is covered with the ashes of the dead from the cremation pyre. He wears snakes as necklaces and dwells in the burning ground (*masān* or *śmaśān* in Hindi) located at *Maṅikarṇikā ghāṭ* in Banaras.¹⁷

¹⁷ On this myth and references to *Purāṇas* see Kramrisch (1981: 287-300). The episode of Deodar forest (*Līṅga-purāṇa* I, 29, 5-9), in which the playful aspect of Śiva is emphasised as against his terrifying form, is also connected to Śiva as *Bhikṣātāṇa*. The cheerful connotation of this episode is consonant with the joyful and licentious nature of *holī*. A famous sculpture of *Bhikṣā mūrti* is found in *Bṛhadīśvara* Tanjore described by J.N. Banerjea (1974: 483).

Line 2. *Bhūtas, piśācas*. Śiva's beloved companions are all kinds of ghosts, ghouls, and goblins which earned him the epithet of 'Bhūtanātha' (line 9), 'Lord of the ghosts.' Their wild play described in these lyrics is reminiscent of the creepy scene portrayed by Bhārtendu Hariścandra in his mythological drama *Satya Hariścandra* (Hariścandra 1935: 215-219).

Line 3. *Phāgunī*. It is the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of *phāgun* (Skt. *phālguna śukla dvādaśī*) in February-March, the day after *raṅgbharī ekādaśī* when the *masāne kī holī* is celebrated.

Line 4. *Man se raṅg-gulāl haṭā ke*. In the celebration of this *holī*, there are no colours nor *gulāl*, not even in the mind or heart of the devotees. In the case of Śiva, the supreme ascetic and renouncer detached from life and death, there are no hues but only colourless ashes, a *memento* of the transience of everything. This symbolic connotation becomes clear by referring to the meaning of the word '*vairāgya*' as 'without *rāga*, where *rāga* stands for both colour and worldly passions since passions colour the mind. Śiva himself is the supreme *vairāgī* since he is not 'coloured' by the emotional involvement in experiences and attachment to the *samsāra*. For this reason, to play Śiva's *holī* it is necessary to remove the *gulāl* of passions.

Line 5. *Nā koi rok nā kauno bādhā*. The *masāne kī holī* celebrations are endless and so is the divine game of *pralaya*, the dissolution of the universe symbolised by the ashes. In Hindu cosmology, there are different types of *pralaya* including a *nitya pralaya* implying the death of any being that is born (for example, in *Agni-purāṇa* 368 and *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* IV, 35-38). The *holī* played by Śiva is part of his eternal *līlā* having its climax in the *pralaya* as the end of multiplicity and re-establishment of the primordial unit. According to the metaphysics of Kashmir Shivaism, an instant *pralaya* occurs coinciding with the *nimeṣa*, the 'closing of the eyes' of Śiva, signifying the withdrawal of his attention to the world, leading to its dissolution. The atemporal alternation in Śiva of the states of *unmeṣa* and *nimeṣa*, respectively the opening and closing of his eyes, corresponds to the continuous alternation of the emanation and dissolution of the universe.¹⁸

Line 6. *Nā sājan nā gorī*. This bizarre celebration is not meant for lovers, given its ascetic connotation as opposed to the mainstream *holī*. Furthermore, it seems that, according to tradition, couples are not allowed to join this event.

Line 7. *Nācat, gāvat ḍamrūdhārī*. This line depicts Śiva as Naṭarāja, the 'King of dancers' who performs the cosmic dance of the dissolution and manifestation of the universe. The *ḍamru* (or *ḍamrū*), the double-headed hourglass-shaped drum, symbolises the primordial sound or *nād*, the sacred syllable *oṃ* from which the manifestation of the universe arises. The *ḍamru*, one of the most important attributes of the

¹⁸ On the topic see, for example, *Spanda-kārikā* 1 with the commentary *Spanda-nirṇaya* by Kṣemarāja (Singh 2004: 5-23)

god, has a deep and complex symbolic meaning in *śaiva* theology where it signifies the initial stage of the unfolding of the universe arising from the union of Śiva and Śakti symbolised respectively by a downward-pointing and an upward-pointing triangle¹⁹ corresponding to the two sections of the *ḍamru*.
Line 8. Sarp garal. Snakes are Śiva’s fundamental ornaments and serve as his sacred thread, bracelets, and necklaces. The serpent has rich symbolism. It recalls Kuṇḍalinī, the latent feminine energy lying dormant at the base of the spine. In Śiva, who wears snakes as garlands and uses them as *pickārīs*, Kuṇḍalinī is but another aspect of himself, as the manifestation of *śakti* in the human body. The snakes adorning Śiva also represent desires and passions which do not affect the god as one who has completely subjugated *māyā* by cutting the snake-like ropes of attachment. Lastly, among the several symbolic imports of the serpent in the Indian tradition, the shedding of the skin by the snake has the allegorical meaning of freeing the self from its separate individuality (Coomarswamy 1937: 40).

Line 9. Biraj kī chori. The “women of Braj” are the *gopīs* of Vrindavan who unconditionally love Kṛṣṇa. As mentioned above, their frolicsome play with a mischievous Kṛṣṇa is a trope of *horī* songs.

Maṅgal. This word could be interpreted also as the *chāp*—the ‘seal’ or pen-name—of the author. The song is popularly said to be attributed to one Maṅgal Bābā of Banaras, although there is no evidence in support of such a thesis. However, according to this reading, these verses could be translated: “Maṅgal of Bhutanātha says: «In seeing [this] *holī*, the women of Braj are stunned».”

Line 10. Nāth. The *nāth panth*, also known as *nāth sampradāya*, is a Hindu religious path, *śaiva* in orientation, dating back at least to the XI century. It comprises castes of both ascetics and householders. The heterogeneity of their lineage stems from its origins in the tantric schools of different traditions. *Nāth yogīs* were mainly associated with a *sādhana* based on yoga, tantric practices, rituals, and alchemy.²⁰

¹⁹ The upward-pointing (*ūrdhvumukha*) triangle and downward-pointing (*adhomukha*) triangle are usually interpreted as symbols of Śiva and Śakti when they appear together in a mystic diagram (*yantra*). According to several Tantric schools, this is the traditional interpretation of the intersected equilateral triangles forming the *ṣaṭkoṇa yantra* that is also found inscribed in the *hṛdaya cakra* or *anāhata cakra* and considered the graphical expression of *kāmakalā* (Padoux 2013: 66-69, White 1998: 178-179, Pellegrini 2013: 218 n.4). The four triangles apex upward and the five triangles apex downward forming the *srīcakra* are usually interpreted as symbolising Śiva and Śakti, as in Lakṣmīdharā’s commentary on *Saundarya-laharī* (quoted by Subrahmanya and Ayyangar 1972: 4). See also Bühnenmann (2003: 42, quoting Bhāskaraṛāya), Padoux (2013: 26), Zimmer (1974: 147), and Daniélou (1964: 219; 352-354).

²⁰ On the *nāth sampradāya* see Mallinson (2011), Lorenzen and Muñoz (2011), Lorenzen (2011), and Upādhyāya (1965).

Aghorī. Lit. ‘non-terrifying.’ A group of Tantric renouncers known for their extreme ascetic practices, such as wandering naked smeared in ashes,²¹ dwelling in cremation grounds, and the ritual consumption of intoxicants. It is common for them to use human bones as ornaments and a human skull as an alms bowl. They have been described as “a broad collection of Indian religious traditions that seek to achieve a psycho-spiritual state of nondiscrimination in which there is no fear of or aversion to any person or object” (Barrett 2008).

5. Śiva: the wild divine player

This *horī* appears all the more peculiar since it offers a depiction of Śiva’s counter-conventional godly nature, which is an uncommon theme in frolicsome *horī* folksongs. The protagonist is Śiva reminiscent of his manifestations of *Bhikṣā*, characterised by a note of uncontrolled wildness. He is an outsider, completely unconcerned about purity, auspiciousness, and the boundaries of *varṇāśramas*, beyond dharma norms, categorisations, and conventional distinctions (Eck 2015: 97).

In the *Śiva-purāṇa*, Śiva is even described as *kumārgā niratāyātha vedā’dvatyāgine haṭhāt*, i.e., “the one who is engaged in following bad paths and who had strongly abandoned the Vedic path” (*Śiva-purāṇa*, *Rudrasaṃhitā*, III, 31, 47). It is the tension and final reconciliation between apparent opposites and conflicting attributes—almost in antithetical terms—the very quintessence of the god. He is the greatest *yogī* and a dutiful householder, he is dreadful yet auspicious, inspiring distaste and protection at the same time, he is the destroyer and the preserver. This baffling ambivalence ultimately resolves in Śiva’s transcendental nature as a form of *Brahman* beyond any duality and conceptualisations.

The transcendence results in the divine madness and aloofness to the ephemeral worldly matters and human vicissitudes of the *samsāra*. The wildness and unrestrained attitude defeat the limitations and necessity of the human mind to understand reality by erecting categories and discerning predictable patterns. The frenzied dance and the bizarre play outlined in the lyrics of the *masāne kī horī* should be considered in this light. This song is indeed a celebration of the *līlā*, the divine sport of Śiva. The extraordinary, creepy, and wild *holī* played in the cremation ground is the expression of a divine action that is aimless and spontaneous just as the manifestation of the universe is purposeless and playful. Contradictory as it may seem, the celebration of life, in the form of the revelry of *holī*, takes place at the burning *ghāt*, the place of death. This play reveals the transcendence of God and the

²¹ Not always and not all the *aghorīs* wander naked. Most of them are usually dressed in black or white garments or wear at least a loincloth (*laṃgoṭī*).

detachment of his devotees disentangled from the phenomenal reality dominated by the illusion of *māyā* and epitomises the reconciliation of life and death, once they are considered in the light of the eternal *līlā*.

The dance of Śiva is itself an expression of this *līlā* and signifies the manifestation of the universe and, at the same time, its destruction and dissolution preliminary to a new emanation.

6. A ground for play: the liminal space of the śmaśān

The locale of the divine play, where Śiva enjoys the company of his beloved cohort of ghostly spirits, is the main burning *ghāṭ* at *Maṇikarṇikā* in Banaras. The *śmaśān*—also called *rudrākṛīḍā*²² (‘the play of Rudra’) or *rudrabhūmi* (‘the land/place of Rudra,’ Liberale 2005: 4)—is traditionally located at a riverside, on the outskirts of the city in the southern direction; it is indeed opposite to the inhabited area, as an unsafe and polluted space loaded with impurity. The peripheral connotation associated with the burning ground reflects the very character of Śiva as an outsider, at the margins of the established conventional order, bordering the outrageous and frightful. Yet he is the very captivating manifestation of life.

In Varanasi, the cremation ground is not situated on the outskirts, instead, it is in the heart of the city and adjacent to temples. Here, the sacred fire used to ignite the pyres is said to have burnt incessantly since time immemorial.²³ *Maṇikarṇikā* is also considered a sacred bathing *tīrtha*, a holy ford and a place of pilgrimage for Hindus. The *śmaśān*, under the jurisdiction of Śiva—differently from all the others controlled by Yama, the god of death—holds tremendous salvific value: it is endowed with a purification power, being a “living and transforming symbol” where there is “the transformation of life and of death” (Eck 2015: 251). The entire city of Banaras is a *mahāśmaśān* and is defined ‘*avimukta*’: it is ‘never forsaken’ by Śiva, not even at the time of the dissolution of the universe and always bestows *mokṣa*, the liberation from the cycle of birth and death characterising the *saṃsāra*.

Just as Śiva is the synthesis of the apparent *coincidentia oppositorum*, the cremation ground, where life is perpetually confronted with the presence of death, becomes the metaphor for the permanence of impermanence and, thus, a symbol of the universe.

²² *Kṛīḍā* and *līlā* are synonyms but usually, in several *śaiva* contexts, the former term is more common.

²³ For a vivid and detailed description of *Maṇikarṇikā ghāṭ* see Eck (2015: 248-251).

7. Conclusion

This article arises from the need to propose a more multidimensional picture of the song texts that until now have been neglected, to some degree, by scholarly attention for different reasons. In the first place, they have not been regarded as ‘serious’ music worth in-depth consideration, both on a musical and a literary/textual level. On the other hand, the growing interest over the last few decades in popular music led scholars to focus to a greater extent on folk-oriented musical expressions in which texts have paramount importance. In this way, the ‘in-between’ music genres have been somehow overlooked. The wide ‘intermediate sphere’ of Hindustani music (Manuel 2015), which includes a multiplicity of heterogeneous forms, still offers a considerable scope of exploration. The need for a thorough understanding of song texts belonging to these genres requires studying music as a ‘social text’ whose meaning derives from a “dialectical interaction between adjacent texts [...] and cultural and biographical contexts” (Shepherd 1991: 175). In outlining cultural-specific realities, music mirrors values, behaviour, and conceptualisations (Nettl 2005: 218). The song analysed in the present paper not only portrays but also informs, to a certain degree, social life. It aptly demonstrates the primary aural and performative connotation of music texts in India. Indeed, the *horī* presented here is actualised in performance and can be regarded as an expression of a ‘living tradition.’ Rather, it prompts a reflection on the retention of a traditional practice whose origins, believed to be particularly ancient, are located in a distant, immemorial past that has to be preserved since it reinforces a sense of identity challenged by the changes of modernity.

The uniqueness of this kind of song, strongly emphasised from within the tradition itself, underpins a sense of recognition functional to the specific cultural reality of the city of Banaras, often considered a symbol of the ‘Great Indian tradition’ (Singer 1972).

The distinctiveness of this *horī* echoes the idiosyncrasies of Varanasi characterised by a lifestyle marked by the festive mood of *mastī* or *mauj*, the *joie de vivre*, leisure, and delight, better understood as «“a philosophy of pleasure moulded to the truth of social life,” or as the *rasa* (flavour) of life, or sometimes as the *vigyān*, *vidyā* (the science, the wisdom) of life”» (Kumar 1988: 99).

It is an essential component of the *banārsīpan* or ‘Banarsiness,’ arising from the juxtaposition between the prerogative of enjoying life and the constant presence of death, according to a disposition that combines religiousness and spirituality with a pleasure-loving attitude (Lutgendorf 2000: 24-26). Such a peculiar ethos finds its *raison d’être* in the very reality of Banaras, as the city of *mafhils*—gatherings for music, dance performances or recital of poetry—and courtesans on the one hand; on the other, the holiest city in the world, the ideal place to die and where *yogīs* meditate on funeral pyres.

These two apparently conflicting aspects perfectly merge and harmonise in the divine character of Śiva which can somehow be considered the archetypal embodiment of *banārsīpan*.

The *mastī* derived from the singular *holī* unfolding in the cremation ground offers an occasion for a joint mode of entertainment and celebration that allows the challenging of convention, the established order, and subordination by relating to Śiva: the identification with his eccentricity and *phakkaṛpan* ('carefreeness') legitimises transgression and sublimates it in a devotional perspective. Ultimately, from a religious and philosophical viewpoint, it is just a display of the transience of human existence and the ephemerality of *saṃsāra*.

This *horī* in its *prima facie* paradoxical flavour epitomises the quintessence of the city abode of Śiva, a good place to live and to die, where every day is a festival and where Bābā Bholenātha plays *holī* in the cremation ground every day, where life and death are transcended and become a joyful and boisterous festival.

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Polluted by a purifying text

The order of signs in a pre-modern literary Malayalam world

Elena Mucciarelli

Considered lost until the latter part of the twentieth century, the *Tiruniḷalmāla*, “The garland of sacred shadows,” has been defined as a “ritual text” and as an account of rituals performed in the Āranmuḷa temple of central Kerala. Yet the manuscripts that came to light were preserved in the northern part of Kerala. On the one hand “The garland of sacred shadows” raises fundamental questions about its composition and transmission, and more fundamentally about the relation between textuality and performativity. On the other hand, it invites a reflection on the interpretative and epistemic approaches that scholars adopt towards forms of text which include an oral and visual dimension at their core. In fact, this poetic work that has been dated to the 13th/14th centuries intersects with two ritual and performative practices from contemporary Kerala. The first is the Uccabali-Teyyam, a particular form of Teyyam or possession worship performed by low-caste communities in parts of coastal Karnataka and northern Kerala, and the second is the deliverance ritual called Kaṇṇēruppāṭṭu.

This article aims to analyse how the rituals are presented and reproduced within the *Tiruniḷalmāla* in dialogue with the contemporary rituals. By highlighting how the text’s author refers to a religious and social world altogether different from his own, I argue that the *Tiruniḷalmāla* as a whole might have been conceived as the poetic re-creation of a ritual. In this sense, the text can be understood as a linguistic endeavor to conjure up something that resembles a ritual while openly stating, by its own textual nature, its disconnection from the reality it is supposed to depict.

In other words, I take the performative nature of this text to be understood in terms of reproduction and simulation. If the “Garland of Sacred Shadows” was conceived for the high caste communities, then its intended audience was allegedly meant to keep a distance from the same practices that represent the core of the text. In this sense, the text, which has at its core the purification of the main deity of Āranmuḷa, might act, by way of inversion, as a source of pollution for its audience.

Keywords: Textuality, performativity, Kerala, possession, ritual, reproduction, simulacra

The simulacrum is never what hides the truth—it is truth
that hides the fact that there is none.

The simulacrum is true.

Ecclesiastes.

Simulacra and Simulation, Jean Baudrillard

1. Introduction¹

The present work will focus on the intersection of the *Tiruniḷalmāla*,² a pre-modern text considered lost until the latter part of the twentieth century, with two ritual and performative practices from contemporary Kerala. The first is the Uccabali-Teyyam, a particular form of Teyyam or possession worship performed by low-caste communities in parts of coastal Karnataka and northern Kerala, and the second is the deliverance ritual called Kaṇṇēruppāṭṭu. A brocade of mythological stories and ritual narratives in a refined mixture of Tamil and Malayalam, the *Tiruniḷalmāla* is, as the title suggests, a *māla*,³ a necklace that links beads of a variety in colors, material, and nature. The ethnographic fieldwork⁴ carried out by the author over the last years at Teyyam performances has time and again illuminated the textual analysis of the *Tiruniḷalmāla* (henceforth TNM) and the ritual context that is inside and beyond the text. This article aims to demonstrate how the ritual is presented and reproduced within the TNM. By highlighting how the text's author refers to a world altogether different from his own, I argue that the TNM as a whole might have been conceived as the poetic re-creation of a ritual. In other words, I take the performative nature of this text to be understood in terms

¹ This research was carried out as part of the ERC-funded project, NEEM (The New Ecology of Expressive Modes in Early-Modern South India). I thank the people who shared the pleasure of reading the *Tiruniḷalmāla* and helped me greatly in this task: Venugopala Panicker, Cezary Galewicz, SAS Sarma, and Dominic Goodall. This article would not be what it is without the support of my colleague Chiara Caradonna and the constant inspiration of David Shulman. Finally, my sincere gratitude goes to the anonymous reviewers whose questions and comments pushed me to reflect more on my hypothesis and deeply enhanced my understanding of both the textual and ritual phenomena.

² There are three editions of *Tiruniḷalmāla*. The first edition was compiled by Puruṣōttamannāyar in 1981 (henceforth PN 1981), and a second edition by the same scholar was published in 2016 (henceforth PN 2016). In 2006 R.C. Karipath produced another edition (henceforth KP 2006). On the history and the cultural substrata of the three editions, see Galewicz 2022 forth. In this article I refer to the edition by R.C. Karipath. The variants are noted in the footnotes as PN: Puruṣōttamannāyar (from the MS in Calicut University); K: emendation by R.C. Karipath; B: 2nd MS (belonging to R.C. Karipath).

³ Puruṣōttamannāyar comments on *māla* as technical narratological term (PN 2016: 17–18).

⁴ I wish to thank here Cezary Galewicz. He opened for me the rich world of the *Tiruniḷalmāla* and with him I did fieldwork both in 2019 and 2020. I also want to thank K.P. Sreeranganathan and R.C. Karipath who guided us in the encounter with Teyyam, and finally the ERC-funded NEEM project for making it possible to venture into this field.

of reproduction and simulation. By way of inversion, then, the TNM, which has at its core the purification of the main deity of Āranmuḷa, might become a source of pollution in itself.

2. The TNM: Ritual and literary textures

Situated on the banks of the majestic river Pampa, the temple of Āranmuḷa has served since early times as a hub of socio-religious performative practices and belief systems. Listed in the Tamil Bhakti text *Tiruvaimoḷi* (9th cent. B.C) as one of the divine seats of Viṣṇu (*divyadeśa*), Āranmuḷa is mentioned as an early Brahmanic settlement (*grāma*) in many versions of the mytho-poietic history of Kerala known as *Kēraḷōlpatti*. In addition, its location made it part of a riverine cultural network that in the last two centuries has produced a renowned boat-race religious festival (*vallamkali*).⁵ The temple of Āranmuḷa and its main deity, Kṛṣṇa, feature prominently in a most puzzling and enigmatic text of Malayalam literary and cultural history: the *Tiruniḷalmāla*. We possess little to no information about its author's social background, apart from his name, Gōvinēn; nor can we offer a positive answer as to the dating of the text.⁶ Yet a number of linguistic and thematic features within this poetic composition suggest that it can be placed within the milieu of educated, high caste communities of Kerala in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁷ In this sense,⁸ we might speculate that the intended audience of the TNM included Brahmin, Nayar, and some Ambalavasi communities such as the Cākyār, who were the addressees and actors of the emerging Maṇipravāḷam⁹ literature as well as of the theatre practice of Kūṭiyāṭṭam.¹⁰

⁵ See Sreeranganathan (2018) and Galewicz (2019) for a study of this festival and the songs (*vañcippāṭṭu*) performed during the festival.

⁶ See Freeman (2003b: 163) and PN 1981 who argue for the 13th /14th century. Venugopala Panicker is more inclined to trace the text to the sixteenth or seventeenth century (see Galewicz-Panicker 2023 forth).

⁷ See Freeman (2003a: 459) for the presence of Puranic elements in TNM, and refer to PN 1981: 33 with regard to authorship. Apart from the various references to Puranic mythology, it is the nature of the literary endeavor itself that exposes the socio-cultural frame of the TNM.

⁸ The author inserts the TNM within the Sanskrit and Tamil poetic traditions in the first *bhāga*. Additionally, echoes from the TNM can be found in the *kāvya* literature of the region, such as *Kokilasandēśa* and *Śukasandēśa*. I am indebted to Keshavan Veluthat for bringing these intertextual to my attention.

⁹ Lingual genre or literary practice of early non-Sanskrit texts in Kerala. For a discussion on the nature of Maṇipravāḷam, see Goren Arzony 2019b, Freeman 2003a.

¹⁰ On the connection between Maṇipravāḷam and Kūṭiyāṭṭam, see Goren Arzony (2019a) and Veluthat (2013). The performative nature of the TNM also warrants for a comparison with the text performed during the last day of Kūṭiyāṭṭam's Anguliyāṅkam and called by the performers *Tamiḷ Nambyar*.

Composed in a highly literary idiom that places itself alongside the Tamil literary tradition, the TNM is, at the same time, porous to the voices of ritual practices and beliefs performed by low caste professionals on the polluted body of the main deity of Āranmuḷa's temple (Freeman 2003b: 163-164). The literary nature of the TNM is highlighted in the first *bhāga* that functions as a sort of preamble, where Gōvinēn presents his tripartite composition as a *kavi*, a poet, positioning himself within a self-created poetic genealogy.¹¹ Yet, several lines later he declares to have composed the text (*kavite*) as a vessel, a *kalaśam*, of fragrant water.¹² Vessels, *kalaśam*, of toddy are used in the institutionalized possession-worship of Teyyam practiced in northern Kerala. Whereas the term *kalaśam* does not point exclusively in the direction of Teyyam, a stronger indication towards a connection between this religious practice and the TNM is the fact that the only extant manuscripts of the TNM were retrieved in this same area and two out of three belong to members of one of the caste communities called Malayars that perform Teyyam.¹³ Yet, the TNM is deeply anchored to the temple of Āranmuḷa, far more south than the area of Teyyam performances. This geographical aporia is not the only link between the TNM and Teyyam. As I will try to show in the course of this article, in various ways, the TNM showcases meaningful connections and inversions with respect to the dichotomies of pure/impure, high/low and, as it were, ritual/poetry, that are mostly related to Malayar (*malayar* or *mārāyēnmār*) ritual experts.

Defined as a “ritual text” (Freeman 2003b: 163) and as an account of rituals performed in Āranmuḷa temple (Devadevan 2010: 88), the TNM confronts the reader with an overwhelming number of questions, with regard to its metatextual form, to its editorial history and, more specifically, to its circulation.¹⁴ More fundamentally, however, the text poses a question about the very nature and effect of literature, its ontological status. As Shulman (2016) has argued in his biography of Tamil, there might have been a moment in the intellectual history of South India when the spoken, uttered word gained a new relief, when speech came to be understood as a powerful tool to modify reality. But what order of reality is speech able to transform? When the author of TNM states that his poem is a *kalaśam* of fragrant water which he has just poured,¹⁵ he is referring to the ritual act of pouring a pot of fragrant

¹¹ TNM 1.47 *tamiḷkavi punayunnēnē* (PN 1.42 *tamiḷkkavi pukaḷunnēnē*. As for the poetic genealogy, see TNM 1.36-47 (PN 1.31-42) where the author mentions both Sanskrit and Tamil poetics traditions.

¹² TNM 1.207 (PN 1.198) *ñān-innen kavite-yennuṃ naṟuṃpunel kalacamāṭi*.

¹³ See PN (2016: 17) and Sreeranganathan (2018: 55-56) who speaks of *pērumalayanmār* and mentions fragments of the text belonging to this community.

¹⁴ On these issues see Galewicz (2022 forth.). The basic difficulty is that the reading practice of the TNM is broken and we have to find a way to reconstruct it.

¹⁵ TNM 1.207 (PN 1.198) *ñān-innen kavite-yennuṃ naṟuṃpunel kalacamāṭi*.

substances over the head of the person who needs to be purified.¹⁶ This metaphor seems to suggest an identity between the poem and the ritual performance; yet, by establishing the two components of the equation he also states their intrinsic difference. What kind of relation does the poet create between ritual practices and the lines of his poem? Does he suggest that the ritual speech of the poem is able to transform the same order of reality as that of the accompanying ritual acts?

In his poetic composition the author refers to various practices, terms, and images that allow the ritual context to manifest against the background of his literary world. In fact, in the TNM, we observe recurring references to ritual activities, such as the divine ritual procession to and away from the god of Āraṇmuḷa, which act as the ordering principle of the work.¹⁷ Yet, it would be misleading to rely on such elements when trying to make sense of the relationship of ritual text, speech, and action in the TNM. In and of itself, the wealth of references to ritual practices within a literary composition is hardly surprising. It is, on the contrary, quite surprising that the rituals the TNM accounts for, such as *niḷal*, *nākkuru* and *bali*,¹⁸ belong, as Freeman (2003a) has already noted, to a system of knowledge that does not pertain to the Brahmanical temple-based liturgy, but rather ties in with the marginalized religious space of possession rituals and “exorcism” practices.

3. Correspondences with the world of Teyyam

Through the investigation of the TNM’s non-Brahmanical cultural context, scholars have brought to light a possible connection between the TNM and the Malayars, a low-caste community that practices Teyyam in present-day northern Kerala.¹⁹

¹⁶ The ritual pouring is described in the *Kuḷikāṭṭu pacca* (Bhaṭṭatirippāṭu 2014: 253), the 16th cent. reference text for Kerala temple-worship (Freeman 2016). With a similar purifying function is also mentioned in the 15th century Maṇipravāḷam poem *Candrōtsavam* (Kunjanpillai 1984: I.74 and I.106).

¹⁷ Furthermore, the rites of *nākkuru*, *paḷḷippaṭṭu* and *nalaṃkoḷ* (or *niṛaṃkoḷ*) *kuttiravu* are listed in an almost identical sequence at the beginning and at the end of the TNM. In the first *bhāga* (TNM 1.205 = PN 1.197), the author mentions them before his declaration that his *kavita* is a *kalaśam*, while they mark the end of the *uccabali* ritual in the third *bhāga* (TNM 3. 482=PN 3.455).

¹⁸ Cf. TNM 3.475. *Niḷalkuttum*, used to define the Malayars, refers to ritual practices of “shadow piercing” that are connected with the goddess Kuratti; *bali* is used as taxon for blood sacrifices. Finally, *nākkuru*, as we will see more in details below, is a ritual to deliver from the evil tongue. This last practice is connected with the world of “sorcery” (*mantravāda*), that, albeit not completely separated, is kept at a certain distance by the institutionalized world of high caste Brahmins. A further investigation of the connection between the *mantravāda* tradition and the TNM exceeds the scope of this article and it is part of an ongoing research.

¹⁹ Freeman (2003c: 308-10), Sreeranganathan (2018), Karipath (2019).

As public event, Teyyam is both a religious institution and an artistic product hinging on the worship of gods as they manifest themselves in the possessed body of the medium.²⁰ There is a formidable number of gods that are routinely invoked into the body of the performers —each representing a different Teyyam. Over the course of the ritual, local forms of Puranic gods, village deities, and family gods gradually take possession of the body of the medium through the application of the make-up, the wearing of the costume and of the headgear. This process is activated by the singing of divine stories (*torram*), which transpose by way of indexing the gods onto the body of the performer and it ends in the moment when the medium looks into the mirror he holds in his hand and recognizes the deity in himself.²¹

Whereas Teyyam, in the form we see it today, cannot be traced back to a period earlier than the eighteenth century, we do have records that point to a form of possession-worship around the fifteenth century in northern Kerala (Kolattunatu). Moreover, divine possession involving medium-performers seems to be attested in early times across the Tamilakam, the area of today's Tamil Nadu and Kerala (Freeman 2003c: 308).²² By thinking of the religious practice of Teyyam in terms of the historical trajectory of the concept of possession and medium-dance ritual up to the present, the ritual practices we find in TNM can be understood as a moment in the process of transformation of Teyyam. Analyzing specific passages of the TNM we find similarities and echoes that prove quite clearly the connection between the medieval text and the modern possession-worship, and I argue that these two artistic products, despite their chronological distance, can shed light on each other.²³ Through Teyyam we might better grasp some of the text's objective correlatives, and the TNM might shed some light on the history of the ritual practice.

Teyyam, as a religious institution, is organized around groups of performers and oracles belonging to low castes. This aspect colors the whole practice with a sort of lasting unbalance: throughout the performance of Teyyam, the site of power keeps shifting, giving a sense of fluidity to society's otherwise hierarchical structure. In this dynamic, we might, following Freeman (2011), detect a cultural irony. The performers who belong to low-caste communities position themselves on a higher level during the performance. They lead, guide and orchestrate most of the ritual procedure. They become the ritual leaders of the community for as long as the possession worship lasts and, in this way,

²⁰ The fact the gods are invoked into the body of the medium speaks to the fact that Teyyam has to be understood in the context of the tantric traditions of Kerala.

²¹ On this process, see Freeman (2003c: 315).

²² Cf. also Zvelebil (1974) and Hart (1975).

²³ On the pertinence of ethnohistorical reconstruction for the understanding of textual production see Freeman (2003a: 453).

they rise to a status that goes beyond their social position, as they operate on a higher social level than their high-caste patrons.²⁴ Similarly, in the TNM, the god Kṛṣṇa is reprimanded for his evil, dubious actions by low-caste Malayars who feature as central actors and ritual experts. Whether today's Malayars represent a point within the same historical trajectory as the one of the Malayars from Gōvinēn's composition is difficult to establish, but this literary text posits a higher ethical and social status for the Malayars who, in turn, are described practising blood sacrifices strikingly similar to today's Malayar ritual specialists.

The correspondences between contemporary ritual practices of Malayars as observed in ethnographic research²⁵ and the ritual narration of Gōvinēn pertain not only to the subversive socio-cultural context, but also some specific and crucial ritual actions. In Teyyam, the apical moment in the process of possession occurs when the performer-medium looks into a mirror that he holds in front of his own face. In this very moment the medium recognizes himself as the god. The act of gazing in the mirror and finding there what is for him and for all the devotees the true form of reality results in a complete identification with the deity.²⁶ In TNM 3.489–490 (PN 3.461–462), a Malayar is described as performing an act that is not only isomorphic to this apical ritual gesture, but whose implications also echo those of Teyyam:

taṅpīli muṭikkaṇintu kaṅṅāṭi paricaram kol
*uṅkaiyyil piṭittu nokki uṅṅāṭi mukeḷil kāṅuṃ*²⁷ 3.489
cotiye civena-kkūppi coll-eḷum-uṅarvum-eṅṅu
*nīnicer kuṛatti-tteyvaṃ niraṃpeṛa viḷiccār-ottē*²⁸ 3.490

He put the feather in his hair,
 took in his right hand²⁹ the beautiful stick and the mirror.
 Once he looked in it,
 the light he saw on the surface of the mirror³⁰

²⁴ On social implications of Teyyam, see Menon (1993).

²⁵ Most of the observations stem from the field work we did in February 2019 and February 2020.

²⁶ On the reflective nature of mirrors, see Shulman's *Tamil* p. 156 and Shulman (2006: 18).

²⁷ 489b *mukeḷil kāṅuṃ*] *mukaḷil tonnuṃ* PN.

²⁸ 490b *uṅarvum-eṅṅu*] *uṅarvu-peṅṅu* B, PN; *viḷittār-ottē*] *viḷiccār-ottē* B, PN.

²⁹ *uṅ-kai*: the hand for the food; Venugopala: the inside of the hand.

³⁰ Reflected from the inner-*naḍi-* from the *garbhagr̥ha*, *uṅṅāṭi**] *uḷ-nāṭi*. On a similar compound construction in Tamil (*uṅṅāḷikai*), see Orr 2013.

that he worshipped, that is Śiva;
He obtained the intuitive knowledge³¹ that comes from the emerging of speech.
Dazzling they called in unison the righteous goddess Kuṛatti.

While in line 3.489, the Malayar medium performs the necessary actions to invoke the deity, in the last line of 3.490 the goddess is called by all Malayars. But it is in the first line of 3.490 that the most important event takes place, though invisibly. The primordial moment when speech emerges, the speech that articulates Śiva,³² has to be experienced by looking into the mirror. Śiva is the final form of reality that encompass all. Only through this act of looking can the god be invoked. As already mentioned, the invocation of the god into the body of the performer bespeaks the Śaiva nature of the text and the coalescence of Śiva and the speech points to the same direction.³³ The presence of Śiva ties in with the mutually symbiotic worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu, not a rarity in pre-modern Kerala. This is also reflected in the TNM that, while centred on Kṛṣṇa, portrays Śiva already in the opening lines as Hari accompanied by Umā. Umā is the name often attributed to the goddess in the Śrīvidya śaiva tradition that sees the speech as the ultimate form of consciousness. This conceptualization of the efficacy of speech plays a central role to understand the intersection of the TNM with the Uccabali-Teyyam and the Kaṇṇēruppāṭṭuuppāṭṭu.

4. The Uccabali-Teyyam

Along with socio-cultural features and ritual acts, the TNM and Teyyam share also a fierce local deity that traverses the cultural landscape of South India in different forms.³⁴ The figure of Kuṛatti features in Teyyam as one of the goddesses that possesses the body of the performer, and the Kuṛatti-Teyyam is mostly performed immediately after the Uccabali-Teyyam, a specific and rare form of Teyyam.³⁵ In the TNM, Kuṛatti's story and her mythical travel across India constitute one of the main topics of the third *bhāga*. Kuṛatti is invoked to the sacrificial ground by the Malayars following a long description of

³¹ On *uṇarvu* as intuitive feeling and knowledge and its connection with self-knowledge and speech, see Shulman (2016: 167).

³² The identification of Śiva with language or the potentiality of language is a diagnostic feature of Śakta tantric tradition.

³³ Śaiva and tantric traditions had a fundamental role both in the formation of temple practices (as shown, for instance, by the *Tantrasamuccaya*) and in more esoteric forms of knowledge systems along Śaiva lineages (such as the practice of *mantravāda*). The relation between Teyyam and the Śaiva traditions needs to be studied further and constitute the core of a research project in collaboration with Ma'ayan Nidbach.

³⁴ On the figure of Kuṛatti / Kuṛavañci in Tamil literary and performative worlds, see Peterson (2008).

³⁵ On Uccabali-Teyyam still sponsored today only by ten families, see Karipath (2019).

what both editors of the TNM label as Uccabali, the blood sacrifice performed at midday when the sun is at its zenith. Here is how her invocation starts:

*valamiṭṭu*³⁶ *katirevan poỵ marimarikaṭelaṇeya-kkaṇṭu*
kaḷamūṭṭuveli koṭuppān kaḷamoli maleyer-ellām 3.485

After the ritual circumambulation, once they saw the sun vanishing in the roaring sea, all the Malayars of beautiful voice offer the sacrifice of the marked spot³⁷.

In the area of Kolattunatu, northern Kerala, in the small town of Annur, every year, between the end of February and the beginning of March, the Cūvvaṭṭu family from the Ambalavasi community of Poduvar organize and finance Uccabali-Teyyam performance. The head of the family, the *kāraṇavan*, acts as the beneficiary of the purification rites performed during the second day. Performers from the Malayar community carry out the rituals. This religious practice lasts up to three days and features more than one god and involves many ritual agents acting in different locations. According to the evidence collected during the last field work in February 2020, during the second and central day of the Uccabali-Teyyam, ritual props are prepared in the area in front of the *garbhagrha* and a sacrificial area is created just outside the temple.³⁸ The photograph below captures the sacrificial ground that is constructed ad hoc on the ground right in front of the temple and oriented perpendicular to it.

³⁶ *Valamiṭṭu* = *pradakṣiṇaṃ vecc̣*.

³⁷ *kaḷa* = drawing or marked place.

³⁸ These are my observations and notes from a field trip in February 2020 done with C. Galewicz.



Fig. 1 Sacrificial ground, Uccabali Teyyam, 27.02.2020. Annur, Kerala. Photo by the author.

A similar disposition of ritual props is depicted by the TNM in 3.7.2 where also the proper time -the midday- plays an decisive role:

meccamē maleyemārē virant-ini-ppaleruṃ-kūṭi
uccanēr velikoṭuppān-uyerkkaḷa camappin-enna 3.471
varan-tikeḷ maleyer cenn-aññ-aṇi-ñilaṃ niratticetti
*tarantaraṃ-kaḷeyuṃ ñeḷukuṃ catiramāy nirattikkutti*³⁹ 3.472
kurutiyum-uruḷaccōruṃ kuttuvāḷ-kalavuṃ pinne
*caramēṭu-vāluṃ pīṭaṃ camappoṭu-nirattiveccu*⁴⁰ 3.473

³⁹ 472b varan-tikeḷ] barantikev̄ K; arantikeḷ PN

472b nirattikkutti] niṛuttikkutti PN

⁴⁰ 473b caramēṭu] caramōṭu PN; vāluṃ pīṭaṃ] pīṭaṃvāluṃ B, PN

“O best (well praised) Malayars, all that you are!

It is the proper time! Quickly arrange the best diagram (kaḷi) in order to perform the midday sacrifice.” Said [by the leader of the sacrifice].

The strong Malayars came to the beautiful ground, cut it to make it straight, stuck one by one the bamboo stick and the sugar cane in a square;⁴¹

The items used for the ritual are spread in an arranged manner: the blood, the ball of rice, a dagger, a pot and, finally, a sword on a stool with arrows.

Furthermore, during the second day of the Uccabali-Teyyam the oldest among the two Malayars in charge of the Uccabali performance stands at the border of the small wall that circumscribes the temple, which he is not allowed to enter since he belongs to a low-caste community. He is accompanied by two drummers, while the *kāraṇavan*, the head of the family which sponsors the Teyyam, is seated inside the temple. The *kāraṇavan* emerges from the shrine with various agricultural products (uncooked rice, etc.) and ceremonially gives them to the older Malayar. The latter puts a rooster in a pit, which is then covered with stalk, large green banana leaves, and earth. Meanwhile, the younger Malayar turns into the Uccabali-Teyyam, as the deity takes possession of him.

The entire day leads up to the moment when the Uccabali-Teyyam, that is, the Malayar who acts as the possessed medium, together with the *kāraṇavan*, goes to the ritual space outside of the temple. While the *kāraṇavan* sits on the ritual ground, the older Malayar and the Uccabali-Teyyam stand near him and perform a series of actions⁴² that are meant to deliver the *kāraṇavan* from his physical and mental defects (*dōṣam*).

5. Deliverance from the evil eye: Kaṇṇēruppāṭṭu

This practice of deliverance represents the space of intersection of the TNM and Uccabali-Teyyam with Kaṇṇēruppāṭṭu. This final piece of the puzzle sheds a new light on the socio-historical context and, especially, on the nature of text. The discovery⁴³ of a direct link between a portion of the second *bhāga* of the TNM and a non-Brahmanical ritual called Kaṇṇēruppāṭṭu exposes traces of spoken ritual

⁴¹ Two readings: *catiramāy* or *caturamāy*.

⁴² *Bhāga* 2.6 is marked as *tulavūḷiyuka* = *tōlūḷiyuka*. According to Gundert 1872 it is a “ceremony of Malayars to remove sins by throwing them with leaves into the fire.” In the Uccabali a similar procedure was observed during the field work in February 2020. The *kāraṇavan* was purified and leaves were drawn over his body, up to down, and toward a pot of fire.

⁴³ We owe this discovery to the suggestion of Sreeranganathan (personal communication).

language. Such a discovery urges us to reflect upon a form of textuality where the borders between the literary and the ritual text disappear.

The songs from 2.21 to 2.40 are marked as coherent section by the editors of TNM, M.M. Puruṣōttamannāyar and R.C. Karipath. This part of TNM seems to constitute a thematic unit that centres upon the “evil eye” and the “evil tongue.” The first five songs of this unit are found almost in the exact same form⁴⁴ in a collection of songs entitled *Kaṇṇērūppāṭṭu* “Songs for the evil tongue.” As indicated by Sreeranganathan in his book on Āranmuḷa’s temple,⁴⁵ *Kaṇṇērūppāṭṭu* is used by Malayars in northern Kerala to get rid of evil influences. This form of “exorcism,” as the term “*olivu*” has often been translated, is obtained through a sequence of ritual actions, but these actions are activated by the recitation of the songs contained in the *Kaṇṇērūppāṭṭu*. According to Paṇikkar and Sreeranganathan, the text collected by K. P. C. Paṇikkar as *Kaṇṇērūppāṭṭu* is recited during rituals (*caṭaṇṇu*) that aim at delivering from the evil eye and evil tongue, forms of defects (*dōṣam*) and afflictions caused by spirits (*badham*). The songs 2.21–25 of the TNM are uttered as ritual language, and, as part of *Kaṇṇērūppāṭṭu*, are titled by Paṇikkar as *niṛanāli uliyal*.⁴⁶ This term refers to a ritual practice whereby rice and other articles are rubbed over an afflicted person’s chest and then brushed away, thereby casting away the evil influences. The ritual in turn is indirectly mentioned in the section of TNM that describes the midday sacrifice, the *uccabali*.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the decisive moment of deliverance from evil in the Uccabali-Teyyam as it was observed during our fieldwork in February 2020 appears to contain such rites, whereby the songs that are shared by TNM and *Kaṇṇērūppāṭṭu* should be recited during the act of deliverance. The first song with which the *niṛanāli uliyal* section of *Kaṇṇērūppāṭṭu* begins, which is song 2.22 in the TNM, is as follows:

ñānikaḷēttum ārenmuḷayappena
vānaverkon kaṇṭu nāvaleyittōn
tān oru māmuni mātinācapēṭṭu

⁴⁴ For the variants in *Kaṇṇērūppāṭṭu*, see Paṇikkar (2007: 107).

⁴⁵ According to Sreeranganathan copies or fragments of the TNM can be found in the family houses of Malayar practising *Kaṇṇērūppāṭṭu* (Sreeranganathan 2018: 56).

⁴⁶ *niṛanāli* literally means “rubbing (*uliyal*) a *nāli* (a unit of measurement consisting of a wooden or copper pot) of rice which is one of the *aṣṭamaṅgalya*, the eight auspicious objects often used at the beginning of rituals and performances.

⁴⁷ Cf. TNM 3.475 where there is a reference to *niḷalkuttu* ritual that Puruṣōttamannāyar (PN 2016: 113) connects with the singing of *niḷalkuttu pāṭṭu* (song) recorded in the *Kaṇṇērūppāṭṭu* (Paṇikkar 2007).

*mēniyellātavuṃ kaṇṇāyirippōn*⁴⁸ 22

The king of the gods, Indra, by watching, called down evil
on the god of Aranmula, who is extolled by the wise;
Indra, having defiled the wife of a seer,
will have his entire body covered with eyes.

The noun *nāvale* in the second line of this passage—literally “excess of tongue”—means “evil tongue.” It is used to refer to a speech that by praising something or someone beyond measure may bring misfortune upon the object of the speech. The phrase, “called down evil on the god of Aranmula,” is split among the first two lines and is reiterated in precisely the same position throughout the whole section. This phrase is built in the sequence of songs as a key formula that creates a beating tempo and turns the action of “calling evil” into an organizing syntactical and semantic principle for the rest of the song. But there is also a less visible kind of repetition in the way the narration is structured. In all the songs that are part of this self-contained unit, we observe that in the first two lines of each song, the god of Āranmuḷa is victim of the evil tongue (*nāv*). In the second two lines, the agent of the malediction is met with a sort of punishment.

In this instance, the punishment of eyes all over the body of Indra, connects the song to the Vedic myth of the king of gods who seduced the wife of the sage Gautama. The ṛṣi cursed him and as a result Indra’s body was covered with female genitalia, later transformed into “eyes.” Drawing upon a commonly shared mythological knowledge, the songs localize the well-known legend about Indra by framing it into the evil eye malediction that was cast upon the local god of Āranmuḷa. The same narrative technique is employed in all the songs of the unit. By way of prolepsis, the audience goes back in time to the point when a sin has been committed that will cause all the other sins to come. Thus, these songs establish a direct link between Āranmuḷa’s god, Indra, and all the other gods who are to follow. While the formulaic elements build a recursive structure, the narrative pattern is repeated through the section, creating a temporal inversion. In other words, the ancient pan-Indian myth becomes a secondary effect of the evil eye cast on the local god which, in turn, is represented as the first in the chain of causality. The Vedic and Puranic gods belong thus to a strain which originates in

⁴⁸ 22a *nānikaḷēttum ārenmuḷayappena*] *nānikaḷēttum ārenmuḷeyappena* PN

22c *oru*] *ori* PN; *mātinācapēttu*] *mātināsapēttu* Gra. Pā.

22d *mēniye*] *mēyiye* PN

the god of Āranmuḷa and their punishment turns from a mythical memory⁴⁹ into prediction of the future.

The formulaic nature of the TNM further illustrates the different receptions and uses of this text. It is not a novelty that formulas have been used both in ritual and bardic practices as mnemonic tools. But, as I suggest, there is more to it than a mere functionalist explanation. The formulaic structure gives voice to a shared conviction:⁵⁰ in the rhythm produced by the formulas, in their sonic dimension, lies the magic of formulas, their power to affect and change reality.⁵¹ In thinking of the nature of the TNM, we should then reconsider our understanding of the term ritual which features in this text as a mode of transforming reality.

6. Ritual simulacrum

As we make sense of the genealogy of the songs from the second *bhāga* of TNM, which are surprisingly also performed during Kaṇṇēruppāṭṭu, we are confronted with a multiplicity of possibilities. For one, we might imagine the author of the TNM drawing upon his quotidian yet marginal experience of or rather partial connection with the corpus of knowledge apparently recognized already in his time as a powerful alternative to the Brahmanical one. We could also argue that the type of descriptions and the poem's allusive language point to a shared understanding on the part of the audience with regard to the ritual practices referred to in the TNM.

We do not possess any knowledge regarding the exact form of the relationship between the Brahmanical milieu of the TNM and that of the Malayar community at the time in which the TNM was composed. More precisely, we cannot determine with certainty whether the author had access to a corpus of *pāṭṭu*-s (songs) that was part of the non-Brahmanical ritual repertoire. Conversely, we also cannot establish whether practitioners of the ritual found in Gōvinēn's composition borrowed elements that related to their practice and creatively incorporated parts of the literary composition into their own textual corpus.

⁴⁹ One could speculate here further on this poetic move as a philosophical shift from mythical to historical thinking.

⁵⁰ The idea that ritual or official speech can shape, modify and even recreate reality is part of a philosophical stance that can be traced back, albeit with important variations, to the Vedic ritual corpus. It is also present in the neighboring Tamil literary tradition (cf. Shulman 2016: 166-173). It would be tempting to try and connect these two moments in the intellectual history of Indian civilization (see Parpola 1999), but at the moment we are missing a history of the idea of speech in South India that could offer a socio-historical reconstruction.

⁵¹ For an anthropological analysis of the efficacy of ritual speech, see Lévi-Strauss (1963: 181-201).

Based on the intricate network of ritual practices that seem to crosscut around these songs, my tentative hypothesis is that the songs migrated from the collection of ritual language into the poetic composition, and that this is a case of poetry drawing on ritual material rather than of ritual quoting from poetry. Gōvinēn might have had some access to these songs, or a version of them, and incorporated them in his composition. Whatever the direction towards which we lean, this exchange reveals the contact between low and high caste communities. The TNM constitutes the axis where these two worlds met and partially merged, thereby representing an extraordinary cultural token in the history of Kerala.

When I state that the TNM represents an encounter between the high caste and low caste communities, I do not mean to offer a rationale for the literary composition, but rather its socio-cultural premises. I think that the rationale lies in its dichotomies and inversions. The author of TNM uses his literary skills and knowledge to tell a story that refers to an altogether different world than his own. It is the world of sorcery—of *mantravādin*—, of possession and blood sacrifices. Furthermore, this is a text that was probably conceived for the high caste communities that were allegedly meant to keep a distance from the practices that represent the core of the text.⁵² These practices were not part of the quotidian experience of the Brahmanical community. In trying to offer a possible interpretation to Gōvinēn's literary choices, I propose to think in terms of reproduction of signs⁵³ (hermeneutics of similarity). Indeed, the TNM as a whole might well have been conceived as the poetic rendition of a ritual.⁵⁴ But the next question would be as to the reason for such enterprise.

I would argue that, on a deeper level, this literary composition performs and enables an act of voyeurism through an act of literary recreation, which I also suggest is not a simple rendition. Through his poetry, Gōvinēn leads his high-caste audience towards and into the world of Malayars. He does not lead the audience there directly and in person, but rather through literature as a proxy. In this proxy mode, he sends the narrator to explore the world that the Brahmins were prevented from experiencing

⁵² I am well aware that high caste communities sponsored and still support Teyyam performances, and that there is no impenetrable fence between the communities. Still, the distance between the high castes and the low castes was extremely significant in the socio-religious system of the period. Suffice to mention a scholar who considers the fact that these kinds of rituals were at the core of TNM as definite proof that the TNM could not have been composed by a Brahmin (see Vijayappan 1995: 63-64).

⁵³ On the implications of reproduction of signs on the relation between signifier and signified, or the sign and the reality it supposedly denotes, see Baudrillard (1981).

⁵⁴ Salay (2022) has put forward a similar hypothesis about the rationale behind the formation of the poem *Kālavadhā Kāvya* of *Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka* composed in the same area in the 14th cent.

in a full-fledged manner, as it would pollute them. Through Gōvinēn's text, high-caste communities were thus offered the opportunity to experience an altogether different religious world.

In this sense, the text is a linguistic endeavor to conjure up something that resembles a ritual, while its own textual nature removes the poem (*kavita*) from the reality it is supposed to depict. Yet, the TNM reveals its performative nature both in the context of the ritual language used in the second *bhāga* and through other linguistic features—the frequent usage of the first and second person and the imperative to frame long narrative and ritual sequences.⁵⁵ Consequently, this experiment in creating a ritual by way of poetry reveals its nature as simulacrum of a ritual. We should then ask whether, despite the omnipotence of poetry, the simulacrum is indeed the final form of reality and what kind of consequences are implied by the text's oscillation between purity and pollution.

How shall we understand the logic of reading or listening to a text as a potential polluting activity? Is it sound, or message, or circumstances of reading that might engender pollution? A contact with the bodily presence of the low caste Hindu may be taken as a feared pollution, but here no contact seems to be implied. Albeit pollution is mainly thought of in terms of physical contact in relation to the senses, I would argue that the power of imagination (*saṃkalpa*) which plays a central role for ritual purposes can also cause a form of pollution. In this sense, one can think that the imagined and thus experienced ritual might also affect the person listening or reading it. A somewhat unsettling question may then accompany the next reading of the TNM: when the Brahmins read or listened to these songs that were composed for them, were they being polluted by the text that, as a simulacrum, still threatened their purity? And does then the reason for the partial oblivion of the TNM lie in this inversion of the pairing of pure and impure?

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⁵⁵ In the third *bhāga* the verb *kaṇṇīr* (“may you see” “you shall see”) is obsessively repeated projecting the ritual sequence into the future.

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Hariśaṅkar Parsāī's *Ham ek umr se vāqif haim*

A memoir of the sufferings of an Indian literary satirist

Fabio Mangraviti

The present work is an attempt at investigating *Ham ek umr se vāqif haim* ('I have known for a lifetime,' 1989), a memoir by Hariśaṅkar Parsāī (1924-1995), commonly deemed as the most outstanding postcolonial Hindī literary satirist (*vyaṅgyakār*). The study aims to explore the narrative strategies as well as the socio-cultural and ideological ends pursued by Parsāī in crafting this work. More precisely, much attention is given to the philosophical views of the writer, who consciously decided to avoid the autobiographical form in his writings. Indeed, he deemed the autobiography (*ātmakathā*) as a genre devoid of any social commitment. On the contrary, he considered memoirs as texts more suitable for conveying ideas on socio-cultural and political issues. Apart from this, considerable emphasis will be placed on the narratives Parsāī developed in this memoir in order to legitimize the value of the satirists, who are authors somehow marginalized by Hindī literary criticism. In order to focus on this issue, the study will engage with the analysis of Parsāī's aesthetic relationship with the representatives of *Nayī Kahānī*, the major Hindī literary movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

Key words: Hindī literature, Hindī literary satire, life writings, memoirs, Hariśaṅkar Parsāī, *Nayī Kahānī*

1. Autobiographies, life writings, and the investigation of marginalized subjects

Undoubtedly, the autobiography (*ātmakathā*) is a leading and expanding field of Hindī contemporary literature. Nevertheless, after a long period of marginalization of autobiographies as readable texts in Indian academia, Hindī critical studies began stressing upon the relevance of the autobiography only in the mid-1990s. In the same period, Hindī literary production started to develop more broadly. This is proven by the fact that Rājendra Yādav (1929-2013), a leading figure of the *Nayī Kahānī* ('New short stories') literary movement in the 1950s, deemed the task of publishing autobiographies by Ādivāsī and

Dalit¹ writers as the main goal of *Hamis*,² a magazine he himself re-established in 1986 (Brueck 2014: 3).³ After all, since the end of the 1980s and the early 1990s, with the help of such ideological and editorial patronage, many Indian writers belonging to the above mentioned communities used autobiographies as literary artefacts to narrate their state of marginalization in Indian society.⁴ Furthermore, even outside literatures in Indian languages, the autobiography is usually deemed, especially in postcolonial contexts, as a genre which has often been used by “marginalized subjects” (Smith-Watson 2010) in order to contest mainstream narratives. Nonetheless, it cannot be neglected that the epistemological categories used by scholars who investigated autobiographies have been deeply criticized in the past. Primarily, it has been stressed that some theoretical concessions have been granted to autobiographical texts for their alleged socio-cultural and political value (De Man 1979: 919). Moreover, it has been contended that the autobiography should not be deemed as a genre but, rather, as “an ambiguous mode of self-assertion” (Eakin 1992: 88) which can be detected in more than one literary and extra-literary fields. Moreover, it has also been outlined that “autobiographic occasions” have to be seen as “dynamic sites” for performance (Smith 1995: 214) of the subjectivity. Therefore, given the hardship in establishing the boundaries of autobiography, recent studies preferred the umbrella term “life writings,”⁵ which is a broader classification encompassing texts, such as the memoirs, which will be investigated in the present study.

¹ Dalit literature developed at the beginning of 1970s, in the context of Marāṭhī literature, especially through the interventions of the Dalit panthers, the latter being inspired by the political thought of the Black panthers, by Bhīmrao Rāmji Āmbēḍkar (1891-1956), as well as by the principles of Marxist ideology. Beginning from the 1990s, a new generation of writers, including Omprakāś Valmikī (1950-2013), Mohandās Naimiśrāy and so on, introduced a Dalit literary stream in Hindī literature (Brueck 2014; Hunt 2014). More recently, especially through the commitment of writers such as Jasintā Kerkeṭṭa and Nirmalā Putul, Hindī literary production has developed through the rise of a distinct Ādivāsī literary stream (Consolaro 2018).

² *Hamis* was founded, in 1930, by Dhanpat Rāi Śrīvāstav ‘Premcand’ (1880-1936), a main Hindī writer, literary critic, and publisher of the first half of the 20th century. After Premcand’s death in 1936, during the 1940s and the 1950s, the magazine went under the editorial direction of many progressive Hindī writers. For a study of the impact of progressive ideas on this magazine during this period (Mangraviti 2021).

³ It must be also taken into consideration that, before engaging in the publication of these works, this literary magazine had already contributed to the promotion of autobiographical writings by other literatures. This is proven, e.g., by the publication of many Hindī translations of Marāṭhī autobiographies. For a comprehensive study see (Hunt 2004).

⁴ With reference to Hindī literature, the first Dalit autobiographies were written by Mohandās Naimiśrāy (1995) and Omprakāś Valmikī (1997).

⁵ There has been much debate about the relationship of the literary form of life writings with autobiographies. The latter are usually deemed as the main form of life writings or, otherwise, as just one of the many forms that life writings can practically embody. Following the current interpretation of the concept of life writings, they are intended as being part of a macro-genre, which covers texts such as autobiographies, memoirs, letters, biographies, and essays. Indeed, all these texts, although being

In this light, it is relevant to emphasize at the outset that the present study, which aims to explore the field of Hindī life writings, is determined by two main interests. Primarily, the study of life writings has proven to be relevant for the investigation of a number of socio-cultural and political events and processes, which transpired in India during the 19th and 20th centuries. As a matter of fact, since the colonial period, many writers, although being rather “reticent” in adopting the autobiography (Browarczyk 2020), used other forms of life writings to unfold their memories. This tendency strengthened during the 1990s. Indeed, since this period, a raising number of authors used these texts to narrate their social marginalization; further, they used them as tools to raise awareness about their ideological and political claims. Apart from such functions, there is another feature that is of great relevance to the present work. Indeed, life writings provided the authors the opportunity to experiment with innovative and creative forms and registers; and, not by chance, many autobiographers were artists who were engaged in many other extra-literary fields. For instance, previous studies have proven the use of life writings by representatives of the Parsi⁶ theatre for several personal and creative aims at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries (Hansen 2011). If this was not enough, recently, a somewhat similar task has been pursued by Consolaro (2020), who investigated the autobiography of the famous Indian contemporary painter Maqbūl Fidā Husain (1915-2011).⁷ Building on previous studies, the present work aims to establish the relationship of life writings with literary satire (*vyāṅgya*), to be considered, no less than autobiography, a genre (Declercq 2019) and/or an expressive mode with magmatic and parasitic characters (Guillhamet 1987; Harder 2011: 165-166). This study aims to be the first attempt at investigating the intertwining between these different literary fields against the backdrop of *Ham ek umr se vāqif haim* (‘I have known for a lifetime,’ 1989), a Hindī memoir by the well-known Indian literary satirist Hariśankar Parsāi (1924-1995). The relationship between these fields, which has already been studied with regard to other literary contexts (Kean 2022; Kinzel 2013), is, at least with reference to Hindī literature, a subject that has never investigated before. Apart from this and starting from these assumptions, the survey also aims to explore some of the socio-cultural and ideological issues linked to the status of the satirist in contemporary India.

different in many respects, are sources from which it is possible to draw recorded personal and individual information about identity of the writer (Eckerle 2010; Smith-Watson 2017).

⁶ It is a type of theatre that developed in India between the mid-19th and the first half of the 20th centuries. Originally established in central-eastern India, it spread to northern India in the period between the two centuries. Its driving force ended abruptly in the 1930s, also due to the formation and spread of the film industry in India.

⁷ A painter whose style is often compared to Picasso’s cubism.

2. The status of Hindī satire: from the 1950s to present times

Before going through the study of *Ham ek umr se vāqif haiṁ*, it is relevant to introduce the author of this memoir as well as the status of satirists in contemporary India. Parsāi is considered as one of the torchbearers of Hindī literature in the period following India's independence. He began writing in the first half of the 1950s. Along with other writers of the same period, such as Mannū Bhaṅḍārī (1931-2021), Kamleśvar Prasād Saksenā (1932-2007), Mohan Rākeś (1925-1972), and so on, he contributed to the aesthetic renewal of Hindī literature which, in the mid-1950s, culminated in the *Nayī Kahānī*.⁸ Parsāi stood out as a versatile, eclectic, and controversial literary author, who contributed to the field by writing a great number of satirical sketches. Most of them were published in literary magazines, such as *Vasudhā* and *Sārikā*, well known for their progressive and Marxist orientation. It is, however, worth saying that Parsāi was also engaged in the writing of short stories (*kahānī*) and novels (*upanyās*), quite often inspired by motifs drawn from Indian mythology or having much in common with science fiction and detective novels.⁹ After a long period of apprenticeship, characterized by his militancy and activism in the Communist Party of India (CPI), Parsāi was officially recognized for his literary merits in 1982, when he was awarded the prestigious Sāhitya Akādāmī Puraskār.¹⁰ Parsāi's intellectual and artistic career, as this brief biographical profile points out, seems to be rather conventional in hindsight. Apart from Parsāi, there were many other Hindī literary authors who, after having expressed radical positions in the phase which preceded India's independence, were progressively assimilated by cultural institutions close to the Indian National Congress (INC). Parsāi as a literary figure, however, stands out for reasons beyond the strictly political value of his work. He, indeed, was a writer who has undergone a process of marginalization by Hindī literary criticism within the limited boundaries of the satirical genre.¹¹ Since the long history of prestige and marginalization, at the same

⁸ It is a literary stream, which developed between the 1950s and the 1960s. One specific feature of it consists of the use by writers of the genre of short stories with the purpose of narrating in a vivid and, sometimes, grotesque and disenchanted way the postcolonial social and political context in India. For a study see (De Brujin 2017).

⁹ Among the works with mythological ingredients it is worth mentioning, for example, the novel *Rānī Nāgfani kī kahānī* ('The tale of Queen Nāgfani,' 1961) and the short story *Bholārām kā jīv* ('The soul of Bholārām,' 1954). Further, imaginary elements (*kālpnik*) linked to the narration of historical events can also be traced in the imaginary interviews (*kālpnik sāksātākār*) between Kabīr and contemporary historical figures, published between 1974 and 1976 in the literary column, *Kabīr kharā bazār merī* ('Kabīr stands in the market').

¹⁰ A literary prize that has been awarded annually since 1954 to authors writing in different Indian languages. It is considered the most important Indian literary prize.

¹¹ As we will see in Section 'Against the mainstream or assimilated within it?' this satirist himself outlined this status by adopting in his memoir the expression *darkinār karnā*, which can be translated as "to marginalize" or "to put on the borders" (2018 [1989]: 105).

time, of the satirical form in Hindī literature would deserve a diachronic analysis, the present study will limit itself to a brief overview of the development of literary satire in the 20th century.

Usually, the roots of satire in Hindī literature are traced back to the 1870s and 1880s (Harder 2011: 165). After a phase of partial stagnation during the 1920s and 1930s, in the period following independence, Hindī literary satire was fundamentally re-molded from an aesthetic as well as an ideological point of view. This work of restyling of Hindī satire was not due exclusively to Parsāī's activity, but was the outcome of the joint action of a new class of satirists, such as Śarad Jośī (1931-1991), Śrīlāl Śukla (1925-2011), and so on. These authors, according to Saksenā Prasād Kamleśvar (1932-2007), who expressed some sketchy ideas on satire in the long essay *Nayī Kahānī kī bhūmikā* ('Introduction to *Nayī Kahānī*,' 1966), embodied the contradictions (*visangati*) of this era, characterized by a sense of disillusionment (*moh bhaṅg*) towards the Indian state and its institutions (Kamleśvar 1966: 16). It would, however, be overtly partial to conceive of Hindī satire as a genre with rigidly demarcated boundaries in the postcolonial period. Indeed, an overall glance at the Hindī literary works of these years would be sufficient to discover traces of the satirical mode in many literary and extra-literary contexts. It should be taken into consideration, to mention some examples drawn from famous books of the 1950s, the adoption of the literary *topos* of the false saints in the *Mailā āncal* ('The Soiled Border,' 1954) by Phaṅśīvarnāth Reṇu (1921-1977) as well as in Kamleśvar's *Ek saṛak sattāvan galiyām* ('One street and fifty-six alleys,' 1956). Further, in *Mailā āncal*, a work which is usually linked to the regionalist (*āncalik*) strand of Hindī literature, we can find a grotesque and caricatural picture of the representatives of Indian political parties (Pandey 1974: 88-92). Therefore, the satirical ingredient is an expressive register which was used in an articulated and obliquitous way in many literary fields of the 1950s and 1960s. Later, since the 1990s, in parallel with the aesthetic renewal which affected Hindī literature during this phase, the function of satire and the status accorded to satirists in the Hindī public sphere changed. Some authors, such as Narendra Kohlī (1940-2021), by pursuing the aesthetic path paved by Parsāī, wrote a number of works displaying the connection between satire and postmodern issues (Ghirardi 2018; 2021). Other less known authors, for example Suryābalā, attempted at mixing classic themes of Hindī literary satire with contemporary socio-cultural and political issues.

According to Phiddian (2013), who has highlighted the limits of the studies on satire which are based on merely formalist approaches, in any literary context it would be convenient to re-construct the ties of literary satire to a number of other performative contexts in which satire can be detected. Given the limited space which can be provided in this article to the analysis of the 'life' of satire beyond the literary sphere, it will be enough to recall that, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, a number of satirists and humorists performed their lyrics during the *Hāsya kavī sammelan* ('Gatherings of humorist poets')

which were annually held in many cities of North India.¹² At that time, therefore, there was not a clear-cut division between satirical literature and performance: both were deemed as complementary ingredients. These gatherings, however, especially since the 1990s, were subject to process of liberalization which radically changed their function in Indian context. For these reasons, many satirical performances were broadcasted on Indian television channels and, in this way, played an ambiguous – and still unexplored – ideological role in the molding of Hindi contemporary public sphere. It must be also taken into account that, nowadays, many authors use stand-up comedy – which is also one of the most common performative forms of satire (De Clerq 2021: 13) – as a tool for raising a number of criticisms at the Indian cultural and political mainstream (Nüske 2018). An interesting fact in reference to the rise of Hindī/Hinglish stand-up comedy as peculiar form of contemporary satire is that, in some cases, even subjects belonging to marginalized communities began using this tool.¹³

3. Parsāi's neglect of the autobiography and his preference for the memoir

Officially, Parsāi has never authored any work which could be credited as an autobiography. Nevertheless, considering his literary production as a whole, it is evident that he crafted a number of works with ingredients which can be linked to the field of life writings. Primarily, it should be considered that, besides *Ham ek umr se vāqif hairī*, Parsāi wrote many other lesser-known memoirs. Furthermore, he released two interviews in which he talked, in an extensive way, about his aesthetic, philosophical, and political ideas concerning satire. Finally, several semi-autobiographical elements could be drawn from a number of works Parsāi authored during his long and eventful literary career. Not less significant is the fact that Parsāi expressed great interest for many early-modern North-Indian poets. A specific aesthetic feature of Parsāi's works is that, quite often, the satirist embodied these classical authors as alter egos of himself; indeed, he projected on them in an oblique manner many of his own experiences, memories, and even his philosophical and ideological views.¹⁴ Therefore, all these

¹² Parsāi wrote about the socio-cultural relevance of these poetic gatherings in the essay *Hindī kavi sammelan*, published on the literary magazine *Vasudhā* in April 1957. In this occasion, more marginally, the satirist reflected also on the deep connection between the tasks pursued by the actor (*abhinētā*) and the singer (*gāyāk*) and those pursued, in the literary sphere, by poets (*kavi*) attending these events (Parsāi 1985: 161-163).

¹³ This, for instance, is the case of Dīpikā Mhatre, a stand-up comedian performing in Hindī who, in 2018, became famous for her mocking of the 'madams' in whose homes she worked as a domestic help (Shivaprasad 2020).

¹⁴ Among the works that can be associated with the genre of the memoirs, remember *Tircī rekhāem* ('Lines oblique,' 2000). The satirist's two interviews, released in the 1980s and entitled *Jñānrañjan dvārā lambī bātcīt* ('A long interview by Jñānrañjan') and *Śyāmsundar Miśra se carcā* ('A conversation in company of Śyāmsundar Miśra'), were included in the sixth volume of *Parsāi racnāvalī* (1985). Equally relevant are works, such as *Tulsīdās candan gisaim* ('Tulsīdās applied sandalwood oil,' 1986), where

works, not differently from *Ham ek umr se vāqif hairn*, could be deemed as life writings. With reference to this work, the satirist considered it as a memoir.

आत्मकथा नहीं लिखूंगा। लोग यह मानते हैं कि आत्मकथा में सच छिपा लिया जाता है। जो व्यक्तित्व को महिमा दे, वही लिखा जाता है। मगर हर सच को लिखने की ज़रूरत भी क्यों है? अपनी हर टुच्ची हरकत का बयान आखिर क्यों करूँ? उस टुच्ची हरकत का क्या महत्त्व है, पाठकों के लिए? कोई उसका सामाजिक मूल्य है क्या? नहीं है।

I will not write an autobiography. People believe that the truth is hidden in the autobiography. There, you will find just what is written to give relevance to someone's personality. What need is there to narrate every truth anyway? After all, why should I talk about each of my most insignificant gestures? What is the function of doing this, is it of any use to the readers? Does it have any social significance? Certainly not (Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 11).¹⁵

बहरहाल संस्मरण लिखूंगा। मैं कम होऊंगा, मेरे साथ बदलता ज़माना ज़्यादा होगा। लोग आत्मकथा और संस्मरण करते हैं की हम सीखेंगे और हमें सही रास्ता मिलेगा। अपने और दूसरे के अनुभव से आदमी ज़रूर सीखता है, पर रास्ते अलग अलग होते हैं।

Therefore, I will write a memoir. In this work, I will be diminished and give greater space to the narration of the times that have changed with me. When the people read an autobiography or a memoir, they hope to learn something from it and, by doing so, to take the right way. The human being certainly learns from his own experiences and from those of others, but the paths taken are totally heterogeneous (Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 12).

This memoir, whose title is inspired by the verses of the well-known Urdu poet Faiz Ahmad Faiz (1911-1984),¹⁶ “will recall the experience of the battles fought in the course of a lifetime, the bitterness, the offenses and the harrassments, the injustices and the hardships” (जीवन संघर्ष के अनुभव, कड़ुवाहट, अपमान और उत्पीड़न, अन्याय, यातना की स्मृतियाँ होगी; Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 9). Moreover, it serves to preserve the “memories of

Parsāi described in detail his intellectual and literary path and almost all the introductions this author added to his literary anthologies.

¹⁵ All the translations are mine.

¹⁶ The title, as explained by the satirist at the beginning of the memoir, is inspired by the verses: “I have known for a lifetime, do not explain now to me what is pleasure, my beloved, and what is oppression” (हम इक उम्र से वाकिफ हैं अब न समझाओ के लुत्फ क्या है मेरे मेहरबाँ सितम क्या है; Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 9), extracted from Faiz Ahmad Faiz's poem *Bahut milā na milā* (‘Whether one received a lot or not’). It is interesting to note that, apart from the sharing of the same ideological ideals, Faiz and Parsāi show the same tendency at intertwining in their works political and existentialist themes. Another author who inspired this memoir was Bālkr̥ṣṇa Śarmā ‘Navīn’ (1897-1960), an Indian freedom activist, journalist and politician who played also a major role in the literary field.

living and struggling by ingesting poison” (विष को पचाकर जीने और लड़ने की स्मृति; Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 9). Here, the underlying philosophical and aesthetic orientation of this memoir can be clearly discerned. Parsāi, even more than Kunwar Nārāyaṅ (1927-2017) and other literary representatives of his time (Browarczyk 2020: 25), expresses skepticism towards the social (*sāmājīk*) function of the autobiography (Parsāi 2018 [1989], 12). This negative assessment is, probably, based on some prejudice towards autobiography as a literary genre. Indeed, by adopting a cliché on autobiography which has been deeply questioned by recent studies (Isaak 2001), Parsāi blames autobiographies for being the outcome of narcissistic ambitions of their own authors. This idea is not new to Hindī literary criticism. Indeed, in the 1920s and 1930s, Rām Candra Śukla (1884-1941), one of the first professional literary critics, had moved similar criticisms at avant-garde poets for projecting on their poetry individualist feelings and aspirations (Wakankar 2002: 998). Also Nārāyaṅ, in a more subtle way, expressed similar ideas in his literary essays (Browarczyk 2020: 23). However, apart from this moral reason there were other, more aesthetic and ideological reasons for which Parsāi discards autobiography. Primarily, he criticizes autobiographies by adopting a formalist perspective. Indeed, he considers them as texts which, by covering the author's whole life and by following a strict chronological order of the narrated facts, in many cases focus on events that are meaningless from an historical perspective. Conversely, he considers the memoirs, given their scattered and not chronological character, as more dynamic and useful tools for establishing the connection of one life with the socio-cultural dynamics and processes which affected contemporary history. The difference between memoir and autobiography, as recently outlined by the novelist Gāyatrī Prabhu, cannot be easily drawn. However, one general assumption which can be adopted, even in reference to Parsāi's work, is that “more than autobiography, the memoir can be selective about the memories it showcase, the form it uses to recast these memories, and the insistence of the fullness of this partial view” (Prabhu 2018).

At the same time, it must not be neglected that Parsāi's assessment on the limits of the autobiography – and, more generally, on the limits of all the life writings – is based on the epistemological assumption for which these writings are unable to provide immutable truths and teachings to the reader. Parsāi's indifference for any historicist dogmatism, which characterizes his whole literary production, seems to anticipate the categories of postmodernist thought, which is skeptical towards any kind of ontology (Hutcheon 1988). Significantly, this point of view, even outside Hindī literature, is widely shared by other satirical authors, especially by those who believe that any re-construction of memories necessarily implies “a remodeling and reorganization of specific events, situations, and conversations” (Steinberg 2001: 16-17). Satire, after all, is also a disposition which is

held by the satirist in order to pursue a philosophical investigation of categories commonly used for the interpretation of the events (Diehl 2013).

It is also pertinent to point out that Parsāī's memoir, while it was being written during the second half of the 1980s, was not extraneous to the sense of disillusionment which, since the 1950s, has provided the creative background for Hindī avant-garde literature. This element can be easily detected in many pages of the memoir, especially where the satirist expresses negative and nihilistic views about life. Nevertheless, stressing just this skeptical nuance of Parsāī's work would contribute to a partial and incomplete picture. Indeed, the memoir is also characterized by the search for new paths to follow, be it aesthetic or philosophical, in order to interrogate history and memory. From this view, it appears that the choice of writing a memoir instead of an autobiography emerged from the ideological task of narrating – even if filtered through such skeptical attitudes – the main features of the age in which the satirist lived. At the same time, it is evident that, by doing so, the satirist filled a marked psychological gap – that of narrating the hardships he faced in order to be accepted as an authoritative writer and intellectual by other representatives of Hindī literature. Such a psychological function is, quite often, inherent to autobiographies written in other literary contexts by satirists. Of course, it has been common for many authors to use life writings in order to 'cure' themselves, by narrating their own memory (Concepcion 2018, Dapra 2013). Parsāī's work, therefore, is not an exception. Indeed, although the satirist plans, in the introduction, to avoid writing a work with subjective and individualistic aims, his memoir, if taken as a whole, is not devoid of these elements. Indeed, these aims are somewhat inherent to his ambition, as a author who considers himself marginal within the Hindī literary sphere, to legitimize his value by narrating many of the encounters and quarrels during his career. What is relevant on the formal level is that the writing of a memoir by a satirist entailed also the crafting of innovative expressive strategies. Therefore, satire itself is not only the narrative subject of the memoir: it is also the medium used by the author for narratives. Primarily, this is shown by the presence in the memoir of some word puns. Moreover, without a doubt, a satirical characterization can be found in the sections in which Parsāī remembers, with feelings of pride and disdain, the publishers who had discouraged him from cultivating his talent, when he was still a novice writer, and to whom, once he attained literary fame, he refused to deliver his own text for publication:

आपको पुस्तक देने में क्या फायदा। बिक्री आपकी बहुत कम है। मुझे क्या रायल्टी मिलेगी? एक तरह से किताब कुँए में डालना ही होगा। यह 'जानत अपनों मोल' का रहस्य है।

How do I benefit from giving my book to you? Your sale is extremely poor. What will my royalty percentage be? By accepting it, I would waste my work. This is the secret behind the saying 'know your worth' (Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 11).

His reflections on Kṛṣṇamūrti (1895-1986)¹⁷ are also characterized by an explosive satirical verve. He is represented, in deference to a recurring topos in modern Indian literatures since the 19th century, as a false mystic who is engaged in giving moral precepts to his fellow men (Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 12).

4. Literary and political engagements of an unconventional thinker

The affiliation of Parsāi to the INC and, more generally, to the socialist and Marxist political groups operating in India, beginning from the post-independence period, has already been underlined. This relationship, as noted in the past (Mangraviti 2020: 92-95), was pervaded by elements of deep ideological ambiguity. It must, however, be noted that these trajectories affected the work of most of the authors writing in Hindī in the aftermath of independence. Indeed, these often appeared to be suspended between a proclaimed and idealized political radicalism on the one hand and, on the other, the participation in many cultural activities promoted by state institutions, such as the Sāhitya Akādemi, close to the ends of the INC (Husain 2011). In Parsāi, however, these contradictions are even more marked. It is, indeed, paradoxical that the INC, blamed since the 1950s by the satirist for being a party pervaded by corruption (*bhraṣṭācār*) and nepotism (*bhāi bhatijāvād*; Mangraviti 2020: 67), sponsored Parsāi's work since the early 1980s. This sponsorship by the government was not accidental: it played a role in the *longue durée* normalization of the latter. Indeed, even today, some works of Parsāi, particularly those belonging to his pedagogical literary production, are included in many school curricula. *Ham ek umr se vāqif haiṁ*, published in 1989, is somewhat affected by these tendencies of normalization. Indeed, this work seems to be characterized by the same feeling of disaffection towards politics which imbued the anthology *Tulsīdās candan gisaiṁ*, issued just four years after Parsāi's receiving of the Sāhitya Akādami Puraskār. However, it must be emphasized that, here, Parsāi highlighted quite liberally his political and ideological affiliation with the CPI during his youth. He wrote: "I was a socialist activist (*āndolankāri*) and, only later, did I also become a writer. I started writing through politics" (मैं समाजवादी आंदोलनकारी पहले था और लेखक बाद में हुआ. लेखन के क्षेत्र में मैं राजनीति के मार्फित ही आया; Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 68). The union between these two dimensions was deliberately emphasized by the author in the account of the years spent, as a teacher, in Jabalpur; further, it is stressed in the narration of his

¹⁷ A philosopher and writer whose thought was deeply affected by the impact of the Theosophical Society.

experiences as a columnist with *Vasudhā* alongside the Marxist poet Gajānan Mādhav Muktibodh (1917-1964), his longtime friend and political comrade. For Parsāi, the political dimension is a necessity rather than a real choice: “Writers who argue that the writer should not have anything to do with politics are deplorable representatives of right-handed tendencies, reactionaries, and preachers of the status quo” (जो लेखक कहते हैं कि लेखक को राजनीति से कोई मतलब नहीं, वे खुद बहुत घृणित दक्षिणपंथी, प्रक्रियावादी, यथेष्टीतिवादी राजनीति के प्रचारक हैं; Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 68). This perspective is paradoxically combined with the aspiration to be considered as an independent author, not dogmatically tied to or aligned purely to partisan and sectarian Marxism. For Parsāi, in fact, as he manifests in one of the short stories of *Tulsīdās candan gisairī*, the Marxist revolution constitutes more of a utopian ideal than a political project, which can be effectively realized in the context of Indian society (Mangraviti 2020: 92-93). Indeed, in the Indian context, according to Parsāi, the Marxist ideal is comparable to Rām Rājya, the ideal and religious-based Kingdom of Rāma as described by Tulsīdās in the *Rām carit mānas*. In the light of the above, in this memoir, the choice of political personalities to whom the satirist decided to convey his esteem and consideration confirms this unconventional path towards Marxism. This is shown by the description of Narendra Dev (1889-1956),¹⁸ a point of reference for Parsāi's intellectual and political development from the second half of the 1940s, described as an unconventional and highly polemical political personality.

आचार्य जी स्पष्ट घोषण करते थे कि मैं मार्क्सवादी हूँ पर वे चिंतक थे और यूरोप में प्रचलित मूल मार्क्सवादी सिद्धांत एवं कार्यप्रणाली को भारतीय संस्कृति, जनमानस और भारतीय परिशतितियों में जैसा का तैसा स्वीकार नहीं करना चाहते थे। वे भारतीयता पर आधारित मार्क्सवाद को स्वीकार करते थे और उस पर उन्होंने सैद्धांतिक पुस्तकें भी लिखीं। वे बौद्ध धर्म के विद्वान् थे और उससे प्रभावित थे। ये तरुण समाजवादी जिनके नेता जयप्रकाश नारायण, राममनोहर लोहिया, अशोक मेहता, अरुणा आसफ अली थे, १९४२ के 'अंग्रेजो भारत छोड़ो' आंदोलन के हीरो थे। स्थानीय से अखिल भारतीय स्तर तक इनके प्रति युवकों का ख़ास आकर्षण था। ये बड़े क्रांतिकार माने जाते थे। इनका बोलना और लिखना उग्र हो गया था। ऐसा लगता था, जैसे ये देश को उलट पलटकर रख देंगे।

The Ācārya claimed to be a Marxist. However, he was an intellectual and he did not accept in the context of Indian culture, popular awareness, and historical situation the doctrine and the modus operandi that characterized Marxist ideology in Europe. He believed in a Marxism based on Indianness. He had also written some doctrinal essays in which he addressed this issue. He was a Buddhist scholar and was influenced by this thought. Young socialists such as Jayprakāś Nārāyaṇ, Rāmmanohar Lohiyā, Aśok Mehtā, Aruṇā Āsaf Alī were the heroes of the Quit India Movement of 1942. From the provinces to the national level, the attraction they held for young people was great. They were seen as great

¹⁸ He was one of the main exponents of the Congress Socialist Party in the period preceding and immediately following India's independence. He stood out for a basically spiritual and revolutionary vision and for his interest in the cultural dimension. In the period between 1951 and 1954, he was appointed as the Vice Chancellor at the Banaras Hindu University.

revolutionaries. Their way of speaking and writing was extremely aggressive. It looked like they were going to turn the country upside down (Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 68).

5. Against the mainstream or assimilated within it?

A decisive period for Parsāi's training as a writer was the one he spent in the city of Jabalpur at the turn of the 1940s and 1950s. It was in these years that this satirist developed, largely inspired by his own political models, a critical attitude towards the Indian political establishment and, particularly, towards the INC. Indeed, since those days, by writing columns for many journals, Parsāi faced a number of aesthetic and intellectual troubles with many Hindī literary critics, quite often suspicious towards the value of satire as a literary form worth being described as literature.

मैंने शुरू से ही साहित्यशास्त्र के कोई बंधन नहीं माने, आचार्यों के चौखटे तोड़ डाले। मेरी लिखी हुई यह अगर कहानी नहीं मानते, तो परिभाषा बदल दो। यही नहीं, मुझे काफी जड़, दक्कियानूस, कट्टर, अविवेकी शास्त्रियों से भी लड़ाई लड़नी पड़ी। न ये नई वास्तविकता को ग्रहण कर सकते हैं, न नया सोच सकते हैं। दर्शन के फाटक पर चौकीदार बने बैठे हैं और दिनभर मक्खी उड़ाने की रोटी खाते हैं।

Since I started, I have never given importance to any of the rules imposed by literary criticism. I have broken the diktats imposed by the masters. If you do not consider what I write as short stories, please change your classification. And, if it is not enough, you should know that I had to fight with stupid, backward, dumb, and ignorant literary critics. They were neither able to grasp the new reality nor could they understand new ideas. They sit as watchmen at the gate of philosophy and make their living through sycophancy (Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 10).

Here, the criticism of the Indian academy and, more generally, of the scholars committed to Indian cultural institutions is quite strong. Moreover, this kind of criticism is present, even outside this memoir, in many other works produced by this satirist. Other passages which can be found in this memoir, however, are less aggressive and suggest Parsāi's desire for a further formal recognition from the Indian readers as well from the institutions involved in the political and cultural fields. Many evidences that strengthen this interpretation can be ascertained in the central part of the memoir, particularly in the chapters where Parsāi recalls the cultural and political meetings and events he joined during his career. A central part of these descriptions is the narration of the encounters he had with many literary authors. With the same attention to satirical detail, the author lingers in the narration on the ideological and aesthetic quarrels that emerged around the mid-1960s, a period which was characterized in the political sphere by the end of the leadership of Javāharlāl Nehrū (1889-1964) and, in the literary field, by the exhaustion of the propulsive phase of the *Nayī Kahānī*. The *Sāhitya*

Sammelan and, in the poetic field, the Kavī Sammelan, were events attended by Hindī writers and, significantly, the space where the frameworks for discussions was drawn out.¹⁹ Great narrative spaces are reserved for the encounters the satirist had before and after Muktibodh's funeral, which is presented to the reader as a moment of symbolic value in the process of Parsāi's recognition as a relevant literary author. Finally, great attention is paid to recalling the words of appreciation expressed by colleagues.

सुमित्रानंदन पंत से एक बार छोटी सी भेंट हुई। मुक्तिबोध का पुत्र दिल्ली से पिता की अस्थियाँ लेकर प्रयाग आया। साथ शमशेर बहादुर सिंह और मैं थे। शाम को बेसेंट हॉल में शोकसभा हुई। सभा खत्म होने पर पंत जी मेरे पास आए और बोले: “‘मैं भी आपका प्रशंसक हूँ. ‘कल्पना’ में आपका कालम जरूर पढ़ता हूँ। मैं तब ‘कल्पना’ में ‘और अंत में’ स्तम्भ नियमित लिखता था। यह पत्रिका के अंत के पृष्ठों में होता था। धर्मवीर भारती ने कहा था: “आपके कारण ‘कल्पना’ को शुरू से नहीं, अंत से पढ़ना आरम्भ करते हैं”।

On one occasion, I had a very brief meeting with Sumitrānandan Pant. Muktibodh's son had gone from Delhi to Prayag with his father's ashes. With him were Śāmśer Bahādur Simh and I. In the evening, there was a condolence meeting in Besant Hall. When the meeting ended, Pant jī came up to me and said: “I am your admirer! I read regularly your column in *Kalpanā!*” In those days, in fact, I regularly wrote columns in both *Kalpanā* and *Aur ant mein*. These were always found on the back pages of such magazines. Dharmvīr Bhārati also told me: “Because of you, I read *Kalpanā* never starting from the beginning but from the end” (Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 102).

अमरकांत ने मुझसे कहा कि आपसे यशपाल जी मिलना चाहते हैं। मैं गया। यशपाल घास पर बैठे थे। मुझे देखते ही हाथ जोड़कर झुककर बोले: “अरे महाराज, महाराज, मैं कब से आपसे मिलने को उत्सुक हूँ। मैं थोड़े असमंजस में पड़ा। मैंने बहुत नम्रता से कुछ बातें कहीं। बस! दूसरी मुलाकात हुई लखनऊ में। उत्तरप्रदेश साहित्य परिषद् का पुरस्कार लेने मैं गया था। पुरस्कार यशपाल को भी मिला था। बड़े हॉल में यशपाल की और मेरी कुर्सीं लगी हुई थी।

Amarkānt told me that Yaśpāl wanted to meet me. I went there. Yaśpāl was sitting on the grass. As soon as he saw me, he folded his hands, bowed and said: “Oh, Mahārāja, Mahārāja, I have long wanted to meet you!” I was confused. I said something with great humility. And nothing else! We met again in Lucknow. I had come to receive an award issued by Uttar Pradeś Sāhitya Pariṣad. Yaśpāl had also received the award. In the great hall, my chair was placed next to Yaśpāl's (Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 104).

¹⁹ It is important to outline that, as generally pointed out in the studies on autobiography, the space, along with the time, is one of the most crucial points of every autobiographical account. Space and time, indeed, are two ingredients which are consciously or unconsciously assessed by the narrator in order to highlight the tendencies which reinforced or, on the contrary, produced the alteration and the transformation of the narrator's identity (Smith-Watson 1996).

The reference to the meetings of the satirist with many Marxist-oriented writers of the 1920s and 1930s stems from his desire to legitimize his role as a man of letters. Nevertheless, Parsāī's preferential link with the previous generation of Hindī writers does not exclusively have an emotional and ideological matrix. In fact, more than other representatives of the 1950s and 1960s, the satirist adopts in many works the classical values and symbols that had characterized Hindī literature during the first half of the 20th century. In particular, Parsāī is distinguished by the re-assessment of historical, literary, and poetic values drawn from the devotional literature of the early-modern period, with a predilection for the poetry of Kabīr, Tulsīdās, and Sūrdās.

मैं भारतीय क्लासिकों का शुरू से अध्येता रहा हूँ और इनका खुलकर उपयोग करता हूँ। मध्य युग के तुलसीदास, सूरदास, कबीरदास, कुंभनदास, रहीम आदि के सन्दर्भ और उद्धरण खूब देता हूँ पर इन शास्त्रियों के पास जो सूचियाँ रखी उनमें ये पतनशील, सामंती और जातिवादी हैं। सूरदास पतनशील रूमानी थे, तुलसीदास घृणित जातिवादी और सामंती। और मैं - पुरातनवादी ! बहुत लड़ाइयाँ लड़ी मैंने इन कवियों के लिए। तुलसीदास ने खुद जितनी लड़ाई लड़ी होगी उससे अधिक मैंने उनके लिए लड़ी।

From the very beginning, I have always been a great student of and have openly appropriated the Indian classics. I often refer and draw examples from Tulsīdās and Sūrdās, Kabīrdās, Kumbhandās, all exponents of the medieval period. But, in the agendas of these scholars, they all appear as decadent authors, with elitist and nationalist tendencies. Sūrdās was a decadent romantic. Tulsīdās was a hateful nationalist and feudal lord. And I am a conservative! I fought many battles for these poets. I fought for Tulsīdās more fights than Tulsīdās himself would have fought (Parsāī 2018 [1989]: 10).

The reference to Faiz Ahmad Faiz, the Urdū writer who founded the All Indian Progressive Movement²⁰ in the 1930s and whose poetry inspired the title of the memoir, suggests Parsāī's will to re-assess the political and aesthetic ideals of the Indian progressive literary movement of the 1930s and 1940s. Equally important is, finally, the figure of Muktibodh – depicted not only as a source of inspiration and a close friend of the satirist – but also, significantly, as the representative of a committed and dissident poetic view somewhat close to what was pursued by Parsāī. Therefore, it is reasonable to wonder about who the literary masters (*ācaryā*) are that, in Parsāī's view, were responsible for having marginalized satire in the canon of Hindī literature. The answer, once again, can be drawn from the reading of the memoir and it is, for one, quite surprising. Parsāī, indeed, is not critical of Hazārī Prasād Dvivedī (1907-1979), who is unanimously deemed as the main post-colonial Hindī literary critic.²¹ Indeed, according

²⁰ A Marxist-inspired association which played a major role in the literary debates in India in the 1940s and 1950s.

²¹ Dvivedī is widely considered, particularly by Namvār Siṃh (1926-2019), as the main representative of a second tradition (*dusrī paramparā*) of Hindī literary criticism (1982).

to the satirist, Dvivedī shared with him a deep interest towards early-modern North-Indian devotional literature. Moreover, both of them appreciated humorous writings and aimed to re-construct innovative and unconventional perspectives about the classics of Indian literature. Dvivedī, in fact, “was a great lover of laughter and ridicule. He was fond of the gossip meetings and made fun of the idealized characters of the classics” (हास-उपहास के बहुत शौकीन थे। गप्प-गोष्ठी के शौकीन थे। वे क्लासिकों के आदर्श पात्रों का बहुत अच्छा उपहास कर लेते थे।; Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 107). Even less does Parsāi deplore Rām Vilās Śarmā (1912-2000), a Marxist literary critic and one of Dvivedī’s main competitors in the field of literary criticism. Interestingly enough for our analysis, the authors who are blamed for being responsible of the state of marginality of satire in the Hindī literary sphere were not literary critics, but mainly contemporary avant-garde writers. Parsāi’s criticism is raised especially at the members of the *Nayī Kahānī*. More in particular, his attack is addressed towards Kamleśvar, whom he ironically defines as a lover of movements (*āndolan premi*). Further, the satirist blames Kamleśvar for having placed roadblocks on the way to the inclusion of the satirist in the closed circle of the *Nayī Kahānī* movement.

१९६५ में जैनेन्द्र कुमार से कहानीकार सम्मलेन में कई बार भेंट हुई। वह ‘नयी कहानी’ का दौर था। पता नहीं यह नाम किसने दिया। शायद नामवर सिंह ने निर्मल वर्मा की ‘परिदे’ को हिंदी की पहली नयी कहानी कहा था। उन्होंने उषा प्रियवदा की वापसी को भी नई कहानी कहा था। पर इस ‘नयी कहानी’ आंदोलन को उठा लिया तीन तिलगों ने - कमलेश्वर, और मोहन राकेश, राजेंद्र यादव। कमलेश्वर आन्दोलनप्रेमी आदमी है। वे सबसे तीखे और मुखर थे। मेरा कोई वास्ता इस आंदोलन से नहीं था। मैं कहानी लेखक माना ही नहीं जाता था। ‘व्यंग्यकार कहकर दरकिनार कर देने में समीक्षकों, सिद्धांतकारों को भी सुविधा था और मुझे भी।

In 1965, I met Jainendra Kumār on several occasions during the assembly of novelists. Those were the times of *Nayī Kahānī*. I don't know who coined this name. It seems to me that Namvār Siṃh called ‘Parinde’ by Nirmal Varmā, as the first short story. He called also ‘Vāpasī,’ by Uṣā Priyaṃvadā. There were three pioneers who founded *Nayī Kahānī*: Kamleśvar, Mohan Rākeś, and Rājendra Yādav. Kamleśvar was a lover of movements. He was, among all of them, the most straightforward and uninhibited. I had no relationship with this literary group. I was not deemed a short story writer. Literary critics and intellectuals had a good time marginalizing me and calling me a simple satirist and for me it was the same (Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 105).

In other contexts, for example, in the interviews given during the 1980s, while acknowledging that “applying this kind of label is not at all positive” (एक तो इस प्रकार का लेबिल लगाना ठीक नहीं है।; Parsāi 1985: 410), Parsāi admits that he had some responsibility in the partial ostracization to which he is was subjected as a satirist in the framework of Hindī literature (Parsāi 1985: 410). In this memoir, however, he clearly reveals the discontent and the sense of rivalry, both ideological and aesthetic, with the *Nayī Kahānī* movement. Further the satirist claims to be devoid of any connection with this movement. However,

it must be stressed that, although the satirist made such an assessment, it is not totally true that his satirical writings were far from the aesthetic and ideological aims of the movement. Indeed, it is essential to repeat that the same Kamleśvar made a reference to the relevance of Hindī satirical literature of the 1950s and 1960s in his 1966 essay, albeit in a succinct manner.²² Parsāi replied to this partial intellectual and literary ostracization by using the weapon of satire. In his view, in fact, the *Nayī Kahānī* movement, devoid of the ideals of the progressive movement, will lead Hindī literature towards the creative setback that manifested in the mid-1960s and culminated in the substantial literary stasis of the second half of the 1970s, the years of the Emergency (Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 105). And, ironically, following Parsāi's view, it will be this movement that will produce the “non-story” (*akāhānī*), the genre which will characterize the writings of the successors of *Nayī Kahānī* (Parsāi 2018 [1989]: 105).

6. Conclusions

In light of what has been investigated so far, it seems that Parsāi's memoir, written in the end of the 1980s, occupies a peculiar position in the Hindī literary production of this period. Parsāi denies the possibility of the autobiographical genre to be used as a tool for the construction of counter narratives by marginal communities. This is particularly significant if we consider that the 1980s was a decade characterized by the rise of communalist Hindū-oriented tendencies within the Indian political landscape. Doubtless, the satirist clearly condemned such conservative tendencies. Further, Parsāi's view highlighted the harassments suffered by subjects, communities and groups at the margins of Indian society. Indeed, as clearly outlined by Kamleśvar in his literary essay *Nayī Kahānī kī bhūmikā*, Hindī satire genuinely embodied the inner social contradictions of Indian society in the decades which followed Indian independence. Nevertheless, if we consider the radical ideological changes which were enacted by the use of autobiographies by Marāṭhī writers in the 1970s and, later, since the 1990s, also by Hindī writers, this memoir could appear as a partially outdated work, both on an aesthetic as well as on a socio-cultural and ideological level. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that this life writing plays also a specific socio-culturing function, which is that of shading light on the status of partial marginalization of Indian satirists in the contemporary Hindī public sphere. In this sense, it is interesting to note how, from Parsāi's perspective, the reasons for this ghettoization involved not only public institutions but also, significantly, the literary avant-garde movements which, while

²² Moreover, it must be outlined that, in the 1970s, Kamleśvar was editor of *Sārikā*, a literary journal on which Parsāi authored the column *Kabīr kharā bazār merī*.

contributing to the canonization of the satire, were also suspicious about the artistic merits of satirists. It must be admitted that, nowadays, Parsāī, like other satirists, is a canonized voice in the history of Hindī literature. Further, it is relevant to state that his marginalization, unlike that of the Dalit and Ādivāsī authors of autobiographies, was not based on socio-cultural reasons. However, notwithstanding this ambiguous position, Parsāī attempted to raise a deep criticism at Indian mainstream culture for not tributing any value to satire; further, he intended to promote the idea of being, for a large part of his career, a marginalized author, who obtained a partial fame just after having overcome many ideological and aesthetic prejudices. From this perspective, this memoir is used by the satirist as a medium employed to promote the relevance of satire in Indian contemporary context. This relevance, nowadays, is confirmed by the censorship to which many Indian satirists, especially Hindī stand-up comedians, are still subjected. It is out of doubt that contemporary Hindī satire, especially if the performative uses of it are taken into consideration, has considerably changed since the 1990s. Indeed, even some socially marginalized authors who in the past did not write or perform satirical works nowadays use this tool in order to raise specific socio-cultural and political claims. After all satire, as recently highlighted by Knight (2004: 6), has been for a long time a male and elitarian business. However, it is important to highlight that there is a subtle *fil rouge* which still connects post-colonial literary satirists such as Parsāī to the new generations of literary and extra-literary satirists. This line consists of the same status of partial marginalization to which these authors have been and still are subject for different socio-cultural, aesthetical and ideological reasons. Interestingly, as the present article aimed to show, in addition to censorship, in many occasions literary and extra-literary satirists using Hindī as their linguistic medium had to face a partial ostracization even within Indian avant-garde cultural milieus.

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Offensive language in Chinese Buddhist discipline texts

The anecdotal preambles to the precepts

Paolo Villani

Chinese Buddhist writings condemn verbal abuse since their very beginning, but it is the translations of Indic works about *vinaya* that offer a systematic discussion of the topic. The juxtaposition of passages of various monastic discipline texts shows slight yet not unimportant differences concerning both the worrisome details causing the Buddha to dictate the precepts as well as the parables the Buddha resorts to in founding the censure of offensive language.

Keywords: Offensive Language, Buddhism, *vinaya*, Chinese, translation

πας λογος σαπρος εκ του στοματος υμων μη εκπορευεσθω
 “Let no bad word come out of your mouth” (*Ephesians 4:29*)

1. Introduction

Offensive language is among the topics discussed in Chinese Buddhist writings. Some related linguistic data, significant for a cultural tradition based in China upon translations from Indic sources, are in a bilingual glossary compiled between 695 and 712 by the Tang period monk and translator Yijing 義淨.¹ The words *ākrośa* and *paribhāṣaṇa* are respectively glossed *ma* 罵 and *ru* 辱 (CBETA 2021.Q3, T54, no. 2133A, p. 1195c21-24).² Both the Sanskrit and the Chinese terms convey the meaning of abusing,

¹ The glossary is often mentioned as *Fanyu qianziwen* 梵語千字文 (“A Thousand Sanskrit Words”) but it is also called *Fantang qianziwen* 梵唐千字文 and *Tangzi qian manshengyu* 唐字千變聖語 (CBETA 2022.Q1, T54, no. 2133A, p. 1196b12-13). The only three extant copies of the work survive in Japan where it arrives from China during the Tang period. One of them lists the Sanskrit terms in Siddham Script and their meaning in Chinese characters (T2133A), the other two carry a phonetic transcription in Chinese characters of the Indic ones before the translation (T2133B).

² In Chinese characters *ākrośa* and *paribhāṣaṇa* are transcribed 阿(去)矩盧舍 and 波里婆(引)沙拏 (CBETA 2021.Q3, T54, no. 2133B, p. 1214 c20-21).

cursing, humiliating, insulting, reprimanding, reproaching, reproving, reviling, scolding, slandering, assailing with harsh language, calling in an abusive manner.³ 罵 as “speaking ill of someone” already appears in what is said to be the first Chinese Buddhist scripture, *Sishier zhang jing* 四十二章經 (“The Sūtra of Forty-Two Sections”) a kind of introduction to Buddhism officially brought into the Chinese by Kāśyapamātāṅga and Falan in 67. The text is possibly not a translation, but rather an apocryphal work produced in China without a direct basis in Indic literature, or a revised version of the one originally translated during the first century (Nattier 2008: 35-37). In explaining essential concepts of the doctrine to the Chinese reader this sūtra anticipates in a simple style later formulations of the precepts against sinful language. It reports the word of the Buddha about evil deeds and mentions – following those performed with the body, i.e. killing, theft, and sex (殺盜淫) – those performed through speech: “deceit, slander, lying, and idle talk” (Shih 2005: 32) 兩舌、惡罵、妄言、綺語 (CBETA 2021.Q4, T17, no. 784, p. 722b7-8).⁴

Sentences praising forbearance of verbal abuse, condemning injurious utterances, and securing protection against insults and slanders resort to 罵 and 辱 in translations of a fundamental text such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* (“The Lotus Sūtra”).⁵ A strophe of the first chapter, celebrating as a means to reach perfect wisdom the impassiveness of virtuous disciples of the Buddha to offences cast against them by arrogant coreligionists, reads as follows in the fifth-century Kumārajīva’s Chinese translation.

又見佛子， 住忍辱力， 增上慢人， 惡罵捶打， 皆悉能忍， 以求佛道。 (CBETA 2021.Q2, T09, no. 262, p. 3b4-6).⁶

³ The Sanskrit words *ākrośa* and *paribhāṣaṇa* may be subsumed under the verbal roots *ākruś* and *paribhāṣ*. *Ākrośa* - linked to *āvkrūś* आक्रुश् briefly “to curse” - means “assailing with harsh language, reviling.” The meanings of the word *paribhāṣaṇa* (or *paribhāṣā*) - linked to *pari-√bhāṣ* परि-√भाष् “to abuse” - range from “admonition, reprimand” to “blame, reproof” (Williams 1872: 128, 598). The meanings “to curse” and “to dishonor” for logograms 罵 and 辱 are expressed as follows by the first Chinese lexicon *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (c. 120): 罵詈也; 辱恥也 (Sturgeon 2006-2022:

<https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=31262>; <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=36439>) - i.e. 罵 is “harsh language” 辱 is “shame.”

⁴ *Liangsheyu* 兩舌語 “double tongue speech” - possibly a rendering of Sanskrit पेशुन *paiśuna* or *paiśunya* “calumny, reporting evil of others” - is a form of sinful speech close to insulting, condemned as a cause of monastic and social discord (cf. Heirman 2009: 76, 76⁵⁰⁻⁵¹).

⁵ There are multiple versions of this scripture. It has been turned into Chinese six times but only three renditions survive: *Zhengfahua jing* 正法華經 (T263) completed in 286 allegedly by 竺法護 Dharmarakṣa’s team of translators from an Indic language; *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (T262) completed in 406 by Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什) possibly from Sanskrit; *Tianpin miaofa lianhua jing* 添品妙法蓮華經 (T264) a copy completed in 601 of Kumārajīva’s version with an “added chapter.”

⁶ *Tianpin miaofa lianhua jing* has the same sentence (CBETA 2021.Q3, T09, no. 264, p. 136b4-6).

Ferner gibt es Buddha-Söhne, / Die in der Kraft der Geduld (auch bei schmachvoller Behandlung) verweilen. / Menschen, die, von Hochmut aufgeblasen, / Sie mit bösen Worten schmähen und schlagen, / Sind sie fähig, geduldig zu ertragen. / So erstreben sie den Buddha-Weg. (Von Borsig 2003: 14).

And I see Buddha sons/ abiding in the strength of fortitude,/ taking the abuse and blows/ of persons of overbearing arrogance,/ willing to suffer all these,/ and in that manner seeing the Buddha way (Watson 1993: 11).⁷

The expressions *renruli* 忍辱力 and *ema* 惡罵 render perhaps original terms which in a Sanskrit edition of this passage read as *kṣāntī-balā* (patience-power) and *ākrośa paribhāṣa* (abuse and blame).⁸ In the previous, third-century Chinese version of the *sūtra* the monks' steadiness before humiliations is rendered in the same way (忍辱力) while the mortifications and insults they stoically endure for the sake of salvation are translated *qinghui mali* 輕毀罵詈.⁹

The hero of ataraxic response to offensive language in *The Lotus Sūtra* is *Sadāparibhūta*. Chapter 19 of *Zhengfahua jing* and chapter 20 of *Miaofa lianhua jing* translate his name respectively “always despised” *chang bei qingman* 常被輕慢 and “never despising” *chang buqing* 常不輕.¹⁰ The Sanskrit expression *sadāparibhūta* is ambiguous¹¹ and the story provides a good reason¹² – during an age of religious degeneration, no matter how disregarding of Buddhist teachings clergy and laymen are, constantly respects, encourages and commends them. Incessant refrains on his lips are words like “I

⁷ Cp. “He sees also Buddha-sons who, / ‘Abiding in the strength of long-suffering, /Though men of utmost arrogance/Hate, abuse and beat them, /Are able through all to endure, /To find the Puddha[sic]-way.” (Soothill (1930) 1975: 62).

⁸ *Kṣāntībalā keci jinasya putrā adhimānāprāptāna kṣamanti bhikṣuṇām | ākrośaparibhāṣa tathaiva tarjanām kṣāntiā hi te prasthita agrabodhim* || Kern 1908-12, Vol. I: 13, lines 5-6). “Quelques fils de Djina, doués de la force de la patience, supportent de la part des Religieux pleins d'orgueil, injures, outrages et reproches; ceux-là sont partis à l'aide de la patience pour l'état suprême de Bôdhi” (Burnouf 1852: 8). “Some sons of the Gina, whose strength consists in forbearance, patiently endure abuse, censure, and threats from proud monks. They try to attain enlightenment by dint of forbearance” (Kern 1884: 13).

⁹ 最勝之子， 據忍辱力， 為諸貢高， 卑下謙順， 輕毀罵詈， 若搗捶者， 其求佛道， 默然不校。(CBETA 2021.Q4, T09, no. 263, p. 65a6-8). Hirakawa (1997: 1135) proposes a correspondence between 輕毀罵詈 and *ākrośa-paribhāṣa*.

¹⁰ 有一比丘， 名曰常被輕慢 (CBETA 2021.Q4, T09, no. 263, p. 122c22-23). 爾時有一菩薩比丘名常不輕 (CBETA 2021.Q4, T09, no. 262, p. 50c16). The Sanskrit counterpart reads *sadāparibhūto nāma bodhisattvo bhikṣurabhūt* (Kern 1908-1912, Vol. IV: 377 lines 10-11); “il y eut un Religieux nommé le Bôdhisattva Mahāsattva Sadāparibhūta” (Burnouf 1852: 228); “there was a monk, a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, called Sadāparibhūta” (Kern 1884: 356).

¹¹ “*Sadāparibhūta* (celui qui est toujours méprisé)” (Burnouf 1852: 229); “‘always contemned’ (*sadā* and *paribhūta*) and ‘always not-contemned, never contemned’ (*sadā* and *aparibhūta*)” (Kern 1884: 357¹).

¹² 彼時不輕， 則我身是。(CBETA 2021.Q4, T09, no. 262, p. 51b24). “For it was myself who at that time, at that juncture was the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sadāparibhūta” (Kern 1884: 359).

don't despise you," "I dare not slight you."¹³ Even when whipped, the saintly man repeats the phrase. On the other hand, it's people who despise him. They show hostility, casting insults against him (恚怒毀訾罵詈), reviling and abusing him (惡口罵詈).¹⁴ Sadāparibhūta secures his double-edged nickname and promulgates the power of *The Lotus Sūtra*. The versified summary of the chapter in *Miaofa lianhua jing* analogously describes his patient acceptance of the insults, and celebrates his coming to know the salvific scripture at the end of a life untainted by sin.¹⁵

Which kind of language is offensive, which are, according to Buddhist writings, insulting words? The Chinese canon contains expressions common sense suggests us to be abusive, such as “unfathered child, son of a bitch” 無父之子，姪女所生.¹⁶ But it is the writings concerning monastic discipline that provide considerable information about the topic.

¹³ 我身終不輕慢諸賢人 (CBETA 2021.Q4, T09, no. 263, p. 122c28-29). 不敢輕慢; 我不敢輕於汝等; 我不敢輕於汝等; 我不輕汝 (CBETA 2021.Q4, T09, no. 262, p. 50c19; p. 50c22-23; p. 50c29-51a1; p. 51b16). *Nāhamāyusmanto yuṣmākaṃ paribhavāmi / aparibhūtā yūyam* | (Kern 1908-1912, Vol. IV: 378 lines 1-2). “Je ne vous méprise pas, ô vénérables personnages! Vous êtes de ceux qu'on ne méprise pas.” (Burnouf 1852: 228) “I do not contemn you, worthies. You deserve no contempt” (Kern 1884: 356).

¹⁴ 恚怒毀訾罵詈 (CBETA 2021.Q3, T09, no. 263, p. 123a2). 四眾之中，有生瞋恚、心不淨者，惡口罵詈言 (CBETA 2021.Q3, T09, no. 262, p. 50c23-24). “Amongst the four classes, there were those who, irritated and angry and low-minded, reviled and abused him saying:” (Soothill 1975: 227). Sanskrit **ākruś* and **paribhāṣ* occur as verbs in the passage *aprasādamuṭpādayanti ākrośanti paribhāṣante* (Kern 1908-1912, Vol. IV: 378 lines 9-10). “lui en voulaient du mal, lui témoignaient de la malveillance, et l'injuriaient.” (Burnouf 1852: 228-229); “showed him their displeasure, abused and insulted him” (Kern 1884: 356). On *paribhāṣante* for *paribhāṣanti*: “Sic Cb. ऋि O” (Kern 1908-1912, Vol. IV: 378¹⁰).

¹⁵ 諸人聞已，輕毀罵詈；不輕菩薩，能忍受之。其罪畢已，臨命終時，得聞此經 (CBETA 2021.Q4, T09, no. 262, p. 51b17-19). The Sanskrit verse inflects the verbal roots **ākruś* and **paribhāṣ* as nouns: *evaṃ ca saṃśrāvayi nityakālaṃ ākrośaparibhāṣa sahanu teṣāṃ | kālakriyāyā samupasthitāyāṃ śrutaṃ idaṃ sūtramabhūsi tena* || (Kern 1908-1912, Vol. IV: 384 lines 1-2). “Telles sont les paroles qu'il leur faisait entendre sans cesse; mais on lui répondait par des reproches et par des injures. Et quand s'approcha le moment de sa fin, il lui arriva d'entendre ce Sūtra” (Burnouf 1852: 232); “It was his wont always to utter those words, which brought him but abuse and taunts from their part. At this time when his death was impending he heard this Sutra” (Kern 1884: 361).

¹⁶ From *Foshuo nainü qiyu yinyuan jing* (佛說捺女祇域因緣經) a Chinese version of Āmrapālī and Jīvaka's story. 諸小兒共罵之曰：「無父之子，姪女所生，何敢輕我？」 (CBETA 2021.Q3, T14, no. 553, p. 897b28-29). “Un jour ce petits garçons l'injurièrent ensemble en lui disant: ‘Fils sans père, né d'une fille débauchée, comment vous permettez-vous de nous traiter avec mépris?’” (Chavannes 1910-11, Vol. III: 331-332). The following not unsimilar passage in Sanskrit is from a story where Āmrapālī is the mother of Abhaya instead of Jīvaka: *bhavaṃto 'sya dāsiputrasya kaḥ pitā anekasatasahasraṇi[r]jāto 'yam* (Diplomatic transliteration from the story of Abhaya in the Gilgit Sanskrit manuscript of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Cīvaravastu, Wu 2017: 340). “Sirs, who is the father of this son of a female slave? His father could be any one of many hundreds of thousands of men” (Wu 2017: 321).

2. The founding parable in *vinaya* texts

Some Chinese texts about *vinaya* (“moral precepts,” “rules of discipline” in Sanskrit and Pali), translations of closely related Indic works of various schools governing monastic behaviour, contain a systematic discussion of offensive language. I looked for data in the following sources: *Shisonglü* 十誦律 (“Sarvāstivāda School’s Ten-Recitation Discipline,” T1435) translated around 405 by Kumārjīva’s team; *Sifenlü* 四分律 (“Dharmaguptaka School’s Four-Part Discipline,” T1428) translated in 408; (*Misha saibu hexi*) *Wufenlü* (彌沙塞部和醯)五分律 (“Five-Part Mahīśāsaka Discipline,” T1421) translated around 423; *Mohe sengqilü* 摩訶僧祇律 (“Mahāsāṃghika Discipline,” T1425) translated about 416; *Genben shuo yiqie youbu pinaiye* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶 (“Mūlasarvāstivāda Discipline,” T1442) and *Genben shuo yiqie youbu pichuni pinaiye* 根本說一切有部苾芻尼毘奈耶 (“Mūlasarvāstivāda Nuns Discipline,” T1443) translated by Yijing at the beginning of the eighth century (cp. Frauwallner 1956: 177-198; Clarke 2015).¹⁷ All of them present the rules about insulting speech as the reply to troubles stirred up by the Group of Six Monks, whose improper conduct often cause in *vinaya* texts the Buddha to produce a series of monastic precepts. The dictation of canonical details follows a narrative providing an instructive example of the harmfulness of offensive language.

In *Shisonglü* the six troublemakers start a verbal conflict within the religious community, whose result is coreligionists continuously insulting each other. The text makes clear that the offensive utterances pertain to disdained sociocultural proveniences: the monks “paying unpleasantly attention to abnormal physiognomies of their fellows shout insults concerning base ancestry, shameful surnames, ignominious working activities” 出他過形相輕喚下賤種姓下賤名字技術作業.¹⁸ Before dictating the rules, the Buddha tells a story of his former incarnation; he talks, rather, about the ongoing state of affairs interlacing it with circumstances of a previous life (說本生因緣)¹⁹. Édouard Chavannes translates the apologue in 1911:

Le Buddha dit aux bhikṣus assemblés: Autrefois il y avait un homme qui possédait un bœuf noir. Il y avait encore un autre homme qui possédait aussi un bœuf et qui, pour gagner des

¹⁷ Throughout many centuries after the introduction of Buddhism in China, the life of monks and nuns in monasteries flows on the basis of several disciplinary books, often without a clear distinction among them, but from the eighth century onwards *Sifenlü* becomes the *vinaya* text that exerts the greatest influence on Chinese monastic discipline (cp. Heirman 2007, and Heirman 2009: 63-64).

¹⁸ The *Taishō* edition punctuates the insults as a quote. 出他過形相輕喚：「下賤種姓、下賤名字、技術作業。」(CBETA 2021.Q4, T23, no. 1435, p. 64a7-8).

¹⁹ For an English translation of the *Jātaka* Pali counterpart of this parable (*Nandi-Visāla Jātaka*) see Fausböll, Rhys Davids (1880: 266-269).

richesses, allait criant: «S'il est quelqu'un dont le bœuf l'emporte en force sur le mien, je lui livrerai mes biens comme enjeu; si (son bœuf) se montre inférieur, il me livrera ses biens comme enjeu.»

Or, le maître du bœuf noir ayant entendu sa proclamation, répondit qu'il acceptait; alors, ayant chargé sur un véhicule une pesante charge, il attacha le bœuf à gauche du char; sa mine fut tournée par lui en ridicule et il s'adressait à lui en l'appelant «noir à corne courbe»; avec un bâton il le frappait pour qu'il allât en tirant ce char. Comme ce bœuf entendait ces injures à propos de sa mine, il perdit son sentiment de l'honneur et sa force; il ne put tirer la lourde charge au haut de la pente. Le maître du bœuf noir perdit donc de grandes richesses (Chavannes 1910-11, Vol. II: 231).

The animal offers his master the opportunity to challenge the rival again. Since the loss of the contest has been due to the insulting bad words the man addressed to him – “you humiliated me for my appearance and called me with the insulting name Black Twisted Horn” 形相輕我，以下賤名喚謂：「黑曲角。」 (CBETA 2021.Q4, T23, no. 1435, p. 64b5) – the ox advises his master to avoid pronouncing such offensive expressions in order to win the betting contest. The moral is summarized by the final stanza, before the Buddha draws the conclusions.

「『載重入深轍，隨我語能去；是故應軟語，不應出惡言。軟語有色力，是牛能牽重；我獲大財物，身心得喜樂。』」佛語諸比丘：「畜生聞形相語尚失色力，何況於人？」 (CBETA 2021.Q4, T23, no. 1435, p. 64b15-20).

«*Quand on a mis sur un char la lourde charge et qu'on est entré dans les ornières profondes, - (mon bœuf) a pu aller suivant le langage que j'ai tenu. - Ainsi il faut employer un doux langage; - il ne faut pas proférer de mauvaises paroles. — Les douces paroles produisent le sentiment de l'honneur et la force; — ce bœuf a pu (ainsi) tirer la lourde charge; - j'ai gagné de grandes richesses - et mon propre cœur est joyeux et content.*»

Le Buddha dit aux bhikṣus assemblés: Si même des animaux peuvent perdre le sentiment de l'honneur et la vigueur en entendant ce qu'on dit de leur forme extérieure, à combien plus forte raison n'en sera-t-il pas de même lorsqu'il s'agira d'hommes? (Chavannes 1910-11, Vol. II: 232-233).

The general outline of this founding narrative is similar in other *vinaya* texts while particulars differ. Isaline Horner translates in 1940 the Pali version of the story.

Formerly, monks, at Takkasilā, Nandivīsāla was the name of an ox belonging to a certain brahmin. Then, monks, Nandivīsāla, the ox, spoke thus to the brahmin: 'Brahmin, you go, bet a thousand with the great merchant, saying: "My ox will draw a hundred carts tied together."' Then, monks, that brahmin made a bet of a thousand with the great merchant,

saying: ‘My ox will draw a hundred carts tied together.’ Then, monks, that brahmin having tied together a hundred carts, having yoked Nandivisāla, the ox, spoke thus: ‘Go, hornless one, let the hornless one pull them along.’ Then, monks, Nandivisāla, the ox, stood just where he was. Then, monks, that brahmin, having suffered the loss of a thousand, was overcome by grief. Then, monks, Nandivisāla, the ox, spoke thus to the brahmin: ‘Why are you, brahmin, overcome by grief?’ ‘Because I, good sir, suffered the loss of a thousand through you.’

‘But why do you, brahmin, bring me, who am not hornless, into disgrace with words of deceit? Brahmin, you go, bet two thousand with the great merchant, saying: “My ox will draw a hundred carts tied together,” but do not bring me, who am not hornless, into disgrace with words of deceit.’ Then, monks, that brahmin bet two thousand with the great merchant, saying: ‘My ox will draw a hundred carts tied together.’ Then, monks, that brahmin having tied together a hundred carts, having yoked Nandivisāla, the ox, spoke thus: ‘Go, good creature, let the good creature pull them along.’ Then, monks, Nandivisāla, the ox, drew the hundred carts tied together.

Speak only words of kindness, never words

Unkind. For him who spoke him fair, he moved

A heavy load, and brought him wealth, for love.

(Horner 1938-1966, Vol. II: 172-173)²⁰

In *Sifenlü* the Group of Six insults monks engaged in a dispute settlement; bringing up the position assigned them by birth, caste, family and race, they shame coreligionists, who lose their train of thought and become unable to speak (六群比丘斷諍事種類罵比丘，比丘慚愧忘失前後不得語 CBETA 2021.Q4, T22, no. 1428, p. 634c12-14).²¹ The Buddha has to intervene. His story takes place in about the same setting of *Shisonglü*, a brahman and his bovine property as principal characters. The ox having been attached to the carriage on the crowded scene of the betting contest, the master “phrases the insulting words: ‘Single-horned One, draw now!’” 作毀訾語：『一角可牽。』(CBETA 2021.Q4, T22, no. 1428, p. 635a9-11). Hearing the offensive epithet the animal, deeply ashamed, becomes reluctant to seriously exert himself in the competition (時牛聞毀訾語，即懷慚愧不肯出力與對諍競. CBETA 2021.Q4, T22, no. 1428, p. 635a10-11). The brahman loses his money but wins a double wager in the rematch when he praises the ox instead of insulting him. The Buddha ends the parable saying:

²⁰ “Hornless one” translates *kūṭa*, not horned, therefore harmless, maimed beast not good for work. *Kūṭa* also means false, deceitful. “Words of deceit” translates *kūṭavāda* or “words about being hornless” (Horner 1938-1966, Vol. II: 172⁴, 172⁹).

²¹ About *zhonglei* 種類 cp. *infra* p. 509 and p. 509²⁵.

凡人欲有所說，當說善語、不應說惡語，善語者善、惡語者自熱惱。是故，諸比丘！畜生得人毀訾，猶自慚愧不堪進力；況復於人，得他毀辱能不有慚愧耶？(CBETA 2021.Q4, T22, no. 1428, p. 635b1-4).

This story also applies to all people of worldly existence. You should say good words, you should not say bad words. If you say good words the result will be good, if you say bad words you will mentally afflict yourself. Therefore, monks, even beasts insulted by humans feel so ashamed that they are unable to vigorously move forward. How could humans not be ashamed if a fellow man insults them?

According to *Wufenlü* the six troublemakers, envious of the outstanding knowledge that untiring monks are attaining through ceaseless learning, resolve to upset the diligent coreligionists using verbal abuse:

「我等當共毀訾，惱使廢業。」便往語言：「汝是下賤種姓，工師小人！汝曾作諸大惡，無仁善行！」(CBETA 2021.Q4, T22, no. 1421, p. 37c11-13). “We should all together revile them, the harassment will cause them to abandon their study.” Thus they go and tell them: “You are baseborn mean manual workers. Even worse, you commit a lot of big wrongdoings and do not behave charitably.”

Then the habitual parable is related. During the betting showdown the brahman, fearing his ox might be not as strong as the rival, “brutally urges him with reviling words: ‘you twisted horn, alas! Pull, skinny neck, shit! Why don’t you proceed in a fit way?’” 毀訾催督：『曲角！痛挽，薄領痛與！汝今行步何以不正？』(CBETA 2021.Q4, T22, no. 1421, p. 37c26-27). The short story runs more or less as in the other texts, the Buddha’s final hint for the monastic audience being “that beast even lost his strength as he heard insulting words, imagine their effect on humans!” 彼畜生聞毀訾語，猶尚失力，況於人乎！(CBETA 2021.Q4, T22, no. 1421, p. 38a9-10).

In *Mohe sengqilü* the Six deceitfully obtain from young monks information about their family names, their ancestry, their parents’ working activities (爾時六群比丘軟語誘問諸年少比丘言：「汝名字何等？汝家姓何等？父母名字何等？汝家本作何生業？」 CBETA 2021.Q4, T22, no. 1425, p. 325b13-15) and then, during an altercation, greatly shame their junior fellows turning those disclosures against them:

於後嫌恨時，便作是言：「汝是極下賤種，汝是旃陀羅、剃髮師、織師、瓦師、皮師。」(CBETA 2021.Q4, T22, no. 1425, p. 325b17-19).

Later, on the occasion of a quarrel, they phrase without hesitation these words: “You have been born in a family of the basest condition. You are a bastard of the lowest caste.²² A barber. A weaver. A potter. A leather-worker.²³”

The Buddha does not fully relate a parable in this *vinaya* translation. After rebuking the Six, he only brings it to mind as the story of Nandi (難提), the name of its bovine protagonist:²⁴

佛言：「此是惡事。六群比丘！汝云何於梵行人邊作種類形相語，如《難提本生經》中廣說。」乃至佛告諸比丘：「畜生尚惡毀咎，況復人乎！」(CBETA 2021.Q4, T22, no. 1425, p. 325b23-26.). The Buddha says: “It is an evil action. Why do you, group of six monks, address your young spiritual companions with insulting language as in the story told at length in the writing about my past life as Nandi?” He finally announces to the whole monastic audience: “Even beasts heartily dislike insults. How much more humans!”

As long as the Six shame the young monks’ social condition the discourse may concern offensive language about “birth” 種類 and “caste” 形相 but it may also concern “various kinds of insults”²⁵ since the expression 種類 is later in the text used in the sentence 種類毀咎有七事：種姓、業、相貌、病、罪、罵、結使 (CBETA 2021.Q4, T22, no. 1425, p. 325b29-c1) “the categories of offensive language are seven: birth, work, appearance, illness, sinfulness, slander, mental fetters.”

The preambles to the precepts censuring offensive language found in two *Mūlasarvāstivāda* texts turned into Chinese by Yijing at the beginning of the eighth century, *Genben shuo yiqie youbu pinaiye* and *Genben shuo yiqie youbu pichuni pinaiye*, partly differ from the other *vinaya* translations. Introducing the theme of the chapter, to begin with, they quote quite a few abuses which cause sadness, humiliation and sorrow in the monastic community. Similar specific quotations or examples of offensive language often appear only in passages concerning the articulation of detailed rules. To be blamed are as usual

²² *Zhantuoluo* 旃陀羅 (for Sanskrit *caṇḍāla*). Tang period phonetic reconstruction (cp. Sturgeon 2006-2022: <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en>) *jiendhala*.

²³ Some of many low occupations.

²⁴ Nandi-visāla in both *jātaka* and *vinaya* Pali language tradition (cp. Fausböll, Rhys Davids 1880: 266-269; Horner 1938-1966, Vol. II: 172-173.)

²⁵ *Zhonglei* 種類 may simply mean “a variety of” but it also translate *jāti*, the position assigned by birth, rank, caste, family, race, lineage. *Xingxiang* 形相 may render both class, tribe or caste-condition (*varṇa-saṃsthāna*) and physiognomy as facial configuration and expression indicating inner character and quality, bodily conformation and appearance of a person also showing moral disposition, social condition, luck. On the other hand, *Zhonglei xingxiang yu* 種類形相語 translates *omṛṣya-vāda* as does *Huiziyu* 毀咎語 (cp. Hirakawa 1997: 694; 903). Ann Heirman, translating the sentence 若比丘種類毀咎語者波逸提 (CBETA 2022.Q1, T22, no. 1428, p. 635b10) of *Sifenlü*, understands 種類毀咎 as “a variety of insults”: “If a *bhikṣu* insults [someone] in several ways, he [commits] a *pācittika*,” (Heirman 2009: 76).

the Six Monks who in *Genben shuo yiqie youbu pinaiye* “phrase insulting words as ‘Squint-eyed, Cripple, Hunchback, Dwarf, Fatso, Boor, Deaf, Blind, Dumb, Lame, Lard-Legs, Maimed, Dunderhead, Trembling Lips, Snaggletoothed” 作毀訾語云：「眇目、癡躄、背僵、侏儒、太長、太僂、聾盲、瘡瘻、拐行、腫脚、禿臂、大頭、哆脣、齟齬。」 (CBETA 2021.Q4, T23, no. 1442, p. 763c4-6). *Genben shuo yiqie youbu pichuni pinaiye* adds “runt” 太短 and “skinny” 太細 to the row of insults.²⁶ Thereafter the writings relate two foundation narratives instead of one. The second parable is essentially a variation of the above story about the betting contest, with a hornless ox hurt by the name “baldhead” 禿頭.²⁷

The first parable only appears, to the best of my knowledge, in Chinese translations of *vinaya* texts authored by Yijing. Bovines play an exemplary role in it too. Of the two oxen held by a village elder, the bigger has an excellent disposition, the smaller has a greedy nature. This latter is nicknamed “Tailless Single-horned” 禿尾禿角 since he has had his horns and tail mutilated in retaliation for his undiscipline.²⁸ When their master denies the promise he made to give his daughter in marriage to the young man who takes care of the animals, the big ox offers to testify together with the other ox before the sovereign. A trial will prove that the promise was actually made if the two oxen, once free to feed themselves after being compelled to fast for seven days, raise their heads toward the sky instead of lowering them to the grass. But the small ox refuses to testify in favor of the youngster because, the animal says, “he always calls me Tailless Single-horned. When I hear him calling me that way I wish I could gore and disembowel him to death” 常喚我為禿尾禿角，我聞喚時即欲以角決破其腹 (CBETA 2021.Q4, T23, no. 1442, p. 764c15-16). The story has a happy ending – the big ox contrives a trick that forces the small one to raise his head – and the Buddha draws the conclusions:

汝等當知！在傍生趣聞毀訾言尚懷害念，況復於人。是故苾芻不應惡語毀訾他人。
(CBETA 2021.Q4, T23, no. 1442, p. 765a9-10). You all ought to be now aware that even animals, when they are target of offensive words, harbor evil thoughts for a long time. All the more humans. That’s why monks should not insult others with bad words.²⁹

²⁶ 作毀訾語，云：「眇目、癡躄、背僵、侏儒、太長、太短、太僂、太細、聾盲、瘡瘻、拐行、腫脚、禿臂、大頭、哆脣、齟齬。」 (CBETA 2021.Q4, T23, no. 1443, p. 968a28-b1).

²⁷ 時彼長者便喚牛曰：『歡喜長角宜可疾牽，美味禿頭亦當急挽。』時禿頭牛聞毀訾語，即便却住不肯挽車。(CBETA 2021.Q4, T23, no. 1442, p. 765a23-26).

²⁸ 時彼長者家有二牛每令驅使：大者為性調善，小者稟識貪饕，雖復拘制犯暴是常。童子發憤放石遙打折其一角，因即立號名為禿角。後於他日尚犯田苗同前不止，便放鎌斫遂截其尾，因即名為禿尾禿角。(CBETA 2021.Q4, T23, no. 1442, p. 764a5-10).

²⁹ The discourse addresses monks (*bhikṣu*, *pichu* 苾芻) also in the *vinaya* disciplining the behaviour of the nuns (*bhikṣuṇī*, *pichuni* 苾芻尼, T1443).

This first narrative omen seems somehow not enough to fix monastic rules on the subject. After warning the audience that performing offensive language in their life will interfere with karmic improvement (作毀咎語時，於現在世所作事業不能成就 CBETA 2021.Q4, T23, no. 1442, p. 765a11-12)³⁰ the Buddha asks them to listen to the second story.

3. Conclusions

Chinese translations of *vinaya* (monastic discipline) books deal in a comprehensive and systematic way with the Buddhist condemnation of verbal abuse. As for other transgressions, the wrongdoing originating reprimand and regulation is imputed to the riotous Group of Six. Their indulgence in humiliating speech induces the Buddha to prescribe rules governing the occurrence of offensive language. To illustrate the harmfulness of insults he, before dictating detailed precepts, tells one of the many Buddhist parables featuring animals, oxen in this case. The role played by the bovine protagonists in Chinese translations is generally similar to that reported by Indic traditions as the Pali *vinaya* text, but two writings translated by Yijing at the beginning of the eighth century preserve also a very different version unrecorded in the four early fifth-century translations. The passages from monastic discipline books quoted in the present essay contain some examples of blameworthy verbal abuse, but their methodic treatment is found in the section of the texts following the anecdotal preambles, discussing the gravity of sins concerning offensive language and the consequently required acts of reparation and atonement. In a future essay I intend to focus on the precepts minutely reported in the Chinese *vinaya* texts.

Abbreviations

CBETA = Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association (<https://www.cbeta.org/>)

T = Takakusu, Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe, Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭 (eds). 1924–1932. Taishō shinshū daizōkyō 大正新脩大藏經. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai.

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³⁰ This passage is only in *Genben shuo yiqie youbu pinaiye* (T1442) not in *Genben shuo yiqie youbu pichuni pinaiye* (T1443).

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From loafing to dignity

The mise en scène of Guo Shixing's play *Go Home* directed by Lin Zhaohua

Barbara Leonesi

Guo Shixing is considered one of the most interesting playwrights in contemporary China. In his production, an important role is played by his two trilogies, the *Loafers* (1990s) trilogy and the *Dignity* (2000s) trilogy. After briefly analysing commonalities and differences between the two, this essay focuses on an analysis of the text and the mise en scène of the third play in the *Dignity* trilogy, *Go Home*. The essay will show that this play can be seen as a sort of point of arrival for Guo Shixing's creative writing, concentrating the distinctive features that have marked his production from the beginning. In particular, the study will reflect on the close link between theatre and society, and on the function of dramaturgical writing as a mirror and at the same time a criticism of contemporary society.

Keywords: Guo Shixing, contemporary Chinese drama, *Go Home*, theatre and society

1. Introduction

Since his debut on the Beijing stage with the play *Bird Men* (*Niaoren* 鸟人) in 1993, Guo Shixing has gained a reputation as one of the most interesting playwrights in contemporary China. His partnership with Lin Zhaohua 林兆华 (1936), who has directed most of his works, has certainly played a role in the swift increase in his popularity. Lin is considered one of the promoters of “exploratory theatre” (*tansuo xiju* 探索戏剧) or experimental theatre (*shiyan xiju* 实验戏剧) in China, and his creative partnership with playwright and Nobel laureate Gao Xingjian 高行健 (1940) has left a permanent mark on the development of contemporary Chinese theatre. From the 1980s onwards, Lin directed many Chinese and western plays at the Beijing People's Art Theatre (BPAT, Beijing renmin yishu juyuan 北京人民艺术剧院), exploring new ways of directing and performing. In 1989 he opened his own drama studio (Lin Zhaohua xiju gongzuoshi 林兆华戏剧工作室), while maintaining his position at the BPAT. When, after 1989, Gao Xingjian chose to live in exile in France, Lin began a new, fruitful creative partnership with Guo Shixing. Acclaimed by the public and critics alike, both in China and abroad, Lin Zhaohua is

therefore one of contemporary China's most influential theatre directors but also one of the most controversial: his works combine the aesthetic of traditional Chinese theatre – its spare and highly symbolic stage design – with the most recent developments in avant-garde Western theatre. Likewise, Lin balances and mutually integrates the two contrasting approaches of *xieyi* (写意 symbolism) and *xieshi* (写实 realism) (Xie, 2011: 37).¹ His cooperation with Guo marked the Chinese theatre scene of the 1990s and the first decade of the new millennium; Lin Zhaohua himself has praised the important contribution made by this playwright on many occasions:

Guo Shixing has created nine plays in ten years, we can say this is a wonder in Chinese creative theatre writing, but what is even more remarkable is the sensitive attitude towards reality displayed by his plays. Many Chinese plays today just fool around, hardly touching on actual reality. Therefore, Guo Shixing's work is all the more praiseworthy. (Wang 2011)

The lack of new writing talents in Chinese theatre emphasised by Lin Zhaohua has become an increasingly debated issue among theatre actors, but also scholars: on the one hand, many have denounced the migrating of new writers into the far more profitable fields of TV and cinema, particularly since the 1990s; on the other hand, the new avant-garde theatre experiences which have emerged in China since the beginning of the 1980s and the leading role they have assigned to performance, to the detriment of the text, have somehow left playwrights in the shadows, while putting the spotlight on theatre directors, who are the real “stars” nowadays. Guo Shixing has not been very prolific in recent years, but apart for some rare forays into the screen world, he has remained true to his first love, theatre, and to his idea of it as a mirror of contemporary society: through his plays, he keeps on commenting on the tremendous changes that have occurred in Chinese society in the last few decades.

Actually, it is possible to detect in Guo Shixing's productions the key elements that Colin Mackerras has listed as the main themes to have shaped the evolution of spoken drama (*huaaju* 话剧) in China since its introduction from the West at the beginning of the 20th century – first of all, its highly politicised role and its aim to affect society as a whole. In the over 100-year history of spoken drama, the focus on political commitment has of course varied over time, reaching its peak during the Cultural Revolution with model operas (*yangbanxi* 样板戏) as perfect examples of political propaganda. In the

¹ Director Huang Zuolin 黄佐临 (1906-1994) was the first to define these concepts borrowed from the world of painting and to apply them to theatre in a famous study published in 1962.

period of economic reforms that followed the Revolution, the new theatre vigorously distanced itself from that propaganda model by focusing on the individual, on human beings and their inner world: in theatre – and in the arts more generally – the intense and broad debate of the 1980s stressed the independence of art and culture from political guidelines, without abandoning the function of art as a means of social criticism and dissent. Guo Shixing's texts are emblematic in this respect, as they stick to contemporaneity, dismantling society's contradictions through the instrument of humour. The sketches of life in Beijing he proposed in the 1990s are in fact veiled ways to denounce the contradictions and difficulties of contemporary society. While in his first plays dissent is expressed through oblique discourses and allegories, in the texts he has written in the 2000s the denunciation of the main problems in contemporary Chinese society (the loss of moral values, corruption, etc.) becomes an explicit topic of discussion between characters, down to the violent indictment delivered in the play we are about to analyse, *Go Home*. In an interview which Guo Shixing gave after the debut of this play, the interviewer asks whether the text is not too dark, the denunciation too violent, and the humour too black. Guo Shixing responds that he intended to be harsh: good works and good books are like "bitter medicines," which, however, are good for the spirit (Tang Ling 2011: 27).

The tension between traditional Chinese elements and external influences is the second key aspect characterising the evolution of spoken theatre highlighted by Mackerras. This tension is also a second fundamental key to interpret Guo Shixing's theatre: on the one hand, particularly in his first *Loafers trilogy* (*Xianren sanbuqu* 闲人三部曲), he takes up the Chinese tradition of "tranche de vie" theatre of the 1930s (Pisciotta 2000: 74-91), while portraying traditional local activities. On a superficial level, these "tranches de vie" from the alleys of Beijing can simply be enjoyed as funny sketches with a "local" flavour. But behind the paradoxical dialogues and cutting humour there is a profound reflection on the meaning of life, on man, and on contemporary society. On the other hand, the plays show a keen awareness of modernist Western dramaturgy in general and of the theatre of the absurd in particular:

Birdsmen's modernistic tone [...] is far from accidental. The play deals with the profound cultural shock produced by social, economic, ideological and international conflicts, and by the threat of rupture from a familiar path (Chen 2002: 330).

Humour is a third, fundamental key to analyse and understand Guo's plays. It is expressed in every possible form: from slapstick to harsh and violent satire, from subtle irony to funny comedic moments. Laughter runs through all of Guo Shixing's texts: it is at the same time a means to convey uncomfortable contents and a sort of break, a relaxing moment offered to spectators as means for them to take a breather while being harshly confronted with the contradictions of real life.

Two trilogies mark Guo Shixing’s production: the *Loafers trilogy*,² which collects his first plays, written and staged in the 1990s, and the *Dignity trilogy*³ (*Zunyan sanbuqu* 尊严三部曲), written and staged in the first decade of the second millennium. With his typical sense of humour, Guo has declared he has been inspired by the supermarket policy “buy 1, get 3” (Lin Haibo 2002: 136). This paper analyses the text and the mise en scène of the last play of the second trilogy, *Go Home*, written in 2009 and first staged in 2010. I believe it can be regarded as the end point of a playwriting trajectory begun with the first trilogy, which in many respects encapsulates the hallmarks of Guo’s creative work, in terms of both language and content.

In this article, a brief introduction to the structural, thematic, and stylistic similarities and differences between Guo Shixing’s two trilogies will be followed by two sections analysing the text and the 2010 mise en scène of *Go Home*.

2. Guo Shixing and his two trilogies

Guo was born in Beijing in 1952 and started going to the theatre with his mother in his childhood. However, he made his debut on stage rather late, in his 40s (1993). Because of the Cultural Revolution, he interrupted his studies and, like many young people of his generation, took part in the campaign “up to the mountains and down to the villages” (*shangshan xiaxiang* 上山下乡) which brought millions of urban middle school graduates to rural villages and to frontier areas as members of the so-called “educated youth” (*zhishi qingnian* 知识青年). Guo spent many years in Heilongjiang, returning to Beijing as a worker in 1973. In the early 1980s he began working as a journalist at *Beijing Evening News* (*Beijing wanbao* 北京晚报), where he ran a column on theatrical and literary criticism under the pseudonym Shanhaike (山海客). He thus came to enjoy privileged access to the theatre world, from official shows to niche performances by young artists who, in that period of great cultural and intellectual dynamism, were experimenting with new modes of expression and performance. Predictably, Guo made the acquaintance of Lin Zhaohua, who together with playwright Gao Xingjian was signing the most innovative and revolutionary productions of the 1980s, launching the “small theatres” movement (*xiao juchang* 小剧场), and inventing a new way of performing and doing theatre.

² It includes: *Fish Men* (*Yuren* 鱼人), written in 1989 and staged in 1997; *Bird Men* written in 1991 and staged in 1993, and *Chess Men* (*Qiren* 棋人), written in 1994 and staged in 1996.

³ It includes: *Toilet* (*Cesuo* 厕所) 2004, *To Live or to Die* (*Huozhe haishi shiqu* 活着还是失去) 2007 and *Go Home* (*Hui jia* 回家) 2010.

As has been clearly recorded in nearly all of Guo's biographies and interviews, it was precisely Lin Zhaohua who encouraged Guo to write, after Gao had left China for good. The Lin-Gao partnership that profoundly marked the Chinese scene in the 1980s was then replaced by the Lin-Guo one in the 1990s.

The beginning of the 1990s, when Guo made his debut on stage, was a difficult period for the theatre world, and for the cultural and intellectual world more generally, after the standstill caused by the Tiananmen Square events of 1989. Guo Shixing's theatre clearly fits with that wave of anti-heroic and anti-sublime theatre which, after the 1989 crisis and the failure of the democratic movement, led artists to express themselves in an oblique way, by concealing their dissent behind the mask of paradox, absurdity, and farce. This complex political situation was accompanied by an economic crisis in Chinese theatre, which on the one hand was crushed by the rise of cinema and television and, on the other, suffered the consequences of reforms that considerably reduced state subsidies for theatre companies. Nevertheless, *Bird Men* (Guo 1997 for the English translation and Guo 2015 for the original text) proved a success with the public, gained critics' attention, and earned international acclaim. Produced by the BPAT, this play features a stratification of symbolical and allegorical meanings, both cultural and political, that revolve around the theme of alienation together with the definition of Chinese national and individual identity (Conceison 1998). A group of bird raisers struggles to engage with the Other – which takes the form of what is external to Beijing and the group, of the markedly changed China of the contemporary period, and finally of the West. Indeed, the early 1990s were a moment of engagement for China, as it struggled to define its identity with respect to the Other/West. However, thanks to the wit and humour permeating the dialogues and the virtuosity of the great actors of the BPAT, *Bird Men* – a play originally written for small theatres – has been repeatedly billed by the BPAT as a play for the broader public. The amused spectators invariably laugh and cheer the actors playing the roles of nutty yet likeable bird raisers, in an atmosphere of nostalgia for the old Beijing.

Following the success of the first trilogy in the 1990s, in the 2000s Guo worked on his second one, again with Lin Zhaohua as stage director. There are many differences between the two trilogies. The first – and the most evident, even from their titles – has to do with “compactness:” the plays in the *Loafers trilogy* all share themes, settings, and structure. Strongly rooted in the city of Beijing, this trilogy portrays traditional local activities (chess-paying, bird-raising, fishing, and opera-going) through a language that has a strong local flavour (the Beijing dialect). The protagonists of the three plays – *Fish Men*, *Bird Men* and *Chess Men* – share, in addition to the fact of being passionate about their hobbies, a condition of marginalization and the difficulty in finding a place in society. Hence their flight into the self-enclosed and fictitious world of their hobbies, which eventually turns into an obsession, an ultimate ideal to be pursued. Despite their differences, these stories express the same sense of unease.

The *Dignity trilogy* tones down the kind of strong local colouring which marked the first trilogy: while this is still present in the first play, *Toilet*,⁴ in the last one, *Go Home*, the setting loses its specific geographical features, evoking a borderland between reality and dream, memory and the present. As the play acquires a more universal breadth, only the use of language typical of Beijing and the occasional hint at places in the city, like the Panjiayuan market (Panjiayuan guwan shichang 潘家园古玩市场), allow us to grasp its setting. Furthermore, this second trilogy loses the marked compactness we find in the first one, so much so that the plays it comprises have changed over time: initially, it included *Bad Talk Street*,⁵ but this was later replaced by *Go Home*. It is evident, however, that in this second trilogy all three plays share the same underlying structure: they take the form of a series of scenes with the same setting (a public toilet, a crematory, the exterior of a home) and the same protagonist – the guardian or host of the place. There is no classic dramaturgical structure: the various scenes depict a series of encounters with different characters, through a kind of parade of heterogeneous types that, in different ways and at different levels, represent contemporary Chinese society, with its problems and contradictions. Several critics (Zhang Shouzhi 2017: 78) have compared the succession of these scenes to the rounds in a match, as the protagonist increasingly clashes with reality and struggles to the last breath to preserve what little dignity is left in his life.

Criticism and dissent, which in the first trilogy had been expressed through the veil of parables, turn into an explicit debate on the most heated contemporary issues in the second trilogy: in the public toilets of the first play, the characters discuss corruption, the loss of moral values, greed in a society ruled by money, housing problems and unemployment. In the last play, *Go Home*, the main character angrily enumerates most of the issues that are listed as urban inhabitants' main concerns in the annual report by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the *Blue Book of China's Society 2011* (and which are

⁴ Sergio Basso has directed an Italian version of this play that toured in Italy in 2017-18 and published an Italian translation (Guo 2017).

⁵ *Huaihua yitiao jie*, 坏话一条街 was first staged in 1998; it featured the Central Experimental Drama Troupe (Zhongyang shiyan huajuyuan 中央试验话剧院) and was directed by Meng Jinghui (孟京辉). Clearly set in the alleys of Beijing, this play is marked by an extremely experimental use of language: it centres on sophisticated language games filled with paradoxes, nonsense, jokes, and humour. The two protagonists, who live in one of Beijing's typical alleys, are master gossipers and challenge one another through quips, puns, and violent verbal exchanges. Here too the author pays close attention to contemporary Chinese problems: in 1998, the controversial issue of housing in Beijing had taken the media by storm. The municipal government had pushed forward a policy of demolition of old houses, arguing that they lacked modern conveniences. The destruction of the old city centre, the seizing of buildings, and the forced eviction of their occupants were hotly disputed.

therefore connected to the year of the play's debut, 2010).⁶ The link between theatre and social criticism, between theatre and society, becomes increasingly strong, with specific references to the food scandals of recent years (for example, the case of melamine-tainted infant formula)⁷ and to hot topics like the rising cost of housing in big cities or the growing unemployment rate. What remains constant in this transition from allegory to open social criticism is the use of humour as the main means to illustrate the contradictions and paradoxes of contemporary society.

3. *Go Home*: the text

As Chinese critics have repeatedly stressed, the guiding thread running through the Dignity trilogy is the highlighting of human dignity in the most degrading moments/places: in the face of physical urges (*Toilet*), death (*To Live or Die*), and illness (*Go Home*). What we have is a kind of “descent into hell;” but hell, here, does not lie merely in the inevitability of death or illness, but increasingly takes the form of contemporary Chinese society. This is especially the case in the last play of the trilogy, whose ending screams out its social criticism.

After two years of gestation, *Go Home* premiered in Nanjing in the summer of 2010. It then toured Shenzhen and Tianjin in September, before reaching Beijing at the end of that year. It was only staged a dozen times and was largely a box office fiasco, despite some positive reviews (Xie Xizhang 2011: 36–38). Like most other plays by Guo Shixing, it was inspired by a personal experience (Guo's having to deal with his mother's condition as an Alzheimer patient) and was directed by Lin Zhaohua. However, unlike the first two plays in this trilogy – produced by the National Theatre Company of China (NTCC Zhongguo guojia huajuyuan 中国国家话剧院) – it was produced by the Lin Zhaohua Theatre Studio. Ever since 1989, when Lin Zhaohua opened the country's first private theatre studio, theatre productions in China have been following a “double track:” directors will typically work for national, state-funded companies to produce plays for the wider public, while at the same time managing private studios in order to produce niche plays, for a select public. Significantly, the play in question was not put on stage by a state-run company.

The protagonist of *Go Home* is an elderly man suffering from Alzheimer's who, as the title suggests, wishes to return home. The play opens with the old man standing before a door; he shouts out for

⁶ *Shehui lanpi shu* (社会蓝皮书). This consists of a series of annual reports by sociologists from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences that comment on the social developments of the previous year, while making predictions about the coming one.

⁷ The scandal of melamine-tainted infant formula broke out in 2008, when it was found that this had damaged the health of hundreds of thousands of children and led to a number of deaths.

someone to open it – he wants to enter his home. But he cannot remember the door code, or even the street number: perhaps, this is not his home at all. From inside the building, the Voice (the co-protagonist) shouts that this is no longer his home. The whole play unfolds through a series of ravings, disjointed memories, fears, and visions on the part of the elderly man, as he hurls himself against this door which never opens, discusses the matter with the Voice, and clashes with several characters that pass by the door or exit through it. These are ghosts from the past, like the girlfriend whom the man abandoned in the big North,⁸ or the teacher who killed herself during Cultural Revolution; some are street characters (whether real or imaginary, it is unclear), such as the newly-wed couple who exit through the door with some friends, or the policeman who wants to remove the old man; other characters still are delirious nightmare creatures, such as the monkey spirits who want to devour his brain. The line between reality and dream or hallucination, between memory and the present, is constantly shifting. At the end we see traffic lights, cars, and passers-by: the elderly man was in the middle of a road, blocking the traffic; the policeman gives him an alcohol test and fines him. Was this only a hallucination? Maybe not. The old man continues in his ravings through one last angry, shouted monologue.

Within this play and the elderly man's ravings we can identify three levels of reflection. The first is a universal level, which concerns issues common to mankind across all ages and places, such as the afflictions of illness and loneliness, the meaning of life and death, and the prospect of a just reward/redress for good/evil actions. The main character, like most of Guo's characters, is a sort of archetype – the disease-ridden elderly man – and therefore devoid of psychological depth, but through him Guo explores and investigates in detail emotions and thoughts stemming from that situation.

The second level of reflection concerns the problems and contradictions of contemporary society in general: what used to last a lifetime (one's home, wife, job, or family) now only lasts a few years; man is destroying the environment and even destroying himself by creating new diseases in his labs (possibly a reference to AIDS – but in today's post-pandemic scenario, these allusions acquire new meanings).

Finally, there is a level that directly touches upon the problems of contemporary Chinese society – and at least half of the reflections in the play belong to this level: remarks and gags about food safety, housing, healthcare, and the pension system are strictly connected to today's China. The old man is

⁸ With the end of the Cultural Revolution, most of the so-called educated youths fought to return to urban centres from the countryside: many of them, in those years, had built a family or entered a love relationship, but as their wives or lovers generally did not have an urban residence permit, they had no choice but leave them there.

therefore a universal character, although the reality he lucidly criticises and rages against in his ravings is undoubtedly the PRC of 2010.

The fact that this furious social criticism is delivered through the ravings of an old man suffering from Alzheimer's is in itself significant: both in China and in many other countries, there is a long literary tradition of madmen expressing unwelcome truths. Alzheimer's also gives Guo Shixing the opportunity to repeatedly touch upon the theme of memory, and to return to an issue he had already extensively addressed both in *Bad Talk Street* and in *Toilet*, namely: the demolition of entire historic neighbourhoods of the city to make place for dull skyscrapers in the name of unchecked urban and economic development, leading to the loss of places of memory.⁹

The protagonist's lengthy final monologue consists in a list of sentences that all begin with the same verb, although the object changes: "Fuck XXX" (*wo ri XXX*, 我日 XXX). In such a way, with no logical connection or rhetorical flourish, the old man newly evokes facts, characters, and social issues that have emerged over the course of the play, assaulting the public with a sort of foul and raving summary of the many themes that have been touched upon (housing and healthcare costs, youth unemployment, food scandals, the health system, pensions, various leading figures in the contemporary world, the WTO, bloggers, etc.). When asked about the reasons for his choice of using such aggressive language, Guo Shixing stated that he had been inspired by Peter Handke's theatre:¹⁰ his main aim was to provoke the public (Tang Ling 2011: 27). This monologue does not convey any dramatic content; rather, it lends voice to the resentment against society that runs through the whole play. Despite his efforts, the protagonist is unable to find a place in society, he fails: as emphasised by the final line ("fuck myself"), personal dignity has collapsed (Xu Jian 2011: 84). This can be seen as the end point of a trajectory leading from the allegory that permeated Guo's first plays to the explicit social criticism of his second trilogy.

The focus on language and its violence are distinctive features of this play, and possibly played a role in its lukewarm reception by the public. Experimentation with language certainly lies at the centre of Guo Shixing's writing and production: his creative work is based on the refined use of language

⁹ Consider the following line spoken by the old man: "比如你住的地方。今天住的好好的，明天拆了。我到我念过书的学校去看过，拆了[...]。我怀疑我究竟是不是真的活过，是不是做梦啊" (For example, the place where you live. One day you're living there just fine, the next day they demolish it. I went to take a look at the school I attended – it has been demolished. [...] I wonder: did I really live or was this just a dream?) (Guo 2015: 260). Criticism of the demolition of historic areas in cities, which are being turned into megalopolises that all look the same, is a recurrent theme in 21st-century Chinese art and literature.

¹⁰ See his provocative "anti-play" *Offending the Audience* (1966).

across all registers, from the most vulgar to the loftiest, and on a wealth of inventive puns, nonsense phrases, and dialogues devoid of logical connections and based instead on the repetition of words, assonances, and homophones. The humour that springs from all this is the cornerstone of all Guo’s texts. As already noted, it serves the purpose of making the text run smoothly, of recounting tragic facts in a comical way (Gu Haihui 2011: 56). In *Go Home* the only “plot” element is represented by the old man wanting to enter his home and by the Voice that refuses to let him in. The text thus unfolds through a series of episodes and characters that have no logical or temporal connection with one another, but serve as digressions that aid the free flow of the old man’s delirious thought, as he keeps skipping back and forth between reality and fiction, present and past. Some of these scenes are constructed as funny sketches, bringing to mind the *lazzi* of Commedia dell’arte in terms both of their structure and of their function in the text: take, for example, the comic scene in which the Voice tries to explain the concept of virtual reality to the old man by making him mimic the action of rowing. Language indeed serves as the guiding thread holding these scenes together: Guo Shixing here draws upon his experience with refined language games in *Bad Talk Street*, to develop a stream of consciousness which does not obey any logic, but rather uses language and word plays to create new meanings and new trajectories, deviating the course of the play now in one direction, now in another. In many cases, the connection between the lines in a dialogue is limited to the random echoing of a few words:

环 甲：知识青年上山下乡 很有必要！	Environmental Activist A: The movement of educated youths up to the mountains and down to the villages was absolutely necessary!
老 人：很没必要！	Old man: It was not necessary at all!
环 甲：知识青年四体不勤 ，五谷不分。	Environmental Activist A: The educated youths are parasites who do not toil and are ignorant of common things.
老 人：农民进城很有必要 ，农民分不清哪是二环，哪 是三环。	Old man: It is absolutely necessary for migrant workers to come to the city; they are incapable of telling the second belt from the third .
环 甲：他们很了解六环以 外。	Environmental Activist A: They know the part beyond the sixth belt very well.
老 人：听说要修七环。	Old Man: I’ve heard that they are about to build a seventh one .

In this example (Guo 2015: 268; the English translation is mine), the first, second, and fourth lines are connected through the expression “it is/was necessary;” the third line takes up the subject of the first, namely the educated youths, while the fifth and sixth lines shift the focus to the belt roads in the city of Beijing, the object of the fourth line. Elsewhere, the connection is even weaker and is established not through the echoing or repetition of a word, but through a play based on homophony/semi-homophony or assonance. While these language experiments run throughout Guo’s writing, and while the very use of foul speech is hardly foreign to his oeuvre as a whole, in *Go Home* they become predominant, serving as the main key to the text.

4. *Go Home*: the mise en scène

The blurring of reality and hallucination, the time of memory and the present time, that runs through the text of this play is increased by the stage design, which provides no spatio-temporal references: all we see are four closed doors and an old man. Disease-ridden old age, the loss of memory, and loneliness are universal human tragedies: the old man has no name – he is one of the countless old men who are ill and left to themselves. In his stage direction, Lin Zhaohua seeks to reinforce this “universal” perspective through a number of strategies: first of all, he employs a minimalist, drab scenic design, which does away with any references to specific places – he arranges four doors in a row on the right-hand side of the stage, which remains bare. In accordance with Guo Shixing’s stage notes, the left-hand side of the stage features a treadmill: at the beginning and in various moments during the play, an old lady in red walks on it.



Figure 1. *Go Home* opening scene. The set of Lin Zhaohua’s production in Tianjin 2010 (courtesy of Guo Shixing)

The same lady later appears to be practising tai-ji with a fan, while in the final scene she enters on stage playing with a diabolo. Then she leaves the diabolo spinning on stage when the chorus falls silent and all the actors make an exit. In reviews and interviews discussing the stage design, both the director and the playwright have refused to provide any specific interpretation of these symbolic elements: their meaning must remain ambiguous, open; they are vessels ready to be filled with any meaning spectators will choose to assign them.

A second important strategy that Lin Zhaohua adopts to strengthen the universal perspective of the play is so-called role-sharing, i.e. getting more than one actor to play the same character. There are two actors playing the old man – they simply take turns at wearing his coat; there are four doors at which the old man screams, and four voices answer him. On the one hand, this multiplication of characters is designed to plunge the spectators into the old man’s mental confusion; on the other, it conveys the multiple, rather than univocal, significance of this story and tragedy. Lin Zhaohua had already experimented with a bare stage and role-sharing with his famous stage design for *Hamlet* in 1990, when he had used these tools to turn the individual protagonist’s tragedy into the universal tragedy of man, who must inevitably face the menacing forces of his time. While Lin has always sought to avoid political discussions, the universality of his *Hamlet* and the “dark” moment that intellectuals were experiencing after Tiananmen left few doubts as to the fact that his “dark and menacing forces” were open to a “local” interpretation (Ferrari 2012).

A third element that contributes to strengthening the universality of *Go Home*’s story from the point of view not only of space (as the story of every place), but also of time (as the story of any time) is the selection of young actors, with no make-up, to play the old characters’ role. The tragedy of old age is represented through the face of youth, as though to suggest that youth and old age are but different stages in each person’s life. The empty space of the stage is “filled” by the actors’ physical presence and by their acting style, marked by an extensive use of the body and voice.

Lin was actually essentially forced to choose young actors: in an interview I conducted with Wang Dingyi (王丁一), one of the four actors interpreting the character of the Voice, in the summer of 2011, he stated that Guo Shixing had envisaged one of the star performers of the NTCC in the role of the old man. But all these established actors refused to play that role, which was indeed a very “problematic” one: many lines are full of foul words and insults, culminating in the lengthy final monologue.

Actually, the explicit discussion of the major issues in contemporary society, together with the verbal violence, made the whole play “problematic;” hence the choice (or forced choice?) to produce it through the “private” channel of Lin Zhaohua’s studio. All the actors working there were very young, so again the choice of young actors for old characters falls on the borderline between artistic choice

and practical necessity. In Wang Dingyi's opinion, the role-sharing and Lin Zhaohua's decision to have a chorus – formed by all the actors – deliver the final monologue which Guo had written for the old man, depended on the fact that the young actors needed to share the responsibility for such a key monologue and the violent words it included. Nevertheless, the final result on stage is very intense, interesting, and meaningful. The chorus follows a rap rhythm (which is unsurprising, given that rap was developed as a means to voice social criticism) and is supported by stomping. Everyone takes part in this final chorus, as one person's rage becomes everyone's rage – a shared, screamed rage – down to the final “fuck myself,” followed by silence. In this way, Lin Zhaohua underlines the explicit nature of Guo's social criticism, before returning to a traditional *xiayi* aesthetic in the close up with the diabolo spinning on stage, a symbol left to the spectators' interpretation.

5. Conclusion

After the première, Guo Shixing declared in many interviews that *Go Home* had been a very difficult play to write: it had required almost two years of incubation. Is it a realistic play? A symbolist play? An absurdist play? An avant-garde play? Both Guo Shixing and Lin Zhaohua have always rejected any kind of label, defending the uniqueness of their voices as artists. Certainly, in this play there is a loss of space-time coordinates, a fragmentation of speech, a loss of logical connections, together with a *mise en scène* strewn with symbolic elements (symbols which were already described in the stage directions given in the script)¹¹. The main topic of the play itself, namely homecoming, is a metaphor laden with different meanings: the imagine of the home may represent the womb or the lost Eden (Xie Xizhang 2011, 37), a peaceful haven or the end point in the search for oneself (Xu Jian 2011, 83). It is definitely a safe harbour one can escape to, in order to find protection; but although very near, it remains inaccessible for the main character, who is adrift in the raging sea of the real world.

Go Home brings forward the cross-cutting themes of Guo's theatre production: as Chinese critics have remarked, his plays, based on satire and paradox, aim to show that reality is never univocal or unambiguous, that absolute truth does not exist, that absolute right and absolute wrong do not exist either, and therefore that there is no fixed system of values one can refer to (Zhang Lange 2006, 102). Given this lack of certainties, man must come to terms with alienation (Gu Haihui 2011, 55).

¹¹ Guo Shixing generally includes detailed stage directions in his scripts; in 2008, he also started directing his own plays and/or plays adapted by him. In an interview (Beijing, 4 December 2015), when discussing the relationship between playwright and director, Guo acknowledged that, as a playwright, he had often been disappointed by directors' choices which did not fit with his own way of envisaging a given play.

In my opinion, given its structure, language, and topics, this play can be seen as the end point/culmination of Guo Shixing’s creative journey: it sums up the main features of his writing. As far as its structure is concerned, as we have seen, the play does not depict a dramatic conflict and the action is stripped down to the essential: from beginning to end, the main character simply strives to enter his home. As far as language is concerned, the witty usage of words, aimed at building a (darkly) humorous level that is Guo’s trademark, takes over the play, to the point that in many passages the dialogues tend to lose their logical connections and simply revolve around puns and clever wordplays: the play on language becomes the centre of the script. This witty and shrewd play on the one hand fully draws upon the tradition of comic dialogues (*xiangsheng* 相声); on the other, it takes inspiration from absurdist theatre. Finally, as far as topics are concerned, this play sums up numerous contemporary social issues already addressed in Guo’s previous production – environmental problems, the rising cost of living, the alienation of the educated youths, etc. To these, it adds a long series of new issues and scandals, through a process of accumulation that ends up crushing the main character.

Ultimately, the play can be read as a sort of parade of contemporary Chinese social issues and scandals, a sort of theatrical adaptation of the *Blue Book*: compared to Guo’s past production, what is new in this play is the explicit social criticism, the scream of rage that directly addresses these issues. It is a cry of alarm delivered through very violent language, in order to elicit a reaction from the public.

During his 2015 interview, Guo Shixing remarked that it had become more and more difficult for theatre to play its role as a source of social criticism: censorship was much more stringent than in the 1980s or 1990s. But as many commentators (journalists, intellectuals, and academics) have underlined, censorship increased even further during Xi Jinping’s second term as President (2017-2022). Therefore, it is unsurprising that Guo’s production has slowed down a lot in recent years, which is not to say that it is stagnating – although Guo himself is hiding behind the screen of his old age. Many issues denounced by Guo – food scandals, for examples – have been harshly condemned and punished by the Chinese government. However, the loss of dignity and moral values he has described, together with the paradoxes of a number of government policies he has pointed out (on the one hand health and pension reforms, on the other lack of support for the elderly, the housing problem, etc.), is quite remote from the glossy facade of a prosperous and harmonious society which the Chinese government wishes to support and broadcast both within China and abroad. Would this play reach the stage in today’s PRC? Considering the recent tightening of control over cultural content (from academic research and university courses to artworks), I doubt it. But it is noteworthy that when the play was staged in 2010-2011, its cry of alarm actually fell on deaf ears – a rather short tour, no scandals. Was the public not interested in this cry of alarm? Or wasn’t it ready to accept the violent indictment formulated by Guo?

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Investigating Chinese learner corpus research and learner corpora

Main features, critical issues and future pathways

Alessia Iurato

Despite the increasingly wide-ranging accessibility of L2 Chinese learner corpora and achievements in Chinese Learner Corpus Research (CLCR), there are no studies which provide a critical analysis of the key features and limitations of this expanding field. This study therefore aims to fill this lack in the literature by both investigating the actual state of CLCR and existing L2 Chinese learner corpora and outlining their main features and critical issues. First, the paper introduces the development and current trends in CLCR, particularly emphasizing the widespread use of multi-method approaches in this field. Second, it focuses on design issues of L2 Chinese learner corpora, identifying main characteristics and limitations. The paper shows that L2 Chinese learner corpora present many gaps concerning language-related, task-related, and learner-related criteria. Gaps in learner corpus analysis and annotation are also discussed. Third, the paper offers the first analysis conducted to date that categorizes existing L2 Chinese learner corpora according to mode (written, spoken and multimodal) and size (large-scale and small-scale). Finally, the article directs attention toward challenges in this field, concluding with future directions for CLCR and its intersections with Second Language Acquisition (SLA) to support L2 Chinese teaching and learning. Suggestions on direct and indirect applications of L2 Chinese learner corpora data are also provided.

Keywords: Chinese Learner Corpus Research, Chinese learner corpora, corpus design, corpus annotation, Chinese as a second/foreign language

1. Introduction¹

A learner corpus is a specific type of corpus which can be broadly defined as a collection of machine-readable texts consisting in “continuous, spontaneous, contextualized, representative (near-)natural

¹ This research has been conducted within the project ‘The acquisition of Chinese resultative verbal complexes by L1 Italian learners: combining learner corpus and experimental data’ directed by Prof. Bianca Basciano, which has received funding by

(written or spoken) data produced by foreign or L2 learners, and gathered through those activities which are ordinarily carried out in the teaching and learning of second/foreign languages” (Iurato 2022: 714-5; Granger 2002; Callies and Götz 2015; Meunier 2021). One of the main potentials of learner corpora is allowing us to observe the frequency, distribution, and the contexts of use of specific linguistic features in learner language use from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives (Granger 2012; Meunier 2021; Iurato 2022).² Learner corpus data generally serve two main purposes: first, informing Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research, including, for instance, usage-based approaches (cf. Wulff 2021), generative approaches (cf. Lozano 2021), variationist approaches (cf. Gudmestad 2021), pragmatic approaches (cf. Fernández and Staples 2021); second, providing “useful impact for applied projects (including the creation or improvement of teaching materials/approaches, or the training/development of Natural Language Processing tools)” (Meunier 2021: 23).

The application of learner corpus data gave rise to a flood of studies that have been grouped under the umbrella term of ‘Learner Corpus Research’ (LCR) (Granger, Gilquin and Meunier 2015). LCR can be considered as a ‘young field of study’ (Alonso-Ramos 2016: 3), since studies in LCR as a field independent from corpus linguistics began only in the late 1980s (Granger 2002; Meunier 2021; Tracy-Ventura and Paquot 2021). Although the application of learner corpora has also developed in the context of Chinese as a Second/Foreign language (CSL/CFL) research, in our opinion it is more appropriate to speak of infancy rather than youth when referring to Chinese Learner Corpus Research (CLCR). In fact, although CLCR has witnessed significant growth in the last twenty years (Zhang and Tao 2018), in this paper we will show that there are still several limitations concerning, among others, corpus design, annotation procedure, and pedagogical implications. Almost thirty years have now passed since the release of the first Chinese learner corpus project (Chu and Chen 1993), and the number of L2 Chinese corpora compiled in and outside of China has increased significantly since then (see Section 5). Nonetheless, we noticed that there is a lack of research that analyzes the current state of CLCR, discussing both key features and gaps to be filled. This article therefore stems from the idea that an analysis of this growing discipline, including a well-structured overview of corpora compiled to date, is needed. We think that several areas of research might benefit from this analysis. First, the LCR community. Most LCR focuses

the Italian Ministry of University and Research (MUR), PRIN 2020, project number n. 20209M3Z77. Information on the project can be found at: <https://pric.unive.it/projects/achieve/home>.

For detailed comments and suggestions on this paper, I would like to thank the three anonymous reviewers. I would also like to thank Prof. Mauro Tosco for his kindness and patience as editor of *Kervan*.

² For a discussion on potentials of learner corpora, see Meunier (2021) and Iurato (2022).

on the analysis of L2 English and research is generally developed through the application of L2 English learner corpora, while Chinese is a generally understudied language in this field (Iurato 2022). Thus, an investigation of CLCR would allow the entire LCR community to benefit from an up-to-date analysis on the current state and trends of this still under-explored branch of study that is growing within the LCR macro-area. CSL/CFL research might also benefit from an investigation of main features and limitations in CLCR. In fact, scholars might have a deeper awareness of how and where to direct their studies, and might expand the use of corpora (e.g., in Chinese teaching) to support learners' acquisition process of L2 Chinese.

This article also stems from the desire to point out that the number of existing L2 Chinese learner corpora is higher than that specified in the *Learner corpora around the world* database.³ The database currently includes only three L2 Chinese learner corpora, the *Jinan Chinese Learner Corpus*⁴ (JCLC; Wang *et al.* 2015), the *Multilingual Corpus of Second Language Speech*⁵ (MuSSeL; Rubio *et al.* 2021), and the *Spoken Chinese Corpus of Informal Interaction*⁶ (Li 2021). This means that Chinese learner corpora constitute only 1,5% of the total number of corpora (197) listed in the database; 52,3% of the learner corpora in the database are L2 English learner corpora and the remaining 46,2% represents other target languages (Spanish, French, Italian, German, Dutch, Finnish, Portuguese, Russian, Korean, Arabic, Czech, Croatian, etc.). These results suggest that Chinese is not well ranked among “non-English” learner corpora; nonetheless, this overlooks the consistent growth of Chinese learner corpora and CLCR over the past two decades that has been shown by Zhang and Tao (2018), Xu (2019), and Iurato (2022).

The aim of this contribution is threefold. First, to scrutinize the development and achievements in the field of CLCR and extend the work by Iurato (2022) by providing a more comprehensive and structured overview of existing L2 Chinese learner corpora; second, to identify and discuss the main features and limitations that characterize the design of existing L2 Chinese learner corpora (e.g., types of data collection and types of annotation). Three, to determinate and investigate weaknesses and critical issues in CLCR to enable future studies to fill the gaps in this field.

³The *Learner corpora around the world* database is maintained by the Center for English Corpus Linguistics of the University of Louvain. Related information can be found at: <https://uclouvain.be/en/research-institutes/ilc/cecl/learner-corpora-around-the-world.html> (last access: June 2022).

⁴ <https://uclouvain.be/en/research-institutes/ilc/cecl/learner-corpora-around-the-world.html> (last access: 12 June 2022).

⁵ <https://l2trec.utah.edu/learner-corpora/mussel/> (last access: 26 June 2022).

⁶ <https://github.com/blculyn?tab=repositories> (last access: 26 June 2022).

In this article, we will first define the status of Chinese as a second/foreign language. Second, we will introduce a bird's-eye view of CLCR and examine the main features and limitations related to learner corpus design. Third, we will categorize and analyze all L2 Chinese learner corpora compiled in the last twenty years according to mode (written, oral, and multimodal) and size (large-scale and small-scale). To the best of our knowledge, this is the first and most extensive exploration of L2 Chinese corpora which classifies them by mode and size. Lastly, we will establish challenges in CLCR and outline suggestions for further applications of L2 Chinese learner corpora to improve L2 Chinese teaching and learning.

2. The status of Chinese as a second/foreign language

Chinese⁷ is the largest spoken language in the world, with a total of 1.12 billion speakers, of which 921 million are native speakers and 199 million are non-native speakers (Eberhard *et al.* 2022). Differently from Chinese, English is more widely spoken as a lingua franca by non-native speakers (978 million), and less widespread among native speakers (370 million) (Eberhard *et al.* 2022). Although the number of non-native speakers of Chinese is lower than that of Chinese native speakers and to the number of non-native speakers of English, it is worth highlighting that the population of learners of L2 Chinese is constantly expanding. The results of statistical surveys published by the Institute of International Education (2019) show that the international student enrolment trend in Chinese universities has witnessed an increase of 49,9% from 2013 to 2019, as illustrated in Table 1.

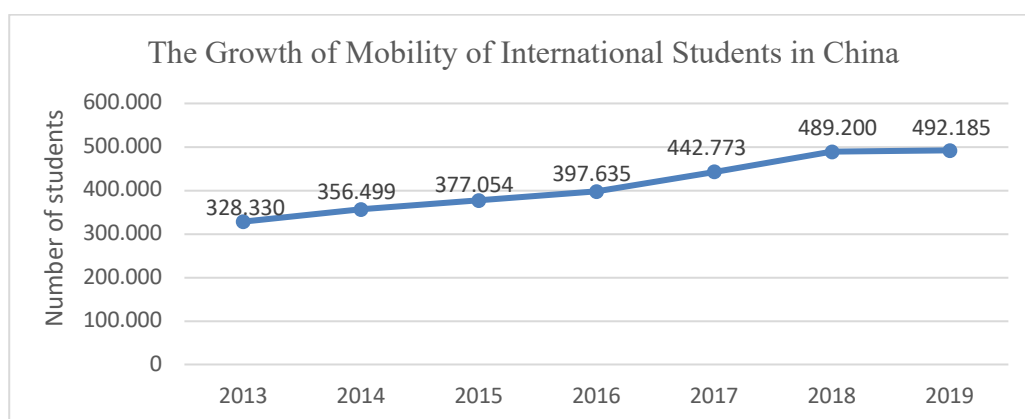


Table 1. The growth trend of international student enrolment in universities in China, 2013-2019⁸

⁷ In this paper, the term 'Chinese' refers to the official standard language of the People's Republic of China.

⁸ Data published by the Institute of International Education (2019). Consulted online on 5 July 2022 at:

According to Biney and Cheng (2021: 305), China is “an emerging preferred study location by most international students in recent times,” and it has the third largest population of foreign students. Moreover, education programs established around the world for teaching Chinese and the professional development of Chinese language teachers has grown significantly in recent years, partially “due to a massive infusion of human and material resources, soft power diplomacy, and advocacy by the Chinese Government” (Duff *et al.* 2013: 1).

In addition to an overall increase in interest in learning L2 Chinese, there has been an evolution in learners’ motivations for studying Chinese (Wen 2020). Up until approximately thirty years ago, the reason for a learner to study Chinese was the desire to become a sinologist; in recent years, students are approaching the study of this language to become socially and occupationally more competitive and attractive. In fact, L2 Chinese learners are aware that studying this language will enable them to enjoy benefits, such as higher post-graduation employment prospects, the establishment of business partnerships, and the advantage of directly experiencing China’s rapid economic growth (Biney and Cheng 2021; Duff *et al.* 2013; Sung 2013; Wen 2011). Given the increasing number of learners, more tools and learner corpora are required for teaching and learning Chinese. However, despite the rapid expansion of CSL/CFL studies, research on CSL/CFL acquisition is still limited “and clearly lags behind the research progress of general second language acquisition (SLA)” (Wen 2019: 2). Likewise, we will show that CLCR calls for more studies. In fact, there are still several limitations, compared to the research achievement of general LCR, such as, to name a few, the limited number of learner corpora, the contexts of data collection, and the types of findings, which usually report mainly descriptive analyses, thus hindering the access of a full picture of the CSL/CFL learners’ acquisitional development.

3. Chinese learner corpus research: A field on the move

Research in CLCR first appeared in the 1990s (Zhang and Tao 2018; Xu 2019) and many Chinese learner corpus projects have been carried out over the past decades (see Lee *et al.* 2018; Tsang and Yeung 2012; Wang *et al.* 2015; Wang *et al.* 2021; Wu and Shih 2014, among others). With an increasing number of corpora available, the scope of CLCR studies has also expanded considerably. In the last two decades, there has been a surge of interest in research on CSL/CFL (Lu and Chen 2019; Wen 2019). A considerable body of literature in L2 Chinese studies has been produced (Cui 2005; Lee *et al.* 2019; Li *et al.* 2020; Xu *et al.* 2019; Yang 2016; Zhang 2014); through the analysis of available learner corpora, researchers “have

explored a wide range of inquiries regarding how learners acquire the different levels and aspects of Chinese” (Zhang and Tao 2018: 49). Moreover, with the increasing availability of Chinese learner corpora, “investigations of patterns of as well as individual variation in learner language use, acquisition, and development have flourished” (Lu and Chen 2019: 6). The biennial Chinese learner corpus research conference series, which was first convened in 2012, as well as related conference proceedings, published by the *Journal of Chinese Language Teachers Association*, and the first *International Conference on Corpora of Chinese Spoken Interlanguage* in 2015, also bear witness to the progress of this discipline.

In contrast to early research in CLCR, whose predominant subject was the description of learners’ language based on the canonical identification of error taxonomies (Tono 2003; Zhang and Tao 2018), the trend of current research is “to look at language in its totality” (Zhang and Tao 2018: 50) to present an overall picture of learner language use. Therefore, recent studies also contemplate the investigation of acquisitional and developmental patterns (see Lu and Chen 2019), as well as the comparison of the frequency of use of specific linguistic features by learners with different L1 backgrounds (see Li *et al.* 2020; Xu *et al.* 2019; Zhang 2014). However, Zhang and Tao (2018), Istvanova (2021), and Iurato (2022) point out that there is a significant limitation in the scenario of existing L2 Chinese learner corpora: currently available corpora seem unbalanced, as they collect data mainly from Asian or English-speaking learners. The analysis conducted for the present article confirms that there is a lack of L2 Chinese corpora for learners whose L1s are European languages other than English, which limits and affects research on Chinese as a second language acquisition. This lack is addressed, for example, by Istvanova (2021), who created a specific corpus of L2 Chinese with data from Slovak learners, since no analyzable data could be found in existing Chinese learner corpora. An analogous situation also arises in the context of the acquisition of Chinese by Italian-speaking learners. In fact, Iurato (2022) emphasizes the need for corpora that collect data from Italian learners of L2 Chinese to investigate the acquisition of Chinese by Italian learners, given the present remarkable increase in L2 Chinese teaching and learning in Italy (Romagnoli and Conti 2021).

A significant advancement in LCR research in recent years has been the emergence of the multi-method approach (Gilquin and Gries, 2009; Gilquin 2021; Lozano and Mendicoetxea 2015; Mendicoetxea and Lozano 2018), consisting of the combination of two types of analyses. On the one hand, the comparison of learner corpus data with native speakers’ data, which highlights learners’ performance in terms of overuse or underuse of linguistic features compared to native speakers. On the other hand, the use of experimental data, which reveals learners’ competence. The need for learner corpus data to be supplemented and verified by elicited data had already been established decades ago in CLCR, as

also highlighted by Zhang and Tao (2018). In fact, Shi (1998) combined the learner corpus method with elicited data to investigate CSL/CFL learners' acquisition order of 22 syntactic structures. Recent studies in CLCR have continued to advance toward this methodological approach. Qu (2013), for instance, adopts a mixed approach based on the use of corpus data supplemented by grammaticality tests and interviews to study CSL/CFL learners' acquisition of *gěi* 给 as a preposition or a verb. Similarly, Iurato (2021a; 2021b) adopts a triangulated multi-method approach combining corpus and experimental data to study the acquisition of the *shì* 是...*de* 的 syntactic cleft construction by L1 Italian learners. The usefulness of a combined 'corpus plus experimental data' approach has already been shown in LCR and CLCR studies, especially when a small learner corpus is used to analyze a specific (rare) syntactic feature (Römer *et al.* 2014). Furthermore, methodological pluralism helps to prevent or avoid phenomena such as the underrepresentation of a linguistic feature, when a specific rare structure is the object of a study (Tracy-Ventura and Myles 2015).

4. Learner corpus design issues in CLCR: Features and limitations

Following the main categories proposed by Tono (2003) and Alonso-Ramos (2016) concerning the design of learner corpora, we illustrate in Table 2. the three major features that distinguish the design of L2 Chinese learner corpora compiled to date. In what follows, we will outline and discuss the features and limitations related to L2 Chinese learner corpora that emerged from our exploration of them. Specifically, we analyzed existing L2 Chinese learner corpora according to a) language-related criteria, including mode, genre (text type), style, and topic of the corpus data; b) task-related criteria, including information on data collection, data elicitation, use of references and time limitation; c) learner-related criteria, such as age, learning context, L1 background, and Chinese language proficiency level. To the best of our knowledge, this type of examination is the first to be conducted on L2 Chinese learner corpora.

<i>Language-related criteria</i>	<i>Task-related criteria</i>	<i>Learner—related criteria</i>
<i>Mode</i> : written corpora are more numerous than spoken and multimodal corpora	<i>Data collection</i> : cross-sectional	<i>Age</i> : mostly young adults (college and undergraduate students)
<i>Genre</i> : essays and oral presentations	<i>Data elicitation</i> : most are written and spoken open-ended compositions based on topics included in exams or proposed by teachers/researchers as assignments	<i>Learning context</i> : Chinese as a foreign/second language in university context
<i>Style</i> : narrative, argumentative, descriptive are the most common	<i>Use of references</i> : not indicated	<i>L1 background</i> : Japanese, Korean (and in general Asian languages), and English are the most common L1s
<i>Topic</i> : generally related to personal life experiences, such as travelling, holidays, festivities, job, etc.	<i>Time limitation</i> : generally based on the duration of exams; sometimes no time limitation	<i>Proficiency level</i> : sometimes inadequately assessed, because based on external factors. Sometimes based on HSK test ⁹ standards, which, however, are not officially recognized as comparable to CEFR ¹⁰ standards

Table 2. Features in the design of L2 Chinese learner corpora

As far as language-related criteria are concerned, we found that there is a significant scarcity of spoken and multimodal learner L2 Chinese corpora. Moreover, we found that there are no L2 Chinese academic learner corpora, such as the *Corpus of Academic Learner English* (CALE; Callies and Zaytseva 2013), a

⁹ The HSK test (*Hànyǔ Shuǐpíng Kǎoshì* 汉语水平考试) is the Chinese language proficiency test of Mainland China for non-native speakers, such as foreign students and overseas Chinese.

¹⁰ *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*. Information on CEFR (Council of Europe 2022) is available at: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages> (last access: 15 September 2022).

specialized learner corpus comprising academic texts produced by learners of L2 English in university courses, and the *Varieties of English for Specific Purposes dAtabase*¹¹ (VESPA; Paquot *et al.* forthcoming), a more comprehensive learner corpus project that aims to build a large collection of L2 texts in a wide range of disciplines (linguistics, business, medicine, law, biology, etc), registers (papers, reports, MA dissertations), and degrees of writer expertise in academic settings (from first-year students to PhD students).

As for task-related criteria, our exploration reveals that there are no longitudinal Chinese learner corpora: this is certainly a big gap compared to the amount of existing longitudinal learner corpora of L2 European languages, such as LONGDALE¹² (Meunier 2016), LANGSNAP¹³ (Tracy-Ventura *et al.* 2016), LEONIDE¹⁴ (Glazniesk *et al.* 2022) and LoCCLI¹⁵ (Spina and Siyanova in preparation). The analysis of learner-related criteria shows that L2 Chinese learner corpora mainly collect data from learners whose L1s are English or Asian languages, as evidenced above. We agree with Istvanova (2021) and Iurato (2022) that this lack in CLCR makes the study of Chinese acquisition by learners with L1 backgrounds other than English or Asian languages more difficult. Furthermore, we found out that most L2 Chinese learner corpora do not incorporate L1 data as an integral part of the design, and this makes it difficult to identify specific features of L1-related errors or mis/over/underuse patterns, as also highlighted by Tono (2003).

Moreover, we found that language proficiency, “which is not always optimally identified in English LCR” (Alonso-Ramos 2016: 7), is also a critical issue in CLCR, as sometimes it seems to be inadequately assessed. We noticed that not all corpora provide information on how learners’ language proficiency level is defined. Sometimes a placement test is used to define learners’ proficiency, but the level of language proficiency identified does not always correspond to official standards (e.g., CEFR standards). It is indeed based on learner’s external factors, such as institutional status, length of study, course of study, which cannot be considered reliable criteria, as stressed by Callies *et al.* (2014), Leclercq and Edmonds (2014), and Tono (2003).

¹¹ <https://uclouvain.be/en/research-institutes/ilc/cecl/vespa.html> (last access: 31 August 2022).

¹² <https://uclouvain.be/en/research-institutes/ilc/cecl/longdale.html> (last access: 15 September 2022).

¹³ <http://langsnap.soton.ac.uk/> (last access: 26 June 2022).

¹⁴ <https://www.porta.eurac.edu/lci/leonide/> (last access: 25 June 2022).

¹⁵ https://ricerca.unistrapg.it/retrieve/handle/20.500.12071/12083/6717/poster_spina_siyanova.pdf (last access: 27 June 2022).

Following general LCR practice, we observed that two approaches are usually employed in CLCR to analyze corpus data: Contrastive Interlanguage Analysis (CIA; Granger 1996) and Computer-aided Error Analysis (CEA; Dagneaux *et al.* 1998). Specifically, we noted that the CEA approach is more frequently used compared to the CIA approach.

As far as CIA is concerned, CLCR follows the terminological practice of (English) LCR adopting the terms ‘overuse’ and ‘underuse’ to refer to quantitative differences between native speakers and learners (see, for example, Xu *et al.* 2019). However, as Alonso-Ramos (2016) states, this terminology should be interpreted prescriptively, and not descriptively. In light of this, since CIA has come under criticism for its “lack of recognition of learner language as a variety in its own right, not as a faulty or deficient variety” (Alonso-Ramos 2016: 7-8), Granger (2015) describes a renewed version of CIA which promotes the concepts of *reference language varieties* and *interlanguage varieties*, where the first term substitutes ‘native language,’ and the second term substitutes ‘learner language.’ As stated by Alonso-Ramos (2016: 8), instead of considering the “idealized imagine of a native speaker,” we think that CLCR, as well as general LCR, might consider the principle proposed by Callies (2015), according to which native-like proficiency should be interpreted as a gradual phenomenon which goes beyond the sharp separation between native and non-native speakers.

Our study reveals that the CEA approach is the most frequently used in CLCR, since the most common type of corpus annotation used in Chinese learner corpora is error annotation (as, e.g., in Chang 2013; Tsang and Yeung 2012; Wang *et al.* 2021). Part-of-speech (POS) tagging (e.g., in Chu and Chen 1993; Ming and Tao 2008; Zhang 2003), parsing, and semantic tagging (e.g., in Chu and Chen 1993) are less common in Chinese learner corpora, as Table 4. illustrates (see Section 5). We also found that error taxonomies adopted in error annotation in available L2 Chinese corpora are designed to cater for the anomalous nature of learner language. Error types commonly are taken from predefined error tagset based on the error categorization proposed by Lu (1994) and Lü (1993), such as omission (*yíluò* 遗漏), word ordering error (*cuò xù* 错序), substitution (*wù dài* 误代), misuse (*wùyòng* 误用), and overuse (*wù jiā* 误加). Our investigation also shows that error analysis is mainly conducted at the character and lexical levels (as, for example, in Teng *et al.* 2007; Tsang and Yeung 2012); analysis at the grammatical and punctuation level is less frequent (see, for example, Ming and Tao 2008; Lee *et al.* 2018), whereas annotation at the discourse level is very rare (as, e.g., in Chu and Chen 1993). The error annotation in CLCR is generally manually developed by a group of annotators specifically trained for the error tagging procedure (as, e.g., in Lee *et al.* 2018; Wang *et al.* 2021). Following this type of error annotation, numerous acquisitional studies in China have been carried out (see, for example, Li *et al.* 2020; Liu and Ming 2015; Xie 2010; Zhang 2016, among others); however, in our opinion they can be criticized for

focusing mainly on the description of errors. In contrast, we found that recent studies move from purely descriptive analyses to the interpretation of the data, supported by SLA theories (see, for example, Chen and Xu, 2019; Xu *et al.* 2019; Zhang 2014).

Another limitation we noticed is that error annotated L2 Chinese learner corpora do not include any target hypothesis. Following van Rooy (2015), we argue that problem-oriented annotation systems would be preferable, since the identification of grammar errors and appropriateness errors needs linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts, which can only be found with the support of a target hypothesis (Lüdeling and Hirschmann 2015). Moreover, it is important to bear in mind that errors could be analyzed differently depending on which target hypothesis is adopted (Lüdeling and Hirschmann 2015). However, we believe it is worth pointing out that a multi-layered annotation can be found in the *Yet Another Chinese Learner Corpus*¹⁶ (YACLIC; Wang *et al.* 2021), where each annotator provides a variety of interpretations of grammatical errors, including grammatical and fluency corrections. As far as we know, this is a unique case in CLCR. Nevertheless, it has its limits, as it provides analysis only at the grammatical level.

Despite these limitations, it is important to clarify that corpus data must be interpreted in order to be useful, given that an annotation layer does not code the absolute truth – rather it exemplifies one way of interpreting the corpus data. Therefore, it can be inferred that “[t]he ‘correct’ version against which a learner utterance is evaluated is simply a necessary methodological step in identifying an error” (Lüdeling and Hirschmann 2015: 141).

In light of the above, we conclude that it would be desirable for CLCR to explore new directions in the corpus design, so that richer and more reliable amount of data would be available to conduct further acquisition analyses from different perspectives.

5. Existing Chinese learner corpora: An analysis based on corpus mode and size

As more and more L2 Chinese learner corpora compilation projects continue to flourish, it is difficult to keep up to date with the increasing amount of corpus projects around the world. However, our purpose in this paper is to present an overview of existing learner corpora that aims to be as comprehensive as possible, further expanding the overview work proposed by Iurato (2022). We have grouped existing L2 Chinese learner corpora according to their mode (written, spoken and multimodal)

¹⁶ <http://cuge.baai.ac.cn/#/> (last access: 15 September 2022).

and size (large and small-scale), as illustrated in Table 3. As for the corpus size, here a corpus is categorized as ‘small-scale’ or ‘large-scale’ according to the following criteria: in the case of written corpora, corpora that collect data from up to 1,000 learners and include maximum 500,000 Chinese characters fall under the ‘small-scale’ category, while corpora that collect data from more than 1,000 students and include more than 500,000 characters are considered ‘large-scale’ corpora. As for spoken corpora, corpora that include up to 50,000 characters and 60 hours of recordings of speech fall into the ‘small-scale’ category, while corpora that include more than 50,000 characters and 60 hours of recordings of speech fall into the ‘large-scale’ category. Finally, as for multimodal corpora, a corpus is considered ‘small-scale’ if it collects less than 100,000 Chinese characters and less than 60 hours of recordings of speech, while it is labelled as a ‘large-scale’ corpus if it contains more than 100,000 characters and more than 60 hours of recordings of speech. As far as we know, this is the most extensive analysis of available L2 Chinese learner corpora, including written, spoken, and multimodal corpora, carried out to date that categorizes existing corpora according to their mode and size.

<i>Written corpora</i>	<i>Spoken corpora</i>	<i>Multimodal corpora</i>
<i>Large-scale</i>	<i>Large-scale</i>	<i>Large-scale</i>
L2 Chinese Interlanguage Corpus (Chu and Chen 1993)	Chinese as a Second Language Spoken Corpus (Chang 2016)	Guangwai-Lancaster Chinese Learner Corpus ¹⁷
HSK Dynamic Composition Corpus (Zhang 2003)	Spontaneous Chinese Learner Speech Corpus (Wu and Shih 2014)	<i>Small-scale</i>
TOCFL Learner Corpus (Chang 2013)	Multilingual Corpus of Second Language Speech (MuSSEL; Rubio <i>et al.</i> 2021)	Mandarin Interlanguage Corpus (MIC; Tsang and Yeung 2012)
Jinan Chinese Learner Corpus (JCLC; Wang <i>et al.</i> 2015)	<i>Small-scale</i>	Bimodal Italian Learner Corpus of L2 Chinese (BILCC; Iurato forthcoming)
Yet Another Chinese Learner Corpus (YACLIC; Wang <i>et al.</i> 2021)	Spoken Chinese Corpus of Informal Interaction (Li 2021)	
<i>Small-scale</i>	COPA corpus (Zhang 2009)	
Chinese Character Errors Corpus (CCEC; Teng <i>et al.</i> 2007)	HKPU corpus (Chan <i>et al.</i> 2013)	
Hanzi Pianwu Biaozi de Hanyu Lianxuxing Zhongjieyu Yuliaoku (Zhang 2017)		
UCLA Heritage Language Learner Corpus (Ming and Tao 2008)		

Table 3. Available Chinese learner corpora analyzed in this paper and grouped by their mode and size

Beginning with the written corpora, the first group consists of large-scale learner corpora. The earliest interlanguage Chinese learner corpus is the *L2 Chinese Interlanguage Corpus* (*Hànyǔ zhōngjièyǔ yǔliàokù xìtǒng* 汉语中介语语料库系统; Chu and Chen 1993), which was compiled between 1993 and 1995 at the Beijing Language Institute, now Beijing Language and Culture University. This first project was carried out independently of the research in LCR conducted in Europe and America (Xu 2019). It contains 5,774 written essays with 3,528,988 Chinese characters produced by 1,365 CSL/CFL learners from 96 different countries studying L2 Chinese at nine universities in China. Data are POS tagged, parsed, and error

¹⁷ <https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard?corpname=preloaded%2Fguangwai> (last access: 15 September 2022).

annotated, and they are accompanied by rich ethnographic learners' metadata, documenting learners' sociolinguistic variables. This corpus is not available for public use.

The *HSK Dynamic Composition Corpus*¹⁸ (HSK dòngtài zuòwén yǔliàokù HSK 动态作文语料库; Zhang 2003) is one of the most frequently cited L2 Chinese learner corpus (Xu 2019). It is freely available for public use. The Corpus Version 1.0 launched in 2006 has been recently upgraded to Corpus Version 2.0. It comprises 11,569 essays with 4,24 million characters produced by L2 Chinese learners who took the HSK Chinese language proficiency test between 1992 and 2005. The type of essays is principally narrative or argumentative. Nearly 90% of contributors to the corpus are from Asia, and 64% of the data is gathered from Korean and Japanese learners. The corpus also includes scanned copies of learners' original compositions, learners' rich metadata, the results of each section of the HSK test (listening, writing, speaking), and the HSK examination overall score. The corpus is POS and error-tagged at levels of punctuation, character, lexicon, grammar, and discourse. Discourse annotation is also included. An important new feature in the Corpus Version 2.0 is that users can develop graphs for statistical analyses and add or edit error annotations to the corpus.

A special case is the *TOCFL Learner Corpus*¹⁹ (Chang 2013): it is the first learner corpus of traditional Chinese characters which includes grammatical error annotation (Lee *et al.* 2018). It collects written essays completed by students from 42 different L1 backgrounds (mainly from Asian regions and English-speaking countries) who took the TOCFL test²⁰ since 2016. Metadata provide information on learners' L1 backgrounds, CEFR level, as well as information relating to the text genre, text function, text length, and TOCFL test score. As for the corpus size, it consists of 5,092 essays, 1,740,000 characters and 1,140,000 words. 33,835 grammatical errors and their corresponding corrections have been manually added by Chinese native-speaking annotators which were specifically trained to apply annotation guidelines provided by the research team (Lee *et al.* 2018). The corpus is available online to support future research.

Another large-scale corpus is the *Jinan Chinese Learner Corpus* (JCLC; Wang *et al.* 2015), which collects written texts produced by university students at beginner, intermediate, and advanced levels with 59 different L1s. It currently contains 5,91 million Chinese characters across 8,739 texts,

¹⁸ The *HSK Dynamic Composition Corpus (Version 2.0)* and related information can be found at: <http://yuyanzyuan.blcu.edu.cn/en/info/1043/1501.htm> (last access: 15 September 2022).

¹⁹ <http://nlp.ee.ncu.edu.tw/resource/tocfl.html> (last access: 15 September 2022).

²⁰ The *Test of Chinese as a Foreign Language* (TOCFL) is the Mandarin language proficiency test adopted in Taiwan, which cannot be obtained in mainland China.

accompanied by a rich set of metadata. JCLC is an ongoing project. New data continues to be collected and added to the corpus. At present, it has not been annotated yet. The corpus is freely available upon request to the research team.

The *Yet Another Chinese Learner Corpus* (YACLC; Wang *et al.* 2021), to the best of our knowledge, is one of the most recent Chinese learner corpus projects. Researchers collected 441,670 sentences from 29,595 essays, provided by approximately 50,000 learners. After the data cleaning, the team worked on 32,124 sentences from 2,421 essays. The corpus presents a multilayered annotation: for each sentence, annotators (183 specifically trained individuals to annotate the corpus) provided a variety of revisions consisting of grammatical and fluency corrections. Grammatical correction verifies whether sentences are conformed to grammar, while fluency correction verifies whether sentences are fluent or not and native sounding (Wang *et al.* 2021). The YACLC corpus is available online.

Some small-scale written corpora were compiled specifically to analyze Chinese characters. An example is the *Chinese Character Errors Corpus* (CCEC; Teng *et al.* 2007), which is the first learner corpus collecting data to analyze learner errors in the writing of traditional characters (Xu 2019). It collects data from 124 students at beginner, intermediate, and advanced levels with 15 different L1 backgrounds. It also includes the scanned version of learners' original composition. Misspelled characters are tagged and errors are categorized into nine different groups. This corpus is not available for public use.

A similar small-scale project is the *Hanzi Pianwu Biaozhu de Hanyu Lianxuxing Zhongjieyu Yuliaoku* 汉字偏误标注的汉语连续性中介语语料库²¹ (Zhang 2017). It includes texts written in simplified Chinese characters. The texts were tokenized and POS tagged. Similarly to the CCEC, copies of the original hand-written texts are stored along-side each entry in the corpus; misspelled characters are accompanied by error annotation.

Also worth mentioning is the *UCLA Heritage Language Learner Corpus* (Ming and Tao 2008). It is a unique collection of data from Chinese heritage learners with Chinese family background. It was developed at the University of California and contains approximately 1,000 written essays and compositions, completed as homework assignments, produced by learners at the intermediate level attending heritage Chinese classes in 2006 and 2007. The text genres are argumentative, narrative, and

²¹ https://languageresources.github.io/2018/06/24/朱述承_汉字偏误标注的汉语连续性中介语语料库/ (last access: 15 September 2022).

descriptive. POS and error tagging are both included in the corpus and a coding system was specifically designed for heritage learner error annotation (Zhang and Tao 2018).

Spoken corpora represent a small percentage of the corpora compiled to date. Among the large-scale corpora, the *Chinese as a Second Language Spoken Corpus*²² (Chang 2016) features prominently. It is a database of spoken data collected from the TOCFL proficiency test. The corpus includes data only from English, Japanese, and Korean learners, and it contains 450 tests with 773,000 characters (Zhang and Tao 2018).

Another large-scale spoken corpus is the *Spontaneous Chinese Learner Speech Corpus* (Wu and Shih 2014), which was compiled at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. It collects 185 audio and video recordings, which were gathered during Chinese speech training classes from 2004 to 2009. 11 Chinese language teachers, 11 Korean-speaking learners, 23 English-speaking learners, and 86 Chinese heritage learners took part in this project as speakers; they completed two different oral open-ended tasks, each of which was designed to fit in a 50-minute class. The data were transcribed through a transcription website and, according to Wu and Shih (2014), this corpus is a rich resource with speech samples for various research topics.

The *Multilingual Corpus of Second Language Speech* (MuSSeL; Rubio *et al.* 2021) deserves a separate discussion. It is being developed by researchers at the University of Utah's Second Language Teaching and Research Center. Once completed, this large-scale corpus will include samples from three learning contexts (child classroom, adult classroom, and adult post-immersion) across six languages: Chinese, French, German, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish. The corpus provides users with a varied set of transcribed and tagged L2 speech samples as well as access to the original MP3 recordings. The transcripts are tagged according to the CHAT protocols established by CHILDES (MacWhinney 2000). The corpus is searchable using various metadata filters, e.g., language, age group, gender, learning context, topic, and proficiency level.

Small-scale spoken corpora include the *Spoken Chinese Corpus of Informal Interaction* (Li 2021), compiled at the Massey University in New Zealand. It collects spoken data from English-speaking intermediate and advanced learners from New Zealand and Australia. The data are collected from informal conversation between 14 learners of L2 Chinese and Chinese native speakers. Another small-scale spoken corpus is the *COPA corpus*²³ (Zhang 2009) which collects speech recordings from 120 college

²² <http://140.122.83.243/mp3c> (last access: 14 September 2022).

²³ Information about the *COPA corpus* and the link to it can be found at: <https://www.clarin.eu/resource-families/L2-corpora> (last access: 14 September 2022).

students learning Chinese in Hong Kong. Corpus data are gathered from conversation with Chinese native speakers. This corpus is included in the *SLABank* database,²⁴ which is a component of *TalkBank*,²⁵ an online platform committed to providing corpora to support the study of second language acquisition.

Similarly, the small-scale *HKPU corpus*²⁶ (Chan *et al.* 2013) is included in the *SLABank* collection and is available via *TalkBank*. It contains speech recordings of 20 college students learning Chinese in Hong Kong collected through oral interviews.

Finally, the smallest group is multimodal corpora. The first of this kind is the *Guangwai-Lancaster Chinese Learner Corpus* (GWLCLC), compiled at the Guangdong University of Foreign Studies (GDUFS) in China in collaboration with Lancaster University. It is a collection of written and spoken data produced by 886 learners from 80 different countries studying at GDUFS. Learners are grouped into beginner, intermediate, and advanced proficiency levels, according to the HSK Chinese Proficiency Test score standards. The corpus consists of 1,664,237 tokens and 1,289,060 words; it is POS and error tagged. Both spoken and written data were collected during exams at GDUFS. Written tasks consist of essays on a given topic, whereas oral tasks comprise informal conversations between native and non-native speakers of Chinese. Learners' data are also accompanied by metadata. It is a balanced corpus that has often been used by researchers to explore theoretical and practical issues on the acquisition of L2 Chinese (see Chen and Xu 2019; Gablasova 2021; Xu *et al.* 2019). This corpus is available online on *Sketch Engine*.²⁷

The *Mandarin Interlanguage Corpus* (MIC; Tsang and Yeung 2012) is a small-scale learner corpus compiled at the University of Hong Kong which collects written and spoken data from pre-intermediate to intermediate Chinese learners with different L1s. Data were collected in the form of coursework and examinations, and the corpus contains approximately 50,000 characters and 60 hours of oral output. The MIC annotates the errors at the character level. Unfortunately, it is not available online.

²⁴ The *SLABank* is a component of *TalkBank* dedicated to providing corpora for the study of second language acquisition. It is available at: <https://slabank.talkbank.org/> (last access: 14 September 2022).

²⁵ *TalkBank* is a project organized at the Carnegie Mellon University committed to foster fundamental research in the study of spoken communication. Data in *TalkBank* are provided by researchers working in over 34 languages internationally. Further information is searchable at: <https://talkbank.org/> (last access: 14 September 2022).

²⁶ The *HKPU corpus* and related information can be found at: <https://slabank.talkbank.org/access/Mandarin/HKPU.html> (last access: 14 September 2022).

²⁷ Information on the *Guangwai-Lancaster Chinese Learner Corpus* (GWLCLC) can be found at: <https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard?corpname=preloaded%2Fguangwai> (last access: 26 June 2022).

Other Chinese learner corpora have been compiled with a specific aim in mind, such as the study of a particular construction or word. For instance, the *Bimodal Italian Learner Corpus of Chinese* (BILCC; Iurato forthcoming) was specifically compiled to explore the pragmalinguistic knowledge of the Chinese *shì* 是...*de* 的 cleft construction by L1 Italian learners. It is a target-oriented small-scale learner corpus that includes written and spoken data (including both recordings of speech and related transcriptions) from 103 beginner, intermediate and advanced L1 Italian learners enrolled at Ca' Foscari University of Venice. A control corpus containing written and spoken data from 30 L1 Chinese speakers was also included. The learner corpus consists of 57,600 Chinese characters and 25 hours of recordings of speech, whereas the control corpus includes 31,000 Chinese characters and 7 hours of recordings of speech. BILCC was assembled according to strict specific design criteria and it is the result of theoretically motivated open-ended tasks. All data in BILCC are accompanied by a rich set of metadata. A target-oriented error taxonomy was developed to manually annotate the grammatical errors; a pragmatic annotation was also added to detect the inappropriate use of the pragmatic functions of the *shì*...*de* cleft construction. A similar project is ACHIEVE,²⁸ directed by Bianca Basciano (Ca' Foscari University of Venice) and funded by the Italian Ministry of University and Research (MUR), which is aimed at compiling a corpus to explore the acquisition of Chinese resultative verbal complexes by L1 Italian learners. This corpus has not yet been compiled; however, similarly to BILCC, it will be made freely available once the compilation and annotation processes are completed.

Table 4. summarizes the main descriptive features of some of the corpora illustrated above which we have selected for the sake of their representativeness. Drawing inspiration from the entries in the *Learner corpora around the world* database used for the categorization of learner corpora, we have listed L2 Chinese learner corpora according to the following entries:

- a. corpus project name;
- b. learners' Chinese language proficiency;
- c. learners' L1 background;
- d. size of the learner corpus;
- e. typology of the data collection;
- f. text type;
- g. information provided on the learners' metadata;
- h. type of annotation.

²⁸ <https://pric.unive.it/projects/achieve/home>

Corpus project	Chinese L2 proficiency	L1	Size	Data collection	Text types	Learner metadata	Annotation
L2 Chinese Interlanguage Corpus (Chu and Chen 1993)	HSK language proficiency levels	Students from 96 different countries	3,528,988 Chinese characters	Cross-sectional	Written essays	Biographic information, Chinese learning experience	POS; error
HSK Dynamic Composition Corpus (Zhang 2003)	HSK language proficiency levels	Students from Asian countries and English-speaking regions	4,24 million Chinese characters	Cross-sectional	Narrative and argumentative written essays	Gender, age, country, L1 background, HSK total score, HSK awarded certificate, results of HSK tests.	POS; error; discourse-pragmatic
TOCFL Learner Corpus (Chang 2013)	TOCFL language proficiency levels	Students from Asian countries and English-speaking regions (42 L1 backgrounds)	1,740,000 Chinese characters and 1,140,000 words	Cross-sectional	Written essays	L1, text function, text length, TOCFL score	Error
Jinan Chinese Learner Corpus (JCLC; Wang <i>et al.</i> 2015)	Beginner, intermediate and advanced, according to the length of study	Students from 59 different nationalities	5,91 million Chinese characters	Cross-sectional	Written exams and assignments	Gender, age, educational level, L1, other acquired languages, proficiency level,	-

						length of Chinese language study	
Yet Another Chinese Learner Corpus (YACL; Wang <i>et al.</i> 2021)	50,000 learners; HSK language proficiency levels	Learners from 60 different countries studying in China	32,124 sentences	Cross-sectional	Written essays	-	Error
UCLA Heritage Language Learner Corpus (Ming and Tao 2008)	Intermediate level	Chinese heritage learners with Chinese family backgrounds	200,000 Chinese characters	Cross-sectional	Argumentative, narrative, descriptive written essays and compositions completed as homework assignments	-	POS; error
Spontaneous Chinese Learner Speech Corpus (Wu and Shih 2014)	Third and fourth-year Chinese language classes + L1 Chinese native speakers (control group)	Korean, English-speaking learners, and Chinese heritage learners	185 hours of audio and video recordings	Cross-sectional	Argumentative and narrative oral tasks	-	-

Guangwai-Lancaster Chinese Learner Corpus ²⁹	HSK language proficiency levels	Learners from 80 different countries studying in China	1,2 million words	Cross-sectional	Argumentative written essays and descriptive oral tasks from exams and tutorial sessions	Nationality, L1, gender, proficiency, test score	POS; error
Mandarin Interlanguage Corpus (MIC; Tsang and Yeung 2012)	Pre-intermediate and intermediate level, based on 2-year certificate course on mandarin Chinese at a tertiary institution in HK	English, French, Spanish, German, Dutch, Japanese, Korean, Thai, Indonesian, Tamil	50,000 Chinese characters and 60 hours of recordings of speech	Cross-sectional	Narrative written essays and oral presentations from end-of-course examination	Nationality, age, L1, other languages spoken, length of Chinese study	POS; error
Bimodal Italian Learner Corpus of Chinese (BILCC; Iurato forthcoming)	HSK language proficiency levels	103 learners studying at Ca' Foscari University of Venice + 30 L1 Chinese native speakers (control corpus)	67,600 Chinese characters and 25 hours of recordings + control corpus consisting of 31,000 Chinese characters and 7	Cross-sectional	Open-ended tasks; written essays; role-plays, interviews	Age, L1, educational level, other acquired languages, proficiency level, length of Chinese language study,	Error; discourse-pragmatic

²⁹ <https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard?corpname=preloaded%2Fguangwai> (last access: 26 June 2022).

			hours of recordings of speech			length of stay in China	
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Table 4. Most representative Chinese learner corpora and related main features

The corpora listed in Table 4. cover three modes (oral, written and multimodal), two sizes (small-scale and large-scale), one type of data collection (cross-sectional), and three types of annotation (POS annotation, error annotation, discourse-pragmatic annotation).

6. Future directions and conclusions

CLCR has achieved a great deal in the short course of 20 years (Zhang and Tao 2018; Xu 2019; Iurato 2022). Nevertheless, we argue that this field has to face some challenges, since there are still many gaps concerning the learner corpus design, analysis of learner corpora, the direct and indirect uses of learner corpora from a pedagogical perspective, and the interactions between CLCR and SLA.

We have identified four main challenges concerning the learner corpus design in CLCR. First, given the scarcity of corpora with data from learners whose L1 is other than English or Asian languages, we hope that in the future (more) digitalized Chinese corpora will be created including data from learners whose L1 is a non-English European language. The availability of such corpora will facilitate research on L2 Chinese acquisition in those contexts where there is a progressive increase in L2 Chinese language learners. Second, we believe that future studies should consider the creation of different modes of learner corpora (academic, multimodal, multilingual, multi-layered), as they would allow more research across a wider spectrum of learner development. Third, we think that the compilation of publicly available Chinese longitudinal corpora should be stimulated, considering that the research conducted so far allows us to gain insight into the learner acquisition process only from a cross-sectional rather than a developmental perspective. We hope that in the future studies based on longitudinal corpora may offer more accurate and broader perspectives on learner variations. Fourth, we strongly argue that particular attention should also be paid to the inclusion of target hypotheses in the error annotation process in future CLCR research, since 1) the identification of errors requires linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts, and 2) the categorization of errors varies according to the target hypothesis identified for specific research purposes (Díez-Bedmar 2015; Lüdeling and Hirschmann 2015).

Our study revealed that another major issue in CLCR is the lack of consistency in the results obtained from corpus analysis. This is caused by the fact that scholars in this field conduct their research using only the available corpora to which they have access, since many L2 Chinese learner corpora are not available for public use (see Section 5), as our investigation reveals. In accordance with Zhang and Tao's position (2018), we believe that due to the significant differences in corpora sizes, learners' proficiency levels, contexts and procedures of data collection, types of tasks, and so forth,

different studies on the same topic may generate not only different, but even contradictory results. We also think that this lack of homogeneous and coherent synthesis in research results makes it difficult to outline a global picture of CSL/CFL learners' development. Moreover, it hinders the use of these corpora in the development of teaching materials, since it causes difficulties for those who want to obtain information about the acquisition of particular linguistic features.

As for the so-called 'indirect uses' of corpora (Zhang and Tao 2018: 57), i.e., the application of corpus data, it must unfortunately be noted that Chinese corpora currently have little impact on the creation of Chinese coursebooks. Learner corpora can be useful to guide the writing of textbooks, pedagogical materials, and dictionaries. The rich understandings gained from LCR research, including the acquisition orders and developmental patterns of different linguistic features, the common errors learners tend to produce at different proficiency levels, and crosslinguistic influences, should all be considered by researchers, CSL/CFL textbook writers, and pedagogical materials developers (Zhang and Tao 2018). On the other hand, it is important to stress that the direct use of learner corpora in classrooms by teachers and learners might support the traditional instructional approaches for vocabulary, grammar, and language use (Crosthwaite 2012). We therefore believe it is essential to encourage Chinese language teachers to use L2 Chinese learner corpora as useful tools to support the teaching of L2 Chinese.

There are, in addition, obvious benefits of using learner corpora for the design of language testing, not simply for placement purposes, but also for proficiency assessment (Callies and Götz 2015). This also applies to the Chinese context, in which learner corpora may be used to inform CSL/CFL assessment and establish the benchmarks of students' language proficiency levels in both writing and speaking (Zhang and Tao 2018), since we found that in current L2 Chinese learner corpora learner proficiency assessment does not adopt homogeneous criteria and sometimes the proficiency is even inadequately assessed.

Finally, another important challenge concerns the interaction between CLCR and SLA. Similarly to general LCR, we believe that more collaboration between researchers in CLCR and SLA is needed. Although the convergence of (C)LCR and SLA paradigms has not yet been achieved (Granger 2021; Iurato 2022), both disciplines could reciprocally benefit from important advantages, if there was a concrete integration between the application of the methodological framework of LCR and the implementation of the theoretical interpretation of data of SLA research in the design of acquisitional studies.

In this paper we have demonstrated that in CLCR several areas remain in need of further development. However, it is necessary to be aware that the computational tools used for English cannot

be readily adopted in Chinese, given the unique characteristics of Chinese language and script. CLCR therefore requires greater effort and longer working time to achieve the results already achieved in parallel areas, e.g., English LCR. We hope that in the future scholars in the fields of CLCR, linguistics, and computational linguistics will collaborate by joining forces, so that L2 Chinese learner language development will be explored more effectively.

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Toward a “global novel”

An ecocritical reading of Tawada Yōko’s *The Emissary*

Francesco Eugenio Barbieri

Aim of this paper is to re-read Tawada Yōko’s novel *Kentōshi* through the interpretative framework of the new literary category of the “global novel.” Moving from the description of environmental catastrophe my analysis will show how this novel by Tawada can represent not only the first work of this genre written by the author but, for the intrinsic value of Tawada’s literature itself, it can help shape and redefine the category of the global novel itself.

Keywords: Tawada Yōko, global novel, world literature, *Kentōshi*, *The Emissary*, ecocriticism, environmental catastrophe, natural disaster, Fukushima

1. Ecocriticism and Japanese literature

In the vast and articulate landscape of contemporary Japanese literature, the case of Tawada Yōko 多和田葉子 (b. 1960) is surely among the ones that have gained the biggest critical attention in recent times. She has been awarded numberless literary prizes during her long and prolific career – among the most recent ones, the famous National Book Award for Translated Fiction assigned to the English translation of *Kentōshi* 献灯使 (*The Emissary*) in 2018, published by New Directions with the translation by Margaret Mitsutani.

Kentōshi belongs to a more recent phase of Tawada’s literary production, in which we can include the works that she has been writing since the terrible events of March 2011, a catastrophe that shocked not only Japan, but also had a deep impact on a global scale. This novel, which describes a dystopic aftermath in which Japan has isolated itself from the world and gone back to a pre-modern model, has often been analyzed as one of the main representatives of the so-called Post-Fukushima (or Post 3.11) literature¹.

¹ For an accurate discussion on the use of this terminology see Kimura and Bayard-Sakai (2021: 12-13).

Due to the ecological impact the nuclear accident had on both the Japanese environment and literary imagination, studies on ecocriticism have begun to intensify in Japan. Ecocriticism can be defined as a discipline that investigates the relationship between literature and the environment, in the form of the representations and the functions of nature in the literary product (Glotfelty and Fromm 1996: xix; Yuki 2020). The effort in this direction is evidenced by the publication, at the end of 2017, of the first volume in English entirely dedicated to the topic: *Ecocriticism and Japan* edited by Wake Hisaaki, Suga Keijirō and Yuki Masami. Despite the long and established tradition of ecocriticism in Anglo-American academia, it is only in the last few years that these perspectives have started to be used globally in the critical analysis of Japanese literature. The outputs are discontinuous and range from classical to modern works without an established critical corpus. *Ecocriticism and Japan* partially covers this gap, but it is a single publication and there is still much work to be done in order to acquire a complete conceptualization of this theoretical approach within the Japanese literary context.

As Yuki Masami (2014: 522) underlines very clearly, nature has always been one of the main protagonists of Japanese literature. On the other hand, there is a clear distinction between the presence of natural elements in the course of Japanese literary history and a proper ecocritical intention in literature: ecocriticism as a discipline encompasses the analysis of those texts that show and problematize an environmental concern, rather than simply representing nature or using it as a poetic device. Yuki best shows how the development of a proper ecocritical approach to Japanese literature has evolved through three different stages: in the first one, dated circa 1990-2000 and defined “translation,” the ecocritical perspective was used to translate and discuss mainly American and British literature, while only a relatively little attention was dedicated to works of Japanese literature. The second phase, that developed during the course of the 2000s, is defined by Yuki as a “comparative approach,” in which scholars of British and American literature tried to apply ecocritical theory to a selection of suitable Japanese texts. They did this in two ways: by establishing a dialogue with ecocritical scholars in East Asian academia and by applying ecocritical principles to Japanese literature itself (Yuki 2014: 522). The third phase, more contemporary, sees the evolution of an original Japanese ecocritical thought, the approach being used directly also by scholars of Japanese literature (Yuki 2014: 522).

The introduction and the normalization of the practice of ecocriticism in Japan leads the scholars to differentiate between “ecocriticism in Japan” and “Japanese ecocriticism:” as again Yuki clearly explains, the first term refers to ecocritical practices towards Japanese literature inside and outside the country, whereas the second defines peculiar approaches and thoughts to the discipline originally developed in Japan (Yuki 2018: 2).

Approaching texts using an ecocritical framework can prove a valid method to explore the options of a cosmopolitan imaginary, based on an everyday stronger net of connections among different cultures in the world. These connections are able to influence the way in which we perceive each other, not as different realities but as connected inhabitants of a common space.

2. The emergence of the “global novel”

Recently, the reflection on literature has seen the emergence of a new literary form: the so-called “global novel.” This definition is still a matter of very passionate discussions among literary critics. Still, we can identify a close relationship between a local and a global dimension, as well as a remarkable convergence of themes in contemporary novels from different literary traditions. And if, as Adam Kirsch (2017: 12) observes, the novel as a literary expression can never be immediately global (being always the product of a particular society), it is also undeniable that some contemporary masterpieces are perfectly conscious of their place in a global world. The global novel becomes, then, a way to make sense of a world that is increasingly interconnected, a new way to cope with the plurality of meanings of this new order. Contemporary to Kirsch, Debjani Ganguly’s *This Thing Called The World. The Contemporary Novel As A Global Form* avoids the insistence on processes of standardization and normalization included in the shared definition of global literature. On the contrary, she sees the global novel as the product of the new geopolitical asset of the planet, together with the digital revolution and all the cultural transformations that this revolution has introduced (Ganguly 2016: 1).

To put it simply, in *The Global Novel. Writing the World in the XXIst Century*, Kirsch (2017) identifies, in contemporary novels that come from a variety of diverse literary expressions around the world, a notable convergence of motifs and topics. The author recognizes these issues as representative of this new form, the global novel, and summarizes them as follows: topics concerning identity and migration, violence and sexual exploitations, environmental issues and the plague of terrorism (Kirsch 2017: 24).

According to Kirsch, literary works that belong to global literature – or better said, global novels – may or may not address these themes directly, but they somehow relate or mention them and they can somewhat involve into their narratives topics belonging to this list.

Under this point of view, the theme of ecology, which can be included in the above-mentioned category of environmental issues, is closely related to the definition of global novel. It is again Kirsch who underlines how those novels that make forecasts and predictions about the condition of humanity conceived as a whole entity, as well as those that thematize future or present global apocalypses (works by Margaret Atwood and Michel Houellebecq, for instance), have a global vocation (Kirsch 2017: 76).

From a merely theoretical point of view, the first question that comes to mind is whether there is a difference between the established definition of a concept like “world literature” and this relatively new, and at the same time problematic, category of “global novel.”

3. “World literature” and “global literature”

First of all, it is helpful to see how Karen Thornber (2020: 9) notices that it is necessary to distinguish between world literature and global literature. World literature is, in the classical definition provided by Damrosch:

[...] all literary works that circulate beyond their culture of origin, either in translation or in their original language [...]. In its most expansive sense, world literature could include any work that has ever reached beyond its home base but [...] a work only has an effective life as world literature whenever, and wherever, it is actively present within a literary system beyond that of its original culture (Damrosch 2003: 4).

According to this definition, world literature should also take into consideration the processes of translation: the more a text is translated into other languages, the wider its circulation becomes on an international scale and among a greater audience.

Tawada is not translated into many different languages and, while it is true that the number of translations is constantly growing, it is also correct to say that still only a few of her works have been translated into English and therefore have gained international dissemination. Of all her considerable production, the works available in English are three collections of short stories and novellas (or short novels) collected from various sources and translated from both German and Japanese; and four novels: *The Naked Eye* (published in 2009, from German), *Memoirs of a Polar Bear* (published in 2016, from the German version of the novel), *The Emissary* (published in 2018, from Japanese) and *Scattered All Over the Earth* (published in 2022, from Japanese).

If we consider the circulation of the author into another foreign literary system, the French one, we can observe that the situation is almost identical. Only eight of her many works of fiction are published in French.

For this reason, I think that, for the time being, it is not possible to include Tawada within the domain of world literature. Her works are highly respected in the academic environment and are deeply appreciated by scholars of various disciplines: not only Japanese, German or Comparative Literature, but also scholars of Translation Studies, literary theorists, anthropologists and many other researchers in various fields. However, if we stick to the definition of world literature provided by

Damrosch, which is based on the circulation of (English) translations, a definition that is, per se, problematic and broadly discussed so far, we must conclude that Tawada's work is not actively present within a literary system other than the Japanese and the German one, and only a few of her numerous masterpieces are enjoyable by an international audience through their English or French translations.

Tawada's case is also different from the case theorized by Rebecca Walkowitz who, in her 2015 book *Born Translated. The Contemporary Novel In An Age Of World Literature*, suggests that the form of the novel in the contemporary world has a strong connection with translation as a means for dissemination around the world. This dependence on subsequent translation and dissemination processes is a real condition of this type of production: there are authors who write with this purpose in mind (Walkowitz 2015: 4) and even those novelists who do not purposely wish to write for an international distribution, in the end, involuntary become part of this system.

Surely, it can be argued that Tawada's *Kentōshi* has, in the definition by Walkowitz, 'entered the market' (2015: 2), meaning that there are different editions in the same language: despite having the same translator, Margaret Mitsutani, the title of the UK edition is *The Last Children of Tokyo*, whereas in the US it is entitled *The Emissary*. The novel also exists in different editions and in many languages (German, Czech, English, Chinese, Romanian, Korean, among the others). However, we cannot absolutely state that Tawada's literature is "born translated" in the sense intended by Walkowitz. With this definition, she means to describe all the novels that have been written purposely for being translated (Walkowitz 2015: 3):

In born-translated novels, translation functions as a thematic, structural, conceptual, and sometimes even typographical device. These works are written for translation, in the hope of being translated, but they are also often written as translations, pretending to take place in a language other than the one in which they have, in fact, been composed (Walkowitz 2015: 4).

If it is true that the process of translation is thematically extremely important in the production of Tawada, it is widely acknowledged that almost all Tawada's literature resides in a liminal space between different languages and cultures, defined by Mazza as a state of semi-translation (Mazza 2016: 141): she does not write with the purpose of being translated and distributed abroad, and translating the work of Tawada is a very complicated and sometimes an extremely challenging task.

Still, the second part of Walkowitz's definition, that this type of novel is "written as translations," can be perfectly applied to some works of Tawada, as the author herself often claims in interviews or essays. As Masumoto Hiroko (2020: 24-25) points out, Tawada's exophonic writing is presented in the

author’s early works as a proper translation process. “Exophony” is a word used by Tawada in one of her seminal works, *Ekusofonii. Bogo no soto e deru tabi. エクソフォニー。母語の外へ出る旅* (*Exophony. Travel outside the mother tongue*), to signify a way of writing outside borders and outside one's native language (Tawada 2012: 3) Writing is for Tawada a translation process from what Masumoto defines as “inner speech,” that is to say thoughts and ideas in her mind, into an “external speech,” in her case the written word. Furthermore, Masumoto argues that the process of writing in two languages, that pertains to exophonic writing, appears to be a supplementary process of translation between two “external speeches.” For this reason in Tawada the process of writing is often associated with the process of translation. As a concrete example, I am thinking of *Yuki no renshūsei 雪の練習生* (*Memoirs of a Polar Bear*), whose German version, *Etüden im Schnee*, has been written by Tawada herself as a translation, or re-worked version of the original Japanese edition.

In this specific case, the definition of “global literature” might be of help: following Thornber (2020: 10), we should avoid the risk of using the term in an interchangeable way with “world literature” as it might result in an overlap with the commonly perceived negative effects of economic globalization, or with phenomena of standardization and homogenization. As Thornber reminds us:

[...] with several notable exceptions, neither world literature nor comparative literature scholarship has fully addressed the relationship between literature and such global problems as disease and other health conditions/illnesses, environmental degradation, human rights abuses, migration, poverty, slavery, trauma, and warfare. After several generations of great concern with the tensions and problems of the Cold War, neocolonialism, and neoliberal economic expansion, it is now appropriate for comparative literature and world literature scholarship to deal more rigorously with a broader range of global issues (Thornber 2020: 11-12).

Following Thornber formulation among the others, I understand global literature as referring to texts that deal with global challenges, without taking into account the dynamics of circulation of these works that are bound to economic factors, like profits of publishing houses. I see, therefore, a global novel as a work of literature that, through the themes it contains and the messages it conveys, is able to speak to a transnational audience neither easily nor superficially, but rather because it deals with issues that are shared globally.

Thornber states :

I use global literature to refer specifically to texts that address global challenges, or challenges that exist globally whether or not as a result of globalization, even when these works do not explicitly reveal their own planetary horizons (Thornber 2020: 10).

These challenges might or might not be a result of globalizing or economic processes.

4. Tawada Yōko's "global novel"

The aim of my paper is actually twofold. On one hand, I try to relocate Tawada outside the traditional interpretative framework of transcultural literature, or to be more precise outside the critical approach of *exophonic literature*.

Instead, I believe that an ecocritical approach could show how her writing, particularly produced after the nuclear catastrophe of Fukushima, has recently gained traits of global writing. In actual facts, I think that all her writings from the beginning have an intrinsically global vocation, but that this element became more evident after the turning point that was the Fukushima catastrophe.

In this contribution I am therefore deliberately overlooking the canonical migration or transcultural perspective from which Tawada has mainly been analyzed. I don't find this approach old or inadequate (far from it!), but in this case a focus on environmental issues might prove to be appropriate to shed new and interesting light on this fascinating author, who in her latest production deals almost constantly with themes related to nature. These themes were present also in her previous work, but after the 3.11 accident we can see a deliberate shift towards a more intentional inclusion of environmental matters in her poetics.

On the other hand, because her literary value is unanimously recognized by a vast majority of academia and by her affectionate readers, defining *Kentōshi* as a global novel I believe that could help reevaluating the literary category itself, by reinforcing the definition of global novel as proposed, for instance, by Karen Thornber and Adam Kirsch.

Thornber and Kirsch will constitute the theoretical framework from which my analysis will move. Keeping this framework in mind, in this contribution I argue that *Kentōshi* can be read as the first proper global novel by Tawada. Although it deals primarily with Japan, the international success and the prizes that have been awarded to the novel testify its ability to speak and to impact an audience that is ever more transnational, as ecological issues are becoming a very urgent matter not only for Japan, but for the Earth as a whole.

Themes related to the ecological conditions of contemporary Japanese literary reality can be found in many of Tawada's recent post 3.11 works, like *Kentōshi* 献灯使 (2014); *Yuki no renshūsei* 雪の

練習生 (2011) and other short stories such as *Fushi no shima 不死の島* (*The Island of Eternal Life*, 2012) and *Higan 彼岸* (*The Far Shore*, 2014). Literary critics around the world and from different academic fields have started to analyze her literature using an ecocritical framework (Maurer 2016; Beany 2019; Haga 2019). I believe that this is actually one of the most promising trends in Tawada’s studies nowadays. Although this contribution aims at demonstrating how *Kentōshi* can be read as a global novel through an ecocritical interpretative framework, I will also briefly introduce the analysis of environmental themes in some other works by Tawada, written in the aftermath of the triple catastrophe, trying to show how, due to the accident, the presence of ecological matters becomes absolutely central in the production of the author. I will start my analysis from a famous short story related to the environmental catastrophe, *Fushi no shima*, and I will briefly mention a second story, *Higan*. These two pieces of writings constitute the narrative bud of *Kentōshi* and have had a great dissemination among readers and critics. I will then briefly analyze an extract from a collection of poems written by Tawada during a journey in the area struck by the tsunami and the radioactive contamination, before concentrating my final remarks on the novel itself.

Fushi no shima was published in 2012 soon after the incidents and natural disasters that affected Japan, and translated into English by Margaret Mitsutani with the title *The Island of Eternal Life*. The story, which has been published in both Japanese and English in the collection of stories about Fukushima accident *Soredemo sangatsu wa, mata それでも三月は、また* (English title: *March was made of yarn*) constitutes the narrative bud for *Kentōshi*. It shows some biographical traits: set in a dystopian future, some years after 2017, the protagonist and narrator is a Japanese woman who has been living in Germany for a long time. The story opens when she comes back from a journey to the United States and shows her passport to the security check in a German airport. The inspector freezes when she is handed the Japanese passport and the narrator has to reassure her that she isn’t coming from Japan, and that she has not been there for a very long time. In fact, the reader discovers that since 2015 every connection from and to Japan has been cut off and any information that comes from the country is just a rumor that cannot be confirmed nor retracted. The narrator then makes some considerations on how Japanese passports used to elicit sympathy in the others, but after 2017 this sympathy had transformed into fear (Tawada 2012: 3-4). Possessing it means coming from a dangerous and contaminated land. As stated by Haga Koichi (2019: 87), this behavior of foreigners towards Japanese nationals mirrors the ambiguous behavior that Japanese people have had towards the facts that happened in Fukushima.

According to *The Henley Passport Index*,² the Japanese passport is actually considered the most powerful one in the world, as it grants its holders access without a prior visa to 192 countries (whereas the Italian passport, for instance, allows access to 190 countries and the United States one to 186). The story therefore completely overturns reality and elicits in the reader a sense of estrangement that, in fact, permeates all the narration.

In *Fushi no shima*, the terror in the eyes of the immigration officer is so impressive for the protagonist that, for a second, she seems to notice a transformation on the cover of the official document:

I stared angrily at the sixteen-petal golden chrysanthemum on its red cover. For a slightly disturbing moment, I thought I saw seventeen petals, though the idea that it could be genetically deformed was obviously absurd (Tawada 2012: 4).

On the red cover of the Japanese passport, indeed, there is the imperial seal of Japan: a 16-petals chrysanthemum. For just a second the narrator thinks that she has seen seventeen petals instead, and she links this to a sort of genetic modification of nature caused by the nuclear fallout.

The story of *Fushi no shima* takes place, as mentioned above, in a dystopian future, a time in which Japan has been completely isolated from the rest of the world. On the third anniversary of the incident of Fukushima, the Japanese government announces its decision to shut down all nuclear power plants; after that announcement, the official government gradually disappears from the public scene and it is finally privatized in 2015, transformed into a joint-stock company whose major shareholder is an organization called Z-Group. In the same year the country starts its isolation from the rest of the world. In 2017, another great earthquake severely destroys central Japan, but at that point nobody has the possibility to verify the extent of the damage, because of the seclusion of the country. Only a Portuguese writer apparently was able to sneak into Japan and reported his observations in a book that became an international success, translated in many languages. What he describes is a total overturning of all the laws of nature known to humankind, a consequence of the nuclear accident of March 2011: old people have acquired an unnaturally long life, as if they lost the possibility of dying. On the other hand, children that have been exposed to radiation become extremely weak. Interestingly enough, this is the only story in which Tawada mentions the earthquake directly. In other works there is no straightforward reference to the natural phenomenon and the event remains rather implicit in

² <https://www.henleyglobal.com/passport-index/ranking> (last access: January 29th, 2022)

the narration (Fujiwara 2021: 78). The same is true as well as for spatial and temporal coordinates, who are rarely given in Tawada’s works except for *Fushi no shima* (Fujiwara 2021: 81).

The story describes a complete subversion of all natural and social laws: as the young are too weak and too ill, they need to be taken care of by the elderly, who now suffer from a very prolonged ability to live. Civilization continues in the southern provinces of Japan, such as Hyōgo 兵庫 and Okinawa 沖縄, whereas the central area where once was Tokyo and all the economic power of the country is now in a state of semi-primitivism. Doctors are forced to continue their research using fireflies as night-time illumination.

Another interesting story is *Higan*, translated by Jeffrey Angles as *The Far Shore*, which was published in the literary magazine *Waseda bungaku* 早稲田文学 in 2014, almost contemporary to *Kentōshi*. The story is set again in Japan, where an American plane loaded with a new type of bomb crashes against a nuclear reactor that had been reactivated some months earlier, after a terrible accident. It is not difficult to imagine that here Tawada was again inspired by the Fukushima catastrophe. This time, the fault of the explosion and the following fallout is of precise human responsibility, contrary to the Fukushima accident that was caused by a natural disaster. The explosion is clearly visible throughout a vast area and the effect of the explosion affects millions of people. The only possibility left, in order to survive, is to leave Japan for good via sea, in search of asylum from another country.

The story then focuses on the sea travel of a man named Ikuo Sede who, back in Japan, was a politician, famous for his strong and violent positions against China. We are told that he is seeking rescue in the country that he has despised so much during his political career: the reason was not ideological but, ironically, the aggressiveness against China was only a compensating mechanism for his sexual impotence. He had discovered that, if his political speeches made spiteful remarks against China, his masculinity would revive.

The ship which he boarded to escape the country is headed precisely to China, and Sede is worried that he will be refused shelter in the country because of his past statements.

Before concentrating my analysis on *Kentōshi* I also wish to briefly mention a poem taken from a recent publication titled *Out of sight / Aimagina sōshitsu* 曖昧な喪失 (2020). This hybrid publication puts together photographs of people and places taken by photographer Delphine Parodi in the area of Fukushima affected by the nuclear accident, and a commentary in the form of poetry written by Tawada.

The book is about the relationship between man and environment in the aftermath of the nuclear fallout. The Japanese title, *Aimaina sōshitsu*, means “ambiguous loss” and refers to the fact that all the things that the people in Fukushima had before, all the places where they used to go, all the spaces they inhabited are still there, but nobody knows if they are contaminated or not. They do not feel free to let their children play in their favorite spots anymore, because of the possibility of contamination. As for safety they are made inaccessible, these locations are technically lost forever (Parodi and Tawada 2021).

It is a dialogue between two different arts: the poetry was written in 2012, one year after the disaster, in order to constitute a comment on Parodi's photos from Fukushima. Tawada and Parodi met at Tawada's home in Berlin and the writer traveled to those places the following year, after Parodi had mediated in order to help her meeting all the people she had photographed:

2013年夏、Dさんがいわき市に住むTさんを紹介してくれて、その方の案内で、いわき市中央台の仮設で生活する方々と会うことができました。それから、いわき市の薄磯地区、富岡町上手岡、富岡町夜の森、楢葉町山田岡地区などをまわり、浪江町から避難している方々のお話も聞いた。喜多方に避難しているTさんの叔父さんを訪ねた帰りに三春にも寄った。三泊四日の短い滞在だったが、わたしはたくさんの方々から貴重なお話を聞かせていただき、感謝の念でいっぱいだった。(Tawada 2014)

In the summer of 2013, Ms. D introduced me to Mr. T, who lives in Iwaki, and with his guidance, I was able to meet with people living in a temporary housing complex in Chūdai, Iwaki. Then, we went around the Usuiso area in Iwaki, Kamioka in Tomioka, Yonomori in Tomioka, and Yamadaoka area in Naraha, and listened to the stories of evacuees from Namie. We also stopped by Miharu on the way back from visiting Mr. T's uncle, who had evacuated to Kitakata. It was a short stay of four days and three nights, but I was filled with gratitude for the precious stories I heard from so many people (translation by the author).

The photos taken by Parodi and the poems written by Tawada, as well as the stories that she had collected, were then shown together on the occasion of an exhibition entitled *Out of sight. Gedichte - Fotografien* that was on at the *Japanisch-Deutsches Zentrum Berlin* in February-March 2014.

This collaboration eventually became the afore-mentioned publication edited some time later, in 2020, which received the “Prix HIP 2020 catégorie Nature et environnement” award.

Of all the poems inserted in the work, that deal with themes related to environmental disaster and ecological catastrophe, I believe that the following one might be of particular relevance for the aim of this paper:

女の子がアサガオに水をやっている
炭酸の入っていない水を
土がごくごく飲んで濡れた花壇
あわててとんで来た母親
買った水を無駄にする人がいますか
子供は落ち着いて答える
汚染って言葉、使っていたでしょう
自分では飲まない水道の水を
如雨露に汲んで花壇にまくなんて
お花は信頼してくれているのに
(Parodi and Tawada 2020, page number missing)

A girl is watering her morning glory
with the uncarbonated water.
The earth gurgles in the moist garden patch.
Her mother hurries over.
The store-bought water that I never waste!
The child answers calmly:
Contaminated is the word that I heard you say.
To fill the watering can from the faucet, which I avoid,
would be absurd,
since my flower trusts me
(translated by Bettina Brandt in Parodi and Tawada 2020, page number missing).

Here the importance that Tawada gives to the relationship between humankind and environment is explicit. Specifically, in the poem on the flower cited above she expresses her idea of the responsibilities that human beings have towards the environment. The figure of the girl taking care of the flower establishes an analogy with the mother who buys bottled water to avoid possibly contaminated water and poison her child. The girl follows the same pattern, treating her flower as a creature that needs protection and care.

The choice of the flower, *asagao* アサガオ, the morning glory, is in my opinion particularly relevant. This flower is contained in various classical poems, thus establishing a direct link between Tawada's writing and her literary tradition. Moreover, the peculiarity of the flower itself is that it unfolds its petals in the morning and closes them at night. This might be interpreted as a symbol of rebirth and an encouragement that Tawada gives to the people of Fukushima, as she sees the possibility for those people and places to bloom again after the disaster. The little girl who takes care of this flower becomes an incredibly strong symbol of optimism in a poem that invites responsibility toward the environment.

Giordano (2021: 30-31) also noted that the morning glory in the Heian period was linked to the concept of *mujō* 無常, the impermanence of things, because of its very short and ephemeral life cycle. In this respect we can also interpret the choice of the flower in this poem as a personification of the innermost feelings of Tohoku inhabitants, who live in a sort of psychological state of impermanence, a suspension of their own usual routine because they are not sure when and whether the contamination will start to become tangible. As noted by Rachel DiNitto, *mujō* is one of the keywords and concepts that somehow helped in building a collective and therefore unifying narrative of the trauma in the times immediately after the accident. The very term of *mujō* expresses a sort of submissive resignation towards the events that goes along with a passive acceptance for something that is beyond human control and pertains to forces that we have no power to contrast. This attitude, *de facto*, denies or avoids any political implication and human responsibility in this event (DiNitto 2014: 342-343).

On the contrary, Tawada strongly suggests that it is a precise human responsibility to take care of the environment. It has always been a task for humankind and the failure represented by the Fukushima accident leaves room for (hopefully) one last chance to take care of our planet.

The use of the honorific prefix *o-* お before the word *hana* 花, flower, is normally used in female colloquial language, therefore the poem achieves a higher grade of realism in the accurate representation of a polite girl's way of speaking. Nevertheless, I think that this might also be read as the respectful behavior towards nature that Tawada believes is necessary: we have failed our environment and now this is our very last chance to treat it with respect. In addition to that, the use of the form *-te kureru* してくれる in the last verse *Ohana wa shinrai shite kurete iru noni* お花は信頼してくれているのに can be read as a humanization of the flower. The grammatical form is used to address it with feelings that pertain to humans, like trust, thus elevating the plant to a sentient being. Besides, this poem can also signal that new generations have a more innate respect for nature than the older ones, who have ruined the planet with indiscriminate and uncritical pollution.

It is reasonable to believe that these poems were written just before the publication of *Kentōshi*, and this might remark the strong shift towards ecological matters in the poetics of Tawada.

Tawada’s most famous and longest piece of writing that deals with 3.11 events is *Kentōshi*, a novel which re-elaborates some themes of her previous works: *Fushi no shima* and *Higan*. *Kentōshi* narrates the life of Yoshirō 義郎 and Mumei 無名, respectively grandfather and grandson, in a Japan devastated by a terrible and unnamed environmental accident. This catastrophe affected the life of human beings, plants and animals in almost the whole country. Many vegetal and animal species have been blown away in the aftermath of this unnamed event. Moreover, all the Japanese children born after the terrible accident, as a common feature, are weak and frail and need continuous care by the elders. It is basically a simple story of the everyday life and love between two members of the same family, the old Yoshirō that patiently takes care of all the needs of his grandchild Mumei who, in the end, is sent to India with the hope to find a cure for the strange disease.

In the background, the frequent flashbacks of Yoshirō’s previous life help the reader to make sense of what led to the present conditions described in the novel, even if these remembering are not organized in chronological order thus making the reconstruction of the whole chain of event almost a challenge for the reader (Fujiwara 2020: 156). As Haga underlines, the timeline of the novel is organized in a non-linear, spiral form, as in the aftermath of the disaster it is legitimate to question the possibility of humanity to progress further on a straight line heading ahead (Haga 2019: 93).

Although this can be considered the longest piece of writing by Tawada dealing with the Fukushima disaster, there are many things that need to be taken into consideration.

First of all, there are at least two metaphors in the story that refer to other environmental disasters different from Fukushima, which are inserted as important parts of the narration.

The first one refers to the strange disease of the children of Japan in *Kentōshi*, which in the story is said to be caused by the aftermath of the unnamed accident. It is too early to see if the actual accident of Fukushima will affect new generations and how (as happened, for instance, in the aftermath of the two nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with consequences that lasted for the following decades). Therefore, when it comes to the representation of the possible medical conditions caused by the unnamed accident, Tawada draws inspiration from another, real ecological disaster that happened in Japan previously: the systematic water poisoning caused by Chisso Corporation in Minamata, that continued from 1908 to 1959, when people started falling ill and local authorities realized the oddity.

For many years the chemical implant of Chisso in Minamata had been releasing many toxic substances in the sea through waste water. These substances irreversibly contaminated, in the long run, fish from the area. The people of the neighborhood, whose diet relied mostly on that fish, were in

turn contaminated by methylmercury contained in the catch. This intoxication resulted in a new neurological disease: indeed, medical investigations on this condition led to the discovery of a new condition, later defined as *Minamata byō* 水俣病, Minamata disease, which targets the central nervous system and whose symptoms included lack of muscular coordination and general muscle weakness, numbness in limb extremities, damages to sight and hearing, difficulties in the articulation of speech. Moreover, medical researches have shown that methylmercury can be transferred to fetuses: the newborn manifest mental retardation, have unbalanced coordination, deformities of the limbs, and most of all they show insufficient nutrition and growth.

These symptoms remind of the medical condition from which the new Japanese generation suffer in the novel of Tawada and make up a pretty much accurate description of the medical condition from which Mumei is affected. This parallelism was also confirmed by Tawada herself during her talk at the Department of Humanities of the University of Turin in October 2021.

Although this environmental accident was limited to a narrow area of Japan, its echoes reverberated worldwide. This was possible thanks to American photojournalist William Eugene Smith, who in 1975 realized a photo documentary and a book titled *Minamata*, denouncing the effect of mercury poisoning on people and making this tragedy known all over the world. The impact of Smith's work was so important that recently a movie about his story was made, starring Hollywood actor Johnny Depp (*Minamata*, directed by Andrew Levitas, 2020, 115').

A second precise reference in *Kentōshi*, this time to an external natural disaster, was traced by Tara Beaney (2019: 86) and it refers to a local behavior that degenerates into a global ecological catastrophe, as theorized by Val Plumwood in her work *Environmental culture. The ecological crisis of reason* (2002). During her morning walks on the beach in Tasmania, Plumwood would see a significant number of dead stranded penguins. Some research led her to discover that the poor creatures had died of starvation because of a disease that killed pilchards, a species that constituted the main source of food for penguins around Australia. This disease was spread by cheaper South African pilchards imported in Western Australia by salmon farmers. The consequent disappearance of these pilchards affected all the creatures whose diet relied upon them, this is to say penguins, that eventually died of starvation. Their corpses were transported by streams up to the beaches of Tasmania where Plumwood found them (Plumwood 2002: 13-14).

Beaney (2019: 87) shows how Tawada uses a similar event (or maybe she wants to refer precisely to this event) at a certain point in her novel, when she is narrating the anxieties that Yoshirō has toward the impossibility of Mumei to assimilate almost any kind of nutrient:

Though he was always on the lookout for food Mumei could eat without trouble, he never bought products unless he knew where they came from. Once thousands of dead penguins had washed up on a beach in South Africa, and a company run by an international pirate gang had dried the meat, which it then ground into powder to make meat biscuits for children. According to the newspaper, another company was smuggling the biscuits into Japan, making a killing. The biscuits reminded Yoshiro of dog food, but having heard they were an ideal protein source for children he definitely wanted to buy some (Tawada 2018: 94-95).

Here some differences are introduced, but it is very easy to link the episode narrated by Tawada to the one that occurred in Tasmania, as they both have in common the death of penguins for economic reasons and both events had an international resonance.

We can see a difference between the two natural disasters used as narrative inspirations by Tawada: Minamata disease had only local effects, whereas the disaster narrated by Plumwood had a much larger outcome in geographical terms. Moreover, one happened in Japan, so Tawada is taking inspiration from a domestic situation, while the other one happened in another continent. Nevertheless both accidents had a global echo and reached the attention of the media and people all over the world.

But Tawada is not only making reference to extradiegetic, real-life disasters: in *Kentōshi* there are various accounts of environmental mutations caused by the unnamed accident:

Recently all dandelions had petals at least four inches long. Someone had even submitted one of these jumbo dandelions to the annual Chrysanthemum Show at the Civic Center, giving rise to a debate over whether it should be recognized as a chrysanthemum. “Oversized dandelions are not chrysanthemums-merely mutations,” asserted one faction, while another charged that “mutation” was a pejorative term, further enflaming the war of words. Actually, the word *mutation* was rarely used anymore, having been replaced by the more popular *environmental adaptation*. With most plants growing larger and larger, if the dandelion alone had stayed small it would have ended up like a kept woman, hiding away in the shadows. It had simply grown larger in order to survive in this new environment. Yet there were other plants that had chosen to survive by getting smaller. A new species of bamboo, no larger than a person's little finger when fully grown, had been named “the pinky bamboo.” With trees this small, if the Moon Princess from the Woodcutter's Tale came down earth again to be discovered shining inside a bamboo, the old man and woman would have to crawl on their hands and knees peering through magnifying glasses to find her (Tawada 2018: 8-9).

This passage is significant because it clearly shows that the novel has more than one key to understanding its themes.

On one hand, the most evident is the representation of the impact the environmental disaster had on the lives of any order of living creatures: plants, animals and humans. On the other, as Haga brilliantly remarks in his deep analysis of the novel, mutation is not only biological but also linguistic: conventional language is transformed to adapt to the new geological and physical reality of the environment itself (Haga 2019: 88). Therefore words are carefully selected in the narration in order to represent more accurately the environment that resulted after the unnamed accident. Not only language is used in its referential function, but according to Haga the protagonist of the novel undergoes physical transformation to adapt to the new environment. These bodily changes go hand in hand with variation in his language (2019: 91). Tawada is therefore able to represent this new dystopic condition not only on a symbolic level, but also on a linguistic one. In addition to that, foreign words are often abandoned and substituted with local expressions, in order to mirror the situation of isolation of the country, which had shut down all communication with the external world. Therefore ‘language and environment are reciprocally referential’ (Haga 2019: 91) in the work of Tawada.

The dandelion is also present at the very beginning of the novel, when Mumei wakes up in the morning and his eyes are metaphorically filled with a light ‘yellow, as melted dandelions’ (Tawada 2018: 3). We can read the choice of the verb ‘to melt’ (in the Japanese original the verb used is *tokeru* 溶ける) as a deliberate reference to nuclear reactions, and it somehow anticipates the above-mentioned passage on mutations of the flower caused by the environmental changes following the unnamed accident.

Nevertheless, environmental concern is one of the themes that run through the whole narration. Yoshirō, who has spent all his life secluded in Japan and is curious about the environmental situation outside the country, questions: is nature “adapting” all over the world or is it just a national peculiarity?

Encountering a real animal - not just its name - would have set Mumei’s heart on fire, but wild animals had not been seen in Japan for many years. As a student, Yoshirō had traveled to Kyoto through the mountains along the Nakasendo Trail with a German girl from a town called Mettmann. He had been shocked to hear her say, “The only wild animals in Japan are spiders and crows.” Now that the country was closed to the outside world, no more visitors came from afar to wake up people with jabs like that. [...]

He was dying to know if the environment in Germany was unchanged, or becoming more contaminated like Japan, and whether her grandchildren and great-grandchildren were healthy (Tawada 2018: 24).

In the years that immediately followed the nuclear disaster in Fukushima, the Japanese government in charge kept an ambiguous behavior in respect to the nuclear matter. But in the country this debate has been going on for decades, even if, due to Japan’s geographical conformation, at the moment there seems to be no other alternative solutions to nuclear power to provide the country with the monstrous amount of energy it requires to function properly.

The use of irony is a constant in all of Tawada’s novels. For her, irony had always a political function. In *Kentōshi* Tawada is problematizing the ambiguous behavior of the political class who, despite its leading role, does not seem to be able to find a practical solution to Japan’s massive dependence on nuclear power. *Kentōshi* is a novel that identifies precise human responsibilities for this disaster, even if these charges are often expressed with a good dose of irony, as it happens in the dentist’s scene:

To get a little more calcium into Mumei, for a while Yoshiro had tried giving him about half a cup of milk every morning, but the boy’s body had responded with diarrhea. The dentist explained that diarrhea is the intestines’ method of getting rid of whatever they decide is poisonous as quickly and efficiently as possible. The brain in the head is well known, the dentist went on, but the intestines are actually another brain, and when these two brains disagree the intestines always get the upper hand. This is why the brain is sometimes called the Upper House, and the intestines the Lower House. Because Lower House elections are held often, it is generally believed that it’s the Lower House that truly reflects shifts in public opinion. In the same way, because the contents of the intestines are constantly changing, the intestines reflect a person’s physical condition more accurately than the brain (Tawada 2018: 18-19).

Blaming the political class, that was not able to take a resolute stand against the dangers represented by an indiscriminate usage of nuclear power after the terrible events of Fukushima, is a precise political position that Tawada had assumed before. I am thinking of the famous line of *The far shore* in which the author is ironic about the statement made by the scientist that ‘[I]t is absolutely safe to restart the reactor as long as nothing unforeseen happens’ (Tawada 2015). As noted by Jeffrey Angels in his preface to the English translation of *The far shore*, the word “unexpected” (in Japanese *yokishinai* 予期しない) Tawada is taking a clear stance against a behavior that she considered too superficial and inattentive to the possible causes of any natural disaster (Tawada 2015).

To conclude, I would like to propose that *Kentōshi* can be read as the first proper “global novel” by Tawada, not only because it draws inspiration from an event whose echoes have resonated all around the world, whose fears have contaminated much further than the explosion rate. The ecological impact

of the Fukushima disaster has been dramatic for Japan and for the Asia Pacific region and we still don't know its long term effects.

Even if the events are stated to take place in the future, many critics have argued that this might be read not as a dystopian novel, or a futuristic one, but rather as an accurate metaphor of a present condition. As Seungyeon Kim notes, Tawada believes that dystopian fiction can be an efficient representation of our actual world (Kim 2020: 254).

As days go by we become more and more aware of the impact that our lifestyle is having on our planet: taking her country as an example, Tawada is clearly warning us that our behavior toward the Earth is not going to be sustainable anymore. The choice of setting *Kentōshi* in the near future is, first of all, a concrete warning to humankind at large that our lifestyle is not going to be sustainable for long. We need to plan our existence on this planet taking into consideration that what we do can have concrete and fatal impacts on its environment and on the health and lifestyle of future generations.

Moreover, the integration in the narrative of two external ecological catastrophes, one domestic and one international, prompts me to read this writing as a global novel, because of the strong connection with actual situations that happened in the real world. It is true that the main theme of the environmental disaster is ascribable to Fukushima, but Tawada makes references not limited to Japan alone; indeed, similar cases happened also in other countries and they have resonated globally. We can say that the author somehow shifts the focus from a local dimension to embrace a more global one, and in doing so she is able to reach a transnational audience and transmit her message in a transcultural way.

The populism and closure of the boundaries described in *Kentōshi*, a sort of new *Sakoku* 鎖国³ for Japan, seem to be influenced not only by the country's present and past history, but also by the events that have taken place around the world in the years preceding the publication of the novel. Tawada was able to understand and incorporate in her narrative the transformation that was awakening in the world's morality. The possibility of building walls between nations, in order to stop the free movement of people around the globe, might in fact derive from both author's personal experience and the historical times during which Tawada has lived. For a short period of her life, Tawada lived in pre-unification Germany, in which the presence of a separation within the same cultural reality – represented by the Inner German Border and, more significantly, by the Berlin Wall – was tangible and

³ *Sakoku* literally means “chained country” and it is a term used to designate the isolationist foreign policy of the Tokugawa shogunate. From 1603 to 1686 the government prohibited the access to Japan to almost all foreign people; also international trade was strictly regulated and strongly limited.

problematized. Additionally, many other examples can be found from different parts of the world, such as the barriers built between Mexico and the United States, which have received great media coverage in the past years.

These political directions of contemporary world, policies of separation instead of inclusion, are problematized by Tawada in her work with these simple, but powerfully ironic, words:

“[...] Japan is closed to the outside world.”

“Why is it closed?”

“Every country has serious problems, so to keep those problems from spreading all around the world, they decided that each country should solve its own problems by itself”

(Tawada 2018: 42).

With *Kentōshi*, but also with other works, Tawada has proven to be a careful reader and a skilled portraitist of contemporary reality.

5. Conclusions

This paper intended to reframe and demonstrate the impact that the narrative of Tawada had on a global scale: not only does this work deserve a place within the literary genre of the global novel, but I also believe that it can help define (and refine) the category of the global novel itself.

Kentōshi deals with a number of problems that do not pertain exclusively to Japan anymore: it is undeniable that the aftermath of the triple disaster has strongly affected the life of all Japanese citizens, creating enormous sufferings to the inhabitants of the area struck by the accident. But this disaster has also kept the whole world on tenterhooks: its echoes have resonated through media all over the planet, and people watched with dread and concern at the images that came from Japan after the accident and in the following months.

Kentōshi deals with a reality that is not so distant in time and in possibility: Tawada speaks to a global audience of themes that resonate worldwide, calling for environmental awareness.

With her prose, her ability of overcoming boundaries and the representation of the different nuances that reality is assuming on a global scale, she is one of the most authentic voices of a fiction that is not only able to entertain, but also to advocate for many issues of the utmost urgency. In fact, by pointing out these issues of extreme actuality, like environmental dangers, Tawada is strongly advocating a sustainable and inclusive future.

On the other hand, by including this masterpiece of contemporary literature into the category of global novel I hope to demonstrate that this type of literary production can also transcend economic and profit purposes. I am in fact convinced that one of the responsibilities of this type of literature is to address a wider audience and make it become more aware of the problems that afflict global society.

The success of Tawada Yōko's works on an increasingly wider audience could prove that more and more people recognise themselves in her writings, supporting the issues that she deals with in her literature.

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Aesthetics as a space of difference

The implicit sociology in Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's *A Golden Death*

Pierantonio Zanotti

Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's short story *Konjiki no shi* ('A golden death,' 1914) tells the weird tale of a friendship between two young aspiring artists in early twentieth-century Japan. *Watashi*, the narrator, is a diligent student, has conventional ideas, and becomes a conventional writer, while his friend Okamura, who is extremely wealthy and free to pursue his wildest ideas, develops to the most bizarre consequences his own original aesthetics based on the senses and the beauty of the human body.

This story can be read by adopting a perspective that brings out its implicit sociology. *Konjiki no shi* describes the social trajectories of the two protagonists by tapping into Tanizaki's "sense of the social." By resorting to some socio-critical tools and to Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theory, I will investigate how this story constructs and narrates the relationship between the two main characters and its evolution. Secondly, I will show how aesthetics, as understood as a set of historically situated practices and discourses dispersed in the story, constitutes a significant aspect of the differential characterization of the two protagonists and an important element to interpret their conducts. Tanizaki succeeds in summoning before the readers' eyes the intersection of two social and aesthetic trajectories that do not appear to be governed by chance or the whim of invention, but respond to his awareness of their social matrices and evolutions, their stakes and costs.

Keywords: Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, modern Japanese literature, literature and sociology, aesthetic theory in twentieth-century Japan

1. Introduction

A novella à thèse, a philosophical story, an exercise in rewriting E. A. Poe, a piece of literature of the eccentric and the bizarre, an early exposé of aesthetic ideas that its author would abandon soon after having had a taste of them—these are some of the categories that could be evoked (and that in some cases have been evoked by commentators) to describe *Konjiki no shi* ('A golden death,' 1914) by Tanizaki

Jun'ichirō (1886-1965).¹ This story is often considered a minor text within the author's early period, mainly due to the fact that he decided not to reprint it in the editions of his complete works (*zenshū*) published during his lifetime, almost as if he wanted to distance himself from it and brand it as an anomalous or immature product. This is despite the appreciation paid to *Konjiki no shi* by Edogawa Ranpo (1894-1965), who, as shown by Luisa Bienati (2018), admired this story and drew inspiration from it for one of his most famous novels, *Panoramatō kidan* ('The strange tale of Panorama Island,' 1926-1927).

Konjiki no shi was serialized in the *Tōkyō Asahi shinbun* between December 4 and 17, 1914.² At that time, Tanizaki was establishing his position as a rising star in the literary firmament; starting with *Shisei* ('The tattooer,' 1910), he had published a number of short stories that had been favorably received by the literary world (*bundan*) and the public alike.

The unnamed narrator of *Konjiki no shi* (identified by the pronoun *watashi* and only once as a member of the Shimada family) is an aspiring writer from a well-to-do background. Since childhood, *watashi* has been friends with Okamura, a man of the same age and a wealthy heir to immense fortunes. Both are bright children and, later, ambitious young men who aspire to become artists (*geijutsuka*). While *watashi* has more conventional ideas, Okamura develops an original aesthetic theory in which he attaches an inordinate importance to the practical and sensible arts. This leads him to embrace a cult of the beauty of the human body. While Okamura devotes himself to an eccentric lifestyle and neglects his studies, *watashi* attends university and embarks on a career as a writer. His work is initially well received, but later his inspiration dries up, the consideration he enjoys in the literary world wanes considerably, and he is forced to write for money. When the two characters are around twenty-seven years old (Tanizaki was twenty-eight when he published this story), Okamura, freed from the control of his guardian uncle, employs his fortune to realize an ambitious project: a total artwork. After a lengthy period of silence, *watashi* receives an invitation from his friend to visit his new residence, his

¹ Reference Japanese text: TJZ, vol. 2, 463-499. Page numbers for quotations from the story refer to the English translation (Tanizaki 2013). Unless otherwise indicated, other translations are mine.

² The story was later reprinted in the collections *Konjiki no shi* (Nittōdō, 1916), *Kin to gin* (Shun'yōdō, 1918), and *Konjiki no shi hoka sanpen* (Shun'yōdō, 1922). In a brief preface to the first collection, Tanizaki mentions the fact that the three short stories collected in that volume (the other two being *Sōzō* ['Creation,' 1915] and *Dokutan* ['The German spy,' 1915]) have met with "little popularity" ("*Konjiki no shi jo*," TJZ, vol. 23, 18). Excluded from Tanizaki's first two *zenshū* (the Kaizōsha one of 1930-1931 and the Chūōkōronsha one of 1957-1959), *Konjiki no shi* was included in vol. 2 (1966) of the second Chūōkōronsha *zenshū*, the first published posthumously. As Fujisaki Sanae (1996: 58-59) noted, Tanizaki, at least initially, was confident in the value of *Konjiki no shi*, as suggested by the fact that he chose this very story to debut in one of the most important newspapers of the time, the same that had signed an exclusivity contract with Natsume Sōseki.

“paradise of art” (*geijutsu no tengoku*) built in a valley several dozen leagues from Tōkyō. Thus begins the part of the story (chapters 12-14) that, as pointed out by Bienati (2006), is most indebted to Poe’s *The Domain of Arnheim*. In a veritable *tour de force*, *watashi* witnesses the marvels of Okamura’s estate. Here, in a phantasmagoria of buildings in different architectural styles, animals and plants of every kind, and reproductions of works of art from the most diverse periods and countries, he witnesses a succession of *tableaux vivants* created by his friend with the aid of dozens of men and women. At the end of his ten-day stay, the last scene that appears before his eyes reproduces the death of the Buddha (*dainehanzō*): after dancing dressed as Buddha Nyorai, Okamura is found dead the next day and is immediately surrounded by dozens of persons dressed up as *bodhisattvas*, *arhats*, and weeping mythological figures, the pores of his skin clogged by the gold leaf with which he had covered himself. The narrator wonders about the meaning of Okamura’s death, at once the supreme fulfillment of his extraordinary artistic project and the self-destructive consequence of the imminent depletion of his wealth.³

2. A story of a death, or rather, of a life, or rather, of two

The initial exclusion of *Konjiki no shi* from Tanizaki’s complete works has attracted the attention of commentators. In itself, this circumstance should not be sufficient to set this story apart from a significant number of stories from the same period (at least thirty according to some calculations), “*oeuvres de jeunesse à la tonalité baroque*” (Sakai 1997: 1637), which received a similar treatment from the older Tanizaki. Another factor, however, has peculiarly colored the discourse around *Konjiki no shi*, contributing to the idea of a strong causal connection between its contents and the author’s decision not to reprint it in his *zenshū*. The critical discourse on this story was somewhat hijacked by the highly idiosyncratic rediscovery that Mishima Yukio (1925-1970) made of it in 1970.⁴ Mishima saw in this story, which he judged a failure, an anticipation of his own nefarious aesthetic concerns: in his view, Tanizaki intuited that “if he had put the idea into practice [...] his art would have become an unprecedented art [...] with only one aim: death” (1976: 391). Mishima suggests that, reluctant to draw the extreme conclusions from this intuition about the aesthetic value of suicide, Tanizaki recoiled,

³ Critics are divided between those who understand Okamura’s death as a suicide and those who interpret it as an accident. For a summary of critical positions, see Kimura (2017: 46).

⁴ Mishima’s comments are found in the accompanying essay (*kaisetsu*) in vol. 6 (devoted to Tanizaki) of the *Shinchōsha* “*Shinchō Nihon bungaku*” series, originally published in 1970. Bienati (2006) offers an insightful presentation of the main points of this essay, including the Italian translation of crucial passages.

returning to safer paths in his following works. Mishima's reading neutralizes the irony, the playful modernist manipulation, and the proximity with the mystery genre that underlie this and many other Tanizaki stories of this period and does not take into due consideration the historicization of the veritable *bricolage* of motifs and philosophical and artistic references that can be found in this text. This last aspect, which finds its supreme expression in the unbridled eclecticism of the total artwork built by Okamura, is indeed stigmatized by Mishima, who, as an advocate of the purity of national aesthetics, sees it as further proof of the intolerable cultural hybridism of Taishō Japan, of the “ugliness of Japanese culture that had lost its unifying style” (1976: 392). Despite its limits, and also because of the canonical status Mishima enjoyed in the second half of the twentieth century, this reading became a point of view that demanded to be mentioned in subsequent discussions of this story, from those by Shimizu Yoshinori (1987) and Chiba Shunji (1989), to those that are found in the apparatuses of the Italian (2006 [1995]), French (1997), and English (2013) translations.

The construction of death, or rather of a beautiful corpse, as the ultimate aesthetic object is unquestionably a central theme of this story, as referenced in its very title. Undoubtedly, *Konjiki no shi* is teleologically constructed around it: literally, we read a story that from its first lines tends to find its fulfillment in the moment when the narrator and the readers contemplate the “golden death” of one of the protagonists and that, having accomplished this task, ends within a few lines of enunciating it.

In my reading, however, I would like to tread a different path. Okamura's incredible death perhaps overshadows the fact that *Konjiki no shi* is only in small part the story of a death; in fact, it is largely the opposite: the story of an entire life. Actually, of two. Therefore, I would like to focus my reading on the ways in which these two lives are narrated and described. For the purposes of my analysis, the most interesting part of the story is not the visit to Okamura's estate (generally the object of most critics' interest), but the part that precedes it, which prepares the final denouement. In this part of the story, the narrator appears to locate the origin of the two protagonists' behavior in their different social backgrounds, showing how these backgrounds, in connection with the contemporary cultural field, affect their social and existential trajectories and their aesthetic choices.

In his survey of the reception of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theories in the studies on Chinese literature, Michel Hockx has noted how the “intrinsic” side (focused on the close reading of texts) that is present in Bourdieu's work has been mostly ignored in favor of the application of his contextual and extrinsic theories aimed at the reconstruction of the literary fields (2012: 55). This is also true for the studies on other national literary fields. With this essay, I would like to conduct an

exercise in an under-practiced territory of the applications of Bourdieusian ideas to the study of literature.⁵

First, by resorting to some socio-critical tools, I will investigate the relationship between the two main characters—the narrator and his eccentric friend, Okamura—showing how it points to a sociology implicit in the narrative. Through this sociology, Tanizaki constructs the dispositions of the two protagonists and sketches a space of positions and position-takings in which their trajectories develop. Regarding these trajectories, as Pau Pitarch Fernandez has already noted, “Tanizaki sets up an opposition between the narrator and Okamura in terms of their positions on aesthetics” (2014: 124). Accordingly, I will elaborate on how aesthetics—which I understand not as a voluntaristic or transcendent dimension (as in Mishima), but as a set of historically situated practices, discourses, and philosophical, pedagogical, and academic notions that are dispersed in this story—constitutes a significant aspect of the differential characterization of the two protagonists and an important element through which to interpret their conduct.

3. The implicit sociology in *Konjiki no shi*

It was Pierre Bourdieu in the early 1990s who revitalized the problematic of the relationship between literature and sociology. In *The Rules of Art*, originally published in 1992, the French sociologist devoted a dense chapter to a memorable examination of the “sociological analysis” expressed by Gustave Flaubert’s *Sentimental Education* (1869). Unlike other parts of his important volume, Bourdieu was here not concerned with the sociology of literature, but with sociology within literature.

Bourdieu acknowledged in Flaubert’s work of fiction an ability to produce an analysis of the social world—that is, an objectivation of certain structures and laws of the fictional world and the co-textual world that constitutes its model—by using the specific tools of literature. According to Bourdieu, literary texts, by appealing to the sensible aesthetic dimension, give the structures of the social world “to be *seen* and *felt* in *exemplifications* or, better, *evocations*” (1996: 32; italics in the original) that are at once metaphorical and metonymical, symbolic and referential. The analysis of the social space conducted with the means of literature is partial and lacks the scientific method that distinguishes

⁵ Perhaps Bourdieu is not as popular today in the canons of critical theory as he was in the early years of the twenty-first century. However, I am convinced that his work (and those that have responded to it, both by followers and critics of his ideas) can still provide invaluable insights and contributions to the problematic of the specific knowledge produced by literary texts.

sociology proper,⁶ but, according to Bourdieu, it retains the capability of attaining a reflexive dimension above the mere pre-sociological common sense (Bourdieu 1996: 28-34; Speller 2014: 103-109).

Further reflections and clarifications on this theme have been produced especially in the French-speaking academia. Delving into the question of a sociology *through* literature or arising *from* the literary text, these studies have refined the distinction between the specificities of sociological analysis (explicit, formalized, systematic, conceptual) and the prerogatives of the “implicit sociology” (intuitive, spontaneous, particularistic, practical) present in literary texts. This “implicit sociology” emerges as a particular “sense of the social” (*sens du social*) present in the authors and is reflected, negotiating with the specificities of literary formalization, in the construction of the fictional world of the narrative text.⁷

Citing *Konjiki no shi* as an example, Ken K. Ito remarked that one of the features of Tanizaki's writing is his penchant for “world building,” which is manifested either as a thematic resource or a propensity to experiment with language and fictionality (1991: 3-5). Mentioning this story, Ito has in mind the artificial paradise created by Okamura in his estate, which we might see as a kind of *mise en abîme* of this component present in Tanizaki's works in general. But from the perspective of my argument, this story features equally acute world building precisely in the parts that Ito does not signal as such, namely those that precede Okamura's phantasmagoria—those parts that construct the social world within the story and the ways in which the agents move through it.

In terms of internal analysis, we might see the story as a “possible world:” an aesthetic artifact, a semiotic object that is to some extent enclosed and self-regulated, endowed with its own laws and properties (Doležel 1998: 14-15). However, in a text that, like *Konjiki no shi*, follows the conventions of realist fiction, these properties present a number of isomorphisms with the social and mental structures of what the author or readers configure as the real social world, thus contributing to what Bourdieu calls a “belief effect” (1996: 32).

Konjiki no shi does not limit itself to furnishing its fictional world, mimetically shaped on the “real” one, with information on the material lives and social options available to the protagonists (thus

⁶ Pierre Popovic sums up very adroitly the fact that we can consider a literary text as sociology “à la condition expresse de faire table rase et fi de toute considération épistémologique sérieuse, sur les modes de construction des objets, sur l'élaboration des méthodes, sur la construction et l'usage des concepts, sur les outils de mesure, sur les procédures d'enquête, sur les protocoles de vérification et de retour sur les hypothèses premières, sur les règles de formulation et de validation des résultats, sur l'ambition prédictive et sur le désir de modélisation théorique. Ce qui fait beaucoup” (2017: 8).

⁷ David Ledent (2013, 2015) provides a comprehensive survey of the state of this matter.

fulfilling, in an obviously stylized way, the empirical, even ethnographic, part of a sociology); but it grasps, or better, unveils some social laws that underlie the fictional world of the story and are also present in its “real” counterpart (thus fulfilling a function of reflection on and analysis of the social world described). As Bourdieu argued, this unveiling occurs in a paradoxical way, because it simultaneously veils what it uncovers through textual formalization and fictionality.

Despite the schematism of a short story whose protagonists appear rather as types (or perhaps because of this), the implicit sociology in *Konjiki no shi* is offered mainly in two aspects, in which patterns of intelligibility of the social world are found. The first is the explicitly comparative description of the generation and development of the trajectories of the two protagonists. The second is the reconstruction of certain positions offered by the social fields (particularly the artistic-literary one) as a “space of possibles;” such fields open up before these two “new entrants” and aspiring artists, but also, to a certain extent, before the author of the story himself.

But that is not all. In fact, as Florent Champy points out, we should avoid a purely immanentist approach to the fictional world described in a literary work and “objectivate the objectivation” operated by literary writing itself (2000: 362-363). That is, it is important to consider the specific mediation exerted by the literary text, particularly by its diegetic and enunciative functions, such as the voice of the narrator (in this case the homodiegetic narrator *watashi*), through which the knowledge of the fictional world is summoned.

It is also necessary to reflect on how, in the specific modes of literary writing, the text incorporates the point of view of the author, who is socially and historically situated (with their own lived experiences) and the bearer of a particular gaze (more or less intuitive or theoretical) on the social world and the practice of writing itself. This is the level that David Ledent calls that of the “romancier qui s’exprime par le roman” (2015: 381).

To sum up, the objectivating description of the social world in a story primarily provides the basis for an internal analysis of that possible social world. To this level, we can add the heuristic implications of the isomorphisms and referential interactions that the fictional world establishes with the real world. Finally, the narrative is indeed knowable as a fictional possible world, situated “between representation and symbolization” (Sapiro 2014: 64); but it also reveals, in a literarily mediated (or, to use Bourdieu’s Freudian term, *denegated*) form, the author’s social competencies and existential investments with respect to the real social world in which the very act of their writing is situated.

In this sense, the element of the double protagonist, which Tanizaki reprised many times later and of which *Konjiki no shi* is in a sense the prototype,⁸ particularly responds to these prerogatives. Not only does it facilitate the objectivation that the narrator conducts on his own and Okamura's trajectories within the fictional world of the story, but it also contributes to the self-reflexive and extra-textual potential underlying *watashi*'s narration.

In fact, the recourse to a double protagonist accentuates the comparative traits between Okamura's and *watashi*'s trajectories. Given the equal age of the two characters, this comparison can be conducted in contrastive terms almost at a punctual level, moving smoothly between different chronological points in the biographical trajectories of the two.

In addition to this, *watashi* can also be seen as a fictional double of the empirical author in the light of a number of common biographical elements (his age, his mercantile origins, the area of the city he is from, his academic curriculum, his profession as a writer, etc.).⁹ Undoubtedly, this self-analytical refraction is conducted with an ironic spirit, but it also enables Tanizaki, little more than a newcomer in this period, to attempt a narrative objectivation of his own trajectory as a cultural producer up to that point. In this regard, it is interesting to note how *watashi* reflects the sense of precariousness that Tanizaki, *enfant terrible* on his way to normalization after the scandalous success that marked his debut in the years 1910-1911, must have felt about the evolution of his career within such a voluble literary world as the Japanese one of that time. The horror with which *watashi*, having lost inspiration and with a family to support, describes his abdication to the rules of the publishing market could be attributed to Tanizaki himself, reflecting a personal fear.

Watashi is therefore doubly a "double:" of the empirical Tanizaki and of Okamura, who represents a sort of alternate virtuality that *watashi* at once admires, despises, fears, and envies.

4. The trajectories of the characters

Applying the theoretical concepts elaborated by Bourdieu (1996), we can say that *Konjiki no shi* exposes the homologies between: social positions (starting points—mostly inherited—and positions gradually

⁸ The most significant cases are the stories *Kin to gin* ('Gold and silver,' 1918), *A to B no hanashi* ('Story of A and B,' 1921), and *Tomoda to Matsunaga no hanashi* ('The story of Tomoda and Matsunaga,' 1926). See in this regard Bayard-Sakai (1998) and Pitarch Fernandez (2014).

⁹ To a lesser or different extent, this is also true of Okamura, who, like Jōtarō or B in their respective stories, can be seen, within the space of possibles offered by the literary field of that time, as an experimental virtualization, conducted to its most hyperbolic results, of the decadent and aestheticist postures of Tanizaki himself.

occupied by the agents in the field); dispositions (incorporated principles of vision and division, and matrices of social conducts in relation to a given field—what Bourdieu calls *habitus*); and position-takings available or produced by the protagonists in the social world and, more specifically, in the literary field. The dynamic between these three elements generates the social trajectories of the two individuals, as summarized below and further detailed in the analysis that follows.

<i>Social position</i>	<i>Position in the literary field</i>	<i>Dispositions (habitus)</i>	<i>Aesthetic position-takings</i>
• Watashi			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Commercial bourgeoisie (sake wholesalers), affluent but progressively impoverished – First-born male – Inherits debt and family (mother and three siblings) to support – High cultural and educational capital 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Promising beginnings in the <i>bundan</i> (literary world) but gradual downgrading of his position in the field; commercial art (writes for a living) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Desire to become an artist (recognition of the stakes and logic of the cultural field [<i>illusio</i>]) – Cultural goodwill – Heteronomy: search for recognition at first from school (diligent student), then from the cultural world (unoriginal writer) – Passiveness – Disinterest in caring for his own body 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Subscribes to the current canon of art – Conventional ideas – Academic, canonical, respectful aesthetics – Poetry in modern forms (<i>shi</i>) and fiction (<i>shōsetsu</i>), modern genres that are in vogue
• Okamura			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Upper middle class (but not aristocratic) – Only child, dead parents, sole heir to immense fortunes – High cultural capital; problematic acquisition of educational capital 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Amateurism, isolation; does not need to work, nor recognition from the literary world 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Desire to become an artist (recognition of the stakes and logic of the cultural field [<i>illusio</i>]) – Autonomy (arrogance, eccentricity; does not care about school or current opinions) – Investment in caring for his own looks and body – Propensity to shape his own body, life, and the world in his own way; preference for 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Subscribes to the current canon of art, but reworks it in an original and active way: see his “paradise of art” – Radical and innovative ideas – Art-life, practical aesthetics, activism – Eccentric and/or under-consecrated/marginal

		practical arts and disciplines, “first, languages; next, apparatus gymnastics; then, drawing and singing” (2013: 164)	disciplines: fashion, gymnastics, architecture, total art, etc.
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Starting from the initial positions of the two protagonists, we can say that both, hailing from economically well-to-do families of which they are the first-born males, are orientated to reproduce at least their initial social positions. They are therefore heirs. However, as noted before (Fujisaki 1996), one immediately grasps a difference in rank between the two. While *watashi* comes from a prosperous family of sake wholesalers (*sakadon'ya*)—which places him in the commercial bourgeoisie—Okamura, though not a nobleman (which he singularly claims to regret, to *watashi*'s disdain), is the only son of an upper middle-class family whose fortunes, made up of stocks, forests, mines, and land, are so huge that they are said to reach “at least half the size of the Mitsui or Iwasaki fortunes” (2013: 163), big magnate families of the time. Moreover, while the day when *watashi* will inherit the family estate is indefinite at the beginning of the story and then fades away completely because of the impoverishment of his family, the orphan Okamura knows that after reaching the age of majority he will be able to get rid of the guardianship of an uncle who administers his estate.

The difference in wealth between the two is made evident as soon as Okamura enters the scene, at the very beginning of the story, where we find a clear operator of social status (a maid): “Okamura and I were friends from childhood. In early April of the year I turned seven, I began attending an elementary school not very far from my home in Shinkawa. Okamura commuted to the same school, escorted by a maid [*jochū*]” (2013: 162; italics mine).

The following chapters, devoted to the protagonists' childhood and adolescence, contain further details about Okamura's refined manners and clothing (often Western-style, and including at one point a gold watch and a diamond ring), which are more refined than little *watashi*'s bourgeois clothing, furtherly clarifying the distinction of his social background.

Despite these differences, a relationship of friendly competition develops between them. While *watashi* proves to be a diligent and studious pupil, obsequious towards the school system whose rules and promises he implicitly accepts (and to which, in the absence of a predisposing family environment, he owes—as does Tanizaki himself—the acquisition of a *habitus* that so crucially values art and literature), Okamura manages to excel thanks to his intellectual gifts, apparently without any particular effort or application, indifferent to his own school results.

In addition to incredible wealth, Okamura is endowed with handsome features, a melodious voice, and a healthy and harmonious physique (he is about 180 cm tall, a statuesque size for the average Japanese of the time), which he begins to exercise by practicing various sports, particularly gymnastics. As an adult, his beauty is such as to captivate geishas and women of all backgrounds, as well as provoke feelings of admiration on the part of the narrator himself, not unlike those noted by commentators regarding the relationship between Deslauriers and Frédéric in *Sentimental Education*.¹⁰

As *watashi* himself notes (ch. 4), the parallelism between the trajectories of the two protagonists is significantly altered when they are about to finish middle school, around the age of eighteen.¹¹ *Watashi's* family suffers severe economic setbacks, compounded by the sudden death of his father shortly before graduation. *Watashi* finds himself impoverished and responsible for the support of the rest of his family, but, in defiance of his role as firstborn and heir, he resists pressure from his relatives to undertake university studies that should give him greater professional and economic security (engineering, medicine, law), persevering instead in his desire to study literature.

The lives of the two protagonists then begin to diverge. *Watashi*, an impoverished bourgeois who, since childhood, had invested everything in his schooling, accentuates, if possible, his nature as a diligent student, thus managing to enter the prestigious First Higher School, which will lead him to the Tōkyō Imperial University. The awareness of having become an “impoverished student” (*hinkyū na gakusei*) pushes him to devote himself with increasing zeal to study, reflecting the typical petit-bourgeois propensity to have one’s own goodwill as one’s only resource (Bourdieu 1996: 17). Excessive strains give him severe myopia and a condition of prostration described with a modern formula characteristic of the time, *shinkei suijaku* (“nervous exhaustion” or “neurasthenia”).¹²

On the other hand, Okamura, who even as a child devoted himself to a selective study of only those subjects that interested him, disdaining in particular the technical and scientific ones, perseveres in an amateur approach to scholarship (*gakumon*) (which he holds anyway in high regard) and in an increasingly eccentric behavior, far from the ascetic bourgeois seriousness practiced by *watashi*. This leads him to fail the entrance exam to *watashi's* high school on his first attempt.

¹⁰ “[...] here he had on a form-fitting exercise outfit of a vivid indigo, and his nearly half-naked body was strangely beautiful and alluring [*fushigi ni utsukushiku yōen ni kanjimashita*]” (2013: 166); “Frequently, as I was about to speak to him, I was so struck by his beauty that I fell silent” (179).

¹¹ In the school system of the time, middle school (*chūgakkō*) corresponded to the second cycle, and its attendance, reserved only for males, was not compulsory. It consisted of five years. Although the minimum age for admission was twelve, it was not uncommon for many students to start and then finish this cycle at a later age.

¹² This partially autobiographical motif appears in other short stories of this period, such as *Kyōfu* (“Terror,” 1913). On the theme of neurasthenia in early twentieth-century Japan, see Hill (2010).

Even the social spaces frequented by the two come to progressively differ, describing a stratification reminiscent of that of the nineteenth-century French novel between high society / equivocal *demimonde* / proletarian *bohème*, with Okamura decidedly projected into the first two (“not only restaurants and teahouses but garden parties and soirées of all sorts;” 2013: 179) and *watashi* finding himself stuck in the latter. As the narrator notes with almost unintentional acumen, Okamura, after all, can access various social spaces by “exploit[ing] his family’s status [*iegara*]” (2013: 179).

Upon starting university, the distance between *watashi* and Okamura widens when the latter twice fails his finals at the First Higher School (it is not told if he ever graduates). In the meantime, *watashi* starts to publish, becoming an “up-and-coming author” (*shinshin sakka*). At first his works elicit good reactions from the literary world (*bundan*), so much so that he fantasizes about equaling the fame of exponents of the first generation of Meiji writers, such as Ozaki Kōyō (1868-1903), Higuchi Ichiyō (1872-1896), and Masaoka Shiki (1867-1902) (this relatively outdated canon of models is also indicative of *watashi*’s cautious and conventional aesthetic dispositions). He thus feels that he has beaten Okamura, who moreover shows not the slightest jealousy toward his rival’s achievements, indifferent to the accolades of the literary world. As time goes by, however, his expectations of a literary career founder in the face of the poor reception of his following works and the exhaustion of his inspiration. Expelled from the most advanced sectors of the literary field, those of the high art that he so intensely covets, *watashi* finds himself forced to write for money due to increasing economic constraints. Full of “anguish” and “desolate feeling[s],” he repositions himself at the pole of commercial art, now resigned to spending the rest of his “meaningless” and “unartistic” life writing “idiotic stories” (2013: 180). While the narrator painfully acknowledges his own failure as an artist, Okamura, who up to that point has not published a single work and has limited himself to expressing his ideas about art only through conversations with his friend, begins his grandiose project.

5. Aesthetics as a space for the articulation of social difference

While Okamura appears free to not pay his respects to any authority, *watashi*, whose fortunes depend on the recognition and validation he receives from school and the contemporary *bundan*, tends to stick to accepted and current scholastic and academic opinions. This polarity of autonomy versus heteronomy also informs the life choices of the two: *watashi* is compliant and disciplined, Okamura is indifferent to assignments, exams, and subjects that do not interest him; *watashi* wants to establish himself in the genres configured as richer in symbolic capital and modern consecration (above all the novel), Okamura wants to radically undermine the hierarchy and compartmentalization between the arts.

Watashi, well aware of the enabling effects of economic security on artistic creation, formulates a chiastic empirical law on the necessary and sufficient conditions of beauty: “Wealth [*tomi*] is not always accompanied by beauty; but beauty is always dependent upon wealth [*tomi no chikara*]” (2013: 168). In the story, Okamura’s nonchalance is clearly correlated to his lack of material concerns, his aristocratic social origin (in fact, though not in name), and his *habitus* as a wealthy heir. This corresponds to Bourdieu’s point: “the conditions of existence associated with high birth favor dispositions like audacity and indifference to material profit, or a sense of social orientation and the art of foreseeing new hierarchies” (1996: 262).

Even in the sphere of artistic position-takings, *watashi* is a reproducer of current and accepted ideas, while Okamura, who is just as knowledgeable about them (if not more), shows the ability to rework, manipulate, and criticize them at will. “Okamura’s attack upon Lessing was extraordinary [*hijō na mono*]. He tore into *Laocoon*, subjecting passage after passage to the most withering critique” (2013: 172). This passage comes from the central part of the story (chapters 6-8), which consists in a rather technical dialogue between the two protagonists, with long quotations directly in German, focusing on Okamura’s critique of the aesthetic conception of G. E. Lessing.

It is worth noting the disruptive effect that this long digression produces on the organization of the plot. The narrative, which up to that moment had proceeded by covering entire periods of the protagonists’ lives at a swift pace, suddenly comes to a standstill in an ostentatious display of erudition, which certainly does not contribute to making the story more enjoyable to read today, as it presumably did not at the time for the varied audience of the large daily newspaper that originally featured it.¹³ The very sacrifice in terms of readability to which Tanizaki subjects the story signals the central importance of this part in articulating the difference between the two protagonists.

From a cultural-historical point of view, these chapters testify to the development and pervasiveness of the academic discourse on aesthetics (*bigaku*) in Meiji-Taishō Japan, a country where, as evidenced by the very early establishment of a university chair in this subject (1893), this discipline enjoyed particular credit and prestige, such as to percolate even in the literary world. Mirroring the *habitus* of his double *watashi*, Tanizaki lavishes knowledge of it “avec une application de bon élève” (Sakai 1997: 1638). Lessing’s *Laocoon* (1766), around which the two young men debate, is certainly a pivotal text in the academic discourse on the discipline, even if somewhat passé when compared to the

¹³ Apart from possible foreign models, the short story *Ka no yō ni* (‘As if,’ 1912) by Mori Ōgai (1862-1922) represents a precedent for this type of narrative based on philosophical dialogue. In its final part, the protagonist also discusses with a friend the merits of a European philosophical doctrine, in this case the so-called “as if” (*Als Ob*) philosophy of Hans Vaihinger. Tanizaki was almost certainly familiar with Ōgai’s story, which was originally featured in the magazine *Chūō kōron*.

developments infused with neo-Kantianism and experimental psychology that dominated aesthetics in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Okamura rejects Lessing's famous distinction between dynamic or temporal arts (such as poetry) and static or spatial arts (such as painting).¹⁴ The intertextual refractions between *Konjiki no shi* and contemporary discourses on aesthetics are such that some of the positions expressed by Okamura and *watashi* on the aesthetic specificity of the visual arts seem to echo a famous debate on historical painting that had opposed Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935) and Takayama Chogyū (1871-1902) around the turn of the century (Watanabe 2001: 115-122).

In their conversations, *watashi* often plays the role of the uptight straight man, dropping comments imbued with veiled symbolic violence that, by resorting to authority or common sense, aim to depreciate Okamura's ideas and conduct. In one instance, we see *watashi* directly appeal to the institutional nature of aesthetic knowledge:

[Okamura:] “The circus orchestrates the bodies of living people to create a kind of music. That is what makes it the supreme art.”

Then there were comments like this: “When architecture and fashion are considered to be fine art, why cannot cuisine¹⁵ also be called a branch of fine art? Why is a pleasurable taste not considered artistic? This is a puzzle to me.” I told him, “The points you are raising here are a result of your not knowing aesthetics [*bigaku / esutechikkusu*].” But he paid me no heed, replying, “Of what use are aesthetics [*bigaku*]?” (178)

Instead, Okamura has the autonomy to question and criticize the received ideas, starting from the very usefulness of philosophical aesthetics. Okamura succeeds in the doubly prodigious enterprise, indeed worthy of someone who in the story is qualified as a “genius” (*tensai*), of provincializing his Japanese interlocutors when he shows off a better knowledge of the Western texts of reference, which, moreover, he accesses directly in the original language (“in French, Maupassant sounds so beautiful,” he once says to poor *watashi*);¹⁶ and, conversely, to provincialize these same Western authors when, as

¹⁴ Lessing's distinction between visual arts (spatial) and poetry (temporal) must have been quite well-known in Japanese literary circles. For example, a famous passage from Natsume Sōseki's novel *Sanshirō* (1908) echoes it. Professor Hirota meets in a dream a girl with whom he was in love several years before, discovering that she has remained unchanged. He compares her to a painting; she, in return, compares Hirota to a poem, noting how he has changed in time.

¹⁵ According to Kimura Manami (2012: 132), the reference to cooking foreshadows the theme of the short story *Bishoku kurabu* (“The gourmet club,” 1919), showing a continuity between these two texts in Tanizaki's aesthetic reflection.

¹⁶ The practical competence of languages is another element that characterizes Okamura as one able to actively appropriate and rework cultural contents. It is reported, moreover, that he managed to refine his knowledge of languages with private Western tutors (164), a further sign of the role played by his financial means in the formation of his aesthetic ideas.

in the case of Lessing, he criticizes them in an articulate manner, defrauding them of the absoluteness and universality attributed to them by contemporary intellectual discourse, which *watashi* seems to follow, often pedantically. Okamura has such a concentration of cultural and symbolic capital that his stances are taken seriously, although they inevitably appear as “eccentric” (*kikyō*) in the eyes of *watashi*, who is increasingly animated by a resentment that “condemns in the other the possession one desires oneself” (Bourdieu 1996: 17).

Both share the fundamental idea that art should be autonomous and gratuitous (*l’art pour l’art*) (Okamura also with a certain emphasis on its amorality, as suggested by his scathing comments on the episode of the death of Thersites taken from Lessing); but while *watashi* does not conceive of it except within accepted artistic practices (painting, literature) or at a merely theoretical and bookish level, Okamura, starting from a reevaluation of the sensible (etymological) component of aesthetics, is able to project it into a totalizing dimension, that of art-life. Although both share a late-romantic and decadent background, it is only Okamura who can actively extend the domain of art to everyday life, with a subtly subversive sensibility that, as proven by his praises of material culture, cuisine, and the world of circus,¹⁷ already foreshadows the historical avant-gardes.

Okamura thus comes to articulate his own totally sensuous aesthetics (anti-spiritual, anti-rational, anti-conceptual):

“Beauty is not something one thinks about. It’s something you see and feel immediately. It’s an extremely simple process.” (173)

“I cannot admit any kind of beauty other than that which is materialized clearly in front of me—that which I can see with my eyes, feel with my hands, hear with my ears. Unless the sensation of beauty is as intense as a bolt of light shot from an arc lamp, with no room for ‘the imagination,’ I cannot be satisfied.” (176)

“Art is the manifestation of sexual desire [*seiyoku*]. Artistic pleasure is one type of physiological, even erotic, pleasure [*seiriteki moshikuwa kannōteki kaikan*]. Thus art is not something spiritual, it is sensual [*jikkanteki / senjuaru*], through and through. Painting, sculpture, and music are of course included in this; even architecture is not outside the realm of consideration here. . .” (178)

¹⁷ The enthusiasm for acrobats and circus practices is a recurring trope in the early historical avant-gardes. Suffice here to remember the Futurist manifesto of variety theater (1913) with its exaltation of “body madness.”

From this, an anti-hierarchy of the arts descends:¹⁸

“The most humble art form is the novel. Then comes poetry. Painting is greater than poetry, sculpture greater than painting, the theater greater than sculpture. But the greatest art form of all is the human body itself.” (177)¹⁹

The human body is both the object (as “beauty of the body,” *nikutaibi*) and the subject of aesthetic enjoyment. For the cultivation of the former aspect, “physical education” (*taiiku*) and “gymnastics” (*taisō*) are necessary; for the maintenance of the latter, Okamura prescribes what in referring to his exercises he calls “Grecian training” (*girishateki kunren*), that is, a regimen of bodily pleasures; to quote Foucault’s *Use of Pleasure*, Okamura’s is a veritable “dietetics,” an “art of the everyday relationship of the individual with his body” (1990: 93), aimed, however, not to a full and temperate mastery of self, but to the achievement of a more efficient hedonistic technology. “Liquor and tobacco numb the senses, with the result that you cannot sufficiently savor pleasure. If you do not maintain perfect health, you will not be up to receiving strong stimuli” (2013: 179), Okamura states to justify his rejection of revelry and intoxicating substances: a further paradoxical reversal of the discourses on the *vie d’artiste* localized in Japan by groups such as the Pan Society, frequented by Tanizaki himself.

The Hellenism that Tanizaki attributes to Okamura is infused with European decadentism, with recognizable echoes from Wilde and Pater (the latter quoted directly in the text). Moreover—in this perfectly consistent with his critical reading of Lessing—with its exclusive emphasis on the sensitive-bodily dimension and disinterest in its synthesis with the intellectual-abstract one, this Hellenism appears stridently divorced from that propounded by other authors of the classical age of philosophical aesthetics, such as Schiller.

However, as extreme as it is, from a historical point of view, Okamura’s aesthetics is much less extraordinary than the narrator would like to suggest, even going as far as to define it as “morbid”

¹⁸ Okamura’s classification of the arts, which also contemplates “minor” and applied arts, is perhaps influenced by Eduard von Hartmann’s *Philosophy of Beauty*, which had a wide echo in Japan in its translation (1899) by Mori Ōgai and Ōmura Seigai (1868-1927).

¹⁹ This passage bears an obvious resemblance to the “empirical aesthetics” (Ciccarella 1992) embraced by Jōtarō in the story that bears his name, published a few months before *Konjiki no shi*: “What he called ‘beauty’ was entirely confined to an empirical and sensuous [*jikkanteki na, kannōteki na*] realm; therefore, he considered of the utmost importance the act of savoring beauty in actual life rather than imagining it in literature. In other words, for him, an aesthetic sensation [*bikan*] dissociated from the feeling of the thing in reality was nearly impossible. He strove to avoid any distinction between the two. Thus, painting evoked in him an aesthetic sensation more intense than that evoked by literature, and sculpture more than painting, and theater more than sculpture, and the actual bodies of the actors on the stage most of all” (TJZ, vol. 2, 359).

(*byōteki*). In fact, it reproduces the physiological structure of much of the experimental aesthetics of the period, sharing with it the “aesthetic sensation” (*bikan*), placed within a dynamic of “stimuli” (*shigeki*) and reactions, as the basic sensory-transcendental unit of the experience of beauty.

If there is anything that makes Okamura’s aesthetics truly extraordinary, it is his hyperbolic willingness to expand the domains of the aesthetic and manipulate artistic matter, as evidenced by his “paradise.” This matter is enormously extended in spatial terms (a vast area in the valleys west of Tōkyō) and objectual terms (countless human and non-human items are involved), as well as in trans-cultural and trans-historical terms, assimilating references and works from the most disparate eras and traditions, “ancient and modern, East and West” (*kokon tōzai*) (181). If one could discern a synthesis in the chaotic and kitschy jumble of artistic forms built by Okamura, one might perhaps detect in it a strange continuity, perhaps parodic, with the idea that had been dear to Okakura Kakuzō (1863-1913) in his time: that of Japan as a museum and distillation of all the civilization of Asia.

These were the same years in which the members of the magazine *Shirakaba* (‘White birch,’ founded in 1910) contributed, with an attitude as heirs of the legitimate culture that reflected their upper middle-class or aristocratic upbringing, to the diffusion of the cult of European art, but also of certain strands of Asian and Japanese art. The articles, the photographic reproductions, and the layout of their magazine, not to mention the collateral activities connected with it (pretenses of art connoisseurship, organization of exhibitions, contacts with foreign artists, etc.) were infused with a characteristic form of highbrow cosmopolitanism.

In fact, Okamura’s “paradise of art” reproduces many of the artistic references brought into vogue by *Shirakaba*: a characteristic admixture of Asianist archaeological antiquarianism with universalist classicism (the *Apollo of Piombino*, the Renaissance—transfigured via Pater—and Ingres) to begin with; but also the cult of Auguste Rodin, and an attentive eye to the latest novelties of the post-impressionist avant-garde of Paris (in *Konjiki no shi*’s case, the Ballets Russes).²⁰

One wonders if Okamura shares the same class *habitus* as the members of *Shirakaba*, even as a parody of them. It is worth remembering that he himself qualifies at one point as the only son of “an immensely wealthy man [*fugō*]” (168) and that the subtitle that accompanied the first publication of the story was precisely “story of a Croesus” (*aru fugō no hanashi*). This appellation certainly conveys the implicitly moralistic idea that modern society opens incredible possibilities to those who are extremely

²⁰ On Tanizaki’s knowledge of the Ballets Russes in the period of *Konjiki no shi*, and for an interesting theory that detects in the final scene of the story the possible echo of *Le Dieu bleu* (1912), a lesser-known work in Diaghilev’s company’s repertoire, see Kimura (2017: 53-55).

rich. In this regard Okamura expresses, to the horror of *watashi* and in the face of his warnings of petty-bourgeois asceticism, an unrepentant freedom in the use of his own wealth and the scandalous propensity not to euphemize it: “No worries on that score. A rich man is corrupted only while he’s engaged in business in the hope of further adding to his fortune. But if a fellow who has money doesn’t work, and just fools around instead, then he’s always happy” (2013: 169).

This trope of the mad capitalist, of the rich man who perverts the imperative to profit with parasitic, idle, or aberrant conducts, with results both salvific and sinister, is part of that lineage of affection for anti-economic conducts, of dissipation (*hōtō*), very dear to the literature of Japanese decadentism, which Amano Ikuho has placed under the category of “spectacle of idle labor” (2013). The narrator eventually connects Okamura’s dissipation to the great specimens of squanderers and libertines of the Edo period, a move that perhaps can be understood as a critical jab directed at the instrumental and rational use of wealth that characterized the Meiji-era capitalists.

At the same time, the Okamura made omnipotent by the “power of wealth,” almost as rich as the Mitsuis and the Iwasakis, inhabits (but with much less pathos and ethical tension) the same universe of evil of certain paranoid fantasies of Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916), which he presented to an audience formed by the students of the Gakushūin, the original breeding ground of *Shirakaba*.²¹ And certainly, as the retrospective continuity with the work of Poe and the prospective continuity with the taste of Edogawa Ranpo testify, the plot of *Konjiki no shi* and a character like Okamura resonate with the tropes of mystery fiction, bringing our “rich man” closer to an embryonic “mad scientist” or “crime artist.”

Once again, in the characterization of this protagonist, we notice the *bricolage* of disparate literary and cultural elements, of high and low register, which, animating Tanizaki’s vernacular modernism, exposes at the same time the correlations between positions, dispositions, and position-takings of subjects within a given social space.

²¹ I am referring to the famous lecture *Watakushi no kojishugi* (‘My individualism’), from the same year as *Konjiki no shi*: “Or again, what if one of the great magnates [*gōshō*]—Mitsui, say, or Iwasaki—were to bribe our maid and have her oppose me in everything? If these individuals have the slightest bit of what we call character behind their money, it would never occur to them to commit such an injustice” (Natsume 2011: 169). As an aside, it should be noted that *Konjiki no shi* somewhat reflects the way in which Tanizaki established himself in the literary field “with and against” Sōseki (to use Bourdieu’s expression). Indeed, one of his first published writings was a critical review of Sōseki’s *Mon* (‘The gate’), which appeared in 1910. Ishii Kazuo (1996) has advanced the suggestive hypothesis that *Konjiki no shi*, appearing a few months after the conclusion of *Kokoro* in the same newspaper, may be seen as Tanizaki’s response to the treatment of the theme of suicide.

6. Conclusions

Among the many persons recruited to take part in the *tableaux vivants*, a physician resides—very conveniently—at Okamura’s villa. He is the one who issues the diagnosis that the great artist died from the obstruction of the pores of his skin by the gold with which he had covered himself. Accidentally or deliberately? This is not clearly stated. In spite of Mishima, who read this tale very seriously, this story plays with irony, paradox, and the epistemological uncertainty typical of mystery fiction until its final lines.

One of the ways Tanizaki manages to do this is through the adoption of an ambiguous and wavering narrator, whom Okamura’s actions and ideas simultaneously attract and repel. This allows Tanizaki to leave unanswered the question of which of the two courses of action in the artistic world ultimately proved truly successful. By *watashi*’s own final admission, Okamura, the genius, managed to live as a “fortunate man” (2013: 190), devoting himself absolutely to art. But he had to pay a very high social cost: loneliness (the only interlocutor he was able to find is *watashi* himself, with his skeptical if not hostile attitude) and the incomprehension of the rest of society, as *watashi* notes in the rhetorical question that closes the text—which can be seen (Sakai 1997: 1637) as a final ironic jab, a final distancing: “But considering the life that he led, will the world ever appreciate him as an artist?” (2013: 191). *Watashi* thus finds himself the only qualified witness of a lifework that “may have been a fleeting phantom” (190). It is up to him to save it from oblivion through the act of narration that is *Konjiki no shi*, which responds to his need to make so that the name of the “great genius” and “indeed peerless artist” might “be remembered forever” (190-191).

The gesture with which Tanizaki, through the oscillations of *watashi*, leaves undecided the value to be attributed to the conclusion of the events probably reflects his experience of the tensions and contradictions, equally unresolved, in which the artist-aesthete he aspired to be at this stage of his career was struggling. This enabled him, through literary writing, to imagine the possibilities offered by this indeterminacy that—just like the lives of the two protagonists as the narrative progresses—was inevitably shrinking as his career proceeded. This is a further aspect of Tanizaki’s (self-)reflection, fueled by an all-practical “sense of the social,” on the stakes and constraints inherent in playing the Japanese literary field of those years. As I have tried to demonstrate by highlighting the implicit sociology that lies in this story, Tanizaki succeeds in summoning before the readers’ eyes the intersection of two social and aesthetic trajectories that do not appear to be governed by chance or the whim of invention, but respond to his awareness of their social matrices and evolutions, their stakes and costs. *Konjiki no shi* exploits and explores this awareness by resorting to the specific means of literary writing.

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The path to a collective spirituality in the art of Mori Mariko

Federica Cavazzuti

Among the most successful Japanese artists working internationally, Mori Mariko (b. 1967, Tokyo) has distinguished herself on the contemporary art scene for her multi-disciplinary practice that continuously experiments with different techniques and concepts. During her very active career, and particularly around the turn of the century, a shift can be noticed from the rather pop imagery of her earlier works to an exploration of religious, sacred, and spiritual themes, a progressive transformation that has developed in multiple directions until the present moment. The references included in her artworks often merge indigenous religions, Shinto, and Buddhism, doctrines that she perceives as ways to reflect on broader aspects of life, nature, and the humankind at large.

This article traces an overview of some of the most important works realized by Mori during the past three decades, which are grouped both thematically and chronologically: the early photographs and performances; the pieces inspired by Tantric Buddhism, with strong connections to traditional Buddhist art; the big-scale installations, with a shift towards sacred architecture; the projects encouraging the interconnectedness between different people, as well as a rediscovery of their roots; and finally, the outdoor installations that celebrate nature and Earth.

Key words: Mariko Mori, contemporary art, Buddhism, art installation, architecture, site-specific installation, photography, videoart, performance

1. Introduction

Mori Mariko 森万里子 (1967) is a multi-disciplinary artist born in Japan and based between Tokyo, New York and London, and has an over 30-years career in the visual arts. She has always been very active on the national and international scene and is one of the most successful contemporary artists from Japan; her works have been exhibited in solo and collective exhibitions all over the world during the years, receiving global attention and several prestigious awards and prizes (Matsui 2010: 190). Mori has made wide use of photography and performance in her works, particularly during the first years of her career. As her art developed, however, she progressively abandoned the photographic medium to embrace a more diversified practice that includes sculpture, installation and sometimes painting.

Performance has also maintained a role in her production, shifting from being the central subject of the images, to become a specific act that accompanies and enriches some of the most recent projects.

The artist is widely renowned in particular for the pop imagery of her early works. Rarely, however, studies have focused on the multi-layered sacred and religious references of her art. Through this paper, I am aiming to shed light specifically on this rather unexplored side of her production: by selecting some of the most significant and spiritually charged works realized in the past 25 years, this study will inspect the presence of recurring otherworldly elements in Mori's art. These are of syncretic nature: they often refer to indigenous religions, Shinto, and in particular Buddhism, whose doctrines have strongly influenced her main body of work as ways to encourage further reflections on life, nature, cosmos, and more in general a globally shared balance between all the living beings.

The artworks are grouped into different sections that combine them from both a chronological and thematic perspective: a brief outline of her early photography and the progressive shift to religious themes; the artworks inspired by Tantric Buddhism, where the main body of work also shows several references to traditional Buddhist art; the development of immersive installations as a way to explore sacred venues and architecture; the projects where art and technology merge to create a shared experience between people and their collective history; and finally, the outdoor installations to celebrate the environment.

It is important to highlight that the present overview is not to be intended as a complete account of all the works realized by Mori during her very active career so far: many more should be included in order to have a completely exhaustive record of her production. This is rather a selection of projects that can be considered among the most striking examples of her unique combination of religious topics, traditions, art and technology. As we will see, for Mori, art is a shared language that can communicate with everybody in a collective experience.

2. Women from another dimension: performances, *Beginning of the End*, *Miko no Inori*

Mori Mariko was born in 1967 in Tokyo, where she initially specialized in fashion design by attending the Bunka Fashion College (*Bunka Fukusou Gakuin* 文化服装学院). In 1988, keen to pursue a career in the arts, she moved to London where she attended the Byam Shaw School of Art and, from the following year, the Chelsea College of Art. In 1992 she moved to New York, where she took part in the Independent Study Program at Whitney Museum of American Art. The artist is still based between Japan, Europe and US nowadays, and the mix of stimuli she received from these different cultural milieus have been extremely important in developing her unique artistic language. During her studies,

she was also working as a model for fashion photographers and was included in several Japanese magazines during mid- and late Eighties (Holland 2011: 4). The modeling experience, according to Mori, has been crucial in shaping her relationship with the use of self-portrait and performance (Nicholson 2006: 43). The artist personally designed the garments for all her future works: she believes that the clothes are the skin of an individual and are also a powerful way to express her own identity and ideas (Celant and Mori 1999, para. 13). These elements will often recur in her artworks, such as the 1994-95 performances, which were taking place in different locations of Tokyo.

The protagonist of these acts (and of the subsequent photographs) is Mori herself, who uses her own body in order to metaphorically represent all women who are oppressed, alienated, or in a condition of social inferiority due to reasons connected to gender or class. These topics can be noticed also in other artists on the Japanese scene at the time, who encouraged a reflection on the social contradictions of their country in the post-Bubble era (Matsui 2007: 69). With a great variety of meanings, the works Mori realized in this period merge reality and virtual modification, as well as the use of make-up and disguise; these created different characters that, for their peculiar outlooks, stand out from their surroundings. For instance, the woman represented in the series *Tea Ceremony*, serving tea to male colleagues and other businessmen, shows an alien-like silver suite under the employee uniform, an outlook with different layers (Fritsch 2011: 180). This connotes her as a non-human (or de-humanized) being that cannot be integrated within the surrounding environment. Two other examples of this trend are the photographs *Subway* and *Warrior*: the first one depicts Mori, dressed up as a cyborg, travelling in a carriage of the underground of Tokyo, a familiar environment for whoever traveled at least once in the Japanese city. The scene takes place among common people in their daily routine, thus emphasizing the sensation that Mori's illusory figure simply appeared there from another world. A similar atmosphere can be noticed in *Warrior*, set in a game center, where Mori is depicted as a heroine of a video game, ready to shoot with her weapon, the only woman in a venue dominated by men. This could arguably suggest to the viewer the idea that the woman needs to arm herself to resist the social pressures by which she is overwhelmed.



Figure 1. Mariko Mori, *Tea Ceremony I*. 1994. Cibachrome print. Courtesy the Artist.



Figure 2. Mariko Mori, *Subway*. 1994. Fuji super gloss print. Courtesy the Artist.



Figure 3. Mariko Mori, *Warrior*. 1994. Fuji super gloss print. Courtesy the Artist.

These few examples of Mori's photographic work from the mid-Nineties are crucial in understanding the beginnings of her art, as well as her interest in exploring alternative realities that will be developed even further in the future years. In the photographs of this period, Mori selects common scenes of the everyday life and subverts the order of things by adding the apparition of a surreal element, embodied by her own figure, that makes the viewer doubt the truthfulness of the images. In the wake of these concepts, another important body of work that the artist started in these years – but will be completed only a decade later – is *Beginning of the End* (1995–2006). The series is composed by several pictures taken with a wide-angle lens in different iconic landscapes of the globe: Shibuya in Tokyo, Times Square in New York City, or Piccadilly Circus in London, just to mention a few; but also, historical sites such as the pyramids of Giza in Egypt or the Angkor Wat temple in Cambodia. At the center of all these images we can notice the presence of the artist, once again in a surreal apparition: she lies down in a transparent capsule with her eyes closed, dressed in a body suite that covers her entirely, except for her face – emotionless and indifferent to the passing of time around her. Has she passed away? Or is she resting for a future rebirth instead? The stillness embodied by the central figure in these images seems to overcome the idea of time itself, which is also reaffirmed by the different locations, alternating ancestral and futuristic environments, which suggest an overlapping of past, present and

future. Time and space are therefore not linear, but cyclical, and this connects Mori's work directly to the Buddhist doctrine, which she inspects much more in depth in her following works.



Figure 4. Mariko Mori, *Beginning of the End - Shibuya*. 1995. Cibachrome print. Courtesy the Artist.

Observing Mori's art projects from 1996 onwards, after she started *Beginning of the End*, one can easily trace a progressive detachment from pragmatic issues of society, embodied in Mori's first performances, in favor of a complete transformation of her subjects. The artist began to inspect themes connected with religion and spirituality in her art, thus translating her own reflections on life and death into images. Referring in particular to Buddhism and Shintoism, two of the main cults in Japan, the elements of the artworks from the late Nineties onwards also embody Mori's intention to rethink some of the main pillars of her culture of origin. Multiple interpretations of this radical shift have been postulated by critics during the years, including the theory suggested by Fouser (1998), who argued that the artist in her mid-Nineties photographs intentionally wanted to depict a civilization undergoing a moral decline, in such a way as to create a sort of visual *mappō* 末法 – the decadent phase of decline of Buddha's Law; this was to be followed by the renewed spirituality of the subsequent artworks from 1996 onwards (Fouser 1998: 35). Moreover, it can be noticed that the medium used becomes more complex: the 'religious' pieces are not only photographs and static images, but start becoming more and more dynamic through the use of video and installations that engage with the viewer. The artist can count on equips of engineers and designers to realize her ambitious projects: everything is connected – art and science are not two opposing poles but are, in fact, closely entwined.

The work that marks the passage to the new phase is her first video *Miko no Inori* 巫女の祈り (The Shaman-girl's Prayer, 1996), described by the artist as 'the first work I made after the transition from earthly to heavenly themes' (Hayward 2007: sec. *Miko no Inori*, para. 1). The performance is set in Osaka's Kansai airport, which was completed that year revealing a futuristic architecture, thus becoming a symbol for high technology. In the video the artist, dressed in a plastic-coated white suit, performs an unknown ritual in which she caresses and jiggles a crystal ball. Her composure and concentration seem

to isolate her completely from the surrounding environment. The musical background completes the scene with a sort of lullaby, or rather a prayer, recorded by the artist herself. The continue repetition of the song contributes to generate in the viewer a sense of meditation and make the performer become a sort of futuristic shamanness, guiding the beholder through a collective prayer. In the past, the work has been exhibited in installations that reproduced it on different screens at the same time, thus reverberating the idea of a multiple ritual.

Miko no Inori starts defining two of the main topics that will recur in Mori's art from this moment on: the sacred and the hyper-technologic, where the latter is seen as an instrument that can help humanity reach spirituality. The title of the work also holds a direct reference to shamanism, i.e., the word *miko* 巫女, a term that refers to a specific kind of medium of the Japanese tradition. The *miko* is a very ancient female figure who operated within the Shinto shrines and had the ability to invoke the deities through certain rituals and tools and who 'in a state of dissociated trance [is] capable of communicating directly with spiritual beings' (Blacker 1975: 21). Typically using a set of tools composed of a mirror, some arrows, and a bow, these figures become a bridge between the human and the spiritual world, as they were appointed the task to convey the words of the deities and the deceased to men.



Figure 5. Mariko Mori, *Miko no Inori*. 1996. Still from video. Courtesy the Artist.

The shamanness performed rituals during which she would enter a status of extreme trance in order to establish a contact with the spirit. It is interesting to notice that the shamanic practices in Japan are traditionally entrusted to women. As reported by Kawamura (2003), different kinds of *miko* have been identified, according to the different regional areas or the tasks and powers they were assigned: to provide a few examples, the *jinja miko* 神社巫女 (temple *miko*), the women employed in the shrines, with no particular powers; or the *kuchiyose miko* 口寄せ巫女, *miko* who practiced *kuchiyose* – a ritual during which the spirit enters the body of the woman and speaks through her voice (Kawamura 2003: 258).

From this moment onwards, Mori will often portray herself as a shaman, the bridge between the human and the spiritual world, or as a being with divine powers. She repeatedly embodies the role of spiritual guide, trying to convey to others her own idea of spirituality that sees all human being connected in a cosmic vision. This idea is explained by the artist in the following year, on the occasion of the 47th Venice Art Biennale, where she presented the video installation *Nirvana* (that will be explained later in this article) among other works,

All living beings are connected at every moment in inner space. Every life form with its own life cycle is part of the outer universe and there is only one planet earth. In the next millennium, the power and the energy of the human spirit should unify the world in peace and harmony without any cultural or national borders.

Because of the immense evolution of science and technology in this century, human beings have often been under the illusion that they can create nature in the place of God (Mori 1997: 424).

The technologic progress, then, should not make the humankind forget its true nature. In line with this concept, *Miko no Inori*'s futuristic shaman makes her appearance in a high-tech environment, and her presence seems to suspend the passing of time; similarly, the hyper-tech location loses its function, as the gestures performed by Mori have nothing in common with the original purpose of the airport's space. In doing so, Mori encourages the viewers to isolate from their surroundings and to meditate, and seems to suggest that even in the most hectic place it is possible to find a connection with one's own inner reality.

3. The universe of Buddha in *Nirvana* and *Esoteric Cosmos*

The years 1996 and 1997 represent a moment of intense research for Mori, who creates two works that are strongly connected: the video installation *Nirvana* (1996-97) and the photographic series *Esoteric Cosmos* (1996-98), of which we will see in particular the pieces *Burning Desire* and *Pure Land*.

The video *Nirvana* is composed by a sequence of digitally manipulated, three-dimensional frames, and is one of the main examples of the spiritual research that Mori was developing at the time. As the title suggests, the work is based on the Buddhist concept of nirvana. According to the doctrine, all living creatures are part of a continuous cycle of birth, death and rebirth; after dying, every being will reincarnate as a different creature, which can be at a lower or higher level according to the actions accomplished in the previous life. In order to aim for the superior realms, the person must fully commit to a disciplined behavior in life (Becker 1993: 2). Thus the present existence is only one of the many lives that every individual will come across on the path towards salvation. It is important to note, moreover, that the unavoidable element that characterizes the whole cycle is pain, to which even the highest beings are connected. Suffering is an intrinsic part of life, and therefore the individual should ultimately aim to escape the cycle in order to suspend the pain at once: *nirvana* (Becker 1993: 24).

This is Mori's starting point for her video. The artist stated that, in order to come closer to the concept, she changed her whole conduct in order to fully embrace the Buddhist behaviour. In her words,

Over a one-year period, from 1996 to 1997, while I was making this work, I lived an intently ascetic life. I thought that unless I changed my way of life, *Nirvana*, which is the state of ultimate enlightenment, would have no significance, becoming a mere conceptual game (Hayward 2007: sec. *Nirvana*, para. 1).



Figure 6. Mariko Mori, *Nirvana*. 1996-97. Still from video. Courtesy the Artist.

The nirvana depicted by the artist is a completely natural landscape, where a large body of water extends as far as the eye can see. All elements in the image are dominated by pink, yellow and orange nuances, even the sea and the sky that occupy the entire scene. At the center, an event takes place: a figure – Mori – is born from Earth and performs a ritual, standing on a lotus flower, and at some point she is surrounded by alien beings of different colors and vaguely anthropomorphic features. Many references to the Buddhist iconography are included in the piece, as a result of Mori's research conducted on the topic. She stated,

As part of the production work, I traveled to Tibet, where I discovered mandalas. Upon my return to Japan, I researched Japanese mandalas and learned about the Diamond World Mandala (Kongōkai; Sanskrit Vajra-dhatu) and the Womb World (Taizōkai; Sanskrit Garbha-dhatu) Mandala. I became especially interested in the Womb World Mandala, which depicts many Buddhas making various mudra. I selected certain hand gestures and further researched them. [...] The hand gestures I performed in *Nirvana* derived from my research, but their order in my performance was my own (Hayward 2007: sec. *Nirvana*, para. 1).

As we understand from her words, the two pictorial *mandalas* called *Kongōkai* 金剛界 and *Taizōkai* 胎藏界 were crucial for Mori and became the starting point for *Nirvana*. These *mandalas* were recurrent subjects in Japanese art from the Heian period 平安時代 (794-1192 AD) and were widely used as a representation of the spiritual universe, which included the Buddha and his *bodhisattvas*, the sacred individuals that are helping the other beings on their path to enlightenment (Mason 2005: 122-128). The *mandalas* are used mainly by the Shingon school, or *Shingonshū* 真言宗 ('True Word' School), one of the most important and ancient Buddhist schools in Japan. The *mandalas* are considered important worship objects as they help the devoted understanding the multiple manifestations of Buddha and what they represented. Two renowned examples of these are the IX-century silk scrolls of *Kongōkai* and *Taizōkai* in the *Tōji* 東寺 temple in Kyoto, which are considered the most ancient *mandala* paintings in Japan (Mason 2005: 128).

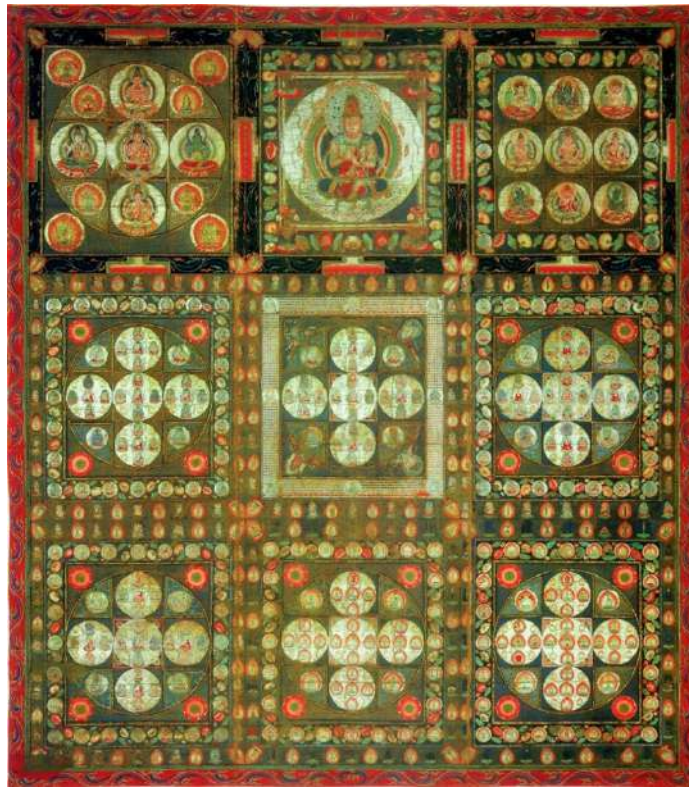


Figure 7. Unknown artist, *Kongōkai mandala*. Kyōogokokuji, Tōji, Kyoto. 2nd half of the IX century.
Paint on silk.

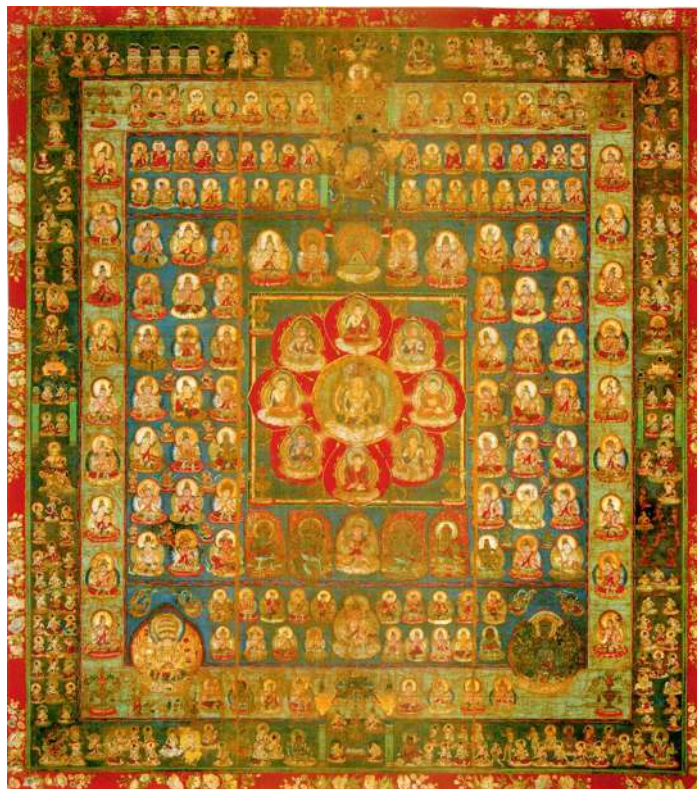


Figure 8. Unknown artist, *Taizōkai mandala*. Kyōogokokuji, Tōji, Kyoto. 2nd half of the IX century.
Paint on silk.



Figure 9. Unknown artist, *Triptych of White-robed Kannon, Kanzan, and Jittoku* (detail), XIV century. Ink on silk. Mary and Cheney Cowles Collection, Gift of Mary and Cheney Cowles, 2018. The Metropolitan Museum, New York. The Met Collection Open Access.

Another important element in Mori's *Nirvana* that connects the work with the Buddhist tradition is the lotus flower on which the figure stands. It is directly linked to the Lotus Sutra, a sacred text that is central for many Buddhist doctrines, both ancient and modern. The flower becomes the symbol of Buddha himself: for instance, Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来 – considered the primordial Buddha from whom everything is emanated – in the *Taizōkai mandala* usually sits at the center of an eight-petals lotus (Tsuji 2019: 102; Vesco 2021: 364). An iconographic connection with Mori's image might seem evident; it can be argued, however, that the character of the video *Nirvana* is not a representation of Buddha, but rather a Bodhisattva; indeed, the flower on which Mori performs her ritual has just blossomed, an important detail if we consider that the lotus blossom is traditionally among the symbols of bodhisattva Kannon, also called 'Bodhisattva of Compassion,' one of the most worshipped of the Japanese Buddhist tradition. Moreover, in the late medieval period, Kannon has been frequently pictured with soft and

sometimes feminine features (Mason 2005: 73-74). Referring to the later photograph *Pure Land*, which is so directly connected to *Nirvana* to almost look like a frame from the video, Mori also mentioned another goddess of Buddhist worship as one of the references for the central character: Kichijōten 吉祥天, which will be discussed more in detail later in the article (Hayward 2007: sec. *Pure Land*, para. 1; Fritsch 2011: 229).

Mori has also highlighted the importance of *mudra* in creating *Nirvana*, the symbolic positions of the hands that are a fundamental part of the physical practices that help meditation according to Shingon tradition (Yamasaki 1988: 112-113). In the video, Mori personally reinvents this additional element in an original, contemporary perspective.

Considering all the above, it is worth noticing that *Nirvana* is an artwork that can be read and understood on multiple levels, and that can be appreciated even by the viewer who ignores its Buddhist references. When the work was presented at the Venice Biennale in 1997, the international critics tended to indulge on a certain cliché by insisting on the ‘oriental traditions’ combined with popular culture and fashion (Steilhaug 1997: 468). This was a rather simplistic analysis of the piece that didn’t really consider the research behind its realization. Still, *Nirvana* was appreciated by the general public, who understood it as a suggestion to reconsider their own spirituality and their inner reality. The appreciation is also demonstrated by the fact that the piece received the special mention at the same Biennale (Poletto 2008: 347). Indeed, a crucial feature of the piece is its universality: despite its Buddhist roots, *Nirvana* has a strong effect on the viewer even if the religious references are not fully acknowledged. On this point Yuko Hasegawa (2002) also added that, despite the general artifice that characterizes the work, *Nirvana* represents a sacred figure that goes beyond the national boundaries and assumes the role of a global deity (Hasegawa 2002: 135-136).

Besides *Nirvana*, the reflection on the *mandala* iconology led Mori to create the series *Esoteric Cosmos*, therefore continuing to realize artworks that have a common origin in tantric Buddhism. *Esoteric Cosmos* is a series of four large photographs realized between 1996-1998. Each image has its own title: *Entropy of Love*, *Burning Desire*, *Mirror of Water* and *Pure Land*. Together, these photographs create a cycle that connects directly to the idea of universe portrayed in the *mandala*. According to the Shingon doctrine, all the phenomena that take place in the cosmos, including Buddha and the human beings, are generated by the interaction of the natural elements, which create all things by uniting and breaking apart (Tollini 2009: 40-41). The *Esoteric Cosmos* represent each element: as explained by Mori, ‘Wind is generated from emptiness, wind causes fire, fire causes water, water causes earth and earth decays to emptiness. This circulation also represents the Buddhist path of conception, practice, enlightenment and Nirvana’ (Hayward 2007: sec. *Esoteric Cosmos*, para. 1). We will see more in depth two

photographs of this group: *Burning Desire* and *Pure Land*, which might be considered to have the strongest link with each other, as the first seems to be presenting the correct practice to achieve enlightenment through meditation, and the latter can be seen as the outcome of this process.

The piece *Burning Desire* is set in a passage between the rocks of Bajanzag (Flaming Cliffs), in the Gobi Desert, one of the areas with the highest temperatures on the planet (Hayward 2007: sec. *Burning Desire*, para. 1). As mentioned above, the image is a representation of the Buddhist practice, with five characters in meditation, all played by Mori. The figure at the center sits with crossed legs inside a rainbow sphere and is a symbol of the individual who has achieved enlightenment; on the sides, in a symmetrical arrangement, we can notice the other four practitioners, each of them sitting in meditation and surrounded by burning flames that are made clearer by the title of the work. The fire depicted in the photograph is a key element for Buddhist iconography: it suggests that the individuals' earthly passions are not completely extinct and, therefore, these praying figures have not reached Buddhahood yet. It is to be noted, indeed, that in Buddhist doctrine the achievement of Nirvana has often been referred to as the extinguishment of a fire, which becomes the metaphor for all the mundane things that ought to be abandoned on the path to enlightenment (Becker 1993: 24). We can deduce, then, that the character at the center of the image has already escaped the cycle of death-rebirth, and for this reason is not among flames. Mori's previous travels to central Asia were crucial to deepen her knowledge on these religious topics and are at the root of this piece from both a spiritual and a practical perspective. Indeed, she explained that during her travels to Tibet, for instance, she personally purchased several tools and fabrics that she used to realize the costumes of this image (Hayward 2007: sec. *Burning Desire*, para. 1).



Figure 10. Mariko Mori, *Burning Desire*. 1996-98. Glass with photographic interlayer. Courtesy the Artist.



Figure 11. Mariko Mori, *Pure Land*. 1996-98. Glass with photographic interlayer. Courtesy the Artist.

Pure Land is the final work of the series. It is aesthetically linked to the video *Nirvana*, with which the image shares similar characters, settings and colors. In *Pure Land*, Mori is surrounded by the aliens, all carrying musical instruments and moving towards different directions. As anticipated above, Mori stated that one of the visual references for the female character in *Pure Land* is Kichijōten, the goddess of fertility and abundance, worshipped in particular during the Nara 奈良時代 (710-794 AD) and Heian 平安時代 (794-1192 AD) periods as part of the Buddhist deities. Towards the end of the VIII century, the worship of this goddess became more popular, and she was dedicated several ceremonies during the year that would ensure abundant rains and a rich harvest. Mori had the chance to see a famous representation of this sacred figure, from the late VIII century, in the Yakushiji 薬師寺 temple in Nara. There, Kichijōten is portrayed as an elegant lady from the Chinese court, following the female beauty ideal of the time (Mason 2005: 95-97; Vesco 2021: 358). The goddess in this painting seems to be floating on air, a movement emphasized by the lines of her garments. Similar characteristic can be traced also in Mori's photograph.



Figure 12. Unknown artist, *Portrait of Kichijōten*. Yakushiji, Nara. 771-772. Paint on hemp.

The title of the artwork by Mori, moreover, refers to Pure Land Buddhism, which was introduced from China to Japan during the VI century and had a powerful echo in the country, where it gave origin to several schools – two main examples being *Jōdoshū* 浄土宗 (Pure Land School) and *Jōdoshinshū* 浄土真宗 (True Pure Land School), which developed largely throughout the centuries until the Kamakura period 鎌倉時代 (1185–1333 AD). The expression ‘Pure Land’ that gives the title to this Buddhist doctrine (and to Mori’s artwork) is the name of the heavenly place where the Amida Buddha (*Amida Nyōrai* 阿弥陀如来) would allow the rebirth of the devoted who has followed the correct practice in life. It is characterized by a form of meditation that consists in the continuous repetition of Buddha’s name and, through this, the contemplation of Amida himself. In Japanese this formula is *namu amida butsu* 南無阿彌陀佛, also called *nenbutsu* 念仏. The *nenbutsu* was often recited to the dying people, as

it was believed that Amida would have saved the ones who invoked him with sincerity just before the final breath, allowing them to be reborn in his Western Paradise (Yamasaki 1988: 39).

Mori's *Pure Land* ultimately represents the heavenly location seen through the artist's eyes. An additional source of inspiration for the piece can be found in what is traditionally conceived as the central location for Amida Buddha's worship – the *Byōdōin* 平等院 temple, near Kyoto, and in particular its *hōōdō* 鳳凰堂 ('Phoenix Hall').¹ Considered to be Amida's earthly residence, the building was enriched by decorations of bodhisattvas flying on clouds, with musical instruments, and is dominated by the formidable sculpture realized in 1053 AD by distinguished master Jōchō 定朝 (b. n/a – d.1057 AD), portraying a serene Amida sitting on a lotus flower, at the center of a luxuriously decorated aura with elaborate details. Jōchō's Amida Nyōrai is one of the highest manifestations of the style that developed in different areas of the country until the Kamakura period, and set a canon of sculptural proportions that remained unaltered for centuries (Vesco 2021: 372). The multiplicity of characters in the decorations of this room connects the Hall and its Amida sculpture to another concept of Pure Land Buddhism, which I would suggest as a further element to better understand the piece by Mori; the *raigō* 来迎 ('welcoming descent').



Figure 13. Jōchō, *Statue of Amida Nyōrai*. Hōōdō (Phoenix Hall), Byōdōin, Kyoto. ca. 1053. Wood, fabric, lacquer, gold leaf. Image reproduced under CC BY-SA 4.0 license. Photo Zairon, Creative Commons.

¹ This place of worship was built in 1052 AD by Fujiwara Yorimichi 藤原頼通, who dedicated the Phoenix Hall to Amida Buddha (Horton 2008: 40-41).



Figure 14. Unknown artist, *Descent of Amida and Twenty-five Attendants (Haya raigō)*. Chionin, Kyoto. 13rd century. Gold and paint on silk.

The term *raigō* was used to indicate the glorious ceremony of Amida Buddha descending on Earth to greet and accompany the deceased's soul to heaven, an event that was believed to be reserved only to those who had faith in the *nenbutsu* and who should not, therefore, fear death. The *Amida raigō* scenes started becoming a recurrent subject in a series of pictorial and sculptural works of art around the year 1000 AD (Mason 2005: 142). I believe that, when compared, many analogies can be traced between Mori's *Pure Land* and the traditional *raigō* representations. One of these is a painting on silk from the XIII century from the *Chionin* 知恩院 temple in Kyoto, also called *Haya raigō* 早来迎 (fast descent). The diagonal composition, developing from the top left corner to the bottom right, depicts Buddha with a group of bodhisattvas, all descending on Earth towards the house of the dying man who will be accompanied to the Pure Land (Mason 2005: 209). In contrast with the sculpture by Jōchō mentioned above, in this representation Amida is not sitting, but stands at the center, surrounded by clouds and by a multitude of celestial beings. The standing figure, the long garments, the act of flying: all these are shared elements that can arguably lead to assume that Mori was influenced by the *raigō* aesthetics for the composition of the last of the *Esoteric Cosmos* photographs. Another analogy in common between the image *Pure Land* and the *Haya raigō* painting is the presence of a crowd in procession in both artworks, with rather different results: while it is composed by several bodhisattvas and sacred beings

in the traditional piece, in Mori's contemporary view the holy figures have abandoned the human form and look like aliens, to suggest that they do not belong to the human dimension.

4. Exploring sacred architecture in *Kumano* and *Dream Temple*

Mori's interest in exploring the sacred space, religious architecture and temples – that reached its maximum realization with *Dream Temple* at the turn of the century – was anticipated by another video piece, called *Kumano (Alaya)*. Mori realized the video between 1997-98 in order to explore an aspect of spirituality that differs from the previous body of work, rooted deeply into Buddhist concepts, to explore a more syncretic perspective on religion. The artist chooses to set the scene in the Kumano area, in the northern part of Kansai region in Japan. The location has a particular relevance from both an historical and spiritual point of view, having been the destination of pilgrimages since the Heian period, through a path called *Kumano Kodō* 熊野古道.

Besides being a *meisho* 名所 (famous place), Kumano is a location that holds several religious elements and beliefs, and this is the characteristic that led Mori, who walked the itinerary of this area herself, to realize the piece. This pilgrimage has repeatedly been entwined, since ancient times, with the concepts of life and death: as mentioned by Rodríguez del Alisal (2007), records show that it was not uncommon for people to come to this area towards the end of their life, aiming to expiate their sins (Rodríguez del Alisal 2007: 79). Moreover, the Kumano area was generally believed to be the earthly representation of the Pure Land (Reader 2005: 9-10). One of the main points of interest of the *Kumano Kodō*, and a perfect example of the cults in the area, is the Nachi waterfall 那智滝, one of the tallest in Japan, considered to be a divine presence. In addition, one of Kumano temples is believed to be the place where the itinerant monk Ippen 一遍 (1239-1289), the leader of the Pure Land Buddhist school *Jishū* 時宗 ('The Time School'), received an important revelation on faith and was taught by one of the deities of the area the importance of the *nenbutsu* (Moerman 2005: 72-73). Mori's fascination with a location so dense with religious references was the main reason behind the choice to set the scene of her artwork here.

The video *Kumano (Alaya)* is composed of different parts: at the beginning, the viewers find themselves immersed in a dense, foggy forest. In this surreal atmosphere, suddenly the camera shows a mysterious, octagonal temple and, as the video continues, we can witness the apparition of several sacred beings, all played by the artist. Next to a waterfall that looks like Nachi, a woman clothed in a white kimono and with a mirror headdress performs a ritual to honor the surrounding nature. The gestures of the ritual are invented by the artist, as well as the symbols that appear intermittently on

screen, like a prehistoric writing. Suddenly another female figure, also dressed in white and with a fox of the same color on the back, runs away as soon as she realizes she is being watched.

The first character that appears in the video can be understood as an alternative version of the shaman often played by Mori in her pieces. Indeed, the element of the mirror recalls the historical figure of Himiko 卑弥呼 (approx. 170–248 AD), the first ever documented female ruler in Japan. Her kingdom was a wide region called Yamatai 邪馬台 during the third century AD, approximately 300 years before the country was unified under one sovereignty (Yoshie, Tonomura and Takata 2013: 5). Himiko was traditionally believed to be gifted with magical powers and have a knowledge of shamanic practices; historical accounts record her as the receiver of one hundred bronze mirrors from Chinese Wei court, and it seems that the object was added to her ritual set. The iconographic motif of a woman dressed in ancient clothing and holding a mirror has famously become a direct reference to Himiko through the centuries (Miller 2014: 182). Mori's performance in *Kumano (Alaya)* can be understood as another contemporary version of this visual trope.

The other figure in the video also hides a deeper meaning. Indeed, the detail of the fox is an interesting reference to native mythology: in Japanese popular imagination, the *kitsune* 狐 ('fox'), besides being an animal, is traditionally believed to be a mischievous spirit who has the ability to transform into a fascinating woman in order to deceive men, and who can possess humans. In a broader way, the *kitsune* is perceived as either a positive or negative omen (Foster 2015: 178). In the video, Mori confers these two different natures to her woman-fox: the *kitsune* turned into human, and the supernatural being who can guide the pilgrim through Kumano's paths (Hayward 2007: sec. *Garden of Purification*, para. 4). All the above-mentioned elements are united together simultaneously in the large-scale photograph *Kumano* (1997-98), that combines the various details of the video: we can notice the temple, the shaman, the fox, all surrounded by the luxuriant nature of the Kumano area.



Figure 15. Mariko Mori, *Kumano*. 1997-98. Color photograph and glass. Courtesy the Artist.

The temple that appears in *Kumano* (both video and photo) is a crucial element in the artist's work, as this is the first apparition of what will be developed in a full-scale installation by Mori in the following years, called *Dream Temple*. The octagonal floorplan of the building and the shape of the roof recall the *Yumedono* hall 夢殿 ('Hall of dreams') in the *Hōryūji Tōin* 法隆寺東院 (the East Pavilion of the *Hōryūji* temple) in Nara. The building significantly impressed Mori, who stated, 'In a powerful dream I had on the night I walked to Kumano, a temple appeared. [...] Later, when I visited the *Yumedono* temple, [...] I felt it was the temple in my dream' (Hayward 2007: sec. *Garden of Purification*, para. 4). We can consider the video as an anticipation of a new turn in Mori's work: with an increasingly solid technological support, her pieces will gradually shift from two-dimensional photographs and videos to sculptures and large-scale, immersive installations.

The shift towards an exploration of the sacred space through installations, unifying art and technology, becomes even more tangible in 1998-99. As the technique changes, we can notice that Mori takes her self-portraits out of her art. Although we do not see her image anymore, the artist maintained her presence within the artwork by realizing specific performances that accompanied the presentations of these installations, as one-time events that introduced the public to the new piece. Holland (2009) sharply points out that 'Mori has maintained a transitory presence in her post-body installations through performance' (Holland 2009: para. 31). These performances often seem to take the form of meditation or rituals; for the *Dream Temple* exhibition opening at Fondazione Prada in Milan in 1999, for instance, the artist acted in the role of a *miko*. Furthermore, the collaborations with studios of architects and engineers have been crucial in order to realize her visionary projects of this

phase, and in giving shape to Mori's exploration of the overlap between art and technology. The artist ultimately hopes for this union to be of support for improving the world and the humankind. As King states,

[Mori] sees this technology, now available to almost everyone, as an influential and predominantly positive force. It provides a form in which dreams, fantasies, and visions of the future become more and more real, helping to advance culture. [...] Mori says, "It seems to me that using technology in art is very appropriate, because we can actually create a vision. I'm very excited and also hope that art and technology can merge to make something that's very important in the world" (King 1998: 19-20).



Figure 16. Mariko Mori, *Dream Temple*. 1999. Mixed media. Courtesy the Artist. Photo Richard Learoyd.



Figure 17. Yumedono, Hōryūji, Nara. VIII century. Image reproduced under CC BY 2.5 license. Photo 663highland, Creative Commons.

Several works have been realized in this direction since then. Her exploration of the sacred architectures finds what can be probably considered its most excellent example in the above-mentioned *Dream Temple*, completed as a proper installation only in 1999. A thorough architectural research is at the core of the project by Mori, which for this artwork was inspired by *Yumedono* hall. Part of the UNESCO World Heritage list, the *Hōryūji* is composed by around 50 buildings, some of which are among the oldest wooden monuments still existing globally.² The *Yumedono* that can be seen now is a VIII-century building that was erected where the private palace of Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 (574-622) was believed to be originally. Shōtoku was a key figure in promoting Buddhism in the country, and often considered its founder (Blum 2002: 81). In the collective imagination the *Yumedono* became, therefore, the sacred place par excellence, unifying historical events and religious elements. This exceptional location is the perfect starting point for Mori's hyper-technologic installation.

Mori's *Dream Temple* replicates the octagonal structure of the *Yumedono* but is made with completely different materials, mainly glass, which confers the structure a uniquely glowing and oneiric appearance. Presented in Milan for the first time, the installation was made possible thanks to a synergy between architecture/design studios based in Italy, US, and Japan, which took care of building its different parts. The project is composed by different sections that go beyond the simple external structure, all of which can be fully experienced by the viewers: indeed, they are allowed to walk the glass steps that conduct to the entrance of the building and, once inside, they discover that the space is surmounted by a hemispheric dome that is, in fact, a screen – the real protagonist of the work. A digitally animated video is screened there: a sequence of colorful shapes from micro and macro universes that seems to transcend time and space (Mori, Nakazawa and Iida 1999, sec 3, para. 4-5).

The artist's aim is to encourage the viewers to undertake a journey through their own self by crossing the iridescent space of the *Dream Temple*, whose ever-changing nuances can be seen as a representation of the humankind's mutable consciousness. Moreover, the temple is conceived as an invitation to meditate and, in order to do so, only one visitor at a time is allowed inside, which emphasizes the personal journey made by every individual, alone, from birth to death. Mori thoroughly described the different phases of the video screened inside the *Dream Temple* with these words:

The video traces the process of going very deep into your own consciousness. This is visualized as sinking down in water, allowing the mind to clear. In the beginning rain rises

² whc.unesco.org/en/list/660/ - The UNESCO page on the Hōryūji complex.

<http://www.horyuji.or.jp/> - The Hōryūji website.

to the sky, to break down the concept of space, and then you find yourself sinking through a deeper and deeper sea of water until you reach complete darkness. Once there is complete blackness, a rainbow of small and large bubbles begins to appear in waves. These rise to the surface of the sea, symbolizing all emotions leaving the body. When they have left the body, they rise to the sky and disappear, and you see a light emerging from a golden cube. Once you are inside the cube, you float through reflecting clouds in a blue sky which becomes a pink sunset. Slowly the clouds are sucked into space. [...] The next images trace the gathering of gases, as in the evolution of solar system. You see the sun and the light growing and growing, the stars are born from the viewer's stomach. The bright light represents the viewer's internal light in both physical and metaphysical sense. [...] There are no boundaries between you and others. Rather, we are all individuals, floating free as one (Hayward 2007: sec. *Dream Temple*, para. 6).

All these different phases described by Mori compose a cycle that narrates the harmony reached between microcosm (ourselves) and macrocosm (the space). Light is a major supporting element of the installation, as it contributes to confer a sense of sacrality to the setting, which enchants the viewer. The artist also stated that her own experience with meditation is the starting point of the images in the video: she initially began hand-drawing these shapes herself, but she soon realized that animation and computer graphics were necessary in order to render her visions of the transcendental energy. (Hayward 2007: sec. *Dream Temple*, para. 6). Germano Celant, who curated the show in Milan, suggested that *Dream Temple* can be seen as the conclusion of a research developed by the artist, who, after an analysis on the female figure in Japan in her early works, traveled through different territories and landscapes – as confirmed, I would add, by works such as the *Esoteric Cosmos* and *Kumano* – in order to redefine her own position in the world. For Celant, *Dream Temple* is pure stream of consciousness, as Mori lets the viewers witness directly the images in her mind through the video (Celant and Mori 1999). In doing so, however, one must not forget that Mori firmly believes that reality and perception do not exist in only one, unmovable manifestation. This is in line with the doctrine of *Yuishikishū* 唯識宗 ('Consciousness Only' School), according to which everything in perception is subjective, and the object does not exist before being perceived by consciousness, which is different for every individual (Yamasaki 1988: 9). Mori highlighted the importance of this doctrine in realizing the *Dream Temple*, whose itinerary can help the individual in discovering his own inner world (Hayward 2007: sec. *Dream Temple*, para. 12).

5. We are all connected: sharing experience, rediscovering ancient roots

In the years following *Dream Temple*, Mori focused mainly on perfecting interactive art installations, conceived as collectively shared experiences. In these, the spectators become the key not only to experience, but also to activate the artwork. The pieces, in order to fully work as intended, need human interaction. Two of the main projects from after the turn of the century, *Oeness* and *Wave UFO* (both 2003), are the best examples of this new trend in Mori's art. The former was initially created as an introductory step for the latter; but, as it developed, it became a piece on its own.



Figure 18. Mariko Mori, *Oeness*. 2003. Mixed media. Courtesy the Artist. Photo Marcus Tretter.



Figure 19. Mariko Mori, *Wave UFO*. 2003. Mixed media. Courtesy the Artist. Photo Richard Learoyd.

Oneness is composed by six identical sculptures representing blue anthropomorphic beings, approximately one meter tall, which stand on their feet and, facing outward, hold hands to form a circle. One might notice that these creatures look very similar to the attendants that surrounded the deity in Nirvana and Pure Land, but here they look more developed, and their purpose differs from the previous pieces: in *Oneness*, the visitors are encouraged to kneel and hug the sculptures, thus activating the installation. When hugged, the individual sculpture comes to life: its eyes light up and a mechanism turns on a heartbeat that can be heard by leaning on its chest. If they are all hugged together, the circular base of the installation illuminates, confirming a universal harmony between the participants. In a broader sense, the alien symbolizes the other, the unknown, and can be seen as our way to connect with the outside. In this way, *Oneness* can become a transcultural metaphor: Mori stated, 'I could be seen as an alien in another culture. Anyone living outside their own culture could be seen as an alien. We are different as individuals, but we are the same human beings' (Hayward 2007: sec. *Oneness*, para. 1).

The concepts of equality and interconnectedness between the whole humankind are even more evident in the complex installation *Wave UFO*, completed in parallel with *Oneness*. Reinforcing the collaborations with engineers and architects that were incredibly fecund to realize the previous projects, *Wave UFO* is an impressive hybrid mechanism that unifies technology, biology and art. The piece was exhibited in public and international venues across Europe and the United States, being presented, among the others, at Public Art Fund in New York City in 2003, and at the 51st Venice Art Biennale in 2005. From the outside, the installation looks like a 11-meters, opalescent structure, with

the shape of an elongated oval and a tail at one end, which connotes it somewhere between an extraterrestrial vehicle and a biomorphic entity. The fiberglass stairs and door are the only access to the inside of the apparatus. Similarly to what happened in Dream Temple, the machine can be fully experienced only from the inner space, looking at its hemispherical ceiling; the visitors are allowed inside in small groups of three people at the same time. Here, they lay back on seats at the center, facing upwards; once in this position, sensors will be attached to their forehead, which capture their brain waves and project them in different shapes and colors onto the domed ceiling. The overall image that originates and evolves on the screen in front of the visitors' eyes is the result of the combination of their three minds, working together and differently at the same time. The participants are also aware that what they are witnessing is a unique experience, created by the connection of those specific individuals at that specific time. As our feelings and sensations mutate constantly, the same projection cannot happen twice. A statement by the artist is the perfect explanation of the idea behind *Wave UFO* and, more in general, all the following works:

All beings in this world may appear to exist independently, but in reality we are all connected. Every living being exists with an infinite relationship. The body given by ancestors, the oxygen supplied by nature, the food obtained from the land, the earth, and the universe... We are all sustained here thanks to gifts bestowed on us by all living beings. [...] Through *Wave UFO*, it is my wish that all people in this world will connect with one another, crossing political and cultural borders (Mori 2003: 43).

In this quote, I believe the reference to the ancestors and the past – as well as the sense of gratitude to nature in a broader sense – is fascinating, as it leads us to the next step of the evolution of Mori's art. Indeed, the keen interest in spirituality, as well as the ancestral connections between the living beings and the nature, are developed even further in Mori's installations realized after 2003, the moment when the artist began travelling across Japan and explored the archaeological sites of the Jōmon period 縄文時代 (approx. 11000-400 BC). These locations had a strong impact on the artist's projects of the following years, as she discovered that the ideas of life and death shared by the primordial civilizations do not differ from the beliefs of many religious doctrines she inspected in her past works. Moreover, these seem to connect directly with the studies on the universe developed by contemporary quantum physics. Mori articulates the concept with the words,

According to some archeological discoveries about the Stone Age, new evidence has proved that ancient people believed in the existence of a netherworld and reincarnation. [...] After you are dead, your dead body will soon rot, but your spirit would open the gate

into eternal life. [...] Also, based on the latest scientific discoveries, especially from quantum physics, our universe is continuously experiencing its own death and rebirth. [...] For me, these two completely different ideas, ancient people's vision of death and life and the latest theories in physics, see the same kind of truth (Nicholson 2006: 44).

The artist decided then to revisit these themes and started creating installations that replicate the shapes of stones and monoliths used in primitive rituals, realizing them in different materials like glass, acrylic or ceramics: *Transcircle* (2004), *Primal Memory* (2004), *Tom Na H-iu* (2006) and *Flatstone* (2007) are all examples of this trend. Late Jōmon archaeological sites such as Ōyu, in Akita Prefecture, had an important role in shaping the design of these artworks. Monuments made of big stones and cobbles were discovered in those locations, arranged in wide concentric circles of varying dimensions – the external ones with a diameter of approximately 50 meters in Ōyu, for instance. It seems that these monuments had a ritual function and were perhaps indicating burial sites (Mason 2005: 21). An interesting element of these impressive compositions is the presence of a tall monolith at the center of the inner ring of stones, supposedly a sundial. This site is the manifestation of the Jōmon understandings of the world and the afterlife, as well as a representation of the calendar obtained by observing the natural phenomena, the sun and the stars movements. Since their whole subsistence depended on nature, Jōmon civilizations must have been extremely attentive to these phenomena, as it is demonstrated by the fact that the two monoliths at the center of the circles in Ōyu seem to be in line with the point on the horizon where the sun sets during summer solstice (Kobayashi 2004: 180).



Figure 20. Ōyu stone circles, Kazuno, Akita Prefecture. Late Jōmon. Image reproduced under CC BY-SA 4.0 license. Photo G41rn8, Creative Commons.

Mori's projects of this phase can be seen as a way for the artist to recreate a sacred space where the experience of death and rebirth come together, not differently from the architectural works of the previous years (Holland 2011: 19). I would also add that they offer a precise depiction of a strong, ancestral connection between the observation of cosmic phenomena and the prehistorical production of human artifacts. From the works mentioned above, I believe that *Flatstone* is one the most striking examples of how the artist can recreate a prehistoric object by using completely unexpected materials. *Flatstone* is composed by 22 flat pieces of white ceramics, all different in shape, that recreate the outlook of primitive cobbles. These are arranged on the floor in a vaguely pentagonal shape that might recall the floor of a small former building, now disappeared. Three additional 'ceramic stones' are lined up in front of the site to suggest a lane, a progressive path that leads to its entrance. In this contemplative atmosphere, the central element of the installation is the artifact that stands at the center of the scene: a transparent, acrylic vessel that is the exact reproduction of a famous earthenware vase from Medium Jōmon, which is currently part of the collection at Idojiri Archaeological Museum in Nagano Prefecture.

Pottery production was crucial in the prehistoric period, and different decorative trends have been noticed across the Jōmon eras: from the 'cord-marked' decorations of Early Jōmon to more complex ornaments of the later periods. The vessel at the Idojiri Museum is a particularly elegant example of the *kaen doki* 火焰土器 ('flame pot') style of Medium Jōmon, which was characterized by irregular, swirling or flaming motifs in the upper section of jars and vases (Tsuji 2019: 10). Mori adds, thus, a true historical reference to her recreated site, and establishes a strong connection with the ancient period through a direct reference to the existing artifact. Her modern version of the prehistorical vessel can arguably be seen as an invitation to the whole humankind to find a way to reconnect with its roots and with nature, as it was in ancient times. The artifact might have evolved and changed with time, but for Mori it is crucial that the funding concept of the whole installation remains unvaried from the original site: the central ideas is the ritual, the observation of natural phenomena, and a link with nature that must be recovered by using, if needed, the support of science and technology.



Figure 21. Mariko Mori, *Flatstone*. 2007. Mixed media. Courtesy the Artist. Photo Tom Powel Imaging.



Figure 22. Unknown artist, *Large, swirling water-flame patterned pot*. Middle Jōmon. Earthenware. Courtesy Idojiri Archaeological Museum.

6. In honor of nature: Mariko Mori's environmental installations

In a 2006 interview, Mori was asked the question, 'Are there any art forms that you have not yet attempted that you want to do in future?' 'Outdoor Sculptures' (Nicholson 2006: 45). This changed in the past few years, when the artist started realizing site-specific installations in natural areas of the world. In this final section, then, we will look at the most ambitious and complex of Mori's projects, composed by different parts and still in progress. I would argue that all the previous trends in Mori's art converge into this project: the Buddhist influences of the pieces mentioned above interweave with the concepts behind the works of the last years.

In 2010, Mori established the Faou Foundation, a non-profit organization that is the result of her growing interest towards environmental issues. Through the collaboration with local communities, Faou Foundation aims to build a series of public art installations in different places of the inhabitable continents of the globe (Africa, Asia, Europe, North America, South America, Oceania) with the aim to encourage a sense of collectivity between all the living beings, and to honor nature. The installations, once completed, will also recreate an ideal connection between all the different parts of the world, conveying a message of global harmony. So far, two works have been installed: *Sun Pillar (Primal Rhythm)* (2011) in Miyako Island, Okinawa, Japan (Asia); and *Ring: One With Nature* (2016) in Muriqui, Mangaratiba, Brazil (South America). The next upcoming piece, which the Foundation is working on at the present moment, is going to be realized in Ethiopia (Africa), but the details are still to be uncovered.³

It is worth mentioning briefly the first of these projects. Standing on a rock at the center of Seven Light Bay in Miyakojima, the monolithic element is the central part of *Primal Rhythm*. Its *Sun Pillar* is a 4-meters tall structure made in transparent layers of acrylic that recalls a sundial of the ancient sites mentioned in the previous section. It's during the winter solstice, which is a powerful symbol of rebirth, that the installation is activated, as the viewers can see the sun setting precisely behind the pillar, creating an ideal line that connects the Earth and the universe.

The second of the Faou Foundation projects that we will see in detail is the fascinating installation *Ring (One With Nature)*, which was presented to the public on the occasion of the 2016 Rio Olympic and Paralympic Games. The piece is composed by a large circular structure with a 3-meters diameter, installed on top of the Vêu da Noiva, a tall waterfall in Cunhambebe State Park, Muriqui, in Rio de Janeiro, which Mori said appeared to her in a dream years before.⁴ The result is a rather visionary scene,

³ www.faoufoundation.org - The FAOU Foundation website.

⁴ www.faoufoundation.org/ring - Page dedicated to *Ring: One With Nature* on the FAOU Foundation website.

where the circular shape seems almost suspended on top of the 60-metres cascade. Due to its materials, the colors of the circle change constantly, according to the different ways it is illuminated by the sun rays during the day, which make it vary from blue to white and gold.



Figure 23. Mariko Mori, *Primal Rhythm – Sun Pillar*. 2011. Courtesy the Artist. Photo Richard Learoyd.



Figure 24. Mariko Mori, *Ring (One with Nature)*. 2016. Courtesy the Artist. Photo Stephanie Leal.

Similarly to the other examples that were inspected previously in this article, *Ring (One With Nature)* is another artwork in which we can notice multiple layers of meaning, as it is the result of several different concepts. First of all, I would suggest that the presence of the waterfall could be perceived also as a link to the previous *Kumano* works, where the environment – as it happens in *Ring (One With Nature)* – played a key role for the development of the scene.

Other additional readings are suggested by the shape of the sculpture, which directly recalls the official symbol of the Olympic games: the five intersecting rings, metaphorically referring to all nations of the world united in the global event. This idea behind the Olympic logo is not too dissimilar from the concepts of interconnectedness that Mori has been conveying through her art. *Ring (One With Nature)* can therefore become by extension a symbol of peaceful coexistence, once again linking people from all over the world into one collectivity.

In addition to the above, and in line with these concepts, it is worth noting that the ring can be understood as a direct reference to the idea of an all-encompassing universe of Buddhist origins. Indeed, the circle has a strong religious meaning for Chinese and Japanese traditions, as it is a powerful symbol for Zen Buddhism. Called *ensō* 円相 in Japanese, the circle has been considered the representation of the wisdom of Buddha, or by extension even Buddha himself, as it shows perfection in its shape that has no beginning and no end (Brinker, Kanazawa and Leisinger 1996: 256). It is a recurrent motif in traditional Buddhist art and calligraphy, and as highlighted by Seckel and Leisinger,

[i]conographically – apart from sun and moon as symbols of various holy figures – the circle can be found first of all in the shape of the wheel, and above all in the shape of the nimbus, surrounding the head or frequently also the body of an enlightened one. [...] The concept of “circle” or “round” is important for the description of timeless eternity without beginning or end, of perfection, of the ultimate truth, of the intrinsic essence and its perception, since the circle is “full” as well as “empty” (Seckel and Leisinger 2004: 71-72).

The circle is widely present in Zen paintings of long tradition; called *zenga* 禅画 in Japanese, the style re-flourished during the Edo period 江戸時代 (1600-1868 AD) and particularly in the 18th century, but its influence on art and design can be noticed also in modern and contemporary times.⁵ The *zenga* style is characterized by simple brushstrokes, usually realized in one color and halfway between a painting

⁵ One notable use of the influence of *zenga* iconography on XX-century art is the Gutai 具体 founder Yoshihara Jirō 吉原 治良 (1905-1972), who dedicated the last decade of his life to repeating a series of *ensō* paintings in acrylic, as a form of spiritual discipline (Munroe 1994: 94).

and a calligraphic exercise, where a figurative element is often accompanied by a short text. Usually in the form of the hanging scrolls, these paintings were meant to evoke a concept of the Zen Buddhist tradition and to support the practitioner through meditation (Mason 2005: 325). Excellent examples of the *ensō* paintings of this style can be found in works by the renowned master Hakuin Ekaku 白隠慧鶴 (1686-1769) and the eminent Tōrei Enji 東嶺円慈 (1721-1792), who is believed to be his best disciple (Joskovich 2015: 321). Later works of Meiji period 明治時代 (1868-1912) reproducing this motif can be found in the practice of more recent artists such as Sekiren Ashizu 蘆津石蓮 (1850-1924).



Figure 25. Tōrei Enji, *Enso*. XVIII century. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. Gitter-Yelen Collection (collection ref. 1972.1)

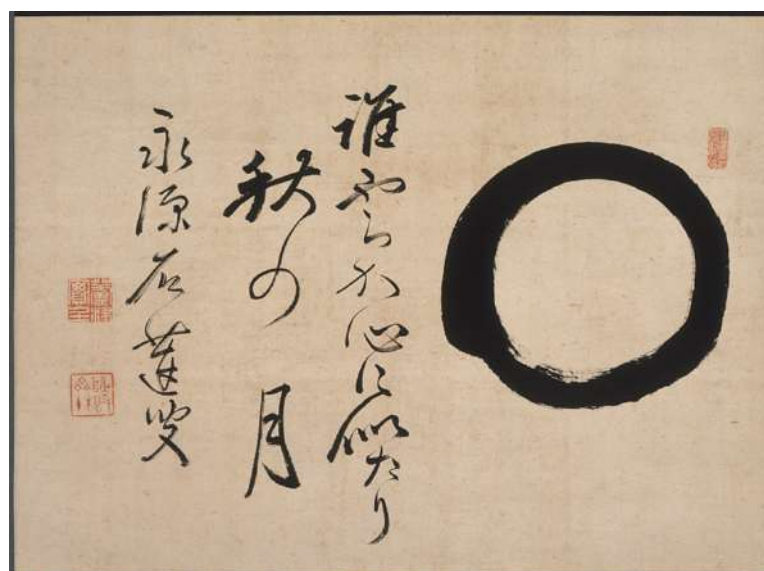


Figure 26. Sekiren Ashizu, *Enso*. Meiji period. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. Gitter-Yelen Collection (collection ref. 2004.22).

We have seen the circle in other previous pieces by Mori: the dome of *Dream Temple*, the base of *Oneness*, or the ceiling of *Wave UFO*, for instance. In these artworks the shape is repeatedly used to convey a sense of balance and peace. So, the circle can be understood as one of the recurring elements of her art: however, in *Ring (One With Nature)* the shape has a predominant position and truly celebrates the harmony of nature through an installation of unprecedented complexity.

7. Conclusions

Through the article, I wished to highlight a fascinating aspect of Mori Mariko's art, who I find to be one of the most interesting and complex Japanese artists working on the international scene nowadays. Moreover, the choice of dedicating a study to topics such as interconnectedness and collectivity through art seems crucial in the present moment, when these concepts have been put at risk by global issues such as the pandemic and the environmental danger – something that may have caused in many of us growing feelings of anxiety, isolation, and uncertainty.

This overview is partly developed from a previous research that I conducted on the artist for my postgraduate dissertation a few years ago.⁶ Recently I was inspired to go back to these concepts by Mori's latest activities, which I kept following regularly; besides the most recent exhibitions that have been dedicated to her in different venues – mostly involving new sculptures – it was in particular during the first phase of the current global pandemic that I noticed the artist's ideas of collective spirituality being presented under an innovative light.

In 2020, during the international lockdown, Mori hosted on her Instagram account a series of events called *Tea Ceremonies*, a series of conversations with other artists and curators connected in real time.⁷ Anish Kapoor, Sugimoto Hiroshi 杉本 博司, Nara Yoshitomo 奈良美智 are just some of the guests that participated in these virtual events, each of which started with a long-distance tea ceremony performed by Mori for the other person. Overturning the social criticism of the *Tea Ceremony* photograph from 1994 mentioned at the beginning, the 2020 series of conversations with the same title become an invitation to share a moment together, to connect with each other as equals. Very refreshing to watch as an external viewer, they were precious occasions for the artist to get in touch with the others, to carry on conversations, and to share thoughts and reflections with all the viewers

⁶ <http://hdl.handle.net/10579/2575> - link to the open access version of the dissertation *L'arte di Mariko Mori: La preghiera della sciamana*. © Federica Cavazzuti 2013.

⁷ [instagram.com/marikomorik](https://www.instagram.com/marikomorik): Mori's official Instagram account.

who, once again, were metaphorically linked together by participating remotely to the events in a renewed collectivity.

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<http://hdl.handle.net/10579/2575> - Open access version of the dissertation *L'arte di Mariko Mori: La preghiera della sciamana*. © Federica Cavazzuti 2013

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Mensural classifiers and traditional measuring tools used in Acehnese (Indonesia)

Zulfadli Abdul Aziz, Yunisrina Qismullah Yusuf, Dini Hanifa and Mohammad Harun

This study investigates the mensural classifiers along with various traditional measurement tools used by the Acehnese community in Pidie Jaya District, Aceh Province, Indonesia. The data for this qualitative research with an ethnographic approach was obtained from five sub-districts in Pidie Jaya District. Elicitation techniques and non-participant observation techniques were employed to collect data from 12 selected informants. Pictures of these tools were taken for documentation. It was found that there are 23 mensural classifiers for the volume measurement unit (*kai, sukèe, ndhie, siblakai, cupak, arè, gantang, pacôk, kulah, naléh, gunca, kuyan, tayeun, gaca siarè, gaca sicupak, gaca sikai, glok, cawan, mok, cinu, tima, yôk, and kalè*), one mensural classifier for width measurement unit (*naléh*) and three mensural classifiers for weight measurement unit (*manyam, bungkai, and katoe*). These traditional measuring tools are made from parts of plants, recycled goods, and even items sold in the market but are considered traditional by the community, as well as antiques that are believed to have originated from abroad. It is expected that the results of this research can be used as documentation of the Acehnese traditional heritage as an effort to preserve a regional culture in Indonesia. Future research on this topic should also investigate traditional measuring tools that use parts of the human body as measurements because they also exist in Acehnese society.

Keywords: Acehnese, mensural classifiers, traditional measuring tools, traditional heritage

1. Introduction¹

Acehnese (ISO 639-3: ace) is a language of Indonesia; most of its approximately 2.5 million speakers live in the Aceh Province (Wildan 2010, Yusuf 2013). In addition to the Aceh community, other communities in Aceh speak Javanese, Gayonese, and Bataknese (Suryadinata *et al.* 2003). The Acehnese language speakers are 1.19% of the total population of Indonesia (Na'im and Syaputra 2012). Acehnese is divided

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into four dialects: Greater Aceh, Pidie, North Aceh, and West Aceh. From one dialect to another, there are differences in the phonology and the choice of words for certain expressions that sometimes lead to misunderstandings in communication (Asyik 1987). This article will address the quantifiers in the Acehnese language irrespective of the dialect.

In counting objects, some languages only need a quantifier. On the other hand, some languages require a numeral classifier. A quantifier is different from a numeral classifier: a quantifier can be used to measure various kinds of objects, while a numeral classifier can only classify certain types and groups of objects (Ahrens 1994), either based on the inherent properties of the object or the tool used to measure it (Aikhenvald 2000). Almost all languages have a quantifier (Aikhenvald, 2006), but some languages need a classifier. A language that requires a classifier is called a classifier language (Aikhenvald 2000, Chierchia 1998, Li 1999, Tang 2004).

Classifier languages can be found in parts of Central and Latin America, Europe, Africa, Australia, and mostly in Asia (Aikhenvald 2000). Slightly different from Aikhenvald (2000), Gil (2013) states that classifier languages are mostly found in Austronesian, Sino-Tibetan, and Austro-Asiatic languages. Smaller numbers of classifier languages are found in other languages such as Japanese, Korean, Niger-Congo, Arawa (Central America and Latin America), Mayan (Central America), Na-Dene (Canada and United States), Uralic (Hungary), and Altaic (Middle-East and Russia).

Acehnese, too has its methods for classifying objects as well as determining the number of things. One of those is measuring using certain tools, such as parts of the human body and traditional measuring tools. However, up to now, researchers who conducted studies on Acehnese have not yet agreed on the classifiers in the language. For example, Daud and Durie (1999) claim that *arè* is categorized as the volume measurement unit equal to ‘amount of less than a liter or one bamboo.’² This interpretation slightly differs from that of Bakar *et al.* (1985a), who argue that *arè* is a measure of rice of about two liters. Asyik (1987), similarly, claims that *arè* is a container that has a capacity of 2 liters.

Differences also arise in determining the definition of classifiers. E.g., Durie (1985) states that *mayam* (or *manyam*) ‘about three grams’ is categorized as the weight measurement unit without mentioning it for specific purposes. Meanwhile, Asyik (1987) argues that *mayam* is used only to measure the weight of gold and silver. Later on, Daud and Durie (1999) interpret that the use of *mayam* was specifically to measure the weight of gold. Regarding the weight, Durie (1985) and Asyik (1987) have

² In this paper, we used the latest and updated Acehnese orthography as proposed by Pillai and Yusuf (2012), Yusuf (2013), and Yusuf and Pillai (2013).

slightly different interpretations. Durie (1985) claims that one *mayam* weighs about three grams. Meanwhile, Asyik (1987) claims that one *mayam* weighs exactly three and a third grams.

While *arè* and *mayam* are a source of disagreement, Bakar *et al.* (1985a), Durie (1985), Asyik (1987), and Daud and Durie (1999) agree that *hah* is ‘the length equivalent to an ell or elbow to the tip of the middle finger.’ Likewise, *deupa* is claimed to be ‘the length equivalent to a fathom or a height of a man.’ Both *hah* and *deupa* use human arms as media to measure. This measurement system is different from the standard system that has been used in other areas of the world so far. This measurement system is known as a mensural classifier (Aikhenvald 2000).

To the best of our knowledge, there have not been many comprehensive studies on the classifiers of the Acehese language. Azwardi (2014) has conducted a study on the Acehese language based on the North Aceh dialect, and he found that there are at least 79 numeral classifiers used by the community. His data comprise the classifiers from five different points of view, namely the lexical, grammatical, semantic, sociolinguistic, and psycholinguistic points of view. Unfortunately, he does not explain the types of classifiers. But out of the 79 classifiers, he mentions several mensural classifiers, namely *arè*, *atôt*, *jingkai*, *hah*, *deupa*, *mok*, and *mayam*. The mensural classifiers can be found more clearly in Durie’s (1985) work, which uses the term “measure nouns” and divides them into 10 categories of measurement units.

This present study investigates in more detail and more comprehensively the Acehese mensural classifiers. The focus of this research is on mensural classifiers that use traditional measuring tools as measurement media. It is different from the previous studies on similar topics, and it also raises new topics that have not been discussed before in the literature. This study uses Aikhenvald’s (2000) typology of noun categorization device. Moreover, traditional measuring tools are also parts of craft and commerce that reflect cultures and places, promoting the tradition that is handed down from generation to generation (Leon *et al.* 2020). Therefore, it is important to study these traditional Acehese mensural classifiers.

The mensural classifiers examined in this study are those used by the Acehese community in Pidie Jaya District, Aceh Province, Indonesia. We chose Pidie Jaya District because three of the four authors came from this district. Preservation of the Acehese language is also a focus of this research, considering that the younger generation of Acehese prefers to communicate using Bahasa Indonesia (Aziz *et al.* 2020, Aziz *et al.* 2021) because it sounds more prestigious (Al-Auwal 2017). The same reason was asserted by parents who chose to teach Bahasa Indonesia as the first language to their children (Alamsyah 2011; Yusuf *et al.* 2022b). The results of this study act as a documentation to help preserve a minority language to continue to thrive in a community.

2. Acehnese numeral mensural classifiers

Durie (1985) explains that there are eight categories of measurement in the Acehnese language. These include numbers, volumes, shapes, areas, parts or sections, extents of time, some obsolete money terms, and terms for kinds. Referring to Aikhenvald's typology (2000), there are two out of seven categories that fall into the mensural classifier. In the volume category, there are a few mensural classifiers that have become a standard for measuring volumes. Unfortunately, Durie (1985) does not explain the capacity of *arè* if converted to the standard unit of measurements. Smaller sizes are *cupak*, which means 'half *arè*,' *kay* 'a quarter of *arè*,' and *beulakay* 'one-eighth of *arè*.' Meanwhile, for sizes larger than *arè*, *arè gantang* means 'two *arè*,' *naléh* is '16 *arè*,' *gunca* '160 *arè*' and *kuyan* '1600 *arè*.' The traditional measuring tool used was not explained. Still, Durie (1985) states that *kay* has the same size as the volume of half of the coconut shell. All measurements above are based on the Acehnese local tradition. In addition, in the area category, there is a *yôk* 'a measure of rice field area' which also uses measurement procedures based on local traditions.

There is also a volume category that uses part of the human body as a measurement medium. These measurements include *ceukue*, meaning 'an open handful,' *geutu* 'a pinch between thumb and index finger,' *jeumpet* 'a pinch with the tips of the first three fingers,' *paleut* 'an open handful,' *pangkee* 'an armful,' and *reugam* 'a fistful.' For the shape category, there is *geupay* 'a lump.' *Geupay* also uses part of the human body as a measurement medium, namely the fist (Durie 1985).

Referring to the Acehnese-Bahasa Indonesia Dictionary (Bakar *et al.* 1985a; Bakar *et al.* 1985b) there are several other measurement terms besides those discussed earlier. Some of them are used only to measure certain objects. Examples are *ci* (Bakar *et al.* 1985a) and *tahe* (Bakar *et al.* 1985b), both of which have the meaning 'a measure for weighing opium.' There is no further explanation of the size of *ci* and *tahe* if converted to standard measurements. There is also *diwa* used specifically for *keumamah* 'fish which is boiled then floured to make it dry and durable' (Bakar *et al.* 1985a). The size of the weight of the *diwa* is also not known for sure if it is converted to standard measurements.

To measure the areca nut, the mensural classifier *lasah* is used (Bakar *et al.* 1985a). To measure the number of strands of silk thread, a mensural classifier *tu* is used. The mensural classifier for measuring metal alloys is called *subok* (Bakar *et al.* 1985b). Just like mensural classifiers *ci*, *tahe*, and *diwa*, there are no explanations of how much weight of *lasah*, *tu*, and *subok* if converted to a standard unit of measurement.

3. Methods

The method of this research is qualitative, more precisely, ethnographic. The research was carried out in Pidie Jaya District, Aceh, Indonesia. In collecting data, there were twelve informants: two informants came from Bandar Baru Sub-district, three informants came from Panteraja Sub-district, one informant came from Trienggadeng Sub-district, four informants came from the Meureudu sub-district, and two informants came from Meurah Dua Sub-district. The informants recruited as samples were “based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned” (Tisdell and Merriam 2009: 77). We sampled community members who mostly used the Acehnese language as a daily communication language. The dialect used is either the Pidie dialect or the North Aceh dialect because according to Asyik (1987), the Acehnese community in some areas in Pidie Jaya District tends to use both dialects. The informants chosen were also over 40 years old, taking into account the results of the research by Alamsyah *et al.* (2011), Al-Auwal (2017), Aziz *et al.* (2020), and Aziz *et al.* (2021) claiming that the younger generation of Acehnese is more fluent in Bahasa Indonesia than the Acehnese language.

Two types of data collection are used in this research: non-participant observation and elicitation. We did the non-participant observation since two of the three authors came from this district. The instrument we used was an observation sheet that consisted of two parts. Part A is the informant’s data, such as name, age, domicile area, and occupation. Part B is a table consisting of five columns. The first column is the numbering column, the second column contains the name of the mensural classifiers that are known by the informants (as the result of the elicitation), the third column contains the name of the tool used in measuring, and the fourth column is information on the use of the mensural classifier. The fourth column consists of two sub-columns, namely “yes” and “no” columns. The last column contains additional information about the classifier.

We also used an elicitation technique in collecting the data since we found out that the informants had difficulty answering the asked questions, especially in recalling the names of some mensural classifiers as well as the traditional measuring tools. Johnson and Weller (2002: 492) explained that “elicitation methods are especially critical for the elicitation of unarticulated personal experience, in this case, forms of the expert knowledge that are often tacit and difficult to obtain through normal interviews or from simple descriptive discourse.” We decided to first conduct preliminary research on the mensural classifiers used by the Acehnese community. The target community originally came from Pidie Jaya District but is now settled in Banda Aceh. Considering that Banda Aceh is populated by many kinds of communities from other districts, where someone can speak the Acehnese language in more than one dialect, even all four dialects at once. The purpose of this preliminary research is to gather

information about the kinds of mensural classifiers as the initial data as much as possible. This gathered information then was utilized as the second research instrument: an elicitation sheet.

In analyzing the data, we first combined the results of the two techniques of data collection, namely non-participant observation and elicitation. Once combined, the next step is to analyze the data. We chose the three stages of data analysis suggested by Miles *et al.* (2014). Those three stages are data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing. In the first stage, the raw data were selected based on the focus of this research. The purpose of data condensation was to take the necessary data and discard unnecessary ones. The selected data were then grouped according to certain categories. In the second stage, the data that had been grouped were then displayed accordingly to later make it easier to describe them. The data display was made in tabular forms and divided into categories that had been briefly discussed in data condensation. The purpose of this was to provide a comprehensive image of the mensural classifiers as well as the traditional measuring tools to see the correlation between one datum and another. The last stage was looking for correlations among the data. The results of these correlations were concluded and discussed in a narrative form. For each discussion of the mensural classifier, it was discussed based on these categories: the type of measurement unit, the kind of traditional measuring tools, and whether they are still used or not. In addition, the usability, the examples of usage, and other matters relating to each classifier (e.g., the story behind and the origin of the classifier) are also discussed.

4. Results and discussion

The results of the data analysis found that there were 27 mensural classifiers used by the Acehnese community in Pidie Jaya District which is divided into three measurement unit categories. For volume measurement units, there are 23 mensural classifiers: *kai*, *sukèe*, *ndhie*, *siblakai*, *cupak*, *arè*, *gantang*, *pacôk*, *kulah*, *naléh*, *gunca*, *kuyan*, *tayeun*, *gaca siarè*, *gaca sicupak*, *gaca sikai*, *glok*, *cawan*, *mok*, *cinu*, *tima*, *yôk*, and *kalè*. We found only one mensural classifier for the width measurement unit, namely *naléh*. Three other mensural classifiers, *manyam*, *bungkai*, and *katoe* are included in the weight measurement unit.

4.1. Volume measurement units

For volume measurement units, there are 23 mensural classifiers: *kai*, *sukèe*, *ndhie*, *siblakai*, *cupak*, *arè*, *gantang*, *pacôk*, *kulah*, *naléh*, *gunca*, *kuyan*, *tayeun*, *gaca siarè*, *gaca sicupak*, *gaca sikai*, *glok*, *cawan*, *mok*, *cinu*, *tima*, *yôk*, and *kalè*. They are explained in the next sub-sections.

4.1.1. Kai

Kai is a mensural classifier for the volume measurement unit which is usually used for measuring rice, beans, and seeds. It uses *bruek kai* as a traditional measuring tool (Figure 1.). According to Daud and Durie (1999), *bruek* means ‘coconut shell’ because this measuring tool is indeed made of a coconut shell whose surface is smoothed. The coconut shell is cut at the bottom for about one-third part of its original size so that the upper two-thirds parts are used. On the top of the coconut shell, there are naturally formed holes. The Acehnese community in Pidie Jaya District used these holes to get a hold of the shell by inserting the middle finger into one of the holes.



Figure 1. The measuring tool *bruek kai* is made from coconut shells (photos by Dini Hanifa)

4.1.2. Sukèè, Ndhie, Siblakai and Cupak

Mensural classifiers *sukèè*, *ndhie*, *siblakai*, and *cupak* also use *bruek kai* as a measuring tool. *Sukèè* has a size of about one-eighth of *kai*. *Ndhie* has a size which is a quarter of *kai* or equivalent to two *sukèè*. *Siblakai* is half of the size of mensural classifier *kai*, while *cupak* is equivalent to two *kai*. Table 1. shows the size comparison of mensural classifier *sukèè*, *ndhie*, *siblakai*, and *cupak* to mensural classifier *kai*.

	<i>Sukèè</i>	<i>Ndhie</i>	<i>Siblakai</i>	<i>Kai</i>	<i>Cupak</i>
<i>Sukèè</i>	1	2	4	8	16
<i>Ndhie</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	2	4	8
<i>Siblakai</i>	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	2	4
<i>Kai</i>	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	2
<i>Cupak</i>	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1

Table 1. Size comparison of *sukèè*, *ndhie*, *siblakai*, and *cupak* to *kai*

Even though *ndhie* has a size that is equivalent to two *sukèe*, the informants agreed that if they wanted to say *ndhie*, they never say it as *dua sukèe* ‘two *sukèe*.’ This rule is also applied to *siblakai* (not *dua ndhie* ‘two *ndhie*,’ or *peut sukèe* ‘four *sukèe*), *kai* (not *dua siblakai* ‘two *siblakai*,’ or *peut ndhie* ‘four *ndhie*,’ or *lapan sukèe* ‘eight *sukèe*’) and *cupak* (not *dua kai* ‘two *kai*,’ or *peut siblakai* ‘four *siblakai*,’ or *lapan ndhie* ‘eight *ndhie*,’ or *namblah sukèe* ‘sixteen *sukèe*’).

4.1.3. *Arè* and *Gantang*

The mensural classifier *arè* is used mostly to measure rice. According to the informants, one *arè* of rice has a volume of around two liters (2 L). *Gantang* is a mensural classifier that has a size equivalent to two *arè* or approximately 4 L. It also is used to measure rice. The informants believe that members of the Acehnese community in Pidie Jaya District now more often say *dua arè* ‘two *arè*’ than *si-gantang* ‘one *gantang*.’ Likewise, it’s more common to say *lhèe arè* ‘three *arè*’ (not ‘one and a half *gantang*’), *peut arè* ‘four *arè*’ (not ‘two *gantang*’), and so on.

To measure *arè* and *gantang*, a traditional measuring tool made of *trieng* ‘bamboo’ is used. The bamboo that is used as a measuring tool for *arè* is cut as big as one bamboo reed (Figure 2.). This traditional measuring tool is called *arè* (not to be confused with the mensural classifier *are*).

Nowadays, there is an *arè* made of tin that has a standardized size of 2 L (Figure 3.). However, the Acehnese community in Pidie Jaya District still prefers to use the measuring tool *arè* that is made of *trieng* ‘bamboo.’ Some informants said that this phenomenon was just out of habit, while other informants claimed that if the traditional measuring tool *arè* made of bamboo is used to measure to-be-cooked rice, the taste of rice would be better when it was cooked.



Figure 2. *Arè* made from bamboo (photo by Dini Hanifa) Figure 3. *Arè* made from tin (photo by Dini Hanifa)

4.1.4. *Pacôk*

The mensural classifier *pacôk* is used to measure *ie jôk* ‘sap water’ (obtained by tapping inflorescences of various palms). Like mensural classifier *arè*, *pacôk* also uses a traditional measuring tool made of *trieng* ‘bamboo,’ only the length is longer, about 1 m with a capacity of about 4 to 5 L. This is because the bamboo reeds are used as many as two or three reeds, and the middle part is perforated so that one reed and the other are interconnected. This measuring tool is called *pacôk trieng*.

We had to look for an online image of bamboo with the same function as *pacôk trieng* since we could not find *pacôk trieng* used by the Acehnese community in the Pidie Jaya District. We found out a *bambung*, which is a bamboo container used to extract sap water. According to the informants, *bambung* has the same characteristics as *pacôk trieng*.



Figure 4. *Bambung*, which according to the informants resembles a *pacôk trieng* made from bamboo (<http://bayurifaldhi.blogspot.com/2015/05/enau-arenga-pinnata.html>)

4.1.5. *Kulah*

Kulah is another mensural classifier used for measuring water in the volume measurement unit. *Kulah* has another meaning aside from the mensural classifier: ‘water tank’ (Daud and Durie 1999). One *kulah* of water has a volume of about 135 liter. *Kulah* has no specific traditional measuring tool use. According to the informant, the Acehnese community in Pidie Jaya District made a special tub in which the capacity is equivalent to two *kulah* were used for the *wudhu*’ (Islamic procedure for cleansing parts of the body, a type of ritual purification, or ablution) done before prayers are conducted. According to

their beliefs, the water in a tub which has a volume of fewer than two *kulah* cannot be used for ablution. *Kulah* is the mensural classifier that is still currently used in the daily life of the Acehnese community in the Pidie Jaya District.



Figure 5. A place for *kulah* used for ablution at Meunasah Kulah Batee, Bireuen, Aceh (<https://www.ibnusyahri.com/2016/07/meunasah-kulah-batee-kesejukan-di.html>)

4.1.6. *Naléh, Gunca and Kuyan*

Mensural classifiers *naléh*, *gunca*, and *kuyan* are usually used for measuring rice, especially during the rice harvest season. One *naléh* is equal to 16 *arè* or eight *gantang* or 32 L. One *gunca* is equivalent to 10 *naléh* or 80 *gantang* or 320 L. Meanwhile, one *kuyan* is equivalent to 10 *gunca* or 100 *naléh* or 3200 L.

The traditional measuring tool used is *tông*, which is made of wood (Figure 6.). One *tông* is equivalent to one *naléh*. Despite having a very large capacity, the mensural classifier *kuyan* still uses the traditional measuring tool *tông* and there is no other traditional measuring tool specifically for it. We asked which kind of tree was used for making *tông* and the informants answered that any tree would do, as long as it was strong enough for the capacity of 32 L. Yet, some informants stated that the measuring tool *tông* they owned was made of wood from a jackfruit tree.



Figure 6. The measuring tool *tông* is made from wood (photo by Dini Hanifa)

Gaténg or *katéng* was once used before *tông* became popular as a measuring tool. It is a container used as a measure of content to measure rice for *jakeuet* (a form of almsgiving to the Muslim treated in Islam as a religious obligation). *Gaténg* is a basket made of the skin of bamboo reed. The bottom of the *gaténg* is rectangular-shape and has four legs, those legs are made of rattan. Since the 1990s, the Acehnese community in Pidie Jaya District prefers to use *tông* made of wood as the measuring tool rather than *gaténg*. *Gaténg* is no longer found in the Acehnese homes, but it can be found in The Museum of Aceh in Banda Aceh, the capital city of Aceh Province (see Figure 7.).



Figure 7. The measuring tool *gaténg* or *katéng* is made from brass (photo by Dini Hanifa)

Traditionally, rice is usually stored in a cylindrical rice storage container called *krông padé* (Daud and Durie 1999) made of the skin of bamboo reed (Figure 8.). It is about 1.5 meters in height and its diameter is about 2 meters. Inside of a *krông padé* there is a woven mat made of *pandan tikar* (*pandanus tectorius*). According to informants, if there is a house with a *krông padé* inside, then the owner of the house is regarded as a rich person. No matter the size of the house, big or small, if there is no *krông padé* inside it, then the owner of the house is regarded as a poor person.



Figure 8. The rice storage of *krông padé* (photo by Dini Hanifa)

4.1.7. *Tayeun*

Tayeun is the mensural classifier used to measure water. One *tayeun* has a capacity of about 8 to 10 L. The traditional measuring tool for mensural classifier *tayeun* has the same name, *tayeun*. It has a shape like a jar and is made of brass. It is considered to be a traditional measuring tool even though it comes from abroad. Some informants claimed that the measuring tool *tayeun* originally came from India, while other informants said that it originated from Saudi Arabia.



Figure 9. The measuring tool *tayeun* is made from brass (photo by Dini Hanifa)

4.1.8. *Gaca Siarè, Gaca Sicupak and Gaca Sikai*

The mensural classifiers *gaca siarè*, *gaca sicupak*, and *gaca sikai* are used for measuring liquids such as water and oil. *Gaca siarè* is so named because this mensural classifier has a capacity equivalent to the mensural classifier *arè*. Likewise, *gaca sicupak* and *gaca sikai*, have a capacity equivalent to the mensural classifier *cupak* and *kai*.

The traditional measuring tool used for each mensural classifier is different. The measuring tool used for mensural classifier *gaca siarè* ‘one-*arè*-capacity bottle’ was *gaca bieh* ‘beer bottle’ (Figure 10.) and informants claimed this is from the Netherlands citizens who had lived in Aceh Province for about three centuries. Even so, it is considered traditional by informants. Mensural classifiers *gaca sicupak* (Figure 11.) and *gaca sikai* (Figure 12.) use a measuring tool that has the same name as their mensural classifier. Both were also reported to have come from the Netherlands.



Figure 10. The measuring tool *gaca bieh* (photo by Dini Hanifa)



Figure 11. The measuring tool *gaca sicupak* (photo by Dini Hanifa)



Figure 12. The measuring tool *gaca sikai* (photo by Dini Hanifa)

4.1.9. *Glok and Cawan*

Glok and *cawan* are mensural classifiers with a capacity of about 250 mL as converted into a standard measurement unit. The traditional measuring tool for both *glok* (Figure 13.) and *cawan* (Figure 14.) has the same name as its mensural classifier. These traditional measuring tools are used for measuring ingredients for cakes and cookies.

Traditional measuring tools *glok* and *cawan* are made of enamel tin. Currently, there are *glok* and *cawan* made of tin can, glass, ceramics, plastic, and even melamine that are sold in the markets. At

present, *glok* and *cawan* made of enamel tin are difficult to find and have been replaced with those made of glass, tin plates, melamine, ceramics, or plastic. The informants agreed and argued that even though they were made in factories, *glok* and *cawan* made of enamel tin were still claimed to be traditional measuring tools and considered antiques, while those made of materials other than enamel tin and widely sold today are considered to be modern measuring tools.



Figure 13. The measuring tool *glok* is made from enamel tin (photo by Dini Hanifa)



Figure 14. The measuring tool *cawan* is made from a tin plate (photo by Dini Hanifa)

4.1.10. *Mok*

The mensural classifier *mok* is usually used in purchasing and selling transactions. It is used for measuring salt, flour, *asam sunti* 'dried salted *Averrhoa bilimbi*,' nuts and seeds. Particularly for Panteraja Sub-district, where most of the community members work in the fisheries, they use mensural classifier *mok* for dried and small-sized seafood.

The traditional measuring tool for mensural classifier *mok* is *plôk ni* (Figure 15.) which is an emptied and repurposed can of condensed milk. The informants believe that the measuring tool *plôk ni* is a traditional measuring tool because they have been using it for generations and will continue to use it because it is easy to make. In addition, they are also accustomed to and consider it as easier to use in trading than using standard scales.



Figure 15. The measuring tool *plôk ni* is made from condensed milk cans (photo by Dini Hanifa)

4.1.11. *Cinu*

The mensural classifier *cinu* has a traditional measuring tool with the same name. The mensural classifier *cinu* is normally used to measure water, while the measuring tool *cinu* is also used to dip the water other than as a measuring tool. *Cinu* has the true meaning ‘water dipper’ (Daud and Durie 1999).

The traditional measuring tool *cinu* is also made of *bruek* ‘coconut shell’ (Figure 16.). The difference is if the coconut shell used to make the measuring tool for mensural classifier *kai* is cut one-third from the top, then the coconut shell for mensural classifier *cinu* is cut a quarter from the bottom so that the naturally formed hole is also automatically disposed of. To prevent the hand from becoming wet from dipping into the water, the coconut shell is given a handle made of the coconut tree and resembles a stick.



Figure 16. The measuring tool *cinu* is made from coconut shells (photo by Dini Hanifa)

4.1.12. Tima

Tima is a mensural classifier used to measure water. The traditional measuring tool for *tima* is *tima situek*. *Tima situek* is made of *situek*'s (the areca tree) central vein of the leaf. *Situek* is made in such a way that it resembles a water bucket. Here is a picture of a *situek* (Figure 17.) and measuring tool *tima* made of *situek* (Figure 18.).



Figure 17. *Situek* is made from an areca tree's central vein of the leaf (photo by Dini Hanifa)



Figure 18. The measuring tool *tima situek* is made from the areca tree's central vein of the leaf (photo by Dini Hanifa)

4.1.13. Yôk

Yôk means a pair, a count for several types of objects, such as stones or seeds (Bakar *et al.* 1985; Djajadiningrat 1934). That is, one count equals two seeds. Therefore, if there is five *yôk*, it means the number of stones or seeds is 10, and so on. Figure 19. shows an example of *aneuk cato*, in which the pieces of the *cato* are from the seeds known as the *geutue* fruit by the Acehnese.



Figure 19. *Aneuk cato* from the seeds known as the *geutue* fruit among the Acehnese (photos by Mohammad Harun)

4.1.14. *Kalè*

Kalè is a pair count of four that is usually used to count seeds or small objects that can be seized in large quantities and easily separated, such as peanuts, *melinjo* (*Gnetum gnemon*) seeds, and *langsap* (*Lansium parasiticum*) fruit, and the like. Therefore, one *kalè* equals four seeds or small fruits. *Kalè* is a continuation of pair counts from *yòk*; one *kalè* equals two *yòk*; two *kalè* equals four *yòk*, and so on.

4.2. Width measurement units

For the width measurement unit, we found only one mensural classifier, namely *naléh*, a width measurement unit used to measure the area of rice fields and other areas. To measure the area of a rice field, the Aceh community in Pidie Jaya District uses the same name as one of the mensural classifiers for the volume measurement unit, namely *naléh*. This happens because the measurement of rice fields is adjusted to the number of rice seeds to be sown in the area.

In the previous discussion, it was stated that the mensural classifier *naléh* is part of a volume measurement unit that has a capacity of approximately 32 L. If one *naléh* of rice seedlings is distributed and covers a rice field area of 2300 m², then the rice field is claimed to have an area of one *naléh* width. Even though it has an uncertain size, the informants agreed that one *naléh* of rice field area has a size of 2000 m² to 2500 m². Meanwhile, if the mensural classifier *naléh* is used to measure the area other than the rice field, then one *naléh* is considered equal to 2500 m².

4.3. Weight measurement units

For the weight measurement unit, there are *manyam*, *bungkai*, and *katoe*.

4.3.1. *Manyam*

According to the informants, the mensural classifier *manyam* was only used to measure gold. One *manyam* of gold weighs 3.3 grams. The traditional measuring tool used is *céng meuh* 'gold scales' (Figure 20.). The informants claimed that they did not know where this measuring tool came from, but they agreed that this measuring tool did not originate from Pidie Jaya District or even the Aceh Province. Measuring tool *céng meuh* has been replaced with a digital gold scale that is considered easier and gives more accurate measuring results. However, the informants claim that this digital scale is also called *céng meuh* (Figure 21.) by the Acehnese community in Pidie Jaya District, but they argue that this digital *céng meuh* is a modern, non-traditional measuring tool.



Figure 20. The traditional measuring tool *céng meuh* (photo by Dini Hanifa)



Figure 21. The modern measuring tool *céng meuh* (photo by Dini Hanifa)

4.3.2. *Bungkai*

Just like *manyam*, the mensural classifier *bungkai* is used specifically to measure the weight of gold and is currently used. The only difference is that the mensural classifier *bungkai* is heavier than the mensural classifier *manyam*. One *bungkai* is equivalent to 16 *manyam*. The traditional measuring tool used is also the same as the mensural classifier *manyam*, which is *céng meuh*. Figure 22. shows an engagement or wedding ring of an Acehnese woman, which weighs two *manyam*. A typical weight for

a ring for marriage is about one or two *manyam*, depending on the arrangement between the bride's and the groom's families. Meanwhile, the dowry for marriage is valued from five to fifty *manyam*; this also depends on the arrangement between the bride's and the groom's families. Figure 23. shows a dowry with a value of 16 *manyam*, which is equivalent to one *bungkai*.



Figure 22. A two *manyam* Acehnese wedding ring (photo by Dini Hanifa)



Figure 23. A 16 *manyam* Acehnese dowry or one *bungkai* (photo by Dini Hanifa)

4.3.3. *Katoe*

Katoe is a mensural classifier that weighs around 0.6 kg. The informant described the weight of the *katoe* with *seuteungöh kilo leubèh bacut* 'a little bit more than half a kilo.' According to the informant, the mensural classifier *katoe* is used to measure the weight of food. The traditional measuring tool used is the *céng katoe* 'scales for *katoe*.' One *céng katoe* can measure weight up to five *katoe*.

In the same case as the traditional measuring tool *pacôk trieng*, we could not find the measuring tool *céng katoe* and decided to search its image online. With the help of some informants, the researcher discovered the *céng katoe* image which has a similar characteristic to what the informants were described (Figure 24.).



Figure 24. Measuring tool *céng katoe*

(<http://www.barangtempodoe.com/2013/11/timbangan-kati-mini-2.html>)

5. Conclusion

The mensural classifiers used by the Acehnese community in Pidie Jaya District are divided into three categories: volume measurement unit, width measurement unit, and weight measurement unit. There are 23 mensural classifiers for the volume measurement unit (*kai, sukèe, ndhie, siblakai, cupak, arè, gantang, pacôk, kulah, naléh, gunca, kuyan, tayeun, gaca siarè, gaca sicupak, gaca sikai, glok, cawan, mok, cinu, tima, yôk, and kalè*), one mensural classifier for width measurement unit (*naléh*) and three mensural classifiers for weight measurement unit (*manyam, bungkai, and katoe*). The Acehnese utilizes parts of plants found in the vicinity to make their traditional measuring tools. These parts are bamboo, cane, and coconut shells, among others. Measuring tools are known to ease life because they offer the services of quality, monitoring, safety, design, assembly, and problem-solving.

By understanding the traditional measuring tools of society, researchers can improve their understanding of how certain societies quantify the world around them, and how they employ measurement to improve the quality and validity of science and lifestyle. The history and development of society can also be revealed through the study of these traditional measuring tools. Even though this paper has discussed the traditional measuring tools of the Acehnese, measurements using parts of the human body were not discussed. Therefore, future research is recommended to investigate this area.

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Cuisine is not enough

Transformation of women in Indonesian short stories in the 2000s

Harjito Harjito, Nazla Maharani Umaya, Yuli Kurniati and Sri Suciati

Women's attachment to the world of cooking is not without practical cause, but it is also an ideological process. This paper examines married women's relationship with cooking and its ideological background in four Indonesian short stories. The stories serve as primary data, discussed through narrative textual analysis, from a feminist perspective. Married women are obligated to be good cooks, especially to earn their husbands' loyalty and faithfulness, so their main role is in the kitchen. In the meantime, patriarchal ideology is passed on from mothers to daughters. Although not all texts describe women's resistance to their role in the kitchen, some women resist by preparing food and marketing it with the aim of not relying on their husband's income alone and gaining economic independence.

Keywords: patriarchy, ideology, kitchen, income

1. Introduction

To be independent of men, women must earn a salary. One way of doing so is cooking, for example, by opening a food stall or a restaurant. Among Asian countries, Indonesia has numerous ethnic groups that possess diverse cultures and languages, interweaving regionally related dialects. Furthermore, Indonesian cuisines are as diverse as these cultures, demonstrated especially by the 1990–2000 decade, which was a heyday of television, with cooking programs being an audience favorite (Mustinda 2018). Previously, culinary information and stories were predominantly found in women's magazines or newspapers, once a week, as recipes, reports, or experience notes, alongside a variety of interesting images.¹

In the meantime, many studies on women in literary texts have been conducted (Harjito 2017; Widayastuti 2013; Wiyatmi 2012; Saryono 2009; Liliani 2010). However, studies related to women's cooking are still very limited. Rahman (2011) wrote about Indonesian culinary culture during the

¹ At least one tabloid titled *Saji* is specifically for cuisine, and the magazine *Sedap* has links that can be tracked in the bibliography.

colonial period (1870–1942). He noted that the colonial period was an important cultural connection at least from the 16th to the 19th century. The combination of European and indigenous cultures began to show signs in the 19th century of something later called “Indies” culture. One Indies cultural manifestation is *rijsttafel*, a banquet of Indonesian dishes carefully arranged on a dining table. Researching the history of Indonesian food from a global perspective, Rahman (2016) made several important findings. First, the formation of Indonesian culinary culture has been going on since the 10th century when the community made efforts to utilize surrounding food resources. Second, until the 18th century, global influences came mostly from China, India, Arabia, and Europe. Third, food cultivation from the 19th to the 20th centuries gave rise to food science and gastronomy as food innovation marked by the creation of *Indische cuisine* or *Indische Keuken*. Fourth, the preparation of Indonesian cookbooks is a deconstruction effort on *Indische cuisine*. As stated, Rahman focuses on the history of Indonesian food.

In contrast to Rahman’s research and other previous research, this paper discusses women and cuisine in Indonesian short stories. Although the paper targets food, it also focuses on its relationships with women’s transformation in short story texts and their ideological background.

In Indonesia, women’s position in society is not equal to that of men. For instance, the Javanese, one of the largest ethnic groups in Indonesia, have a division of inheritance called *sepikul segendongan*. That is, sons receive a two-thirds share of their parents’ estate, while daughters receive one-third (Kodiran 1975: 336). The responsibility for all household work—cooking, washing, and caring for children—falls upon the wife. The husband has very little to do with household chores. When it comes to society and politics, wives usually send sons as their representatives (Geertz 1985: 130–131; Koentjaraningrat 1994: 144–145; Heertz 1985: 49).

In Indonesian literature, short stories and poems are the most popular genres; authors prefer them because they do not have to create the world of a novel. Readers also prefer the brevity of short stories and poems (Rosidi 1983: 10). The decade from 2003–2013 was the heyday of printed newspapers,² and usually once a week, newspapers carried a short story. Since 2014, however, the Internet and online media have been booming.³ Additionally, social media, e.g., Facebook and blogs, have become alternatives in the development of Indonesian literature, especially the short story.

² <https://news.detik.com/x/detail/intermeso/20210701/Loper-Koran-di-Ujung-Senja/>

³ Of newspapers, 66.7 percent prepare an electronic version, 57.4 percent of magazines, and 7 percent of tabloids (Kusuma 2016: 61).

In contrast to the myriad recipes presented weekly in newspapers or magazines, short stories about food that match the intent of this article are limited. Hence, we conducted a search for “cuisine,” locating four short stories that became the main texts in this discussion: *Dapur Nyonya Besar* [DNB, “Grand Lady’s Kitchen”] (Haryadi 2002); *Sihir Tumis Ibu* [STI, “The Magic of Mother’s Saute”] (Widia 2014); *Sambal di Ranjang* [SR, “Condiment in Bed”] (Purwanti 2015); and *Perempuan Sinting di Dapur* [PSD “Eccentric Woman in the Kitchen”] (Prasad 2009).

- DNB contains the characters of the married couple Mimi and Jihan and Mother and Father (Mother1 and Father1, respectively, for ease of analysis).
- STI has four characters: I, the husband; the wife; mother; and father (I2, Wife2, Mother2, and Father2, respectively).
- SR has three characters: I, the wife; the husband; and Dimas, a young man: (I3, Husband3, and Dimas).
- PSD has two characters: Saodah (female) and Wak Haji Mail (male).

2. Methodology and corpus

The four texts were chosen with the following considerations:

1. they are united by the theme of cuisine prepared by women.
2. They are set in Indonesia and
3. significantly, they are written in the Indonesian language.⁴ Therefore, this study assumes that these short texts represent indigenous social reality.

Furthermore, this paper employs a feminist perspective by revealing the relationship between the wife figure and cuisine in short stories of Indonesian origin. Feminism is here interpreted as a movement seeking to develop strategies for women’s benefit (Barker 2005: 297; Pocha 2010: 70; Young 2010: 263; Udasmoro 2011: 4; Humm 2009: 331–332; Tong 2008: 309–310). Feminism’s main concern is gender as the governing principle of social life, which is fraught with power relations. The structural subordination of women is usually referred to as patriarchy and appears with its derivative meanings of male-led family, male domination, and male superiority. In the opinion of Walby (2014: 28), patriarchy is defined as a system of social structures and practices that supports men in dominating,

⁴ However, people with higher education backgrounds are known predominantly to have mastery of the Indonesian language (Munandar 2013: 95). This is used to communicate in formal situations, the workplace, service functions in education among students, and also to converse with persons one does not know (Rahayu 2010: 133).

oppressing, and exploiting women, that is, keeping them subordinate. Recently, however, in contemporary culture, representation of mothers has changed. Woodward noted that the domestic figure of a mother who deals only with child caregivers has become an “independent mother,” that is, a mother who supports women’s work. Mothers who have careers can explore individuality and appear attractive (Barker 2005: 297–335). In simple language, being a mother and/or a woman who has income, looks attractive, and becomes a subject able to explore individuality can be done, but it is a struggle for women.

The research technique used in this paper is narrative text analysis. Narrative is chronologically ordered, claims to record an event, and provides understanding of how social order is formed by recognizing various characters and issues (Barker 2005: 41). Based on this, steps in analysis of the text as a narrative include determining:

1. the female figure in the story,
2. how the figure is related to cooking,
3. the relationship between the female figure and others, and
4. what actions the female figure takes.

3. Results and discussion

The four texts studied show relationships between women and the kitchen or cooking. In DNB, Mimi really likes the kitchen and cooking. However, with his upward social mobility, Mimi’s husband no longer allows her to cook, preferring to have a professional cook. In STI, Mother2 is good at cooking stir-fried kale, considered by many to be useful in solving the problems of anyone who eats it. Thus, the story’s title refers to Mother2’s cooking as “the magic.” The problem is, however, Mother2 has died. In fact, I2, the first-person narrator and Mother2’s son is being sued for divorce. Next, in SR, Wife3 did not like to cook at first, but in her development, she learned to cook and was especially good at making chili sauce. The difficulty is that Wife3 wants to market and sell her homemade chili sauce, but Husband3 tries to prevent that. Finally, in PSD, Saodah is an independent woman, and Wak Haji Mail cannot dictate to her. One of the things enabling Saodah’s unpredictability is that she owns a restaurant and is financially independent.

Through these female figures, the four texts respond to patriarchal ideology. Mimi accepts that her husband no longer eats the food she loves to cook. With a stir-fry, Mother2 shows that her cooking can aid others in trouble. Both Mimi and Mother2 believe that cooking is only for families, not to be commercialized. However, Wife3 resists when she continues to sell her homemade chili sauce even though Husband3 has forbidden it. Furthermore, she opens a restaurant. Compared to Wife3, Saodah

already owns a restaurant and markets its cuisine to the public. Detailed analysis of the four texts is presented below.

3.1. Women who are good at cooking

A dish is not presented without any interest beyond itself. Therefore, as a product in the community and an ideology both in relationships between husband and wife, mother and child, or buyer and seller, the cuisine comes in contact with the creator and the connoisseur. In these stories, the author of this paper discusses women with various conditions and problems, especially since the stories' food lovers are generally men. Hence, the relationship between wives and husbands illustrates various household problems related to male–female social relationships. Therefore, the cuisine reflects the hegemony as well as the ideology that women and men bring to the table, so to speak.

Complicating the situation, many women are attractive, not only because of their outer beauty, including stature, slimness, or elegance, but also due to their ability to cook. Hence, cuisine is ascribed to female characters as part of the domestic role—conveyed from mother to daughter—also part of patriarchal ideology.

DNB illustrates the feminine role in the kitchen. Jihan adores Mimi because of her voluptuous stature but mainly because of her versatility in cooking, ranging from cookies, side dishes, and vegetables to everyday meals. Jihan and Mimi have two daughters, Mulu and Anita. Jihan and Mulu are both very dependent on Mimi's cooking, and Mulu prefers her mother's cooking to any snacks at school. Similarly, on business trips, Jihan often suffers from stomach ache, due to ingestion of restaurant meals, and he also claims to be healed by his wife's food. Furthermore, on assuming a chairman position in the political arena, Jihan turns Mimi's kitchen into a luxury, buying her expensive equipment. This shows how much women can be attached to this area of the house; Mimi always felt content spending hours in her modest kitchen, which was only three by four meters. Besides that, Mimi had memorized the location of each favorite item (Haryadi 2002: 185).

An Indonesian home is divided into three spaces, the front, serving as a place to sit or talk; the central part, which is relevant for privacy; and the back, usually used as a kitchen (Raap 2015: 140). Among rural dwellers, a dining room is not particularly common because it is often part of the living room, where such items as motorcycles, laundry, grain, or furniture are kept (Maryoto 2007). A simple kitchen usually contains an oil stove, cooker, and a simple table, in contrast with modern or luxurious versions equipped with an electric stove, electric cooking utensils, and tiled floors (Maryoto 2014).

But, tradition or not, the skill of cooking is not sufficient to keep men in check. Despite Mother1's delicious cooking, Mimi's father had an affair, which Mimi blamed on Mother1's lack of care for her appearance.

... hanya tubuh gembrot ibunya yang tak diturunkan kepadanya. Bahkan moto ibunya bahwa pengikat cinta suami hanya dari masakan istri ternyata gugur. Ayahnya lari ke seorang wanita yang lebih molek, lebih muda, dan lebih langsing dan yang mengherankan si cantik yang memikat ayahnya ini sama sekali tak mengenal dapur (Haryadi 2002: 185).

... only the fat body of the mother does not presented to her. Even the mother's rhetoric, saying that the only way to tie a man's love to his wife's cooking, has fallen. However, it is now clear that the father has run into a woman who is much smarter, younger, and slimmer, with an enchanting beauty magic despite not being able to cook.⁵

The ideology that the husband could kneel for the sake of his wife's cuisine was taught by Mother1 for many years. However, Father1 perceived cooking as less important than a slim, dainty, young body. Furthermore, Mother1 is overweight with a makeshift appearance, regularly dressed "potluck" in shabby housedresses, having an oily face without lipstick, and a body scented with garlic, pepper, and turmeric that strongly evoke the kitchen.

Unlike Father1, Jihan was not overtly described as having affairs, but from the sentence *Rumahnya banyak dan dia pun sudah menempatkan wanita-wanita langsing cantik yang pantas mendampinginya sebagai laki-laki bukan sebagai istri* ("Jihan's houses are many and he has also placed slender and beautiful women who deserve to accompany him as men, not as wives"), affairs are implied (Haryadi 2002: 191). Therefore, his attraction to women with beautiful faces and slim bodies is made known. If we examine Jihan more deeply, it seems he had an affair not only because of Mimi's fat body but also because of the family's rising social class, which refers not only to ownership of economic capital but also to class practices, including appetite, dress codes, body disposition, home models, and various collective choices in everyday life (Wilkes 2005: 139). Previously, Jihan had been very proud of Mimi's cuisine, which was often exhibited to friends. But now that Jihan has become a political party leader and an official, he possesses many homes and is able to reward Mimi with a luxurious kitchen.⁶ Paradoxically, he stopped eating her meals, which are now enjoyed only by Mimi and the house helpers. When

⁵ All excerpts from the analyzed stories were translated by this paper's authors.

⁶ To design a pleasant kitchen, the main considerations are cooking habits, size, color, lighting, and air circulation—all need consultation with an interior designer (*Kompas*, April 17, 2016).

entertaining colleagues, Jihan prefers meals cooked by famous chefs in modern hotel kitchens. Being the wife of an official and no longer expected to cook, Mimi gains weight.

Three points are worthy of note here:

1. as with cooking, women are synonymous with an attractive, slim body,⁷ topped by a beautiful face;
2. the eye-catching body is valid not only in adolescence, but also in wifedom;
3. a fat wife is understood to give a man the justification to turn to other women. Moreover, men have little obligation to their wives; hence, they are allowed to cheat.

That a woman's cooking is only for close family is also illustrated by Mother2, of whose sautéed food I2 and Father2 were very fond. Mother2's cuisine—consisting of vegetables, pieces of tofu, and a little meat—seems magical, tasting right on the tongue, making those who eat it forget their suffering, find a solution to the problem at hand, and be happy. Three reasons evidence that Mother2's cooking makes the diner happy. First, when Father2 went bankrupt, had no job, and was desperate, after eating Mother2's cooking, he rediscovered the spirit of life and again built a business. Second, I2 was a gloomy, lonely little boy, but after eating Mother2's cooking, I2 felt that his mother was always with him to save him from being bullied. Third, Linda and her husband are about to divorce, but after eating Mother2's stir-fry, Linda's husband withdraws his divorce suit and apologizes to her.

Mimi and Mother2 have three similarities. First, they both remain in the kitchen. Second, their cuisine is reserved for their loved ones, not sold to just anyone who can afford it. Wife2 and everyone else who tasted it adored Mother2's cuisine, so they encouraged commercialization in a stall or restaurant. However, the possibility of being famous and well-liked could not tempt Mother2. Third, Mimi and Mother2 depart from the belief that cooking has the power to conquer a husband. In reality, after marriage, besides being a wife and mother, cooking is not enough.

Based on this, DNB continues the patriarchal tradition and defends men's superiority, as indicated by Mimi's acceptance of new conditions in her marriage. She did not fight back. She had a luxurious kitchen, but, ironically, was not allowed to cook for her husband, something she loved to do very much. She gained weight because she was inactive. Unlike Mimi, Mother2 can be called a fighter because she knows that her cooking can make those in need happy. Consciously too, Mother2 refuses to sell her food. Thus, Mother2's resistance to patriarchal ideology and male superiority manifests in the consciousness of action (Graddol 1989).

⁷ Having a slim body and paying attention to diet have become anxieties deliberately promoted in Western culture as a norm (Barker 2005: 333–334). The same thing seems to be happening in Indonesia.

Overall, Mimi and Mother2 depict women without an independent income. Domestic life is supported only by the husband. Women's unequal position in the social structure, coupled with the wife's dependence on the husband's income, renders wives inferior and husbands superior. If conflict arises between wife and husband, the woman becomes a weak subject without a bargaining position.

3.2. Women who refuse

SR recounts that since five days after the wedding, Husband3 has had the habit of eating dinner on the couch, with chili, before going to bed. Because *sambal* (a traditional Indonesian chili condiment) serves as an aphrodisiac, he then invites Wife3 to make love. Initially, however, Wife3 could not make *sambal*, but after buying cookbooks, learning from Mother3, and long practice, she gains cleverness and excellence in making various types of *sambal*, including *tomat*, *bajak*, *terasi*, *matah*, *mangga*, *dabu-dabu*, and *bawang* (Purwanti 2015).

The culture of Malay People stipulates that the spice often used to flavor dishes is *lombok* (chili), and its addition to salt, followed by grinding, is called a *sambal* (Raffles 2008: 63). This is also added to other basic Indonesian ingredients, including *terasi* (fermented shrimp) (Reid 2011: 35). Based on processing, it can be distinguished into *sambal ulek*, which has a richer taste because it is fried and so is often used in the main dish, and *sambal ulek*, which is made separately and placed on small plates, serving as an appetite enhancer (Rahman 2011: 74). Javanese cuisines are usually prepared by *muluk*⁸ (Lombard 2005: 159).

Related to the pattern of inherited cooking techniques, Raap (2013: 45) noted a shop run by three generations of women—grandmothers in charge of cooking, mothers serving buyers, and grandchildren carrying baskets. This illustrates how the ability to cook is passed to future generations through the behavior of Mother3 and Mother1. Those who are good at producing such meals are what Mother3 calls “*Istri Idaman*” or “the Ideal Wife.”

In SR, Husband3 had a change of career that often took him out of town. To avoid boredom at home, Wife3 opened a shop in the garage, and her *sambal* was appreciated by many, including Dimas, a young entrepreneur who subsequently requested cooperation in opening a restaurant. The plan was conveyed to Husband3, but he did not approve. The previously opened stalls were sealed and the garage then filled with cars. Wife3 suspects her husband's disapproval stems from his jealousy of Dimas.

⁸ Kneading with rice, by the hand-and-bite method, which does not need to be cut on plates with a knife.

In families, generally, tasks and roles are often divided. In Indonesia and in SR, the wife has authority over domestic duties and the husband over public obligations (Murniati 1992: 25). Household roles include cooking, washing, shopping, and other related arrangements, while the public domain is associated with the world outside the home—that is, seeking employment, socializing with the community, or fostering the country (Reid 2011: 187; Raffles 2008: 246). Emphasis is laid on men's avoidance of domestic work, for instance, cooking (Geertz 1985: 49). Describing these activities as *roles* for women is not really appropriate. Rather, they are *obligations* because wives are compelled to perform the tasks for the husbands' benefit. Furthermore, patriarchal ideology lies behind the obligation, which places females in a subordinate position.

In SR, Husband3 does not return home from a business trip for a month, and Wife3 traces evidence of him staying at hotels and making love to other women.

Ternyata ada yang membuka pintu, tapi bukan suamiku yang membukanya. Seorang perempuan berbalut baju tidur tampak heran memadamku. Dengan nekat, dalam hitungan detik aku terus melangkah masuk ke dalam dan menemukan aneka sambal di atas ranjang, lengkap dengan cobek-cobek kecil untuk setiap sambal. Di atas sofa yang tak jauh dari ranjang, ada dua orang perempuan mengenakan lingerie sedang duduk memegang gelas berisi milkshake vanilla. Mungkin tadi salah satu dari mereka membukakan pintu karena berpikir aku adalah bagian dari mereka, yang akan bergabung malam itu (Puwanti 2015: 27).

Someone opened the door, but not my husband, a woman clad in a nightgown looking surprised. Desperately, within seconds, I stepped inside and found various chili sauces on the bed, complete with small chunks for each. On the sofa, not far from the bed, lay two women in lingerie, sitting and holding a glass of vanilla milkshake. Maybe one of them opened the door thinking I was part of those joining for the night.

Some factors perceived to cause Husband3's affairs include strong libido and absence of children in his marital home. In Javanese tradition, a child is a binder in married life (Harjito 2016; Koentjaraningrat 1994: 101). In case of childlessness, adopting children is a way to avoid divorce (Koentjaraningrat 1994: 142) but is also a middle ground of both avoiding divorce and continuing the tradition of parenting. At the end of STI, I2 is divorced from Wife3 (Widia 2014), and readers understand that they have no children. In SR, Husband3 cheated because they had no children, so Wife3 and Husband3 do not choose the middle ground by raising children. Wife3 prefers divorce. In fact, she refuses in two ways—namely, rejecting her husband who is having an affair and refusing to sell her food to consumers.

Besides that, in DNB, Father2 is attracted to other women because of Mother2's fat body, and Husband2 is also attracted to other women because Mimi has become fat. Tolerance of husbands' affairs

for various reasons (e.g., no children, gaining weight, etc.) signals the prevalence of male superiority in domestic life. Certainly, cooking is no longer enough to bind men's loyalty. The husband's traditional loyalty to his wife because of her delicious cooking, represented in the short story by Mother1 and Mother3, is no longer valid.

In the short story PSD, Saodah has a crazy way of cooking. Saodah declined a subordinate role and engaged in controlling public areas by opening an Indonesian food stall in an attempt to support her family. Although she is notoriously fierce and unfriendly, buyers are very fond of her cuisine. Saodah, the unfulfilled love of Wak Haji Mail, was given a *warung* (Indonesian food stall). He has three wives and 14 children but is currently obsessed with Saodah, the aging mother of five children, whom he sent to high school. Besides that, he had a toilet built, the front of the house repaired, and got electricity fixed. As he lay dying, he seeks Saodah's cooking, but she refuses because of an incident of being hurt and of the quest for revenge for her husband, whose exile from society and death without self-esteem was Wak Hajis's doing. Still, his last request was for Saodah to prepare meals for his *tahlilan*⁹ prayer.

Most astonishing, however, was Saodah's resistance, in which she openly opposed male domination. First, she refused to marry Wak Haji Mail, and then she rejected an open invitation to visit him when he was dying. Finally, although the demands of the deceased were fulfilled, her opposition can be traced through her unexpected way of cooking the *slametan*.

Butuh beberapa detik untukku menemukan apa yang ganjil dari semua ini. Mak Saodah terus-menerus meludahi bahan-bahan masakan yang sedang dikerjakannya.

...

Mak Saodah sedang mengangkat kainnya tinggi-tinggi, melewati lutut, lalu berdiri setengah jongkok mengangkangi salah satu panci yang isinya mulai mendidih. Raut wajahnya, gabungan yang ganjil antara mengejan dan kebencian, mengerikan. Sedetik kemudian, dari tempatnya berdiri kudengar suara desing yang akrab dan gemericik air jatuh ke panci. Mak Saodah meludah lagi ke panci, sekali (Prasad 2009: 147).

It took a few seconds for me to discover what was odd about all this, as Mak Saodah constantly spits on the ingredients worked with.

...

Mak Saodah was lifting her cloth high, past her knees, then standing half-squat straddling one of the pots whose contents began to boil. The look on her face, which was an odd combination of straining and hatred, was horrible. Meanwhile, a second later, from where

⁹ Traditional Islamic-Indonesian ceremony, usually held for those who have passed away.

she stood, I heard the familiar whirring sound and water rushing into a pan, as well as Mak Saodah spitting again into the pot.

Slametan is the tradition of a joint meal, accompanied with a prayer before its distribution, usually sitting on a mat, spread over the floor (Kodiran 1975: 340; Lombard 2005: 160). Furthermore, Saodah is willing to cook, not with love, but with a mixture of revenge, hatred, saliva, and even urine. Ironically, however, the cuisine that Wak Haji Mail has long been missed was exactly the title “*Sinting* (Eccentric) Woman in the Kitchen” as Saodah cooks and controls the kitchen area in a crazy way. Therefore, through this madness, resistance is perceived, along with the conquering of a man. As in the quotation above, Saodah’s vengeful cooking included spitting and urinating on the food.

The Indonesian novel has reported that in the life of women in a polygamous marriage, this characteristic is considered common (Purbani 2013: 374). Conversely, women have the role of caring for and supporting children, husbands, and families (Blackburn 2009: 248, 250). Saodah raised children, but she refused to be polygamous with Wak Haji Mail.

3.3. Transformation: Women who have income

Three distinguishing traits between Wife3 and Mimi include:

1. Mimi’s skill at all kinds of cooking, while Wife3 prepares only *sambal*.
2. Mimi has no intention of opening a shop or a market; she just wants the dishes to be enjoyed by her husband and child. Meanwhile, Wife3 opens a stall for homemade meals to be eaten by buyers.
3. By creating the shop, Wife3 earns income, therefore possessing the confidence to be independent.

Udasmoro (2007: 2-4) mentions that factors in power relations are ethnicity, gender, race, class, and age. Rahardjo (2011: 84) states four things that affect layers of Javanese society, namely age, gender, property ownership, and position in government. Property ownership and position in government can be categorized into social class. Social class not only refers to ownership of economic capital, but also to class practices, appetite, and various collective choices made in everyday life (Wilkes 2005: 139), including food tastes and choices. This is the logic for creating the tables below.

	DNB	STI	SR	PSD
Cook	Mimi	Mother2	Wife3	Saodah
Cuisine	All-Range	Sautéed <i>Tempeh</i>	<i>Sambal</i>	All-Range
Source	Mother1	–	Recipe, book, Mother3	–
Eater	Jihan, Mulu, Anita	I2, Wife2, Father2, Linda	Husband3	Wak Haji Mail, Consumers
Relation	Husband-Wife	Mother-Son	Husband-Wife	Other

Table 1: Women’s cuisine: How women who are good at cooking can be viewed

Although each dish has different delights and flavors, Saodah’s cuisine is special and missed by Wak Haji Mail even at the moment of his death, meaning that it was delicious. Conversely, Jihan abandoned Mimi’s delicious cooking. All case scenarios are noted in Table 2.

	Mimi	Mother2	Wife3	Saodah
The Body	Slim to Fat	Passed away	Slim	Aged
Children	2	1	-	5
Social Class	Middle to Upper	Middle	Middle to Upper	Lower to Middle
Problem	Husband1 Ignored Her	I2 Divorcing	Husband3 Cheated	Heartbroken
Cause	Fat, Increasing Social Class	Unexplained	Having no son, male superior	Refused to marry

Table 2: Social Class

Women have survived and created resistance of various forms, but the public often identifies their silence or non-resistance toward practices of patriarchal ideology. Furthermore, women are positioned in ambiguous situations, often to play only the domestic role in the kitchen. But even in the kitchen, women should not fully develop their versatility in cooking, as noted in Table 3.

	Mimi	Mother2	Wife3	Saodah
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Publication Year	2002	2014	2015	2009
Role	Kitchen	Kitchen	Kitchen	Kitchen
Territorial	Domestic, Traditional to Modern	Domestic	Domestic to Public	Domestic to Public
Cuisine's Use	No resistance	Resistance	Resistance	Resistance
Action	Dreaming	Solving Problem	Opening a Restaurant	Having a restaurant, Eccentric
In Form of	Accept the situation	Solution	Marketing	Processing, sale

Table 3: Women's transformation

In a marriage, participants have unequal positions because women depend greatly on men, especially financially (Harjito 2014). Moreover, as “a valuable lesson,” their nature is supposedly intended for the patient virtues within household life. Even if abandoned by her husband, a woman must faithfully wait (Harjito 2017: 72). *Serat Suluk Redriya* by Paku Buwono IX is literature that serves as a guide to behavior within the community (Widyastuti 2014: 121). It states that because the wife is under the husband's command, all his orders concerning the household must be carried out. Furthermore, Javanese wives are considered helpless, and therefore require patriarchal support. In both domestic and public spheres, feminism is still considered weak. Based on analysis of roles in 20 Indonesian novels from 1900-2000, women play roles in public and domestic settings, both separately and collectively. Those who play a joint role carry a double burden, as experienced by working women. Meanwhile, despite being educated, the weak woman figure arises when women's image is often handcuffed by love (Liliani and Sari 2010: 46). In addition, Indonesian novels and female characters have become the arena of establishment and demolition of cultural orientation (Saryono 2009: 32).

Concerning women's resistance and literary texts, women novelists in the 2000s marked the presence of this phenomenon against patriarchal dominance in the history of Indonesian literature (Wiyatmi 2012: 45). Gender constructions in mass media analysis reported that in symbolic battles, verbal forms of diction and speech styles represented the speaker's gender, and men tend to respond positively to patriarchal culture, while women react negatively. However, women react positively to the feminist movement. Conversely, it is interesting to note the realization of boldness and the possession of critical powers by females, although they begin to retain branching consciousness. On

the contrary, women are very decisive, as doubt is not conceived as to whether their choices are right or wrong (Wahyuni 2014: 234).

In addition to DNB, three other short stories have been published in newspapers, and before posting, PSD was published in the *Kompas* newspaper, on November 2, 2008. This medium has properties to contain latest events (Harjito 2015: 221), and its writers live between “was” and “was not,” which is based on double thoughts, including:

1. newspapers pretending to address current issues in the reader’s environment.
2. They are also a product of industrial and mass capitalism, working on the principles of the exchange rate (Faruk 1995). Furthermore, the mass media also possess the authority to decide parameters for good and bad works of literature, as well as the attribution of rewards (Laksana 2015). Some experts characterize fictional works published in dailies as literary newspapers because only the dominant personality—the man—is recognized because the newspapers are filled with patriarchal ideology.

Husband3’s actions in shutting down the shop and not allowing Wife3 to initiate the restaurant plan were part of a trick because he feared three things:

1. Wife3’s economic independence arouses his anxiety about losing his superiority.
2. Husband3 desires that his wife stay in an inferior, subservient position. Therefore, “protection” with underlying jealousy is a technique adapted to limit Wife3’s movement. Selling *sambal* to buyers in stalls was prohibited because of the wish to monopolize Wife3 and her cuisine.

Wife3 also tracked Husband3 in an attempt to discover the reason behind his month’s absence. She thus discovers his affair, but at the story’s end, Wife3 decides to open a restaurant with or without his consent. By so doing, she achieves two things, first attempting to be more independent economically and not depending only on men’s income. The shop is an attempt to bring wives out of the domestic sphere, to enhance socialization in the community, and to build a wider relationship with the outside world. Saodah and Wife3 illustrate an ideological shift that instigates the need for women to penetrate the public domain by possessing economic independence. If women are self-reliant, they can be independent and can decide not to obey a man’s orders.

From the short story’s release year, 2002–2015, it is observed that women currently struggle with the role in the kitchen. However, the role itself does not imply “lack of resistance,” because the dynamics of the meaning of cuisine attached to women is noted, meaning a manifestation of feminine

resistance. Mimi shows no resistance, but Mother², Wife³, and Saodah resist in various ways. The analysis shows a transformation from cuisine-kitchen to income-economic independence.

4. Conclusion

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that women, especially wives, remain attached to such household duties as being a good cook. These four stories reveal how this role must be preserved to perpetuate patriarchal ideology—that is, to maintain the superiority of men and the inferiority of women. Passing down this approach to gender roles involves oral narration from mother to daughter.

Of the four texts studied, not all dismantle patriarchal ideology. One text can be said to continue patriarchal tradition because the female figure is depicted as accepting her husband's actions. However, readers might be more outraged at her acceptance. The other three texts struggle against men's supposed superiority. Notably also, two texts describe female figures who market their food for sale to consumers, thus illustrating an ideological change—from women who depend only on their husbands' income to women who have independent income. Sales emerging from these women's talents signal that women are subjects who can explore their individuality, support themselves and their families, and become self-actualizing.

This study has the limitation of data from only four short stories, but studying more stories can produce more data, leading to more adequate conclusions. However, stories of women and cooking are scarce, so first, more stories need to be carefully researched. Second, the search should be extended to a longer time period than 2002-2015. The longer the time period, the more the description of the era's ideology. Three, even the selection of the same timeframe can enrich or correct the results of this study. Fourth, use of different theories can also broaden the perspective and enrich the repertoire of research on women.

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Reviews

Roberto Gaudio. 2019. *The Voice of the Text and its Body. The Continuous Reform of Euphrase Kezilahabi's Poetics*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe. 306 pages. Paperback. EUR 39.80. ISBN 978-3896457394.

First of all, I would like to explain why it is my high concern to review this monograph, not being a specialist in literature from Sub-Saharan Africa. The BA program “World literature” at Göttingen University aims at the understanding not only that there is a colorful multitude of literatures all around the globe, but also how these literatures are interconnected and how literature, despite all differences, works. Gaudio's monograph caught my interest, first of all, by giving the “voice” and the “body” not only to Africa, but first of all to the text itself. That means, that for Gaudio, criteria of literary quality are applicable to, and comparison within a world literature context are possible with, African literatures. The essentialism of a unique “Africanness” of literature from sub-Saharan Africa which Europeans cannot understand is, although present in Kezilahabi's essays, rightly rejected by Gaudio. However, the argument of cultural essentialism is not new. Every scholar working in the field of foreign language philology knows it. “As a stranger you will never understand the Russian soul,” or, “our holy Pushkin can be understood only by native Russians.” Incomparability and the denial of access is the end of scholarship. This is why Gaudio's book is important far beyond African philology. Gaudio gets access through analysis, and with the tool of analysis, he starts to properly understand. He shows, that Kezilahabi took many ideas from western philosophers intensively read by him – above all, Nietzsche and Heidegger.

Thus, Gaudio gets down to do the work of understanding, despite Kezilahabi himself 2015 told him in an interview, that he cannot understand but only “know” him (: 67). Nevertheless, Gaudio, going through the paradigm of Kezilahabi's poetry as well as through his theoretical texts, provides us in the first chapter of his book with a profound analysis of the contradiction within Kezilahabi's work between his essentialism and what he calls his “aim of liberation.” And this conflict touches a crucial strain of the understanding of what is world literature. It raises questions like: can non-Africans understand literature from Africa? May African poets use non-indigenous languages? Do Africans write and read other than Europeans? Are the analytic tools, developed by Europeans, like for example hermeneutics, suitable for literature in African languages? You see, that African essentialism, which denies all these questions, would, if expanded to any region of the world, immediately kill all endeavor to explore world literature.

Kezilahabi wrote in Swahili. This is why Gaudio plunges medias in res by discussing first of all the scandal of Kezilahabi dropping traditional Swahili poetry meter in favor of free verse. This was a double sacrilege – not only breaking the tradition of African poetry by using a “western” invention,

but also using a language which was not his native Kerewe. Gaudioso explains Kezilahabi's move, first, politically in connection with Nyerere's efforts to unite the peoples of Tanzania with a "national" language, which ought to be Swahili, and second, in terms of poetics, arguing that the deciding power and expression of poetry is not prosody but "flow" – in Swahili *mitiririko*. Flow is hard to objectivize, but modern poetry is unimaginable without this characteristic. But is the transition from prosody to flow "westernizing" African poetry? Gaudioso rightly denies this. Traditional Swahili poetry prosody has also been imported – from the Arabic world. Moreover, the religious connotation of this prosody is Islam, and Gaudioso denies that Islam is native to sub-Saharan Africa. He sees a problematic tendency in contemporary Africa to colonize itself after decolonization – by enforcing Christian and Islam religions, while Africa used to be characterized by religious freedom and sexually liberal societies.

The latter characterizes two novels by Kezilahabi analyzed in detail in the first chapter of Gaudioso's monograph – *Rosa Mistika* (Kezilahabi 1971) and *Kichwamawij* (Kezilahabi 1974a). Both deal with "fallen" women who act out their sexuality. As Gaudioso convincingly puts it, most critics, who are satisfied with the "moral verdict" on the heroines, misunderstood Kezilahabi's plea for sexual freedom. This effect, which comes from Kezilahabi's prose style and which I would call *impassibilité* – a pity Gaudioso does not link his valuable stylistic observation to Flaubert – seems quite the opposite to what happened to Flaubert after publishing *Madame Bovary*. Both, Flaubert and Kezilahabi, wanted to escape pre-emptive moral judgement. But while Flaubert was accused of immorality, Kezilahabi was mistaken as being preachy.

Gaudioso's second chapter emphasizes the role of the text proper in order to understand whatever Kezilahabi's literary production is going to tell us. Literature is in the text and nowhere else. On the other hand, Gaudioso also rejects an exclusively stylistic description of the text, which instead of unleashing its semantic potential would objectify it. Gaudioso cites Jakobson and Ricoeur who both stress the poetic function of a text at the expense of its referential function. This poetical function is defined as "composed by a refraction of words rather than by the words themselves." So, in Kezilahabi's poetry, the text does not refer to a body, but is a body by itself in the full sense. This Gaudioso also demonstrates by a detailed analysis of a poem by the Swahili writer Ebraim Hussein: *Ngoma na vailini* ('Drum and Violin,' Hussein 1995 [1968]). He rejects hasty conclusions about the opposition in this poem between Christianity and Islam or western versus African identity – the drum and the string are both parts of the poetic as well as of the human body. This is what Gaudioso calls a "somatic" approach to the text. Literature enters the flesh of humans. The text with his body is like a previously unknown alter ego to the reader, body to body. Acts of understanding are possible by sensing, through the principle of analogy.

In the third chapter Gaudioso analyzes Kezilahabi's first collection of poems, *Kichomi* (Kezilahabi 1974b). The method of analysis is hermeneutics, understood as a dialogue between content and form. Many of the poems in this collection are dialogues between two speakers; others are narrative. But always there is an implicit voiceover which Gaudioso reconstructs. Kezilahabi metapoetically refers to this voiceover as being *patulivu*, which approximately can be translated as an inarticulate or even quiet shout. This unique silence is called the voice of the future. Another aspect of the text as a human body is the key role of *maumivu* 'pain' in the poems. It refers to physical trauma as well as, being mental or comprehensive pain, to the trauma of colonialism. Poetry is the voice to this pain. Africa as a home becomes ambivalent – in *Dhamiri yangu* ('Consciousness') it suffocates like strangling, in the metapoetic introduction to *Kichomi* (Kezilahabi 1974b), poetry itself is, like in Heidegger's late philosophy, a home. *Jinamizi* ('Nightmare') has an expressive rhythm structure, which Gaudioso successfully links to the political implications of the poem.

In the fourth chapter, Gaudioso links Kezilahabi's poetry with European romanticism, with Novalis who was always heading for an imagined home. But, as Gaudioso discovers, in Kezilahabi's poetry the lyrical I is always alone on its way to this home, regardless of being the "awaited one." Nevertheless, the poet's journey is a circle of eternal recurrence, the ever-lasting dance to the drum-beat of life. Behind all, however, there resides the mysterious *Nagona*, which Gaudioso, in my opinion a bit too narrowly, identifies with Nietzsche's "Overhuman." Nevertheless, Gaudioso extracts many traits of "Nagona" out of Kezilahabi's poems – being female, non-locatable, giant.

After a pause of 20 years, Kezilahabi published the collection of poems *Dhifa* ('Banquet;' Kezilahabi 2008). Here, music and the myth of Orpheus play a central role. Gaudioso analyzes this collection in his fifth chapter, particularly referring to the opposition between agony and the flow of time which dominates the collection.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that Gaudioso's book is a new and serious approach to poetry from Africa – using form analysis and hermeneutics as a tool to take this poetry fully seriously, not "explaining" it by specific African circumstances. Nevertheless, these circumstances are present in Gaudioso's book, but not as conditions for Kezilahabi's poetry, but as expressed by rhythm and style, by the interplay between form and content out of the poems themselves. Only one qualification about Gaudioso's book comes to my mind – Gaudioso again and again states the importance of Nietzsche, Heidegger, Rilke and Leopardi for Kezilahabi's poetry, but not always he convinces me, because sometimes these statements lack documented inference. But this doesn't lower his meritorious endeavor to apply serious text analysis to a key figure of genuine African poetry.

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Cristina Nicolini. 2022. *Clash of Epistemes: Knowledge of HIV/AIDS in Swahili Literary Genres* (“A TrA, Aree di transizione linguistiche e culturali in Africa” 8). Trieste: Trieste University Press. 340 pages. ISBN 978-88-5511-327-4; eISBN 978-88-5511-328-1.

This monograph, available online (open access) from the OpenstarTs1 digital archive, is based on the PhD dissertation in “African Languages and Cultures” by Cristina Nicolini, which she completed at SOAS (School of Oriental and African Studies), University of London. Cristina Nicolini is a young Italian researcher in Swahili studies with a previous excellent curriculum studiorum at the University of Naples “L’Orientale.” The study, which is based on in-depth research conducted during six months of fieldwork, explores the epistemological articulations involved in the representations of HIV/AIDS in Tanzania as expressed in Swahili literature as well as in interviews and discussions with the participants, in light of the current critical debates around Afrophone literatures and philosophies. The volume, with a foreword by Farouk Topan, Professor Emeritus at the Aga Khan University, and one of the major scholars of Swahili literature and culture, consists of seven chapters, a section of appendices and a rich bibliography.

The first chapter gives a comprehensive introduction to Nicolini’s volume, including background data on HIV/AIDS in Tanzania, research objectives and methodology, a thoughtful section on ethical and positionality issues related to fieldwork, and a literature review on the conceptualisations of HIV/AIDS in Africa. This literature review comprises Swahili-language essays and volumes specifically devoted to this topic, such as Mutembei’s study on HIV/AIDS in Swahili literature (*UKIMWI katika Fasihi ya Kiswahili 1982-2006*; University of Dar es Salaam, 2009). The work stems from prior BA and MA fieldwork experiences in Tanzania, during which she carried out research on the HIV/AIDS issue from a literary perspective and where, as a volunteer, she collaborated with HIV-positive women on an HIV/AIDS education project. The present study develops the research further by conducting a thorough stylistic and thematic analysis of Swahili literature dealing with HIV/AIDS, in particular, drama and novels produced by authors from mainland Tanzania, with a view to exploring the potential of this body of literature in articulating knowledge and philosophical reflection. The research methodology has been designed as a combination of textual analysis and ethnographic fieldwork, with interviews, informal conversations, focus group discussions and participation in live performances. All the activities were carried out in Swahili, so as to pay attention to the subjective experiences and

¹ <https://www.openstarts.units.it/handle/10077/33718> (last access on 09/09/2022).

opinions of the research participants, who include Swahili writers, university professors, members of NGOs, members of a theatre group dealing with HIV/AIDS and a healer (we find in appendix 1 the sample of interview questions, in Swahili and in English translation, and in appendix 3 the list of the 30 interviewees).

A vast multilingual and multidisciplinary literature, which draws on literary, anthropological, postcolonial, cultural and philosophical studies, forms the basis of the discussion of the theoretical aspects of the work which is presented in chapter 2 (Epistemology and Literature). This engages with contemporary debates revolving around what De Sousa Santos conceptualises as “Epistemologies from the South,” i.e. the recognition of knowledge systems which are normally obscured by Western mainstream scientific and secular approaches. This chapter, in particular, focusses on African epistemologies, whose historical interactions with Western paradigms and discourses (clashing, negotiation, subversion etc.), starting with colonial “modernity,” has been analysed by, amongst others, V. Mudimbe. This complex scenario is further complicated in areas of Islamic influence on the African continent, such as the Swahili coast, as has been pointed out by scholars such as A.A. Mazrui and K. Kresse. C. Nicolini highlights the potential rich contribution of Afrophone literary studies to research on African philosophies and knowledge systems – building on the works of her supervisor Alena Rettová and other scholars in the field, as offered here through her case studies which are investigated in the subsequent chapters. Chapter 3 (Encounters between Plural Epistemologies in Swahili Literature on HIV/AIDS: Drama and Performance) concentrates on Swahili drama related to HIV/AIDS, which constitutes an example of the intersection between Swahili literary drama and African Theatre for Development inspired by Freire’s “pedagogy of the oppressed”, along the lines of Penina Muhando’s significant works. The analysis is devoted in particular to some selected plays: *Kilio Chetu* (“Our Lament,” 1996), written by Aldin Mutembei, *Giza* (“Darkness,” 2004), by Hadija Jilala, *Kilio cha Jeska* (“Jeska’s Cry,” 2004) and *Mwalimu Rose* (“The Teacher Rose,” 2007) by Ambrose Mghanga, *Orodha* (“The List,” 2006) by Steve Reynolds, *Embe Dodo* (“The Small Mango,” 2015) by Dominicus Makukula, and especially *Ushuhuda wa Mifupa* (“The Testimony of the Bones,” 1990), which was the very first play written in Swahili on HIV/AIDS, composed by Ibrahim Ngozi in 1989, six years after HIV first appeared in the Kagera region in 1983. The play was staged in 2019 by students of performing arts at the theatre of the College of Arts at the University of Dar es Salaam. Having attended and recorded the performance, Nicolini, in addition to the close analysis of the original work, also provides a detailed comparison with the 2019 live staging. Chapter 4 (Encounters Between Plural Epistemologies in Swahili Literature on HIV/AIDS: Novels) focusses on the analysis of two Swahili novels, namely Aldin Mutembei’s *Kisiki Kikavu* (“The Dry Stump,” 2005) and Athumani Mauya’s *Firauni* (“The Debauchee,”

2015). As in the preceding third chapter, the works are explored from a thematic and stylistic perspective, with particular attention being paid to characterisation, narrative style, intertextuality (particularly the interweaving with oral genres such as songs, proverbs etc.) and the use of language, with special focus on metaphors and tropes related to HIV/AIDS. All these are elements which articulate the complex polyphony of different, often clashing, conceptualisations of the HIV/AIDS disease in Tanzanian society, from the biomedical interpretation based on Western science to various understandings linked to supernatural entities, either local traditions (such as *uganga* ‘indigenous healing,’ and *uchawi* ‘witchcraft’) or religious beliefs deriving from Islam and Christianity, quite often in syncretic combinations. Nicolini's meticulous interpretative work continues in chapter 5 (William Mkufya's Trilogy: “Diwani ya Maua – The Poetry of Flowers” Part One) and chapter 6 (William Mkufya's Trilogy: “Diwani ya Maua – The Poetry of Flowers” Part Two), which are entirely devoted to an in-depth analysis of the first two published volumes of the trilogy on HIV/AIDS *Diwani ya Maua* (“The Poetry of Flowers”), supported by communications and documents exchanged with the author, William Mkufya. Chapter 5 focuses on the novel *Ua La Faraja* (“The Flower of Consolation,” 2004), while chapter 6 explores *Kuwa Kwa Maua* (“The Existence of Flowers,” 2019). She emphasises how Mkufya dedicates considerable space in his works to philosophical speculations aimed at overcoming not only the situations of stigma and discrimination which affect people with HIV/AIDS, especially women, as depicted in many Swahili works, but also the clashes between different forms of knowledge. By engaging in epistemological discussions and recognising local understandings, as Nicolini puts it in the conclusion (chapter 7), “he creates a kaleidoscopic panorama of co-operating knowledge, by including a miscellany of heterogeneous yet integrated ontologies.” Finally, complementing her pivotal case study, Nicolini presents in Appendix 7 a number of extracts from *Kuwa kwa Maua* (taken from chapter 6) translated by her into English and edited by Mkufya, a challenging endeavour that I hope Nicolini will continue and so complete the translation of the novel.

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Hans Lagerqvist. 2020. *Four Essays on Semitic Grammar and Dialectology. Quatre Essais sur la grammaire et la dialectologie sémitiques*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. XII, 206 pages, 7 figures, 11 tables. Languages: English, French. Paperback 14.50 × 22.00 cm. € 38. ISBN: 978-3-447-11399-1.

The author, former full professor of French at the University of Aalborg in Denmark, has published four linguistic essays presented at the Semitic Seminar of Uppsala University. Two essays are written in English and two in French, while the abstracts are all in English. The Scandinavian character of the publication is confirmed by the choice to single out Scandinavian Arabists who contributed to the debate on the origin and use of the Arabic preverb *b(i)-*, which is the main topic of the second essay: “Parmi les arabisants... , il y lieu [sic] de mentionner les Scandinaves K. Eksell (2006), M. Persson (2008), [sic, with Oxford comma] et J. Retsö (2014(1) et 2014(2)).”

It is not stated whether the book or parts of it have been peer-reviewed. The dimensions of the first three essays exceed the average length of a paper or article, whereas the fourth could have been published in an academic journal. Despite the title, the author addresses four hot topics in Arabic rather than Semitic grammar and dialectology: 1. the relative clauses, 2. the construction *b(i)-* + prefix conjugation, 3. the nominal clause, 4. the literary use of dialects. If we exclude sparse references to secondary literature on Modern South-Arabian, Ethiopic and Akkadian, an in-depth comparison of Arabic with other Semitic languages is confined to the nominal clauses as attested in Biblical Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic (essay 3).

Lagerqvist presents and discusses the selected topics in a somewhat refreshing way by adopting a contrastive approach — with a comparison of Arabic with European languages such as English, French, Polish, Russian, Swedish, occasionally German and others — a sound corpus-driven methodology, a rich selection of examples, and a good taxonomy of relevant linguistic structures and forms. Examples are not glossed but accurately transliterated and translated, for the benefit of Arabic and Semitic scholars rather than general linguists.

Corpora are different for the four essays: 1. a selection of short stories and a novel by three Egyptian and a Syrian author of the second half of the twentieth century; 2. examples of various functions and meaning of *b(i)-* + prefix conjugation from grammars and secondary literature on dialects of Syria, Egypt, the Najd region of Saudi Arabia, and the Gulf; 3. examples of Slavic languages, Quranic Arabic, Biblical Hebrew, and Biblical Aramaic; 4. the novel *Yā Maryam* by the Iraqi author Sinān Anṭūn (2012).

In the first essay, Lagerqvist addresses Modern Standard Arabic relative clauses, with definite and indefinite antecedents, and classifies them according to the syntactic and semantic role that the pronominalized antecedent plays in the relative clause and therefore the various constructions with

(object, locative, instrumental...) or without (subject) a resumptive pronoun. As regards the relative clause with definite antecedent, he proposes to interpret the agreement of *allaḏī* etc. with the antecedent as progressive case attraction (morphologically expressed only in the dual), similar to what we find in the morpho-syntax of relative pronouns in many languages and in the so-called “indirect attribute” of Arabic, where the nominal predicate of the relative clause agrees with the antecedent in case and with the subject of the relative clause in gender: *raʿaytu mraʿatan ḥasanan wajhu-hā* ‘I saw a woman whose face was beautiful’ (lit. “I saw a woman_{feminine.accusative} beautiful_{masculine.accusative} her face_{masculine.nominative}”).

Comparative studies on the Semitic languages, which have not been considered by the author (see, e.g., Pat-El 2008: 274-275, with discussion of relevant bibliography), help clarify the different natures and syntactic behaviors of the Semitic particles (Arabic *allaḏī*, Hebrew *ašer* or Aramaic *d-*, etc.) and the Indo-European relative pronouns.

Lagerqvist describes the logical – perhaps better: pragmatic – function of the relative clause as rhematic and argues that the relative clauses attached to indefinite antecedents are in fact to be analyzed, “in pure MSA perspective” (37), as rhematic attributive main (!) clauses. The reason is the absence of a relative marker in these Arabic constructions, which are indeed regularly asyndetic. They are comparable to embedded main clauses such as the parenthetic in *A friend – he is in Baghdad – will come to see me next week* and Lagerqvist compares them contrastively to the circumstantial clauses described in Arabic grammar as *ḥāl*, be they asyndetic or introduced by *wa-*. Precisely the parallel with Arabic *ḥāl* circumstantial clauses and the parenthetic imbedded clauses of any language as well as the identical syntax of all relative clauses in Arabic, attached to definite or indefinite antecedents, with or without a resumptive pronoun, suggest prudence in dubbing the relative clauses with indefinite antecedents as main clauses. The border between embedded and subordinate is moreover rather labile.

In the second essay, Lagerqvist expands on the conclusions of Retsö’s (2014) article on the origin and dialectal distribution of the construction *b(i)-* + imperfective, with a discussion on the modal rather than temporal nature of the future, the usual selection of good examples, and an excellent taxonomy of the functions in a number of dialects. In the bibliography and the discussion one misses, among others, Bruweleit 2015, Jarad 2013, Mion 2017, Mitchell and El-Hassan 1994, Ouhalla 2014, Taine-Cheikh 2004.

In the Avant-propos of the second essay as well as on the back cover of the book (“How can linguistics make research in Semitic advance?”), the author correctly stresses the importance of applying modern linguistic theory to Arabic. In the discussion about the origin of the preverb(s) *b(i)-*, however, he does not refer to grammaticalization (see, e.g., Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994) as a

theoretical framework to explain how a preposition or a verbal form develops into a preverb that marks tense, mood and/or aspect. As for the etymologies proposed for *b(i)-*, Lagerqvist fundamentally repeats Retsö's (2014: 70) position:

The *b-* imperfect in spoken Arabic has two different origins. One is from a verb meaning 'to want' etc. which we find well developed in the Gulf dialect and in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula. The other is from the locative preposition *bi-* thus indicating the 'being in or at the action' as many aspectologists explain the so-called imperfective aspect.

Be it as it may, I prefer to stick to Pennacchietti's warnings on this matter. In an article from 1994 ("I preverbi del passato in semitico"), not used by Lagerqvist, Pennacchietti (1994, 142) prudently avoids searching etymologies for a single consonant particle and, referring to two basic elements of grammaticalization, concludes:

it is highly questionable that a preposition or even an adverb could give rise to a temporal preverb, given that, in all the cases examined above of certain etymology, this type of particle derives from the crystallization [i.e., morphological reduction or decategorialization] and phonetic reduction [phonetic erosion] of the auxiliary of a periphrastic construction (translation and additions in square brackets are mine).

Lagerqvist's treatment of the nominal sentence, in the third essay, reflects the strength and weakness of the book in general. The broad comparative perspective, mainly focusing on Slavic languages, and the abundant examples from Quranic Arabic, Biblical Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic are not followed by a discussion of relevant bibliography on the subject. Explanations are generally to the point. However, in Genesis 4,2 ("Abel kept flocks, and Cain worked the soil"), both sentences are verbal and have a past tense copula (*wa-yhī... hāyā...*): one cannot see how the first can be interpreted as an allomorph \emptyset and therefore atemporal (139). It is regrettable that other varieties of Aramaic are not considered: the choice of Biblical Aramaic is strongly limiting and the corpus in se rather limited. Above all, one misses Goldenberg's many pages on the nominal sentence in all Semitic languages (see, e.g., the chapter "12 Predicative Relation," in Goldenberg 2012).

The fourth essay is a reading of the novel *Yā Maryam* by the Iraqi author Sinān Anṭūn from a dialectological point of view. Lagerqvist describes phonetic, phonologic and morphosyntactic features characteristic of the Christian as opposed to the Muslim Baghdadi dialect, and used in the dialogic sections of the Modern Standard Arabic novel to reproduce the rich linguistic repertoire of Baghdad. "In addition to the Baghdadi dialects, a passage in Chaldean (p. 41) and another one in Lebanese dialect (p. 54) are to be found in the novel (182 n. 3)." I suppose that "Chaldean" is a variety of Sureth, Christian

Neo-Aramaic, or perhaps Syriac. The term “Chaldean” does not say much or, perhaps, says too much to a Semitist.

The literary use of dialects in contemporary Arabic literature is a relatively well-studied phenomenon: see, e.g., Rosenbaum’s publications, not mentioned by Lagerqvist, on the literary and fictional use of Egyptian Arabic. Lagerqvist correctly stresses that the alternation between standard and dialect cannot be overused and we must instead look for a fair compromise, a sort of conventional agreement between writer and reader: the author presents salient features of the dialect, s/he suggests diglossic conversations and narration rather than writing or describing the dialect. It is a fictionalization of diglossia and mixed varieties and reveals the sociolinguistic implications of the narrative pact. Similar analyses and conclusions would probably apply to the use of dialects and dialectal features in many literatures.

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Tim Harper. 2021. *Underground Asia: Global Revolutionaries and the Assault on Empire*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 826 pages. Hardcover. USD 39.95. ISBN: 9780674724617.

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There are many studies of nineteenth- and twentieth-century European empires in Asia. Few of them are laudatory, and those that do take a less-than-condemnatory stance meet with vehement denunciation. As an example of the latter, consider the furore which erupted over scholar Bruce Gilley's "Case for Colonialism," an essay in which he purported to do just as the title describes: make a case for why colonialism was a good thing (Gilley 2018). Gilley was forced to self-censor his views by retracting his peer-reviewed and already-published essay. And yet, while criticism of European empire has become the norm, those empires remain, in many cases, the conceptual ground of engagement. Orientalism critiques, subaltern studies, postcolonialism, and whiteness discourse, among other anti-imperialist fields, assume the presence of empire as the starting point for resistance. In an anti-imperialist age, in other words, empire continues to loom large.

This is partly what makes Tim Harper's *Underground Asia* so exciting to read. Harper is a professor at the University of Cambridge specializing in the history of Southeast Asia, and has written widely about British Malaya, Singapore, and, more broadly, the interpersonal networks that were formed in the shadow of the British Empire in the East. *Underground Asia* is a fresh new step. In this volume of deftly-written history, Harper looks at the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century world through the eyes of people dedicated to ending it. Empire is a given in *Underground Asia*, of course. The British Empire, as well as the French and Dutch empires, and to a smaller extent the empires of the United States (in the Philippines) and Japan, loom large. But for Harper, the focus is on the revolutionaries—and their networks—spread throughout Asia, Europe, North America, and beyond, the men, women, and groups who did not accept the existence of empire and lived (and often died) trying to achieve a world without it. We have, then, a premise orthogonal to the one which dominates writing about imperialism in the Anglosphere today. Harper's volume follows people whose overriding desire was to think past empire, to act outside of all imperial bounds.

In a word, Harper succeeds brilliantly. This is a must-read.

Underground Asia is divided into fourteen chapters, a prelude, and an epilogue. The prelude opens in 1924, "on the threshold of free Asia," with the bombing of a European dinner party on the "colonial enclave" of Shamian Island in the otherwise free city of Canton (3). The bomber turned out to be Pham Hong Thai (1896-1924), a Vietnamese revolutionary who had long worked to dislodge the French from Indochina. In chapter one, Harper steps back in time, to 1905, to follow an earlier (the first) generation

of Vietnamese revolutionaries as they slip into the imperial underground “in search of a lost country,” following strange dreams of a united Asia in Japan, China, and the revolutionary writings filtering into Asia from Europe (21). These anti-imperial pioneers realized that they “shar[ed] the same sickness,” the same thrall to European imperialism (33). From across the European empires, Asians gathered in Japan, where Chinese students set up *Datong*, “Sino-Japanese or pan-Asian ‘unity’ schools” open also to women (34). Other women studied under pan-Asianist Shimoda Utako (1854-1936), whose charges “pledged themselves to the great causes of educational renewal and women’s progress in China” (35) Japan was not the only nexus or vector of anti-imperialist foment. Japan was but one node, albeit an indispensable one, in the drive to oust Europeans from the East. The writings of Chinese intellectual Liang Qichao (1873-1929) (35), Indian Muslim and “supporter of the Ottoman Caliphate” (an obvious challenge to European hegemony) Maulavi Barakatullah (1854-1927) (39), exiled anti-Qing activist Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) (41), Japanese socialist Kōtoku Denjirō (1871-1911, much better known by his “pen name [of] ‘Kotoku Shusui’”) (43), Vietnamese revolutionary Phan Boi Chau (1867-1940), and others inspired a rising generation of patriots, nationalists, pan-Asianists, communists, and modernizers to slip out of the imperial nets laid over Asia and envision, in the underground, a time when Asia would be ruled by Asians once more.

The rest of *Underground Asia* follows chronologically from chapter one. Year by year, the reader watches as anti-imperialists from across half the planet search for ways to deimperialize a place which had been under the sway of Europeans for, in some regions, more than four hundred years. The cast of characters in *Underground Asia* is long, but India is arguably the protagonist. She is a strange heroine, though, as she does not come into existence until after the timeframe of the book has ended—until after, that is, the age of empires ended in the convulsions following the Second World War. India is therefore a heroine in anticipation, a protagonist in advance. But she nursed many sons to grow strong in her cause. For example, there is Jitendra Mohan Chatterjee, a member of the Bengal underground, Taraknath Das (1884-1958), who helped grow underground Asia inside North America, Rash Behari Bose (1886-1945), a man of action who evaded top Raj policeman David Petrie (1879-1961) and built up “militant cells and support within the British Indian Army” (168)—another Bose, “the young firebrand Subhas Chandra [(1897-1945)]” (474) would take over from Rash Behari and lead the Indian National Army alongside the Imperial Japanese Army against the British—Aurobindo Ghose (1872-1950), an exponent of *Swaraj* (self-rule), and Gurdit Singh (1860-1954), a Sikh leader who served as de facto captain of the *Komagata Maru*, a Japanese ship which Singh filled with supporters and sailed around the world in defiance of, and as a challenge to, the racist exclusionary policies of the British Empire.

India also figures prominently in an indirect way, a way hinted at by the exploits of Gurdit Singh. Harper's book has many filaments tying its parts together, but one of the strongest of those filaments is the irony of a world at the same time united under imperial banners, and closed off to travel and opportunity for the people living in those ostensibly united realms. Revolutionaries in the Netherlands East Indies, Harper tells us:

defined themselves as *orang pergerakan*, men and women of 'movement'. They were a generation who knew of nothing else but to move. They actively sought to free themselves from ties to the Dutch regime. In British India too, to throw aside a government scholarship, as Aurobindo Ghose and [revolutionary and expatriate] Har Dayal [(1834-1939)] had once done to shock contemporaries, was now [in the years at the end of and just after World War I] an established rite of passage. Many more young men and women now refused colonial education altogether. Free Schools and night schools multiplied in the moving cities of Asia (342).

But while Asia was moving, it was also stuck. As Singh proved in his *Komagata Maru* voyages, and as so many others experienced in their own ways, Europe opened Asia for Europeans, but locked it down for Asians. Once a colonial scholarship was "thrown over," there was nothing else for Asians but to sit at home, to serve Europeans in war, or, for some, to plan for a time when Europe would be in Asia no longer. And service to Europeans rankled indeed. Europeans traveled freely to colonial outposts in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Canton, Delhi, and Jakarta. The people born in those places, however, were increasingly pinned down by racist rules and restrictions which kept the privilege of free movement within and between empires reserved for Europeans. The case of India shows this best in Harper's book. There is incident after incident in *Underground Asia* in which Indians are insulted and even imprisoned, or worse, for daring to defy white supremacy in the British Raj.

But the story of course does not end here. As Harper shows with great skill, it was partly in response to the quickly hardening racist colonial policies in the European empires that revolutionaries sought to link their undergrounds with those outside the imperial spheres. Empire, in a sense, begot its own assassin. Another of Harper's main figures, for instance, is Manabendra Nath Roy (1887-1954), who moved in radical and communist circles in Mexico, America, Berlin, and Moscow and who worked with the Comintern in its attempt to overthrow Asian empires with subversion and violence. But Roy was hardly alone. Dutch revolutionary Henk Sneevliet (1883-1942) also worked closely with the Comintern, as did the most shadowy figure of all in *Underground Asia*, a man who went variously by Nguyen Tat Thanh, Ba, Nguyen Ai Quoc ("Nguyen the Patriot"), Ly Thuy, and, finally, Ho Chi Minh

(1890-1969). These and other radicals tried to bend the Comintern to the cause of Asian revolution. Empire was global first; anti-empire was global second, and caught up quickly.

But the imperialism of the West, even in a place like Russia which the West had long excluded from civilizational parity, proved too strong to overcome. Asians who had attempted to focus the Comintern's attention on European empires in Asia grew disillusioned with the heavy-handedness, racist arrogance, and Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist dogmatics of the Moscow-led Comintern. Yet another generation of Asian revolutionaries, such as Mao Zedong (1893-1976) and Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975), took the fight against empire into their own hands. What has been hidden under the communism and republicanism of such men, however, has been the networks of Asians which supported them and which made their very rises to power possible in the first place. Harper is therefore to be thanked for *Underground Asia*. Harper's foregrounding of Asians and Asian-led initiatives is, to my mind, the right way to think about European empire in Asia. Harper eschews the theoretical approaches of many others in the academy and digs deep in the archives to find what Asians themselves said and did in the days when European empires seemed to be at their strongest.

Underground Asia is an invaluable book, a magnum opus even, but it is not without flaws. The biggest flaw appears to be methodological. Oddly, for a volume such as this, Harper appears to have relied almost exclusively on Western-language sources. There are some 150 pages of endnotes: the majority of sources are in English, with some archival work done in French and Dutch as well. This is only fitting, of course. Harper is investigating the British Raj, imperialism in America and Canada, and the Asian empires of the Netherlands and France. The colonial archives will of course be in the languages of those respective European powers, and Harper is right to make full use of them. Furthermore, many of the revolutionaries themselves, such as early Indonesian patriot Tan Malaka (1897-1949), wrote in European languages, as well (in Malaka's case, in Dutch and occasionally English). But for a volume which is set so often in places in Japan, China, Vietnam, and other places with thriving literatures in local languages, it is unfortunate that Harper did not, it seems, avail himself of those riches. There is a wealth of material on anti-European imperialism written in Chinese and Japanese, for instance. Had this been accessed for *Underground Asia*, it would have strengthened even more an already towering work. In the future, perhaps other scholars can pick up Harper's monumental volume and write companion pieces detailing the underground networks as revealed in sources written in non-Western languages.

The above intervention, however, should not dissuade anyone from reading *Underground Asia*. It is a triumph, the near-absence of Asian languages from the endnotes notwithstanding. The book is long and will take many sittings to complete, but that is as it should be, I think. The networks of

revolutionaries, pan-Asianists, and patriots which stretched across the old European empires were almost infinitely ramified and complex. Harper's book is filled with details, with clues that help the reader link the denizens of these undergrounds to the overarching themes of the world they were shaping in a given month and year. There is far too much here to take in all at once, but, by the same measure, far too much to pass by. *Underground Asia* is changing the conversation about the late age of empire. I highly recommend it to anyone interested in how one geopolitical paradigm gives way to another.

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Elena Valdameri. 2022. *Indian Liberalism between Nation and Empire. The Political Life of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*. London: Routledge. 246 pages. Hardcover. £ 120. ISBN 9780367470326.

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As is not always the case with books of history, the title of Valdameri's monograph gives us an appropriate idea of the content. In fact, Gokhale's political liberalism develops between the two poles of nation and empire. Or, more exactly, his ideas of liberty and national liberty cannot be understood without a reference to British rule in India. But before delving into the problem of the relationship between nation and empire in Gokhale's *Weltanschauung*, a short premise is appropriate on the structure of the monograph. It isn't a biography of Gokhale but, rather, an accurate, dense, and keen analysis of his political thought. Accordingly, the volume doesn't follow a chronological path, but is organized around some major themes, focused on the guiding ideas in Gokhale's political thought. So, the four chapters are each a sort of monograph on a specific topic. Liberalism, Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism, Citizenship are therefore analysed in that order. Notwithstanding the systematic approach, however, the historical context is never neglected, and the analysis of Gokhale's different political attitudes is always accompanied by a sober but accurate reconstruction of the context in which they are placed. The only exception to this rule is the first chapter ('Liberalism') which follows, more definitely, a temporal pattern. This is a perfectly intelligible exception, as liberalism is the backbone of Gokhale's political vision, and, to explain its importance, it is useful to describe the intellectual training of the Indian leader, following its subsequent stages.

The description of the structure of the book leads us, almost naturally, to analyse its content. Here, it is worth remembering that Gokhale (1866-1915) is currently classified as a moderate. This general label, however, must be understood *cum grano salis*. In general terms we must always remember that the early Indian nationalism developed in a constant osmosis with the progressive elements of the British administration. It is a well-known fact that the Indian National Congress was founded, in 1885, by a retired British official. Likewise, Gokhale's political career took place, in large part, in the consultative and representative institutions created by the British in India starting from the last decades of the 19th Century. In other words, to classify Gokhale as a moderate does not mean that he wasn't a convinced supporter of India's independence. Rather it only means that, in his opinion, independence was a goal that would not be achieved in a short time and had to be pursued without any form of terrorism and wanton violence. To have a term of comparison, it is enough to think that

Mahatma Gandhi himself, who considered Gokhale his political guru, remained a Crown's loyalist until the end of First World War. What is more, moderation, for Gokhale, did not mean a conciliatory attitude toward the British. Gokhale shared the "drain theory," with its hard-hitting criticism to the economic politics of the British in India, and attacked vehemently the colonial government "for the inefficacy of famine relief operations" (: 54). Also, on the means of political action he was not "unconditionally against mass agitation, provided that it was led from the above" (: 156) and appreciated passive resistance.

Gokhale's personal story is typical of the intellectual classes of the colonized countries because he too "through Western education [...] became increasingly acquainted with the language of the 'universal' rights of liberalism" (: 34). In fact, liberal ideals had a critical value towards colonial domination, and offered "an effective ammunition for shooting at the political inconsistency of the British rulers and the perfect language to frame discourses of political and civil rights" (: 56).

The faith in liberal principles also helps to understand the Indian leader's idea of a nation. Gokhale developed a voluntaristic idea of nation, a conception where conscious and wilful factors have a preponderant role. In his opinion, "national self-determination revolved around the subjective will to become members of the national community and contribute to its welfare." A claim, notes Valdameri, only "apparently tautological," because it presupposes "a programme of political education as well as social and economic maturation" (: 81). In this programme a key role was reserved to the educated classes of the Indian society, which had the task of guiding the people.

According to Gokhale, the birth of a new nation "did not mean dividing humankind along exclusionary national lines." Rather, "the emancipation from oppressive social and political structures was the highest duty of a nation" and, at the same time, an endowment "to the progress of Humanity" (: 82). In the conception of the Indian leader, a free India would be "only a *tessera* of a global mosaic of free nations" (: 233). Rather appropriately, Valdameri draws a parallel in this regard with the idea of nation developed by Giuseppe Mazzini, with its similar view of the emancipation of oppressed nationalities.

In Gokhale's national vision, historical and cultural factors had an accessory function. Obviously, India had a cultural background of her own, but this "was a pre-political factor that provided the national project with a sense of destiny and continuity with a shared past" (: 79). The significance of Indian historical identity was in first instance useful to the political struggle, because it questioned the British pretension "that India lacked any common cultural traits" (: 79). At the same time, it was an appropriate response to the "more radical nationalists who saw liberal principles as being shallowly universal and therefore as jeopardising the national particularity" (: 79). Under this angle, we can say

that Gokhale's so called moderatism was strictly connected with his pro-Western attitude. He believed that the Indian nation "could be empowered by adapting and using Western-based knowledge" (: 142). This was a stance that placed him at the antipodes of the extremists, like Tilak, who considered with suspect Western influences, which, in their opinion, could jeopardize what they considered the traditional identity of India. Summing up, we can say that, for the extremists, Indian national identity was "rooted in an idealized past," whereas for the moderate Gokhale it was "something to be built in the future" (: 106).

The more distinctive character of the national vision of Gokhale, nonetheless, was its relationship with British rule. The possibility to give birth to the Indian nation, a nation that was still in the making, had been created by an external agency. In Gokhale's opinion, India had always existed only as a geographical entity, but "had become for the first time a political unity, thanks to administrative unification under the British rule" (: 77). British domination was a decisive turning point in the history of the sub-continent, opening the path to become, in due time, a nation. It would not be fair to understand this last feature of Gokhale's idea of nation as a sign of a cultural dependence on the British occupier. Rather, it was only a realistic acknowledgment of a historical circumstance, which could also turn in favour of the dominated. So much so that the idea of the relevance of the British connection for the future of India would remain, albeit in indirect form, even in a subsequent phase of the independence struggle. A few decades later, the Gandhi-led Indian National Congress, conducting the mass campaigns of non-cooperation and civil disobedience, would nonetheless never neglect to make use of the representative institutes created by the British. An attitude that recognized in the political practice what Gokhale had theorized at his time, namely that the nation in the making was intrinsically connected with the British Empire.

Nevertheless, in Gokhale's opinion, the British influence wasn't something to be received passively; on the contrary, it required an effort of adjustment and improvement on the part of the Indian society. Accordingly, it was necessary to promote not only a transfer of power but, above all, "a radical social transformation against the perceived wrongs and weaknesses of Indian society" (: 193). A transformation that "should be carried out on top-down social policies as well as bottom-up activities of non-state associations" (: 193). With this end in sight, Gokhale created the Servants of India Society. The association was not a mass organism; rather it was a very selective sort of lay monastic order. In Gokhale's opinion, it was necessary above all to ensure rigorous standards to carry out effective action. In short, it was a question of creating an efficient and rigorously structured association that could generate imitators.

The emphasis on self-improvement was intended in first instance for the educated Indians. In this sector of the Indian society, it was necessary to promote the renunciation of “worldly well-being.” Rather, its guiding light ought to become “personal desires for the common good.” In turn, the pursuit of the common good “was presented as an opportunity to demonstrate Indian moral and cultural superiority over the colonial rulers” and, at same time, “the capability – denied by the colonial critique of Indian society – to generate a social ethic that enabled public action” (: 86). Limited to a tiny section of Indian society, over time this effort at self-improvement would reverberate on the whole of Indian society.

The necessity to improve Indian society was a *sine qua non* in deserving self-government. In Gokhale’s own words: “the people of India, having been brought up on Western knowledge, would in course of time demand European institutions in the government of the country” (: 88).

The admiration that Gokhale had for the British constitution – another remarkable element of his political *Weltanschauung* – was not exclusive of the Indian leader but a widespread attitude on the part of many other non-British political leaders of the time. We can find a similar attitude, a few decades earlier, in personalities so different like the Italian Camillo Benso of Cavour and the French François Guizot. The particularity of Gokhale is the fact that, in his case, Anglophilia was a problematic by-product of the colonial relationship. We say problematic because the relationship with the colonial power was twofold. On the one hand India was indebted to the British domination that had inspired and fostered the birth of a national feeling in the sub-continent; on the other, British domination was perceived as an obstacle to the full development of the nation. This ambiguous situation, intellectual and existential, is the ultimate, defining feature of Gopal Krishna Gokhale’s personality. The merit of Elena Valdameri’s book is to have reconstructed it in all its complex and fascinating nuances.

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The historical figure, thought, action and teachings of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi have been at the centre of countless studies and interpretations. Even his personality and morals have been scrutinised by scholars and thinkers of different disciplines, as to testify that the interest around the Mahatma went far beyond the central role he played over three decades in the struggle for Indian independence, or his adamantly relying on non-violent action as the guiding principle for political action. One of the elements that attracted much interest in and sparked many debates about Gandhi has been his unending search for a complete adherence between public action and private life: being a religious-moral conception of Truth at the basis for a righteous and legitimate political struggle, there could be no right claim against colonialism, no push towards social or political or economic change if one's own life was not aligned to those principles of truth and morality. Gandhi himself saw that this was necessarily to be recognised an ideal end, a source of inspiration and a watchdog to guide one's life and principles, while politics and collective action were more often than not subject to choices and more worldly compromise. However, throughout all his life he never abandoned the struggle to make his private life the epitome of his message and public action. In the thousands of written pages he left – including personal notes, letters, articles and public speeches – scholars have sought interpretations and meanings to give account, systematise or simply better understand his views towards life, politics and religiosity. Interestingly, the more one enters into the Mahatma's writings and the more one steps into contradictions, into statements that pointed towards one direction just to find that Gandhi himself countered them in other occasions. And, if he was very much aware of the inconsistencies in which he stepped, and even laid claim on them as Eijiro Hazama points out in his essay for this book, it has been the tendency of some scholars to try to over-systematise and essentialise his thought in order to derive a consistent explanation or theory about him. Such a tendency is very well avoided by the essays contained in this book, edited by Marzia Casolari as a follow up of a conference she convened at the University of Turin to commemorate the Mahatma's 150th birth anniversary.

The title of the book well reflects its purpose, as the editor also states in the introduction: echoing Ramchandra Guha's landmark trilogy (*India After Gandhi*, 2008; *Gandhi Before India*, 2013; and *The Years That Changed the World 1915-1948*, 2018), Casolari has conceived this book as to take distance from the majority of previous works on the Mahatma, inasmuch as it seeks to highlight aspects of Gandhi's

experience and legacy “and relate them to the challenges of the present”. With this aim in mind, the various contributors address well specific aspects of his politics and thought without delving into apologetic details of his biography, rather looking for possible understandings of the way in which his stands on specific issues were received and influenced his contemporaries as well as subsequent generations of thinkers and activists. In particular, the first and third sections of the book host contributions that look at Gandhi’s legacy and significance to other historical and geographical contexts, and in doing so allow the reader to critically reconsider aspects of his thought and action and their relevance to present times. Section two, instead, is historically focused on the figure of the Mahatma, proposing contributions that critically evaluate his role and impact in specific moments and contexts during his life. All in all, the book represents a useful compendium to understand less known and nonetheless important aspects pointing at the way in which Gandhi’s legacy directly resonates in the present.

In the first section, for instance, the essays by Corazza, Concilio and Carosso move around several interesting aspects that characterized the reception of the Mahatma as an exemplary figure and of non-violence as a guiding principle for political action outside India. Far from exalting Gandhi in hagiographical terms, the three contribution aim to show how activists and leaders who confronted with Gandhi’s thought had to confront also with ambiguities and limits, and the eventual acceptance of non-violence as a tool for action was not a blind leap of faith.

In Chiara Corazza’s and Carmen Concilio’s essays the focus is on Gandhi’s reception in the context of South African anti-apartheid struggle and Pan-Africanism. Both highlight the wide reception and the ambivalent influence of Gandhi’s action and political thinking in anti-colonial movements in the African continent. Corazza in particular highlights how fascination for the Mahatma’s moral stature and firmness in translating non-violence into political action was challenged, within pan-African movements, under two main arguments: firstly, in particular in French colonies, non-violence was seen as an insufficient means to counter colonial despotism, while in fact emphasising the need for armed revolt; secondly, Gandhi’s manifest attitude to distinguish the plight of Indians to that of black people in South Africa, and his not-so-hidden racism, made him an ambivalent and at times controversial counterpart. This notwithstanding, Corazza shows how in particular W.E.B. Du Bois referred to Gandhi and India’s struggle for independence as a reference point and a “strategic symbol” to present the moral superiority of colonised people and to propose a united front of all non-white people in the fight against colonialism.

Following on the same line, the contribution by Concilio analyses Gandhi’s legacy in the political activity of South African anti-apartheid activists. Mainly following a sort of indirect dialogue between

Nelson Mandela and Gandhi through the former's autobiography, Concilio too delves into the Mahatma's ambivalent reception in South Africa, where his high morality stood as a beacon for conceiving non-violent forms of political action, while his overtly separatist positions and his refusal to join the plight of Indian with that of black people continued to rise suspicion and hostility among many leaders. Far from pretending to issue definite judgements, both chapters interestingly highlight how the complexity of Gandhi's presence and political actions in South Africa accounted also for many contradictions, but was nonetheless full of meanings and brought important legacies far beyond the limits of the Indian community in the country and the temporal frame of the Mahatma's life.

On a similar tone, but moving away from South Africa in space and time, Andrea Carosso brings the analysis to the United States and the anti-segregation movement that began in the mid of the 1950s. If in the South African context Gandhi's ambivalence towards the black population was seen by many as a crucial limitation to fully embracing him as an example of political mobilisation, one of the key issues that brought the Mahatma in the anti-segregation movement was the meaning and real effectiveness of non-violent action. In analysing Martin Luther King's slow and meditated approach to Gandhi's politics, Carosso shows that adopting non-violence as the technique of the struggle was not, and could not mean the blind use of a means of collective mobilisation, it was result, instead, of a process of re-elaboration and re-signification of its purposes and meanings to the struggle of black Americans for the recognition of their civil rights.

In the essay that opens the second section, Torri moves back to evaluate Gandhi's role in the struggle for India's independence, with specific regard to the progressive deterioration of the dialogue between the Congress and the Muslim league. As it is well known, the outcome of decades of anticolonial political mobilisation and attempts at finding a common terrain in imagining a postcolonial state was the partition of the subcontinent, after a stream of unprecedented widespread violence between Hindus and Muslims. In his historical reconstruction, the author seeks to evaluate Gandhi's political responsibilities and comes to a rather clearcut conclusion as he states that, as far as the "Muslim question" is concerned, Gandhi "piled political mistakes upon political mistakes and powerfully contributed to one of the most terrifying man-made tragedy in the history of modern and contemporary South Asia" (: 68).

Again more nuanced are the two following contributions, which aim at reconstructing the context around two specific aspects of Gandhi's politics. Both shift the focus from the Mahatma's legacy and impact to his own thinking, political positions and moral understandings. Casolari brings at the centre of her analysis a comparison between India's partition and the division of Palestine, focusing on Gandhi's complex position towards the matter. By focusing on a less studied aspect of Gandhi's thought

such as this one, this essay has the undoubted merit of relating the two partitions, the connections between them and the commonalities that make them highly intertwined events. In this sense, Gandhi appears as a “privileged witness” and an active, although somehow marginal, participant in the process but, more interestingly, through his eyes Casolari reconstructs the web of events and people that link the two partitions under the heavy shadow of British colonialism.

Focusing on Gandhi’s later years, in his fascinating analysis Eijiro Hazama reads Gandhi’s understanding of secularism in relation to his experiments with *Brahmacarya*, or celibacy/sexual continence. Hazama makes a very wise and original use of Gandhi’s text, looking at the simultaneity of articles on these two apparently far aspects, secularism and abstinence, giving meaning to the choice of different languages – English, Hindi and Gujarati – to release them and convincingly relating them as two consistent aspects of his moral and social views. Hazama draws a portrait of the constant dialogue between inner religious sphere and public political life that fully grasps the complexity of the Mahatma’s strife to reconcile individual life and social change.

Finally, the two essays in the last section propose the reading of Gandhi’s legacy and influence with an eye to nowadays India. How are the Mahatma’s example and thoughts relevant in today’s India? Jayogseni Mandal suggests a rediscovery of Gandhian economic thinking and proposal towards a humanitarian capitalism as a possible means to direct contemporary financial capitalism towards a more sustainable turn. On the contrary, Pallavi Varma Patil and Roshni Ravi bring in the experience of grass root work to adapt and put into practice a model of education shaped on Gandhi’s idea of *Nai Talim* (or basic education). By showing the outcomes of a specific project, the two authors suggest that different educational models, more oriented towards an integration of practical activities related to farming, have the potential to foster a different understanding of schooling and reorient an idea of knowledge transmission in a more sustainable way.

Far from aspiring to be a definite voice on Gandhi and his understanding, this book has the undoubted merit of raising a range of different issues and readings, presenting the complexity and the multiple possible understandings of the Mahatma without pretending to give a single oriented explanation. The essays are short and most of them point straight to the core a single aspect, which makes the reading enjoyable and interesting. However, this aspect represents also one of the main limits of the book: some of the chapters deal with large and complex aspects but in the few pages of a short essay the authors limit themselves to a brief outline. In a way, it can resemble a collection of introductions, or a sketchbook, which can be nonetheless very useful to students, researchers and non-academic readers as a tool to access such a wide and complex world such as the scholarship on the Mahatma and his legacies.

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