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In Memoriam Nils Simonsson (1920–1994)

When Nils Simonsson passed away in 1994, after many years of illness borne with patience and dignity, Scandinavia lost one of its most versatile and learned scholars of Asian cultures and languages. It was not least an amazing linguistic versatility which characterized Nils Simonsson: he thoroughly mastered not only Asian languages such as Sanskrit, Hindi, Tamil, and Tibetan, but was also proficient in Russian, Polish, and Finnish. Linguistic proficiency always, however, went hand in hand with a deep understanding of cultural context. This was certainly part of the explanation of his extraordinary capacity to inspire enthusiasm in his students for philological studies.

Nils Simonsson was born in Jämtland, and he retained strong bonds to the land of his childhood and youth throughout his entire life. Perhaps his Jämtland background explains his apparently effortless adaptation to life in Norway during his twelve years (1963–1975) as professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oslo, where he succeeded Georg Morgenstierne. He once told me that in his native district, “to go to town” implied travelling to Trondheim, across the border. Among Norwegian students and colleagues, he quickly found congenial surroundings, and many enduring friendships were formed.

The major contribution of Nils Simonsson was his doctoral dissertation, *Indo-tibetische Studien. Die Methoden der tibetischen Übersetzer, untersucht im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ihrer Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie* (1957). Behind this somewhat dry title one finds a brilliant, fundamental study of the principles, laid down by the Tibetans in the ninth century A.D., of the vast work of translation of Buddhist texts from Sanskrit into Tibetan. This dissertation still remains indispensable today, and is referred to by all serious studies of the Indo-Tibetan textual tradition. In several articles, some of which were published in *Orientalia Suecana*, he continued and further refined his research into this tradition.

His first monograph was, however, devoted to a philosophical tradition in Hinduism, viz. Sāṃkhya (*Indisk filosofi. Sāṅkhya*, 1955). This little volume, which would have become a standard work of Indology if it had been written in an international language, contains a translation of Īśvarakṛṣṇa’s *Sāṃkhyakārikā* together with Māṭhara’s commentary. Nils Simonsson’s magisterial lectures in Indian philosophy regularly took the system of classical Sāṃkhya as a point of departure, an approach which his pupils quickly learnt to appreciate.

It was, in fact, a fundamental aspect of Nils Simonsson’s approach to the study of Indian philosophy and religion that attention was focussed on commentarial traditions. His intuitive grasp of subtleties of expression and meaning, and his interest in textual transmission as a living, open-ended process, naturally led him to focus on the vast, but often difficult commentarial literature of India. In my opinion, this emphasis on commentaries and on the living, ever-changing reinterpretation of canonical texts within classical Indian civilization, is the greatest and most enduring influence passed on by Nils Simonsson to his pupils.

Nils Simonsson did not travel extensively, and only spent a limited period of

study in India. Nevertheless, his insight, sometimes exceptionally profound, into Indian civilization was, at least in Scandinavia, unrivalled. The secret was simple: intensive philological groundwork leading to hermeneutical illumination. One result of this hermeneutical effort was a collection of translations—into Swedish—of poems by Vidyāpati, Sūrdās, Tulsī Dās, and Milarepa, translations characterized by great fidelity and sensitivity.¹

As a scholar, Nils Simonsson has achieved an enduring position in the long history of Indology. He will also live on in the affectionate memory of those who had the good fortune to know him as a teacher, guide, and friend.

*Per Kværne
Oslo*

¹ A list of Nils Simonsson's publications is found in Eivind Kahrs (ed.), *Kalyāṇamitrārāgaṇam. Essays in Honour of Nils Simonsson*, Oslo (Norwegian University Press), 1986:ix–xiii.

In Memoriam Geo Widengren (1907–1995)

With the death of Geo Widengren in his 89th year, an outstanding scholarly career has come to an end. Widengren was one of the few scholars who was still able to master the religious history of the Middle East from the Accadian and early West Semitic periods up to the rise and spread of Islam. His extraordinary knowledge of both the Semitic and the Iranian languages (and Armenian) put him in a unique position to interpret and compare the religious traditions of the Middle East in their change and continuity for more than two millennia. Despite a serious eye disease which afflicted him after his retirement, he was nonetheless writing scholarly manuscripts up to the moment of his death thanks to the help of his wife Aina.

In 1940 Widengren was appointed Professor of the History of Religions at the University of Uppsala. For 33 years, he held this chair greatly enhanced the renown of the ‘Uppsala School’ in the history of religions. He taught and inspired many students of whom some graduated and eventually became professors and teachers in different universities. He showed a strong commitment to his graduate students in many ways; for example, he received them in his home to give private teaching in the different languages and textual traditions he mastered so well. Broad international contacts were a hallmark of Widengren’s academic activity. He was for many years the leading figure in the International Association for the History of Religions (IAHR) and helped to start *Numen*, the journal still issued by the Association.

Widengren’s writings comprise some 300 titles and cover a wide variety of subjects, not only in the field of the history of religions but also in linguistics as well as cultural and political history. It would be impossible to mention and comment in detail all his scholarly work, even within the frame of a lengthy article. Since Widengren’s principal concern was with religious history in a comparative perspective, his achievements in that field will be in the focus of this commemorative essay.

No one who attended Widengren’s seminars could avoid being confronted by Gnosticism and the problem of its origins. Here Widengren continued and refined the argument for a substantial Iranian component in Gnosticism, as maintained by Wilhelm Bousset and Richard Reitzenstein and the ‘Religionsgeschichtliche Schule’ in general. Widengren made penetrating studies of Mandeism and Manicheism and was able to elucidate their Iranian background, thanks to his thorough knowledge of the Avestan and Pahlavi texts. Mandeism was superbly treated in *Die Mandäer* (Handbuch der Orientalistik I, Bd. 8, 1961). His monograph *The Great Vohu Manah and the Apostle of God. Studies in Iranian and Manichaean Religion* (Uppsala 1945) still appeals to experts in Oriental studies. The book *Mani und der Manichäismus* (Urban-Bücher 1961; Italian and English editions 1964 and 1965 respectively) was aimed at the general public and soon became a success being the best introduction to Manichaeism available in the 60s and 70s.

The study of Israelite-Jewish religion was of particular interest to Widengren because of its methodological implications. He took a firm stand against the exegetes who tried to explain the Old Testament without taking account of its ancient Near

Eastern environment. The basis for Widengren's comparative approach to Israelite religion was laid with the monograph *The Accadian and Hebrew Psalms of Lamentation as Religious Documents. A Comparative Study* (Uppsala 1938). The results of his varied research on the religion of ancient Israel are admirably presented in the succinct but lucid chapter on Israelite religion in *Historia Religionum*, vol. I (ed. C. Bleeker & G. Widengren, Leiden 1978). What strikes the reader is the fact that his approach could shed new light on several obscure passages of the Old Testament. The usefulness of the religio-historical perspective on early Judaism was demonstrated by Widengren in a number of studies. Among the issues dealt with were the Jews under Persian rule, written versus oral transmission, traces of royal investiture in the Pseudepigrapha, the Ethiopic Book of Henoch and its relationship with Iranian religion in the Parthian period.

However, the field in which Widengren's scholarly work has become most influential is Iranian religion and Zoroastrianism. Here he produced a number of studies characterized by philological accuracy and mastery of the diverse and extensive source material. Although Widengren drew new lines of research, the impact of his teacher H. S. Nyberg was always felt. The ecstatic-visionary nature of Zarathushtra and the importance of Zurvanism were topics inherited from Nyberg which Widengren developed further, adding new insights. George Dumézil was another influential scholar whose acquaintance Widengren made when Dumézil taught French in Uppsala in the 30s. The results of Dumézil's comparative Indo-European research, as applied to Iranian religion, were often praised by Widengren.

Two important studies of Widengren deserve special mention. His 'Stand und Aufgabe der iranischen Religionsgeschichte' in the two opening volumes of *Numen* (1954, 1955) and *Die Religionen Irans* in the series 'Religionen der Menschheit' (Stuttgart 1965; French translation 1968) are substantial and lasting contributions to the study of religion in ancient Iran. The main characteristic of Widengren's approach is his use of both Avestan and Pahlavi texts to elucidate intricate problems in Iranian religion, such as what religious type Zarathushtra represented and the antiquity of Iranian apocalyptic traditions. The article 'Révélation et prédication dans les Gathas' (*Iranica*, Napoli 1979) and the detailed study 'Leitende Ideen und Quellen der iranischen Apokalyptik' are significant in this respect. The last mentioned article was Widengren's contribution to the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism held in Uppsala in 1979, of which he was the chief organizer (Proceedings published in 1983 by D. Hellholm: *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East*, Tübingen).

Widengren devoted much energy to the problems posed by comparative religious research, especially the phenomenology of religion, which appeared as a kind of fashionable discipline in the first half of the present century. In later years, he confessed that he had been too optimistic regarding the possibility of one person writing global phenomenologies and at the same time retaining a high standard of accuracy and actuality. In spite of these hesitations after the publication, his main comparative work *Religionens värld* (1951, 3rd rev. and shortened ed. 1971), subsequently enlarged into *Religionsphänomenologie* (Berlin 1969, with editions in Spanish and Italian), remains one of the most useful phenomenological studies with a wealth of material from a large number of different religions. There is, of course, some em-

phasis on the Middle East, but this fact together with the historical perspective, only increases the value of the work.

In conclusion, two concerns of Widengren's scholarly activity should be mentioned, since they are particularly attached to his name. One is the idea of a decisive Iranian influence on the early Jewish and Christian religions, Gnosticism and Mithraism, an idea which was elaborated with skill and first-hand knowledge of all the relevant texts. The other is the significance of sacral kingship in the religions of the ancient Near East and the way it survived and was transformed in the Jewish, Christian and Islamic traditions.

In addressing the question of Iranian influence, Widengren emphasized the conservative character of the Pahlavi literature, pointing out its dependence on Avestan traditions. He launched severe criticism against those who denied that these texts of the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. had any relevance to the issues of Iranian influences in the Hellenistic, Parthian and Roman periods only by referring to the late date of redaction. Among his many contributions to the problem of Iranian influence, the detailed investigation entitled *Iranisch-semitische Kulturgegung in partischer Zeit* (Köln und Opladen 1960) has not yet been replaced by a better treatment of the subject.

The ideology and rituals of sacral kingship were a recurrent theme in Widengren's lifelong research. He followed the phenomenon of sacral kingship and its survival through all the religious traditions of which he had first-hand knowledge. The Franz Delitsch Vorlesungen in 1952 resulted in the impressive monograph *Sakrales Königtum im A.T. und im Judentum* (Stuttgart 1955). Iranian kingship from the Achaemenian to the Sassanian period was treated in a number of articles, for example, 'La légende royale de l'Iran antique' in *Hommages à Georges Dumézil* (Bruxelles 1960). Although inspired by the 'Myth and Ritual School' in which S. H. Hooke was the dominant figure, Widengren cannot be characterized as a 'patternist'. His historical and philological outlook prevented any excesses in that direction.

Geo Widengren will be remembered as a great scholar but also as a loyal friend and supporter of all who had the privilege of knowing him closely.

Anders Hultgård
Uppsala

Towards a standardised presentation of compounds in Avot Yeshurun's latter poetry (1974–1992)

GIDON AVRAHAM, Uppsala

This essay deals with poetry by Avot Yeshurun (Y) published between 1974 and 1992 and can be seen as a complement to the examples of modified (conjunctive) parenthetical usage I discussed in an earlier essay.¹ This essay, however, focuses on Yeshurun's strategies of word formation, partly from the point of view of a terminologist, concentrating on compounding.² In order to come closer to a standardised presentation of Yeshurun's word formation strategies, this study will involve:

- Subject delimitation: delimitation of recurrent themes or literary motifs central to Y-'s latter poetry;
- Division of the subject into subcategories: language categories (such as compounds based upon *loan words* or compounds based upon *derivatives*) that occur often in Y-'s latter poetry;
- Excerpting compounds related to recurrent themes in Y-'s latter poetry;
- Classifying and presenting innovative compounds as term entries according to a given standard, which also brings into focus Y-'s choice of marker of an earlier established usage (*transposon*)³ and the function assigned to each specific expression in the broader context of the poem;
- Definition by the poet;
- Establishing a term list based upon the above-mentioned themes and language categories. The preferred word-class in compounding will also be marked, in order to study a possible connection between word-class distribution in the predefined language categories as related to the recurrent themes. When possible, parallel cases of Shlonsky's neologisms will be presented after the synoptic part of such term entries as comparative material regarding the word-formation process in Hebrew.⁴

Yeshurun had his own "special purposes" related to the usage and reuse of language layers or even different languages in poetry.⁵ It is also widely accepted that Yeshurun's poetry is

¹ *Orientalia Suecana*, vol. 41–42, (1992–1993), pp. 27–42.

² The practical work will be conducted in line with the guidelines for terminology work in the ISO/TC 37 – principles and methods of terminology ad-hoc group "guide". Presentation of compounds will follow ISO 10 241 "International terminology standards – Preparation and layout".

³ This term is closely related to the term transposition טרנספוזיציה - שיעור as used by Hillel Barzel in *Poetry and poetics* pp. 138–9; to disjoin a phrase from its ordinary usage and to use it in an unusual environment instead. Commenting on the poetry of Amichai, Barzel also refers to עומק תיבול (inverted relationship) in modern Israeli poetry "from the sublime to the lesser" as the result of such transposition. The *transposon* (my own term) is a marker of such operations that reveals a linkage to an earlier established usage.

⁴ From the *Dictionary of Shlonsky's neologisms*. To what extent such neologisms find their way into the general language system can be studied by comparison with standard dictionaries like Even Shoshan's and Alcalay's.

⁵ *Chadarim* 6 (1987), p. 156: "...in order to elucidate one word with the power of coherence belonging to the other language."

tainted by the guilt of separation and “survivor’s guilt”. What I call the poet’s *dual linguistic identity* may thus be seen as the result of the traumatic separation from his parents and the town of his birth.⁶ The wish posed in *השאלה ברעננה*⁷ to have the city of his heart rebuilt within the city of the eye (that is, the city of Tel Aviv within the non-existing Krasnystaw, the way Jerusalem has always been described as a city within a city) thus conveys a “split-screen existence”. Yeshurun writes *נתתי מלחת בנו מלחת(I handed over one motherland for another)*, comparing his lot with Esau’s.⁸

In the poem *עמי בין לבין*, the split-screen image is conveyed through a transposition governed by a preposition:⁹

אותן גָּזְדֵּנָמָא:
עמַי כְּמַשֵּׁל בֵּין לִבֵּין
בֵּין אֶל בְּשָׂמִים
וּבֵן בָּאָרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל.

the tragic separation from his mother, who was torn *between (bein)* “God in the sky//and a son (*ben*) in the land of Israel” (*בֵּין=בֵן*).¹⁰

THEMATIC CATEGORIES IN YESHURUN’S POETRY

Menachem Peri writes about the implied poet who is torn between opposite pairs of realities: here and there; Israel and the town of his birth; Hebrew and Yiddish; the present and the past; Jews and Arabs; civilisation and Nature. Yet he tries to bridge the gap, seeing in his present existence the deep marks left by the opposite reality.¹¹

Lilach Lachmann also writes about the poet’s “dual existence”. He is torn between different geographical and cultural realities, past and present time (and the resulting conflicts between the old and the new), feelings of guilt because he had to leave his family, and in addition, the analogy between his personal trauma and the national existential state of being. The implied poet’s home, his mother, father, or any other authoritative figure, the operation he had to go through, the stump of a tree, the tree as nest, the Margosa tree, the wild doves — all are analogous to, or serve as metonymies relating to his own situation or any human situation that occupies the mind of the poet.¹²

The observations by Peri and Lachmann, along with my own study, bring forth three categories of literary themes: 1. the notion of home (H) as a prime source of security, combining concepts of motherhood, shelter, a national home and memories of the first home; 2. time (T) — the life cycle and signs of past time. In Y-’s poetry, compounding relating to time helps connect the day commemorating the holocaust with the Day of Atonement as compared to the day of birth; 3. professions, agents and instruments in the hands of others (P), personification strategies that relate to the search for shelter and refuge.

⁶ *Orientalia Suecana*, vol. 41–42, (1992–1993), pp. 28–30.

⁷ *Chadarim* 2 (1981), p. 12.

⁸ “The poem on our mother, our mother Rachel”.

⁹ See note 3 above.

¹⁰ *Master of Rest*, p. 92

¹¹ Menachem Peri, *Masa*, 3.9.1974.

¹² Lilach Lachman, *Siman Kri'a* no 8, pp. 410–414.

LINGUISTIC CATEGORIES

שבריה — breaking, disrupting — is the verb often used to describe Y-'s way of dealing with the Hebrew. It aims at expressing the pain of eternal departure and guilt. It takes, however a discerning eye to understand that the act of breaking has constructive functions in Y-'s poetry. According to M. Peri, leaving things behind, or tearing them apart, has two aspects: breaking with things is one way of asserting your independence, but at the same time a way of admitting their own powerful existence.¹³ This implies that as time goes by, fragments of the past bear more significance than does the original event, e.g., letters put aside years ago gain in importance when the writer is no longer alive. According to Lachmann, the poet's existential dilemma results in his shifting the trauma of separation and guilt from the thematic to the esthetic level. Direct speech and the usage of foreign words help the poet to gain authenticity, enhanced by varying line length and the non-conventional use of syntax.¹⁴ David Weinfeld writes in the newspaper *Davar* (4/30/1981) that the "barbarisms" put together by Yeshurun (Yiddish, Arabic, Polish), reflect the language realities of the Jewish people among their neighbours and the linguistic biography of the poet himself.

In the light of the observations by Peri, Lachmann and Weinfeld, and my own study, I suggest a division into six linguistic categories related to the process of word formation:

1. those that are in accordance with proper modern Hebrew (**PMH**);¹⁵
2. those that are based upon traditional rigid syntactical constructions (**TRC**);
3. innovative derivatives (**Innov. Der**);
- 4-5. foreign elements and loan translations (**F+LT**); and
6. language for special purpose (**LSP**) — compounding *offending* normative grammatical requirements for word formation in Hebrew. I assume that the last two are categories which include what D. Weinfeld refers to as "barbarisms".

Systematically displayed compounds according to the above-mentioned thematic and linguistic criteria may teach us more about the word formation process which is the hallmark of Yeshurun's work. The following case study section will, however, include only material from Avot Yeshurun's *The Syrian-African rift and other poems*, 1974, later to be completed with term entries from the poet's following works, including his last title, *I have not now*, 1992.

PRESENTING COMPOUNDING-STRATEGIES BASED UPON HEBREW GRAMMAR AS STANDARDISED TERM ENTRIES

Compound

Consulting the *Collins English Dictionary*, sources mentioned in the section "Compounds in Hebrew", along with material on terminology discussed in this essay, I wish to suggest the following working definition of the term *compound*: a binary linkage of combined forms, or a construct relation combining language components, mostly on the word class level (prepositions, particles, adjectives, nouns or verbs) taken from the same language layer or from different language layers, to be used interdependently in the word/term-formation process.¹⁶ This process involves open systems. The previously discussed *transposon function*¹⁷

¹³ *Masa*, 3.9.1974

¹⁴ Lilach Lachmann, *Siman Kri'a no 8*, pp 410–414.

¹⁵ See *Compounds in Hebrew*. MSH (Modern Standard Hebrew) could be used instead of PMH.

¹⁶ Glinert, *The grammar of modern Hebrew*, p. 24; "Construct phrases are two units grammatically, though semantically often a single idiomatic unit".

¹⁷ The *Collins English Dictionary* defines transposon as "a fragment...that can move from one site in a chromosome to another site in the same or a different chromosome and thus alter the genetic constitution of the bacterium".

(transpose+on – alter position of; interchange) marks the initial usage of a reused language component, or of an established concept that reappears in a new combination.¹⁸

Compounds in hebrew – applicable normative requirements

Generally speaking, normative requirements concerning word formation and word classes in Hebrew are to be found in standard works dealing with Hebrew grammar. Most standard dictionaries in Hebrew supply the reader with detailed information as to word class, and for earlier language layers one may consult the Mandelkern, or the Gesenius concordance (translated by Edward Robinson and edited by Brown, Driver and Briggs) for Biblical, and the Yastrow dictionary for Mishnaic Hebrew.

Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor sort compounds according to the *relation types* signaled by the prepositions involved: locational and temporal relations, cause, etc. There are *compound prepositions* (Prep+N)¹⁹ and prepositions that may have overlapping meanings due to "idiomatic combinations with specific verbs".²⁰ *Construct genitival relation* and *construct phrases* (N+N), including construct chains where the sense is governed by a verb, are frequently used. The three major kinds of construct chain distinguished are subjective, adverbial (objective) and adjectival (attributive) genitive.²¹

Menachem Moreshet, who specialises in Tannaitic Hebrew, focuses, among other things, on the problems of *Homonymy* in biblical language and the latter Tannaitic usage.²² Moreshet also presents evidence as to changes in the usage of forms and of transpositions related to earlier occurrences in biblical usage.²³

Lewis Glinert uses the key word *coordination* to describe construct relations in Modern Hebrew. Glinert refers to *coordinated compounds*, stating that "many constructions can become 'compounds', being felt to refer to a single concept, and thus become more rigid syntactically",²⁴ and *compound nouns*.²⁵

The systematic word-formation process evident in Y-'s poetry, as opposed to casual usage of barbarisms, often results in the production of adjectives that in most cases follow the normative requirements posed by Hebrew grammar. Many Hebrew adjectives derive from nouns, as is the case with Y-'s neologism סתיו-מתסתות (autumn — autumn-like). This may even be exemplified by the compound ארץ קרדמה. A well-established concept – ארץ זבת חלב ודבש, ארץ אוכלת יושביה, (מצח נחשוה) takes a new turn by transposing "a land of milk and honey" into "a land characterised by the axe".²⁶ Nevertheless, the reference in both cases is the land of Israel. The Hebrew innovative compound *eretz karduma* (adj.) typical of Y-'s language modifications, marks yet another step in a term formation process, initiated by prominent Israeli poets like H. N. Bialik or A. Shlonsky. Along with the well-known Tannaitic usage of the noun קרדום (hatchet – Ab. IV, 5), we

¹⁸ *Orientalia Suecana*, vol. 41–42, (1992–1993), p. 32. Unlike the case of allusion, a transposon always marks the function of the reused, or transposed, component as part of a new word formation strategy.

¹⁹ Waltke-O'Connor, *Introduction to biblical Hebrew syntax*, 11.3.3. *על כל הדברים האלה על*.

²⁰ Ibid., 11.2e.

²¹ Ibid., 9.5.1–9.5.3.

²² Moreshet, *A lexicon of the new verbs in Tannaitic Hebrew*, p. 59 – נבק.

²³ Moreshet, p. 264 – עלייל. עלייל = צלע.

²⁴ Glinert, *The grammar of modern Hebrew*, p. 390. My italics.

²⁵ Ibid., p.440. "They are loosely based on two existing words, joined (and sometimes adapted) to form one word, grammatically and graphically."

²⁶ Waltke-O'Connor, *Introduction to biblical Hebrew syntax*, 9.5.2.e11; the expression involving "milk and honey" is marked as adverbial (objective, or object mediating) genitive. The new expression, however seems to have an adjectival function.

find in Ya'akov Kna'ani's *Dictionary of Shlonsky's Neologisms* the adjective קְרִידָמִי as well as the verb קִידּוֹמָא and the noun קְרִידָמָה. It is not certain to what extent Yeshurun was influenced by Shlonsky, but it is quite obvious that this example bears witness to a tradition, and that the Israeli tradition of word formation in poetry seems to follow both today's grammatical normative requirements for word formation and earlier language traditions.

Term formation among users of certain technolects presents a case parallel to that of the above-described word formation. A *mouse* (computers, pointing device) is a term that because of the high user frequency of personal computers sooner or later has to be accepted as part of the generally used language. The same is true for the Hebrew equivalent of עכבר. The compound סיבאָור (fiber-optics, a typical construct phrase – n+n), on the other hand, exemplifies the preserved and even enhanced value of two different concepts compounded to serve as part of the new and rapidly growing communications technolect.²⁷ *Streamlining*, a marketing term, is yet another example of (ad-hoc) terminologisation. The Hebrew term שׂוֹוָה זָרִימָות לְ-, יַעַל follows its English equivalent with precision as regards the terminologisation process.

In language, seen as an open system, the transparency level of new terms can be assessed only in relation to the needs of a given user-group at a given period. The term סִיבָּאָו, for example, gains in its acceptability rating because of the growing need for new terminology in the field of communication, whereas מְפֻל and עַלִּים לְחוֹדֵיִם will probably belong to the passive vocabulary of poetry readers, and thus may be classified differently. In any case, accurate presentation of compounds in relation to the general language system should be the first step.

I am fully aware of the fact that it is somewhat unusual to define a (poetry) reader-group as a terminology-user-group, as user-groups are presupposed to be technically oriented in one way or another. A further distinction between active and passive user-groups may also be needed, whereas poetry readers do not actively use terms compounded by poets, although such terms are a part of their vocabulary. Yet the influence of such user-groups on the language is not negligible; thousands of poetry readers and students of literature are potential active users of terms accumulated in their passive vocabulary. My point is that when it comes to usage of specialised language, we are all *users* by definition, albeit on different (linguistic) levels. The actual level of abstraction of a compound apprehended by the user/reader of a certain technolect depends on the composition of the user-group, which basically means that a poem about locomotives need not necessarily employ different terminology than an instruction book on the same subject, and that language components taken from the Bible could, in fact, be classified as minilects in their own right with the motivation that for the preacher, it certainly serves as a tool of the trade (LSP) and a very abstract one, indeed, in the eyes of the illiterate.²⁸

The advantage of terminography

According to international standards, a term is defined as "one word or a compound word (pollution, lighthouse), or several words arranged in a string (environmental review, broadband integrated services digital network)". Most terms are comprised of singular nouns, but even plural nouns, verbs and adjectives occur. Under the heading: "3.2 — Requirements for the selection and formation of terms" we find the following: "Any term chosen for a concept

²⁷ Hebrew terms: *Dictionary of electronic and computer terms*. Ed. Joram Bick.

²⁸ Todorov Tzvetan, *Symbolik och tolkning*, p. 145, in my review of Kirsten Nielsen's work, *Orientalia Suecana*, vol. 40, (1991), p. 291.

shall be linguistically correct, i.e. follow the norms of the language in question. ... A term should also reflect the characteristics of the concept, be short and permit the formation of derivatives".²⁹

This implies that up to a certain point word formation and term formation should be seen as an identical process even if the result of term formation may be the concern of well-defined, limited user-groups. The major difference between word formation and term formation may, in fact, be defined based on different presentation strategies on the lexical level.

Bo Svensén's article "Terminologi och Lexikografi" discusses ways to eliminate the problem of polysemy. According to Svensén, where semantic precision is the issue any attempts at explaining a word with the help of synonyms increases the risk for polysemy. The advantage to using *term entries* instead of *explanative synonyms* is that in the case of the former, synonyms are not used to complete a definition, but to bring forward different expressions that exist besides the main term. Such additional expressions gain in semantic precision when represented in the macro structure as *cases of homonymy*.

The Swedish word *lager* means *a room*, or *a layer*, but even *a piece of machinery*. A terminologist would assert that what we face here is three different concepts with similar corresponding terms. In his/her word list, this will be presented as a case of *homonymy*:

lager (1)

lokal... (stock-room)

lager (2)

skikt... (layer)

lager (3)

maskindel... (a piece of machinery)

A lexicographer, on the other hand, will probably claim that on the expression side, we are dealing with one word having three different meanings, which, in his/her word list, would be presented as a case of polysemy:

lager 1 lokal... (stock-room)... **2** skikt... (layer) **3** maskindel... (a piece of machinery)³⁰

In Y.-'s poetry, with its high standards of semantic precision, it becomes evident that his word/term formation strategies are most accurately displayed by help of term entries. A term entry includes additional information which cannot be found in dictionaries (including a definition and an acceptability rating).³¹ An expression like **ארז' בית**³² for example, could be defined both as a new species of tree and a house and be presented as a polysemic noun. This compound may not, however, have anything in common with a tree; the given expression seems to convey the idea of a house, a growing, floating house, and is probably not even conventionally compounded (compare: **בחור כארז** where the semantic subject is also the

²⁹ ISO/TC 37—3.1, "Types of terms".

³⁰ *Nordterm 4*, p. 113, in my own translation. Considering Y.-'s wish to reach unique and integrative forms, given compounds must be presented as cases of homonymy in order to obtain an undistorted presentation of the poet's intention .

³¹ *Nordterm 4*, Svensén p. 115.

³² *The Syrian-African rift*: "Lullaby for Nordia Quarter" (translation into English by Harold Schimmel, 1979). I would translate this expression as *cedaric houses* and not *domestic cedar*, which is Harold Schimmel's choice. Schimmel does not act consistently here; in the foregoing line he translated **רוחני בחתם** as *baronic houses*.

grammatical one). In a term entry, on the other hand, the new concept may be represented as a case of homonymy, related to an earlier concept, and linked to it by a transposon marker (**ארץ הלבנון**, a biblical symbol of strength and long-lasting values).

Establishing a term list in accordance with ISO 10241:1992 (E)

One of the objectives of my work is, thus, to present compounds and their related concepts along with the definitions and excerpts that support my choice, in a systematised way. Compounds excerpted from Y-'s poetry will thus elucidate the poet's efforts to form new terms — often a synthesis of established and alien language-components from different environments. Compounded terms will be presented separately as cases of homonymy in term entries. Moreover, I argue that such compounded forms with links to the established usage of Hebrew words cannot be studied or compared methodically unless they are arranged according to an established standard. Yeshurun's methodical persistence encourages this approach. A term-list of Y-'s work should thus be established according to the established international standard, ISO 10241:1992 (E) in order to offer the reader a coherent insight into Y-'s contribution to the word/term formation process within the Hebrew language system.

ISO, the International Organisation for Standardisation, consists of committees representing national standards bodies as well as governmental and non-governmental international organisations that take part in the work. The technical committees involved in the preparation of the international standard ISO 10241 are TC 37, Terminology (principles and coordination) and subcommittee SC2, Layout of vocabularies.

The introductory part of ISO 10241 states that the value of uniform methods is that it helps

- a) to organize terminology work in a practical and efficient manner;
- b) guarantee the consistency and coherence of terminologies both within a specific subject field and between related fields;
- c) contribute to the harmonization of concept systems and terms in different languages;
- d) promote the efficient application of information technology to terminology work.

When it comes to recording technical data, the following principles should be followed: A term entry should contain the following three sections:

a) Term-related data:

1. Terms (base form); 2. acceptability ratings (preferred, admitted, deprecated, obsolete, superseded); and in addition:...³³

b) Concept-related data:

1. Definitions; 2. contexts; 3. other representations of the concept (e.g. formula, figure);
4. Graphic representations; 5. examples; 6. notes; and in addition:....³⁴

c) Administrative data:

1. Concept identifier; 2. language symbol; 3. date of record; 4. recorder identifier;
5. Source

The entry must, thus, contain at least

- a) the entry number;
- b) the preferred term representing the concept;

³³ ISO 10241, p. 4.

³⁴ Ibid.

- c) the definition of the concept,
which may be arranged vertically, horizontally or in a mixed fashion.³⁵

Term-entries will be presented in accordance with ISO 10241 in the following order:³⁶

- **Classification–code** (thematic) and **entry number**
- 1. **Term or abbreviation**, acceptability rating <linguistic category>
word class
- 2. [source] the title of the poem
- 3. DY — definition by Yeshurun
- 4. DG — definition in English by the present writer
- 5. Excerpt — original text from the poem
- 6. Transposon marker — a lexical item that leads to “other representation of the concept”.
- 7. Established usage
- 8. Innovative usage
- 9. Synopsis — the compound’s function in context (of the poem)
- 10. Similar formation by Shlonsky.³⁷

The *acceptability ratings* suggested in ISO 10241 are: “admitted”, which may correspond to an *ad-hoc lexicalisation accepted within a user-group* and “preferred”, for the established *term*. In the case of Yeshurun, I believe that a formation like מִפְנַל could be classified as an admitted term seen from the point of view of a passive user-group. Relating to the general language system, however, if we make it a condition that a vocabulary must be used actively by a user-group, most of the poet’s compounds will not reach beyond the level of ad-hoc, or admitted term. According to ISO 10241, most formations could probably be sorted under “non standardised neologism” (NSN). “Barbarisms”, a term that does not agree with open system thinking, will not be used. With this in mind, I suggest the following acceptability rating to be applied to Y-’s compounds: *preferred term*, ad-hoc term, or *admitted term*, NSN, and *in-house terminology*, as compared with related concepts and terms in use according to normative requirements in the Hebrew of today.

A TERM LIST BASED ON Y-’S COMPOUNDING

Term entries are displayed in accordance with ISO 10241. In the synopsis part of each term entry, additional contextual information about the suggested term is presented. Term entries are sorted according to linguistic categories and literary themes as follows:

The following three examples will elucidate different levels of abstraction related to the same established expression:

³⁵ Ibid. p. 7.

³⁶ Ibid., Annex A, p. 20, Summary of terminographical requirements.

³⁷ Based on the *Dictionary of Shlonsky’s neologisms*. Shlonsky, a foreground figure in Israeli poetry, contributed, through his poetry and translation work, to the word formation process in Hebrew, a process initiated by Bialik. “Similar” means similar approach to word formation.

T1**יום הילדה** ADMITTED TERM <PMH>

N.

[בָתִי] “My daughter”]

DY *לְדָה עַל יִצְחָק תִּבְאָא* A birth by her will come.

DG – The writer's daughter is about to give birth.

Excerpt – *הַיּוֹם יוֹם הַלְּדָה* –Transposon – *יום הילדת, יום השנה*Established usage – *יום השנה* –

Innovative usage – stipulation of a new “holiday of birth”

Synopsis – The name of the poem, “My daughter”, reveals its subject. By preferring *the day of birth* to the conventionally used *birthday*, the poet gives that particular day a broader meaning by stipulating the value of the day as the day of a new birth, later contrasted with the day commemorating the holocaust, *יום השואה*. The idea this poem conveys may thus be that “positive” days make up for “bad days” of the past, at least to a certain extent.Similar formation by Shlonsky – *וַיַּמְטֹב*. Two words that mean “holiday” are compounded to enforce the semantic value of “holiday” as a very special day.**T2****יום השווה** IN-HOUSE TERMINOLOGY <PMH>

N.

[בָתִי] “My daughter”]

DY *יֵהִי נָא שָׁוָה* Let it be even.

DG – Let birth make it even.

Excerpt – *הַיּוֹם יוֹם הַשְׁוָה*Transposon – *שְׂוָה*Established usage – *יום השואה* –

Innovative usage – a change in meaning based on a change in spelling (sign)

Synopsis – The day of a new birth, contrasted with the day commemorating the holocaust, *יום השואה*, as in term entry T1. A sign transposition through omission of one letter poses *שְׂוָה* against *הַשְׁוָה* — holocaust against “making up for”, or the day of “getting even”.Similar formation by Shlonsky – *שְׂוִינוֹנִי*, equal.**T3****יום כנור** IN-HOUSE TERMINOLOGY <TRC>

N. adjectival genitive

[שבעה] “Seven” (“A stone tossed into the mire”)]

DY “*יום כנור הוּא יֹום תְּפִילָה*” A lyre day is a day of prayer”

DG – the day of the lyre

Excerpt – *יום כנור הוּא יֹום תְּפִילָה* –Transposon – –*וַיַּמְטֹב* – used to mark a special day or occasion.Established usage – *יום תשובה*Innovative usage – *יום כינור* –

Synopsis – The poet expresses an individualised concept that is difficult to interpret. The Day of Atonement is here called the day of the violin/lyre. This is an important day in Y-s' life.

INTERIM CONCLUSION

The poet's development of a standard form like "The day of ..." transposed to create the above-displayed term entries elucidates the poet's systematic word formation strategy. The poet forms a term by offering the reader a definition of the underlying concept and a firm linguistic link to compounds already established as part of the general language system. One of the significant traits of Y.'s poetry seems, in fact, to be his zeal to offer the reader a definition of his own terms together with a linkage to established grammatical forms or compounds. The following cases of adjectival genitive are also built according to grammatically accepted forms:

P1

תעשייה מתשטעשת NSN *<INNOV. DER.>*

Adj.

[**שפכת את החולה**] — "You have poured out the Hule lake"]

DY – מצאו אמצעים ליבש את החולה.

DG – They found means to drain the Hule lake (even though they had no industrial means).

Excerpt – תעשייה לא הייתה מתשטעשת...

Transposon – מצחיקות, מצועצת (accepted forms with a ridiculing aspect)

Established usage – מדינה מתועשת, an industrialised country

Innovative usage – a change in meaning based on a change in spelling (sign)

Synopsis – The poet ridicules decisions taken as to the draining and, in recent years, for the 'reflooding' of the Hule area in the northern part of Israel.

Similar formation by Shlonsky – **קצינצינון, מגגף, מלחלוח'** – a ridiculous (little) officer; a soft tiny boot; "salty".

T4

ازדרכת מתרשות; (הסתוֹתָה) NSN *<INNOV. DER.>*

Adj.

[**מי שבא מין הכוכבים**] – "Who comes from the stars"

DY – אהבת הסתו

DG – the lover of fall

Excerpt –

ازדרכת מתרשות אהבת את הסתו – "Autumned margosa tree loves the autumn"

Transposon – סתו, מבולבלת (accepted forms)

Established usage – הסתו, מוסתו –

מתרשות, הסתוֹתָה

Synopsis – A new verb and a new adjective derived from the noun autumn. The poem is about human observations on seasonal changes that bring about death, the poet wishing that a maragosa tree could bear apples. Another expression related to fall in this poem – fall by a kiss –, alludes to **מיתת-נסיקה**, which implies a sudden and painless death.

Similar formation by Shlonsky – **מפוצץ, מפונדרק, מסותוי** – all in pieces; all spoiled; very autumn-like.

P2**עלים לחודים** NSN <INNOV. DER.>

Adj.

[“Who comes from the stars”]

DY --

DG – separated; each one a sole leaf.

Excerpt – “עלים סודקים ארוכים לחודים” “Cracked long separate leaves”

Transposon –

Established usage – **לחוד, ייחודי** –Innovative usage – **לחודי** –Synopsis – Here the poet characterises the leaves of the above mentioned margosa tree by melting together adverb and adjectival functions that according to the general language system, are to be used as *separately* and *special*, respectively. See also the synopsis part of entry T4**P3****קוצים קצקצנים. קטקטים** NSN <INNOV. DER.>

Adj.

[3.7.1974] (the poem before **בסוף**)DY – **שחדרו לגופי** –

DG – thorn and thistle that are pricking and tingling

Excerpt – “מוץ הקוצים הקצקצנים הקטקטים הסבריים שחדרו לגופי”

Transposon – **קוץ, קט**Established usage – **קוצני, לkatקץן, קט, קטנטן** –Innovative usage – **קצקצנים, קטקטים** –

Synopsis – In a poem that deals with the implied poet's position in the world, thoughts about people who no longer exist are revealed. The poem begins by depicting his first day in Haifa (Israel) and the tiny thorns and thistles (symbolic?) that penetrated his body. The Sabra fruit often symbolises the native Israelis.

Similar formation by Shlonsky – **קצרץ'**, extremely short.**P4****עושה חרירים לחגורות** ADMITTED TERM <PMH>

N. agent genitive construct

[“רומאן בלי בגדים”]

DY --

DG – hole-puncher for belts.

Excerpt – “...משם לעושה חרירים לחגורות.” “...from there to the hole-puncher for belts”

Transposon – the “poel” form, used to form profession-related compounds.

Established usage – **חריר, || חרירה**

Innovative usage – name of a trade

Synopsis – Yeshurun describes the tradesmen of his beloved Tel Aviv: the carpenter, the buckle fastener and the hole-puncher for belts. His “Tel Aviv poetry” often unfolds trivial events, like buying a wooden book-case and mending a belt.

P5

בעל חרטה אנוש ADMITTED TERM <TRC>

Adj.

[*רבעת*] “Quadruple”

DY – *עוד עומד ומתחרט* – still stands and regrets

DG – relentlessly remorseful

Excerpt –

בעל – אנוש –

Established usage//*חוליה אנוש* –

Innovative usage –

Synopsis – This poem is about a dream-like dispute between the implied poet and his father, concerning a piece of bread and a huge portion of guilt. The implied poet is broken-hearted before his relentlessly remorseful father. He would have given it all for a piece of information as to how his deceased father, whom he had left, feels about the longing son. The notion of being remorseful, has, because of the innovative compounding, been transposed into the notion of a serious illness.

H1

תופשי קן NSN <INNOV. DER.>

N. agent genitive

[*עץ עץ* tree]

DY – birds and other living souls who seek shelter in the shade of the margosa tree

DG – those who take possession of a property/home

Excerpt –

[*נרב שלה לטופשי קן*] “Her evening for nest snatchers from fear of shedding leaves”

מפוזד נשירת עלים

Transposon –

תפיסת הבית –

Established usage – taking possession of a refuge (nest)

Synopsis – Assuming that fall is connected to death, and given that those who are afraid of death seek refuge in the home-tree, the tree of this poem may also symbolise an immigrant's home (*בית עולם*) in Israel.

P6

גנבי לילה ADMITTED TERM <TRC>

N.

[*בת-מרים*] “Bat Miryam”]

DY – –

DG – feline characteristics; Stealing (borders) in the night.

– *עוד ישנו גנבי לילה.* – Those who steal (borders) in the night were still asleep.

Excerpt –

לילה –

Established usage *גנב את הגבול, שומר לילה –*

Innovative usage *גנבי לילה –*

Synopsis – This poem is about Bat-Miryam, who wrote “Eretz-Israel poetry” long before immigrants like Yeshurun started stealing borders in the night.

Similar formation by Shlonsky – *גינב גבול* – a “Piel-verb” is used for intensified action.

H2**ארץ גְּרָדָמָה** NSN <TRC>

Adj.

[*השיר על ליל היום הזה*] “The poem on the eve of this day”]

DY – “grinding hatchets and splitting beasts”

DG – a land characterised by the axe

Excerpt – *אנושיות קזומה וארכן גרדמה*.Transposon – *ארץ* a noun governed by a verb or an adjective*ארץ אוכלת יושביה, ארץ זבת חלב ודבש, מצח נחשפה*

Innovative usage – characterised by the axe

Synopsis – In this poem, the implied poet refers to events that have taken the inhabitants by surprise. The intensity of those events is compared with the awakening after surgery performed on the poet some years earlier and most probably relates to the Day of Atonement/Yom Kipur War.

Similar formation by Shlonsky – *קרדומי, קירדם*, “axe-like”; “axed”.**H3****פלסְטִינִי שְׁמָמָה** IN-HOUSE TERMINOLOGY <F+LT>

N.

[*רומאן בלי بدجisms*] “A novel without clothes”]

DY --

DG – the waste land of Palestine

Excerpt – *נסעתי לארץ אמרדו: זה נוسع לפלסטיני שטחה.*

“I went to the land they said: This one to Palestinian wilderness”.

Transposon – *ארץ, שטחה*Established usage – *פלסְטִינִיה, ארץ גזרה* –

Innovative usage – the waste land of Palestine

Synopsis – Introducing to the reader the tradesmen of Tel Aviv on his way to the carpenter, the implied poet tells us that others, probably those who stayed behind, had once said he was leaving for the waste land and the wilderness of Palestine. Regardless of that opinion, the damaged varnish of the book-case and the falling rain, the implied poet seems happy with his new piece of furniture.

H4**אדמה מסגפה, אדמה מסגפת** P. TERM <PMH>

Adj.

[*השיר על אמונה רחל אמונה*] “The poem on our Mother Our Mother Rachel”]DY – *קְרַאוּ לָהּ רָחֵל* – (Rachel= the motherland)

DG – the idea of a “motherland” reflected through the plight of the mother of the nation, Rachel.

Excerpt – *אדמה מסגפה* –Transposon – *אמנו*Established usage – *רחל אמונה* –

Innovative usage – as “motherland” in pains

Synopsis – The plight of two army reservists contrasted with the biblical story about Jacob. An analogy between the motherland and the fate of Rachel, the mother of the nation, with

reference to the crying mother of Esau, the loser. This is a picture of the tormented land of crying mothers.

T5

השעות הקטנות IN-HOUSE TERMINOLOGY <PMH>

Adj.

[השען] “The watch”

DY – implicit: “there are hands for the large hour and the small hour”

DG – minutes defined as small hours that disappear while waiting for the hour.

Synopsis – מפרפרים ככנף אחרון השעות הקטנות “...flutter like a wing after the small hours”

Excerpt –

Transposon – **השעות הקטנות של הלילה**, the small hours

Established usage – **חי שענה**, hour-hand – **מחוג השעות** – transient life

Innovative usage – evaluating minutes as “small” hours

Synopsis – The implied poet shares with the reader his perception of time and the state of waiting, reflecting on the moving-living characteristics of his new Swiss-made watch.

Similar formation by Shlonsky, **שעה – של – כלום** – “an hour of nothingness”.

H5

בֵּית רָאשׁוֹן, בֵּית שְׁנִי

 IN-HOUSE TERMINOLOGY <TRC>.

N. compound – noun with adjective modifier.

[שיר ערש לשכונת נורדיה] Lullaby for Nordia Quarter]

בַּא בּוֹלְדוֹזֶר בָּעֵט בְּבֵית –

DG – the first temple and the second temple

Excerpt – **ראשית כל נחרב בית ראשון. שניית כל נחרב בית שני** –

Transposon – **ה הידיעה** – the omitted definite article

Established usage, **בֵּית רָאשׁוֹן, בֵּית שְׁנִי** – the first and the second temple. Accepted standard usage: **הבית הראשון**.

Innovative usage – a change in meaning based on a change in spelling (sign). Because of the omission of the definite article, the meaning *the holy temple* is transposed and applied to one of the houses in the city of Tel Aviv.

Synopsis – This is a masterly, elegant reuse of an established term, used to glorify some of Tel Aviv's old houses that are due to be destroyed. This is achieved by means of omitting the article that states the (lexical) difference between the first in the row of houses (in Tel Aviv) and the first temple-building that does not take the article.

P7

הה א הידועה NSN <PMH>

Adj.

[שפכת כח] “You have poured lies”]

DY –

DG – A distinction is made between the usage of the actual letter (sign) as the definite article and as an abbreviation.

Excerpt – **אך בלי** **הה** **הידועה** **נחווצה** **לץ** ...

Transposon – **ה** with its attached functions.

ה הידועה, ה' –

Innovative usage – a change in meaning based on a change in spelling (sign)

Synopsis – The use of a sign (letter) both as the definite article and as an abbreviation for the holy name gives the implied poet the opportunity to bring about a confrontation between two references or values, one of which only seems to be definite (the definite article), whereas the other represents the absolute value. The implied poet stresses the feeling of guilt: Compared with “millions of others you have not known” and Jephthah’s daughter, who had to die in our place, not uttering **the** name, all other titles and definite articles bear no meaning.

Similar formation by Shlonsky – **הא-הערצה**, “the article of admiration”.

H6

ארדי בית NSN <TRC>

N.

[**שיר ערש לשכונת נורדיה**] “Lullaby for Nordia Quarter”]

DY – **ווגות דאו ילדים...**

DG – larger houses grew up

ومسبיב גמו רוזני בתים, || והתפשטו ארדי בית על הצריפיס. –

Excerpt – **ארדי הלבנון** –

Transposon – **בחור כארז** –

Established usage – cedaric houses or “domestic cedar”

Innovative usage – **ארדי בית** – Innovative usage – Referring to the plight of the first immigrants, “the Bedouins who came from Poland”, the implied poet continues to describe the violent changes that have taken place in the city of Tel Aviv ever since. This poem is a protest against those who “crushed Nordia as you bruise a testicle”.

H7

ילודי יונם IN-HOUSE TERMINOLOGY <TRC>

N.

[**ארבעה**] – Four

DY – **ולא ילוד נשים** – “and not of women born(e)”

DG – Not borne by women, not humans.

Excerpt – **כי ילוד יונם**. – “but dove-bred”

Transposon – **ילוד** –

Established usage – **ילוד-אשה** –

Innovative usage – plural. **ילודי יונם**.

Synopsis – On a rainy, stormy day, the implied poet bursts out: “Lord of heaven, where are the wild doves?”, implying that some living souls had been left alone, homeless in the rain.

P8

צבע דליק NSN <PMH>

Adj. semi-compound, noun with adjective modifier

[**סוף קיץ**] – “End of summer”

DY –

DG – an “inflammable paint” assigned to birds

Excerpt – **גם לינוי בר יש צבע דליק.** –

Transposon – **דליק** – , inflammable

Established usage – **חומר דליק** –

Innovative usage – assigning new qualities to the colour (*inflammable colour*) of a bird.

Transposed adjectival function from hazardous materials' terminology.

Synopsis – In order to depict the “burning” colourfulness of a bird reflecting the summer sun, for example, Avot Yeshurun had borrowed and modified an existing term חומר דליק (hazardous/inflammable materials' technolect), replacing with צבע. In MSH צבע may be considered a homonymous word with two possible lexical meanings:

צבע — colour

צבע — paint

Inflammable paint/colour at the end of summer is a threatening colour on/for homeless wild doves...

P9

על טהורת הקרשים NSN <PMH>

Adv. (prepositional phrase that introduces a norm)

[“שבות”]

לשכב על ספסל –

DG – the implied poet's idea as to the quality or purity of a bench serving as a bed for the night

Excerpt. – לשכב על ספסל || על טהורת הקרשים כצנופת הגן החשוף || שבחצדי העץ.

“To lie on a bench || on the purity of the boards || like coil of the bared nest at the side of the tree”.

על טהרת (edibles), used by the religious authorities to certify food quality

Transposon –

Established usage – || על טהורת... –

Innovative usage – a pure resting place for a tired working man

Synopsis – More extensive usage than otherwise in MSH; links to the notion of death and purity.

Similar formation by Shlonsky – על-באמת, על-בצחוק – “on truth” (truly); “joking” (ly).

H8

קרבן הקן NSN <TRC>

Adj.

[“קרבן”, “יונת הבר”] “The wild dove” and “Victim nest”

DY --

DG – nest sacrifice

Excerpt. – ליווני בר אין דבר אחריו “For wild doves there is nothing after the nest's destruction”.

קרבן הקן –

Transposon –

פִּידְיוֹן־הַבָּן, עֲקִידַת יִצְחָק –

Established usage – קרבן הקן –

Innovative usage – Wild doves live homeless. “No birth — no house” seems to be the determining factor in their lives. The implied poet shares with us his observations on how wild doves accept the hardships of life until they finally drop dead. He thus hopes that the dead dove lying on its back is not the one he knew personally. “It's hard to tell”, he concludes.

H9

צנפת הקן NSN **צנפת הקן** <INNOV. DER.>

N.

[“Shabot”]

DY – “each man with his own bundle”

DG – wrapped like a bundle.

“Like coil of the bared nest || at the side of the tree”

Excerpt – .

Transposon – צ.ג.כ.

Established usage – noun צנפה (כריכה, צרור) –

Innovative usage – noun. צנפת

Synopsis – Sleeping on a bench means you are homeless regardless of what bench it is. The feeling of homelessness is supported by the nest symbol.. A significant detail in this context is that the expression “at the side of...” is often used to describe the outcome of traffic accidents, referring thus to what is left at the side of the road. See also the synopsis part of entry P9.

Similar formation by Shlonsky – הַצְטָנָף, to contract, draw together.

H10

תל אביב עיר הקודש IN-HOUSE TERMINOLOGY <TRC>

Adj.

[“שיר ערש לשכונת נורדיה”]

DY – הכל –

DG – a holy city, a total experience

Excerpt – . תל אביב עיר הקודש, || אין לך שיר ערש,

Transposon – עיר הקודש, the holy city

Established usage – רישלים עיר הקודש –

Innovative usage – תל אביב עיר הקודש –

Synopsis – The Tel Aviv of yesterday no longer has lullaby. The implied poet who lived in that city “like the horse that eats directly from the earth” walked in a city that he had left within another city – the holy city of Tel Aviv.

T6

אנשים של של IN-HOUSE TERMINOLOGY <PMH>

Adj. (double genitival construction with personal pronoun suffix [adjectival genitive phrase])

[“ששה”]

DY – שלוי –

DG – of my own (kind of) people

Excerpt – איני פוגש אנשים של של ||

Transposon – שלוי – שלוי.

Established usage – משלנו – “of ours”, governed by a preposition

Innovative usage – אנשים של – שלוי. –

Synopsis – This poem is difficult to interpret.

It depicts a sad, rainy scene of loneliness disturbed by the reminiscences and scents of childhood: “...cover a small girl, the middle of the child in the middle of the night”.

See also the synopsis part of entry T7.

Similar formation by Shlonsky – אֲנָשִׁים שֶׁל חֹשֶׁךְ, people of darkness.

T7

NSN אֲגּוֹזִים דַלְמָעֵלָה <TRC>

Adj.

[3.7.1974] the poem before “בָסּוֹף” “In the end”

DY ... אני מתכוון לאנשים שזכרים אותו בשם הקודם || עד שמתו. –

DG – (deceased) People who had known him by his old name

Excerpt – אבל האגוזים דלמעלה...די אגוזים קשים.

Transposon – של מעלה

Established usage – רֹשְׁלִים שֶׁל מַעַלָּה

Innovative usage – אֲגּוֹז דַלְמָעֵלָה

Synopsis: Hybridising two different expressions involving the word *walnut*, together with the expression “the Jerusalem of above”, the result is the elevation of the memory of the deceased friends, despite their having been stubborn and hard while alive. See also the synopsis part of entry P10.

P10

P. TERM אֲגּוֹזִים קָשִׁים <PMH>

Adj.

[3.7.1974] the poem before “בָסּוֹף”

DY ... אני מתכוון לאנשים שזכרים אותו בשם הקודם || עד שמתו. –

DG – (deceased) people who had known him by his old name

Excerpt – אבל האגוזים דלמעלה...די אגוזים קשים.

Transposon – אֲגּוֹז

Established usage, אֲגּוֹז קָשָׁה –, hard nut

Innovative usage – אֲגּוֹז דַלְמָעֵלָה, אֲגּוֹז קָשָׁה –

Synopsis: Another expression involving the word *walnut*; here referring to the implied poet's unbendable or hardheaded, deceased friends.

Similar formation by Shlonsky – אֲגּוֹזִי, hard nut.

H11

NSN צַמַּח צִיפּוֹר <PMH>

צַמַּח עַצִּיץ. צַמַּח צְדִיק. צַמַּח צִפּוֹר.

צַמַּח צְלִצּוֹל. צַמַּח צָעֹזָע. צַמַּח יִלְדוֹת.

N. used here as adjective

[“צַמַּח צִיפּוֹר”] “Bird plant”

DY הוֹלֶךְ נִסְעָרוֹת הַעֲצִים. – “goes* with the storms of the trees”

DG – characterisations of a plant (one of several characterisations)

Excerpt – צַמַּח יִלְדוֹת הַשְׁעָן עַל הַקִּידּוֹן

Transposon – צַמַּח

Established usage, צַמַּח–אֶם. אִיש–צַמַּח – mother-plant; a plant-like human

Innovative usage – צַמַּח צְדִיק, צַמַּח צִיפּוֹר, צַמַּח צְלִצּוֹל, וְכֹוּבָ –

Synopsis: – the devoted mother facing the storm; a variation on different plant-like characters. See also the synopsis part of entry H12

* “Goes” may even bear the meaning “cease to exist”.

H12

ציפור שלחין NSN **ציפור שלחין** <PMH>

N.

[**צמח ציפור**] “Bird plant”

“**צמחי ציפור הולך עם סערות העצים**” – “A bird plant goes with the storms of the trees”.

DY –

DG – the bird of irrigated fields (plant). “A rain ditch bird”.

Excerpt – **ציפור שלחין מארץ נפתלי** – “A rain ditch bird from the land of Naftali”

שלוח, ציפור שיר

Established usage – **שלוחים**

Innovative usage – A rain ditch bird, or a victim-bird of an undefined sort

Synopsis – The implied poet depicts the changing roles of a plant. A pious plant, upright like a Simchat Torah flag; a bird plant that “goes with the storms” etc., which could be described as personification strategies.

Similar formation by Shlonsky **ציפור-דרוריות, ציפור-נפש, ציפור-נון** – (adj), bird of freedom; bird of the soul; migratory bird.

P11

אחריקון IN-HOUSE TERMINOLOGY <LSP>

N. (foreign origin?) + verb to compound a new nominal-reflexive function

[**אחריקון**] “Acriman”

DY – איש שמחזר את נצמו “...a man who incriminates himself”

DG – a man subjected to a self-imposed ban, excommunication

Excerpt – **אחריקון** - איש שמחזר את נצמו “Acriman — a man who incriminates himself”

חרם

Established usage – **חרם** (N) as used in BH and later; a punishment imposed by an authority on those who violate the law

Synopsis – Innovative usage: *a self-imposed ban. He who himself // is subjected by himself to a self-imposed ban.* The linguistic expression consisting of the pronominal-like prefix **א** added to the verb-stem **חרם** along with the suffix **מן** (= man, foreign nominal element) is not coordinated according to the rules of Hebrew. The notion, however, is rooted in Jewish tradition. DY (Y.-'s own definition) is as explicit as it could be, which is why this expression can easily be understood or actualised by the average Hebrew-speaking reader. In cases like that of **אחריקון**, a term like *word synergy* would probably be the most suitable one for the acceptance of the underlying concept. Although the term **אחריקון** does not comply with the normative requirements for word formation in Hebrew, it does lead the reader immediately to a known concept presented by help of a reflexive construction which, grammatically wrong as it may be, reflects a personal point of view. The tragic tone and an explanation emerge through the words of the implied poet: “But he wants me not to be”. On the whole, this poem may be seen as an attempt at naming an underlying existential crisis.

Similar formation by Shlonsky – **ארקיגלים**, a principal golem.

H13

מפול NSN <LSP>

N.

[**האוסף**] “The collection”]

DY – **כל זה** “all this”

DG – a collection of offal

Excerpt – כל המפול זהה “All this floodfall”

Transposon – מבול

Established usage – מבול, נפל, נפולות

Harold Schimmel's equivalent: offal+flood = floodfall

Innovative usage – נפל based upon the stem מפל

Synopsis – The implied poet picks up everything he finds. Collecting this “floodfall” of things is the subject of this poem, with possible reference to the human condition on earth.

Similar formation by Shlonsky – מתרג, a new noun for heavy “shooting” rainfall.

P12

רבה קשת IN-HOUSE TERMINOLOGY <PMH>

N.

[packages] poem from Tel Aviv]

DY --

DG – in the infantry or a young archer: רובה

Excerpt – אני רבה קשת. “I am a bowman”

Transposon – קשת

Established usage – קשת

Innovative usage – רבה קשת

Synopsis – Stating the condition that “in poetry you must go with force”, the implied poet tells us about his way through the land of Israel. We meet with autobiographical details and at the end of this poem, with yearnings and a wish for a new pair of shoes.

Similar formation by Shlonsky – קשט, קשט, directed; signalman.

T8

אלטר משכבר IN-HOUSE TERMINOLOGY <F+LT>

Adj.

[change of generation]

DY יותר מן המות אני –

DG – older than death itself – very old

Excerpt – יזיאל אלטר משכבר –

Transposon – משכבר

Established usage – משכבר – הימים –

Innovative usage – a long-time old man (with his roots back in foreign history)

Synopsis – The poem relates to a meeting commemorating the dead of Krasnystaw, which was held annually in Tel Aviv, and the fact that with each passing year, the aging poet meets a decreasing number of participants.

H14

mbotol IN-HOUSE TERMINOLOGY <LSP>

Prep.; prepositional compound combined with transposed abbreviation

[בת-מרם]

DY הארץ לפני ראותנו –

DG – the land as it was before we have seen it (or as seen from within the outside). The poet substitutes the standard Hebrew expression for *from the outside*, with the abbreviation for *abroad*.

ראתה ארץ־ישראל מבארץ, ראתה ארץ־ישראל מבחוץ – Excerpt as opposed to standard Hebrew

בחוץ – Transposon

בארץ, בחוץ, מהארץ, מחו"ל – Established usage

Innovative usage – as “from within the abroad outside”

Synopsis – In standard Hebrew, this abbreviation does not take more than one preposition. As prepositions signal locational and temporal relations, the number of prepositions used with the adverbial in this poem functions to enforce the significance of a given place or a distance. Here it used to glorify the poetic skills of Bat-Miryam, a poet very much admired by Yeshurun for her ability to see the land regardless of location.

P13

שליז של ח'קעט P. TERM <F+LT>

N.

[*Acriman*]

DY —

DG – the opening of the jacket

Excerpt – מתחת לשליז של ח'קעט...

שליז, ז'קעט – Transposon

שליז, ז'קעט – Established usage

Innovative usage – accepted loan translation

Synopsis – see also the synopsis part of entry P11

H15

סקריפרים ADMITTED <F+LT>

N.

[1974 “עד 15 Mai” “Until 15 May 1974”]

DY --

DG – skyscrapers

Excerpt – הסקריפרים ב”דיזנגוף סנטר.”

סקריפר – Transposon

גורדי־שחקים – Established usage

Innovative usage – loan translation

Synopsis – This poem is about the transitoriness of life, seen through the life span of the buildings of Tel Aviv. The implied poet's conclusion is that palm-trees in the desert outside the city are freer.

CONCLUSION

THE VALUE OF SYSTEMATIC PRESENTATION OF COMPOUNDS

I have arrived at the following conclusions, which sustain previous arguments in favour of systematic organisation of information in accordance with ISO 10241:

1. Evaluation of definitions

Yeshurun is aware of the necessity to supply a definition along with the new terms. As a matter of fact, the reader encounters a ‘ready to use’ definition embedded in the poem, directly connected with the new term in at least 20 of the 36 term entries. A good example for such a strategy is linked to the term **אגודים דלמעלה**, where the implied poet writes: ‘by

which I mean people who remember me by my previous name until they died" (I did not correct the odd usage of the participle even though dead people are not supposed to be using their memories at the present time). The layout according to ISO 10241, makes it possible for the reader to compare the implied poet's definition, the present writer's definition and the reader's own interpretation, with immediate reference to the text.

2. References to the general language system

The transposon marker plays an important role in most compounded linguistic expressions that include at least one established (grounded) language component. Thus, in expressions like **יום הלדה; בעל חרטה; האה הידועה; ארזי בית; צבע דליק**, and similar compounds, the elements marked in bold type serve as a transposon marker that helps us place the compound in relation to the general language system by reference to a previously accepted component. It is highly probable that Yeshurun thus marks the reuse of such established components in new compounds in a way similar to the placement of definitions embedded in the body of the poem, in order to communicate a new linguistic application of an established usage.

3. Evaluation of acceptability ratings

Generally I have tried to apply the ratings recommended in ISO 10241. I assume that in poetry, as in other fields, acceptability ratings should be set in relation to a user-group, in relation to the general language system. A distinction must be made between an active and a passive user-group. I gather that language conventions do not, as yet, allow for accepting poetry readers as an active user-group of a special technolect, although such groups may be compared with other small groups of LSP-users. Yet a passive user-group, including readers of literature and literary critics, may absorb a great number of terms, a part of which may under certain conditions emerge onto the surface of the general language system. The mere possibility that such a process takes place is reason enough for keeping to the ISO scale, explained earlier in this essay, as it is an internationally approved system in use. It allows for the whole scale of ratings from "in-house terminology" to "preferred terminology", all in accordance with the normative requirements of a given language.

Conclusions based upon 36 term entries may not be optimally grounded. Yet studying *The Syrian-African rift*, Y-'s probably most significant poetry collection, I have become aware of recurrent patterns that may prove useful for future studies:

Fig. 1 illustrates the distribution of term entries according to the given linguistic categories. This serves to elucidate the linguistic strategies chosen by the poet to reuse established forms, to form his own corresponding terms or neologisms with. A characteristic distribution of term entries may teach us about a connection between Y-'s term formation and the general language system. It is significant to note that the linguistic categories PMH+TRC > 60% of the total number of the term entries in the study. Adding to this the 17%, which represents the group of innovative derivatives (Innov. Der.), it becomes quite obvious that a proportional relation to the general language system is maintained. The LSP and F+LT categories together amount to less than 20%, whereas the major part of Y-'s compounds seem to be formed according to the normative requirements of Hebrew grammar for word formation.

We learn that roughly 28% of the term entries are comprised of reused, syntactically rigid constructions that often show a linkage to established traditional sources and phrases (*בית ראשון; עיר הקדש*). This may be explained by the fact that it may be easier to transpose an established idiom. The poet adds an extra component (in bold type) to the reused one (*תל אביב עיר הקדש*), or replaces one of the two components the compound is

comprised of (ילוד אישת). In the case of established phrases such as *ילוד אישת* (TRC), the transposon –*ילוד* thus marks a link to the original compound.

Term entries distributed according to linguistic categories

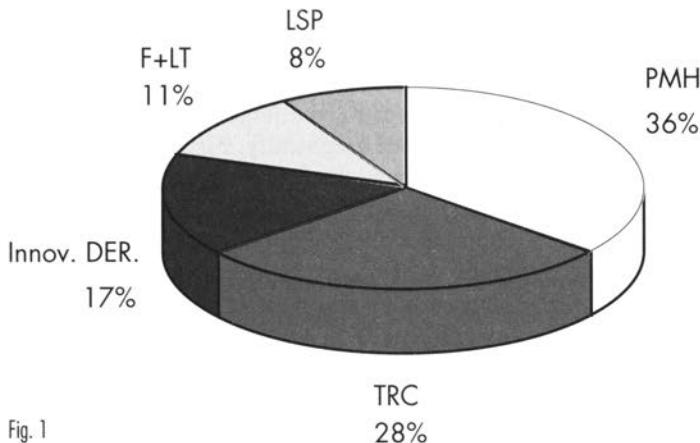


Fig. 1

The LSP and F+LT categories, on the other hand, demand two new components to form a new term, as there is no established component involved. I assume therefore that an LSP-compound that makes sense semantically would be more difficult to form than a compound based upon an expression that already exists. From this assumption, it would be possible to deduce that whereas TRC-compounds that contain reused established expressions represent a higher *communicative value*, LSP-compounds are to a larger extent based upon “*private material*” and thus may be considered more individualised linguistic expressions. This may lead us to the conclusion that TRC-compounds are more often used by Yeshurun to convey ideas that are the concern of many, while LSP-compounding is used to put forward the implied poet’s individualised stance and pain. Employing foreign components, the F+LT categories reflect different or foreign cultural realities in Y-’s poetry. These categories include terms that express the implied poet’s dual linguistic identity (*אחריתן; אלטער*) (*ש machbar*). The desperate utterance of a split-screen existence thus achieved could be placed higher on a scale expressing human suffering and longing for the “other world”. As time goes by, fragments representing a world that no longer exists seem to gain in power.

SYSTEMATIC CORRESPONDENCE IN COMPOUNDING

It is important to point out that most of the previously mentioned linguistic categories connect in one way or another to the central themes in Y-’s poetry. The power of expression is more a matter of different levels of language usage corresponding to “a private scale of pain” as related to word-formation in the Hebrew. I suggest that Yeshurun’s main issues, such as separation, homelessness, motherlessness and the survivor’s guilt, correspond to a parallel “scale of pain” reflected in the implied poet’s choice of linguistic expressions. We see that reference to the poet’s previous name in –*אגוזים דלמעלה*, the remorseful father as *בעל חרטה אנווש*, and even to the working man sleeping on a bench that is built *על טהרת*

הקרים are conveyed by help of traditional, though transposed, compounds with reference to the dead. The painful feelings linked to the new land are best expressed through the use of foreign or faulty elements; פלסטיני שמנה; מבחן; whereas אדמה מסגפת refers to the destiny of Rachel, the mother of the nation. Ridiculing and lessening is best achieved through the formation of new adjectives, as is the case with תעשייה מתשתעתת. When it comes to Tel Aviv and the houses that the poet once helped build, elevated symbols such as: בית ראשון; עיר הקדש are used, whereas the issue of survivors' guilt, posing the question of whether or not he has the right to go on living, is expressed by help of compounds like אחרימן and אלטר שמכבר, resembling a climax in Y-'s translation of human misery into linguistically "hybridised" units of expression.

The correspondence described above (between given linguistic categories and literary themes) in Y-'s compounding can be illustrated graphically. Fig. 2 illustrates the poet's choice of linguistic strategies that convey themes central to his poetry. We learn from this second diagram that Yeshurun's strategy is executed while maintaining a systematic correspondence in compounding. Yeshurun does not offend the rules of Hebrew unless the presentation of painful concepts belonging to the 'other world' demands an emphasis or a cutting edge between realities. Accordingly, an ascending "private scale of pain" is represented by the F+LT and LSP-compounds (lower bars). The PMH and TRC- compounds seem to dominate the overall picture with a significant occurrence of TRC-compounds in the H-category of literary themes. This fact may indicate that in our study the reuse of ancient language components borrowed from syntactically rigid constructions may be particularly fruitful as a way of communicating ideas concerning a home or a home-land.

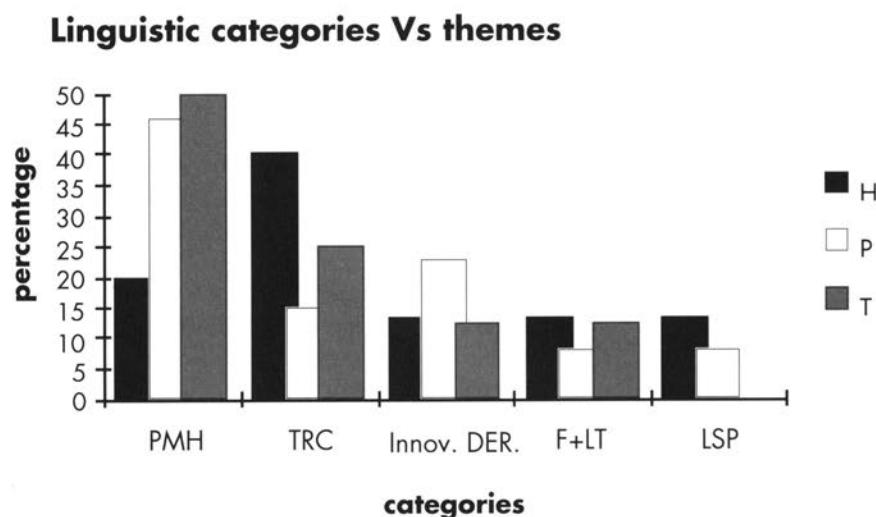


Fig. 2

If this result holds valid even in the light of future research, I will be able to assert that a process of term formation is evident in Y-'s works where linguistic expressions are systematically "twisted" for special purposes. On the lower end of the private scale of pain, figure 2 (taller bars), we meet with transposed proper Hebrew components that follow language conventions. Higher up on the 'scale of pain' (lower bars) transposed, tradition-

related terms are used. But when the poet is most tormented by the trauma of separation from 'the other world' or when he sees himself as a stranger in his own home, integration of foreign elements becomes more evident, finally reaching a climax by means of a coarse violation of language conventions where alien components are compounded together.

Such patterns show up rather clearly when compounds are systematically presented (according to ISO 10241) in term entries, as this method makes it easier for the reader to study and compare the implied poet's own definitions of neologisms, along with the linguistic strategies applied in order to reuse established expressions according to a new, individualised code. If there indeed is a correspondence between the underlying ideas and a linguistic strategy, linked to an established usage, the poet's scale of pain reflected through transposed compounds with integrated alien elements bears witness to the existence of poetic LSP. Moreover, we deal with a term formation process that usually follows the normative requirements for word formation in the general language system.

Word class distribution in Y-'s compounding

Fig. 3 elucidates word class distribution in the given linguistic categories for each of the three literary themes central to Y-'s poetry. We learn, for example, that in the P and T thematic categories, innovative derivatives consist of adjectives, whereas in the H group this category consists primarily of nouns, which, again, may point to a correspondence between notions of home and certain groups of nouns. Along with the previously mentioned significance of the TRC category in the H-group, this tendency speaks in favour of systematic correspondence in compounding even on a word class level.

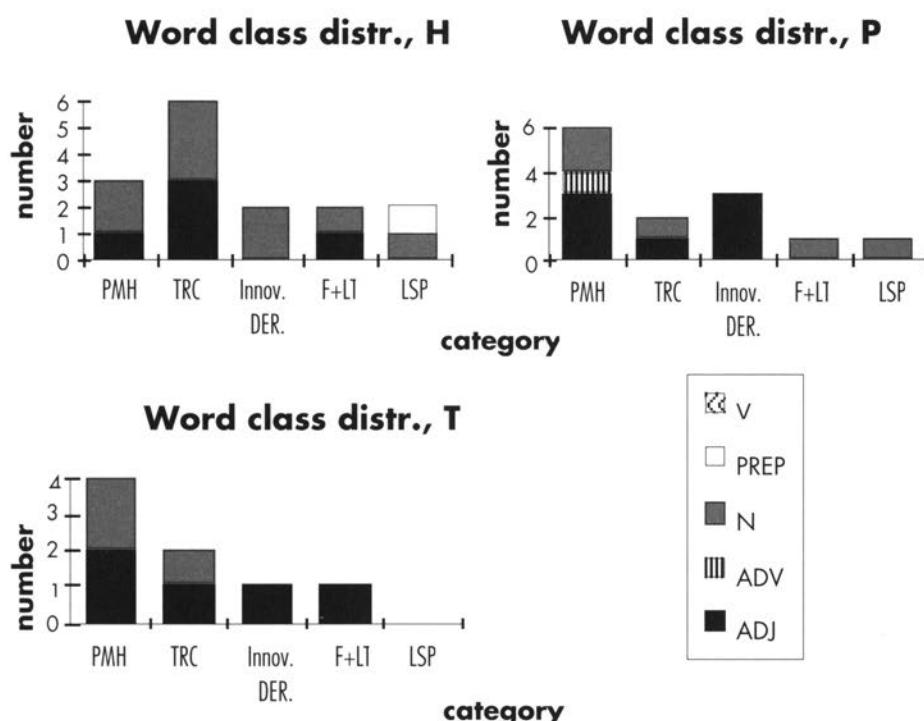


Fig. 3

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Some instrumental and phonetic data on intonation and stress in Mishar Tatar*

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I. THE RELATIVE VOWEL LENGTH IN DISYLLABIC WORDS

I began instrumental and phonetic studies of Mishar Tatar in 1954–55 at the Qazan Pedagogical Institute's laboratory, which formerly belonged to Professor V.A. Bogoroditskij. On the cymograph of the Verdin system (Paris), which has a recording error of 2.0%, I recorded the pronunciations of three informants. Two of them (about 20 years of age) were students in the Tatar Department of the Qazan Pedagogical Institute and came from the Čistopol (Čistaj) (Bulatov) and Qyzyl Armija (Sulejmanova) regions (the so-called Mishars of Čistopol/Čistaj), while the third informant, (about 25 years of age) was a student in the Tatar Department of the Qazan University and came from the Čupräle region in the south-west of the Tatar Republic (Ajzjatov).

Parts of the data obtained were published in 1959, 1961, etc. in my article entitled "Xarakter udarenija v mišarsko-tatarskom dialekte" (The Character of the Stress in the Mishar Tatar Dialect") in *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, Moscow, 1959, No. 2, some data on the length, the mean sound intensity and the tone height of vowels are adduced, according to which there is a tendency to stress the initial syllable of a disyllabic word, in contrast to Qazan Tatar, in which the final stress is characteristic.

Analogous data, amplified by the material obtained from the third informant (Ajzjatov), are included in my book *Zvukovoj stroj tatarskogo jazyka v svjazi s ne-kotoryimi drugimi tjurkskimi i finno-ugorskimi jazykami* (The Sound Structure of the Tatar-Language in Connection with Some Other Turkic and the Finno-Ugric Languages), Part II, Qazan, 1961, which also contains material on the length, voicedness and spirantization of consonants, according to which the strong consonants are approximately as long as the weak consonants in Mishar Tatar, as well as in Qazan Tatar. (See also my articles in *CAJ* XIX–XX and XXIV, 1975–1976, 1980, Wiesbaden.)

In the present article, I investigate the relative vowel length in disyllabic words. Here the main attention will be paid to the relative lengths of Tatar vowels, because this is of most interest and because the data on the absolute lengths of Tatar vowels are contained in some other works of mine, while below I adduce only a few figures on the absolute length for introductory purposes, as there are vowels which are long and short by their nature in Tatar. I give some examples of the length of the long vowel *a* and the reduced vowels (mixed) *ə*, *ɔ* (in general, there is no principal difference in the absolute vowel length between Qazan Tatar and Mishar Tatar).

* Owing to the decease of the author during the production of the present article, a final revision was not possible. The Editorial Board has chosen to publish the text as it was originally submitted.

The first informant's data

According to the data supplied by the first informant (B.), the absolute length of the vowel *a* in the initial, open syllable of the disyllabic words *mačə* 'cat' (2 measurements), *apa* 'aunt' (2), *baka* 'frog' (2) and *kadak* 'nail' (1) was equal to 11.5 centi-seconds (cs) (7 measurements), the deviations ranging from 5.7 cs in *kadak* 'nail' to 14.4 cs in *mačə* 'cat'. In the initial, closed syllable, the length of *a* appeared to be equal to 10.0 cs in the words *appak* 'very white' (2), *kapčək* 'bag' (2), *ačkəč* 'key' (1), *taptə* 'has found' (2), *barda* 'went' (2) *kapka* 'gate', *takta* 'board' (2), *atta* 'on horse' (2), *akka* 'to the white' (2), *bakča* 'garden' (1), *arpa* 'barley' (2), *arba* 'cart' (2), *bazda* 'in the cellar' (2) and *arka* 'back' (2). The deviations ranged from 7.4 cs in *arpa* 'barley' to 14.4 cs in *bazda* 'in the cellar' (altogether 29 measurements).

In the second open syllable, the length of *a* was 22.2 cs (22 measurements) in the words *apa* 'aunt' (2), *baka* 'frog' (2), *kapka* 'gate' (2), *takta* 'board' (2), *atta* 'on horse' (2), *akka* 'to the white' (2), *bakča* 'garden' (2), *arpa* 'barley' (2), *arba* 'cart' (2), *bazda* 'in the cellar' (2) and *arka* 'back' (2). The deviations (in measurements) ranged from 15.0 cs in *bakča* 'garden' (2) to 26.4 cs in *baka* 'frog' (1 measurement from 2). In the second closed syllable, the length of *a* is 12.7 cs (8 measurements) in the words *appak* 'very white' (2), *batkak* 'swampy' (2), *izbač* 'manager of a rural club' (2), *kadak* 'nail' (1) and *pəčmak* 'corner' (1). The deviations are from 9.8 cs in *kadak* 'nail' to 14.0 cs in *appak* 'very white'.

All these words are generally considered to be finally stressed, except the word *appak* 'very white'. However, in the latter the rules for vowel length do not differ from those of other words finally stressed (see below). For example, in the word *appak* 'very white' (2), the length of the first vowel is, on the average, 11.9 cs and that of the second vowel is 13.8 cs (ratio $L_1/L_2 = 86\%$), while in the word *batkak* 'swampy' (2) finally stressed, the length of the first vowel is 9.9 cs and that of the second is 13.0 cs (ratio $L_1/L_2 = 76\%$). that is, in principle the same.

The length of the neutral (mixed, reduced) vowel *ə* was, on the average 5.9 cs in the initial, closed syllable of two disyllabic words: *kəskəč* 'tongues' (6.4 cs) and *pəčmak* 'corner' (5.4 cs). In the second closed syllable, the length of *ə* appeared to be equal to 10.6 cs in the words *kəskəč* 'tongues' (1), *kapčək* 'bag' (2), *ačkəč* 'key' (1), *upkən* 'pool', 'slough' (6 measurements in all), the deviations ranging from 8.1 cs in *kapčək* 'bag' (1 measurement from 2) to 14.5 cs in *upkən* 'pool' (1 measurement from 2). In the second open syllable, the average length of *ə* was 18.5 cs in the words *taptə* 'found' (2) and *barda* 'went' (2), the deviations ranging from 15.9 cs in *taptə* (1 measurement from 2) to 23.4 cs in *barda* (1 measurement from 2).

The length of the palatal, reduced neutral vowel *ɔ̄* appeared to be equal to 10.6 cs in the initial, open syllable in the word *dɔ̄yjt* 'tar' (2 measurements: 10.4 cs and 10.8 cs). In the initial, closed syllable, the length of *ɔ̄* was 10.0 cs (4 measurements in all) in the words *tɔ̄ščək* 'little tooth' (2) and *kɔ̄zgə* 'mirror' (2), the deviations ranging from 6.2 cs in *tɔ̄ščək* (1 measurement from 2) to 15.2 cs in *kɔ̄zgə* (1 measurement from 2). In the second open syllable, the length of *ɔ̄* was 21.6 cs (the average of 4 measurements) in the words *kɔ̄zgə* 'mirror' (2) and *čūpnə* 'litter' (acc. case, sing.) (2 measurements), the deviations ranging from 18.0 cs to 27.6 cs, both in different measurements of the word *kɔ̄zgə* 'mirror'. In the second closed syllable, the length

of $\dot{\alpha}$ was 10.6 cs in the words *tăščık* ‘little tooth’ (2) and *dăyıt* ‘tar’ (2), the deviations being from 7.7 cs in *tăščık* (1 measurement from 2) to 14.4 cs in *dăyıt* (1 measurement from 2).

The data obtained corroborate my former general conclusions from studies on Qazan Tatar (1) that the ratio of the long vowels to the reduced (mixed) ones is 2:1, except at the absolute end, where the relation is about 3:2, (2) that the increase of the length of one vowel in a disyllabic word favours the decrease of the other vowel of this word (cf., for example, Nos. 10–13 in the table), and (3) that before sonorous consonants the length of the vowels increases in comparison with the length in the position before strong consonants (cf. Nos. 16–17, etc. in the table). The possibility of a quantitative stress is thus excluded.

The figures on the relative lengths of vowels adduced in the table lead to the following conclusions.

1. As a rule, the length of the second vowel of a disyllabic word surpasses that of the initial syllable. Exceptions are recorded only in the cases in which, in the first syllable, there is the vowel *a* (long, “of full formation”), while in the second syllable, there is the reduced vowel $\dot{\alpha}$ (in the words *kapčák* ‘bag’ and *ačkac* ‘key’, the ratio being from 104% to 120%).

2. In three disyllabic words with both syllables open, *apa* ‘aunt’ (2), *baka* ‘frog’ (2) and *mačə* ‘cat’ (6 measurements in all), the ratio L_1/L_2 was, on the average, 67%, the deviations being from 42% (*baka*: 1 measurement) to 87% (*mačə* ‘cat’: 1 measurement). The length of the vowel in the initial, covered syllable is shorter than in the initial, non-covered syllable. The ratio L_1/L_2 increases when, in the initial syllable, we have the vowel *a* (i.e. a vowel “of full formation”) and, in the second syllable, the reduced vowel $\dot{\alpha}$.

3. In eight disyllabic words (13 measurements) with both syllables closed, *batkak* ‘swampy’, *appak* ‘very white’, *kaskač* ‘tongues’, *pəčmak* ‘corner’, *tăščák* ‘little tooth’, *kapčák* ‘bag’, *ačkac* ‘key’ and *upkən* ‘pool’, the length of the first vowel was, on the average, 8.2 cs and that of the second vowel was 11.3 cs (ratio $L_1/L_2 = 77\%$), the deviations ranging from 43% (*upkən* ‘pool’: 1 measurement from 2) to 88% (*appak* ‘very white’), not counting three cases of the words *kapčák* ‘bag’ and *ačkac* ‘key’, in which the ratio was from 104% to 120%. Thus, the qualitative length of vowels (*a – ā*) can influence fundamentally the ratio L_1/L_2 , whereas the stress does not fundamentally influence the length: in the word *appak* ‘very white’, having the stress on the initial syllable, the length of the second vowel nevertheless surpasses that of the first. And this is so not only according to the data obtained from other Tatar informants. I have established an analogous regularity also for many other languages of the Ural-Altaic group and for Russian.

4. In 13 words, *kapka* ‘gate’, *takta* ‘board’, *atta* ‘on horse’ *akka* ‘to the white’, *bakča* ‘garden’, *arpa* ‘barley’, *arpa* ‘cart’, *arka* ‘back’, *bazda* ‘in the cellar’, *közgə* ‘mirror’, *čıpnə* ‘litter’ (acc. case, sing.), *tapta* ‘he found’ and *barda* ‘he went’ (26 measurements in all), the length of the first vowel was, on the average, 11.8 cs and that of the second vowel was 21.3 cs (ratio $L_1/L_2 = 48\%$), the deviations ranging from 29% (*čıpnə*: 1 measurement from 2) to 70% (*bakča* ‘garden’: 1 measurement).

The closed character of the syllable favours a decrease of the vowel length, whereas the open syllable favours an increase of the relative length of the vowel.

5. In two words with the initial syllable open and the second closed, *kadak* ‘nail’ and *døyöt* ‘tar’ (3 measurements), the length of the first vowel was, on the average, 10.6 cs and that of the second 13.0 cs (ratio $L_1/L_2 = 82\%$), the deviations ranging from 58% in *kadak* ‘nail’ to 93% in *døyöt* ‘tar’ (1 measurement from 2).

6. The most general conclusion is that the length depends on the phonetic position (the character of the syllable, etc.) and on the quality of the vowel (qualitative length), whereas the length is not directly connected with the stress, because the stressed vowel can be shorter than the unstressed.

The second informant’s data

According to the data obtained from the second informant, Sulejmanova, the absolute length of the vowel *a* is distributed within the following limits. In the initial, open syllable it is, on the average, equal to 10.9 cs in the words *kašək* ‘spoon’, *tašəp* ‘carrying’, *dara* ‘powder’, *ata* ‘father’, *apa* ‘aunt’, *kadak* ‘nail’ and *tabak* ‘bowl’ (9 measurements in all), the deviations ranging from 9.0 cs in *kašək* (1 measurement) and *apa* (1 measurement) to 14.4 cs (in *dara*), from which it will be seen that the existence of a reduced vowel in one syllable favours the increase of the length of the other vowel.

In the initial, closed syllable, the length of *a* appeared to be 10.4 cs in three words, *appak* ‘very white’, *atta* ‘on horse’ and *arba* ‘cart’ (3 measurements in all), the deviations ranging from 9.6 cs in *atta* to 11.2 cs in *arba* (both words stressed at the end), while the figure for the word *appak*, having the initial stress, took the intermediate position between the data for the two other words with the final stress. Thus, the length of the stressed vowel *a* in the initial syllable of the word *appak* ‘very white’ practically does not differ from that of the unstressed vowel *a* in the initial syllables of the words *atta* and *arba*.

The length of the vowel *a* in the second open syllable was 18.3 cs in four words, *ata* ‘father’, *apa* ‘aunt’, *atta* ‘on horse’ and *arba* ‘cart’, the deviations ranging from 16.0 cs in *atta* to 21.6 cs in *arba*. The neighbourhood of voiced consonants favours the increase of the length of the following vowel. The length of *a* in the second closed syllable was 16.2 cs in four words, *appak* ‘very white’, *izbač* ‘manager of a rural club’, *kadak* ‘nail’ and *tabak* ‘bowl’, the deviations ranging from 13.8 cs in *appak* to 18 cs in *kadak*. In the latter word, the informant pronounced the interdental spirant *ð*, instead of *d* (as was seen from the cymogram), which explains the relative increase of the vowel length.

The length of the reduced vowel *ə* in the initial open syllable was 5.0 cs in two words, *kətəp* ‘waiting’ and *kəšə* ‘man’. In the second open syllable, the length of *ə* was 14.0 cs (in the word *kəšə*), while in the second closed syllable it was 11.6 cs in the word *kətəp* ‘waiting’.

The second informant’s data corroborate the conclusions drawn on the basis of the first informant’s data.

1. The length of the vowel of the second syllable, as a rule, surpasses that of the initial syllable. Exceptions are recorded only in cases in which the first (unstressed) vowel is of full formation (*a*) while the second (stressed) vowel is a reduced one, for example, in the words with the initial syllable open and the second one closed: *kašək*

‘spoon’ (1 measurement from 2) and *tašəp* ‘carrying’ (1 measurement from 2), stressed on the second syllable.

2. In the word *appak* ‘very white’, stressed on the initial syllable, the length of the second vowel surpasses that of the first, the ratio L_1/L_2 being 75%.

3. Thus, the vowel length is not directly connected with stress. It depends on the quality of the vowel (qualitative length).

4. The ratio L_1/L_2 is greatest in words with the initial syllable open and the second one closed (average 75%) and in words with both syllables closed (77%), whereas in words with both syllables open or with the initial syllable closed and the second one open, it is less and is 59% and 56% respectively. The closed character of the syllable favours the diminishing of the vowel length, whereas in the open syllables the relative length of vowels increases.

The third informant's data

The absolute length of the vowel *a* in the initial syllable was 12.7 cs in seven words, *ata* ‘father’, *acə* ‘sour’, *taga* ‘horseshoe’, *babač* ‘grandfather’, *kadak* ‘nail’, *atap* ‘naming’, *atəp* ‘shooting’ and *kačan?* ‘when?’ (11 measurements in all), the deviations in measurements ranging from 9.8 cs in *kadak* ‘nail’ to 19.6 cs in *taga* ‘horseshoe’.

The length of *a* in the second open syllable was 23.7 cs, on the average, in the words *ata* ‘father’, *taga* ‘horseshoe’, *duya* ‘shaft-bow’, *təta* ‘holds’, *tapta* ‘trample’ and *tətsa* ‘if he catches’ (9 measurements in all). The deviations range from 16.0 cs (*tətsa*: 1 measurement) to 26.8 cs (*təta*). Thus, in open syllables, the second vowel is about twice as long as the first.

The length of *a* in the first closed syllable was 8.1 cs, on the average, in the words *taptap* ‘trampling’ (2) and *tapta* ‘trample’ (2), that is, shorter than in the open syllable, the deviations ranging from 7.5 cs (*taptap*: 1 measurement) to 8.7 cs (*tapta*: 1 measurement).

The length of *a* in the second closed syllable was 14.6 cs, on the average, in the words *taptap* ‘trampling’, *atap* ‘naming’, *kadak* ‘nail’ and *kačan?* ‘when?’ (6 measurements in all), that is, more than 1½ times longer than in the initial syllable.

The length of the reduced vowel *ə* in the initial open syllable was 5.3 cs in three words: *təta* ‘holds’, *tətəp* ‘holding’ and *kəčək* ‘dog’ (5 measurements in all), the deviations ranging from 3.4 to 7.6 cs, both in two different measurements (cases) of the word *kəčək* ‘dog’. In the initial, closed syllable, the length of *ə* was 5.8 in two words, *tətsa* ‘if he catches’ and *təttə* ‘he has caught’ (5 measurements in all), the deviations being from 4.8 to 7.2 cs, both in two measurements of the word *tətsa*.

In the final, open syllable, the length of *ə* was 17.8 cs in two words, *acə* ‘sour’ and *təttə* ‘he has caught’ (3 measurements), the deviations being from 16.8 to 18.2 cs (both in *təttə*), i.e. three times the length of *ə* in the initial, open syllable. In the second closed syllable, the length of *ə* was 8.8 cs, on the average, for three words, *atəp* ‘shooting’, *tətəp* ‘holding’ and *kəčək* ‘dog’ (6 measurements in all), the deviations ranging from 6.8 cs in *tətəp* (1 measurement) to 14.0 cs in *kəčək* (1 measurement).

In most of the cases adduced above, the stress falls on the final syllable, and here the relative increase of the vowel length coincides with the stress when, in both syllables,

lables, we have homogeneous vowels, for example, both of full formation, such as *a*, or both mixed, reduced, for example *ə*, *ð*. However, when, in the initial syllable, there is a long vowel (of full formation), such as *a* or *ä*, while in the second syllable we have the reduced, mixed vowels *ə* or *ð*, then the vowel of the initial unstressed syllable is longer than that of the second stressed vowel. Considering, for example, Nos. 23–24a, with the word *atəp* ‘shooting’ (2 measurements), the ratio L_1/L_2 was (1) 119% and (2) 138%, average 128; with the word *dungaz* ‘saw’ (2 measurements), we have respectively (1) 105% and (2) 88%, average 96%; with the word *tətəp* ‘holding’ (2 measurements), we have (1) 101% and (2) 86%, average 94%, and so on.

On the other hand, among the words listed above, there are some which have an initial stress, in contradistinction from the majority of other words having the final stress. However, the lengths of the vowels in them are subject to the same rules as in the words with the final stress. For example, in the word *kačan?* ‘when’, the stress falls on the initial syllable (both according to the general rules of the language and, in this particular case, according to my instrumental data; see below), but here the length of the first vowel (L_1) is 11.6 cs, while that of the second vowel (L_2) is 16.0 cs, the ratio L_1/L_2 being 70%. That is, the relations of the vowel length are within the limits established for the words with the final stress. The same refers to the word *tapta* ‘trample!’: here, too, the stress falls on the initial syllable, though the relation between the lengths of the vowels does not differ in principle from that established for analogous words with the final stress.

Below I adduce some figures on accentuation obtained for the words *kačan* ‘when?’ and *tapta* ‘trample!’. In the word *kačan*, the mean tone of the first vowel was 170 Hz, that of the second 105 Hz and the interval comprised four tones /*e–f*—(*Gis–A*)/, while the amplitude of the vibrations was higher in the first vowel than in the second. In the word *tapta* ‘trample!’, the average tone height of the first vowel appeared to be equal to 166 Hz, that of the second vowel was 150 Hz and the interval comprised approximately one tone /*e–f*—(*d–dis*)/ in the first measurement and 159 and 150 Hz in the second, while the amplitude, in the first case, was higher or equal to that of the second vowel and, in the second measurement, the amplitude of the vibrations in the first vowel was lower or equal to that of the second (i.e. here, in this word, the intensity could fluctuate). At the same time, the second vowel in all these cases was considerably longer than the first vowel, while the tone height, on the contrary, was higher in the first vowel (see above).

On the other hand, the vowel length depends to a considerable degree on the phonetic position, though always within certain limits, without some principal changes.

The influence of the structure of the syllable

In two words, (*ata* ‘father’ and *taga* ‘horseshoe’) with both syllables open, the ratio L_1/L_2 was 60%; in the word *taptap* ‘trampling’ (2) with both syllables closed, the ratio was 59%; in the word *tapta* ‘trample!’ (2) with the initial syllable closed and the second one open, the ratio was 42%, and in the words *kadak* ‘nail’ (2), *kačan* ‘when?’ (1) and *atap* ‘naming’ (1), in which the initial syllable was open and the second closed, the ratio was, on the average, 71%. Strictly speaking, it is not the

structure of the syllable itself, whatever the changes of the vowel length in the syllables of different structures, that leads to the influence of this or that combination of the syllables. Thus, in closed syllables, the length of the vowels is reduced, and this is why the length of the vowel increases in the other (open) syllable of the word.

The influence of the length of the vowel in the other syllable is also seen from the following examples. In the word *ata* ‘father’, the length of the first vowel is 11.5 cs, that of the second is 26.4 cs and the ratio $L_1/L_2 = 44\%$; in the word *acə* ‘sour’, ‘bitter’, the length of the first vowel is 12.8 cs, that of the second vowel is 18.1 cs and the ratio is 71%; in the word *təta* ‘holds’ the length of the first vowel is 4.0 cs, that of the second is 26.8 cs and the ratio is 15%. Analogously, if in the word *taptap* ‘trampling’ (2), the ratio is 59%, in the word *dunyəz* ‘saw’ (2), the ratio is 96%. In the word *tətəp* ‘holding’ (2), the ratio is 94%, while in the word *tətə* ‘caught’ (2), the ratio is 32% and so on (see the table).

From the material adduced, also the general laws of phonetics can be seen, for example, the increase of the vowel length in the neighbourhood of weak (voiced) consonants, of spirants, in diphthongs (for example, *babaɪ* ‘grandfather’, in which the lengths of the vowels are respectively 14.8 cs and 31.6 cs), etc.

Table 1. The absolute length of some vowels in disyllabic words. The numbers of measurements are shown within parentheses.

No. of syllables	Vowels	Sonorous length in centiseconds (cs)			
		Open syllables		Closed syllables	
		Average	Deviations	Average	Deviations
<i>Informant No. 1</i>					
I	a	11.5 (7)	5.7–14.4	10.0 (29)	7.4–14.4
II	a	22.2 (22)	15.0–26.4	12.7 (8)	9.8–14.0
I	ə			5.9 (8)	5.4– 6.4
II	ə	18.5 (4)	15.9–23.4	10.6	8.1–14.5
I	ɔ̄	10.6 (2)	10.4–10.8	6.5 (2)	6.2– 6.8
				or 10.0 (4)	6.2–15.2
II	ɔ̄	21.6 (4)	18.0–27.6	10.5 (4)	7.7–14.4
<i>Informant No. 2</i>					
I	a	10.9 (9)	9.0–14.4	10.4 (3)	9.6–11.2
II	a	18.3 (4)	16.0–21.6	16.2	13.8–18.0
I	ɔ̄	5.0 (2)	3.4– 6.6		
II	ɔ̄	14.0 (1)		11.6 (1)	
<i>Informant No. 3</i>					
I	a	12.7 (11)	9.1–19.6	8.1 (4)	7.5– 8.7
II	a	23.7 (9)	16.0–26.8	14.6 (6)	12.4–16.0
I	ə	5.3 (5)	3.4– 7.6	5.8 (5)	4.8– 7.2
II	ə	17.8 (3)	16.8–18.2	8.8 (6)	6.8–14.0

Table 2. Relative length of vowels. Informant No. 1.

Nos.	Words and translation	The length of vowels		Ratio L_1/L_2 in %
		1st vowel	2nd vowel	
I. Both syllables open				
1	<i>apa</i> ‘aunt’	14.2	17.8	80
2	<i>apa</i> ‘aunt’	13.3	21.9	61
2a	Average (Nos. 1–2)	13.8	19.0	70
3	<i>baka</i> ‘frog’	12.6	23.8	53
4	<i>baka</i> ‘frog’	12.2	26.4	42
4a	Average (Nos. 3–4)	12.4	25.1	48
5	<i>macə</i> ‘cat’	13.8	18.2	76
6	<i>macə</i> ‘cat’	14.4	16.6	87
6a	Average (Nos. 5–6)	14.1	17.4	82
6b	Average (2a; 4a; 6a)	13.4	20.5	67
II. Both syllables closed				
7	<i>batkak</i> ‘swampy’	10.1	13.6	74
8	<i>batkak</i> ‘swampy’	9.7	12.5	78
8a	Average (Nos. 7–8)	9.9	13.0	76
9	<i>appak</i> ‘very white’	12.0	13.6	88
10	<i>appak</i> ‘very white’	11.8	14.0	84
10a	Average (Nos. 9–10)	11.9	13.8	86
11	<i>kaskač</i> ‘tongues’	6.4	11.6	55
12	<i>tjščjk</i> ‘little tooth’	6.2	7.7	80
13	<i>tjščjk</i> ‘little tooth’	6.8	8.5	80
13a	Average (Nos. 12–13)	6.5	8.1	80
14	<i>pčmak</i> ‘corner’	5.4	13.5	47
15	<i>kapčjk</i> ‘bag’	8.8	8.2	107
16	<i>kapčjk</i> ‘bag’	8.4	8.1	104
16a	Average (Nos. 15–16)	8.6	8.2	106
17	<i>ačkač</i> ‘key’	10.6	8.8	120
18	<i>upkan</i> ‘pool’	5.5	12.8	43
19	<i>upkan</i> ‘pool’	6.7	14.5	46
19a	Average (Nos. 18–19)	6.1	13.6	44
19b	Average Nos. 8a; 10a; 11; 13a; 14; 16a; 17; 19a	8.2	11.3	77
III. The first syllable closed, the second open				
20	<i>kapka</i> ‘gate’	8.2	19.3	46
21	<i>kapka</i> ‘gate’	7.8	21.4	36
21a	Average (Nos. 20–21)	8.0	20.4	41
22	<i>takta</i> ‘board’	8.6	20.0	43
23	<i>takta</i> ‘board’	8.1	24.0	34
23a	Average (Nos. 22–23)	8.4	22.0	38
24	<i>atta</i> ‘on horse’	11.1	23.6	47
25	<i>atta</i> ‘on horse’	8.8	20.1	44
25a	Average (Nos. 24–25)	10.0	21.8	46
26	<i>akka</i> ‘to the white’	9.0	20.4	44
27	<i>akka</i> ‘to the white’	12.4	22.8	54
27a	Average (Nos. 26–27)	10.7	21.6	49
28	<i>bakča</i> ‘garden’	9.9	15.0	66
29	<i>bakča</i> ‘garden’	10.5	15.0	70
29a	Average (Nos. 28–29)	10.2	15.0	68
30	<i>arpa</i> ‘barley’	7.4	25.0	30

Table 2 (Cont.)

Nos.	Words and translation	The length of vowels		Ratio L_1/L_2 in %
		1st vowel	2nd vowel	
31	<i>arpa</i> ‘barley’	7.6	23.8	33
31a	Average (Nos. 30–31)	7.5	24.1	32
32	<i>arba</i> ‘cart’	8.6	22.7	38
33	<i>arba</i> ‘cart’	11.4	21.6	53
33a	Average (Nos. 32–33)	10.0	22.2	46
34	<i>arka</i> ‘back’	12.4	24.0	52
35	<i>arka</i> ‘back’	8.7	24.4	36
35a	Average (Nos. 34–35)	10.6	24.2	44
36	<i>bazda</i> ‘in the cellar’	13.8	25.0	55
37	<i>bazda</i> ‘in the cellar’	14.4	22.3	64
37a	Average (Nos. 36–37)	14.1	23.6	60
38	<i>kəzgə</i> ‘mirror’	11.6	18.0	64
39	<i>kəzgə</i> ‘mirror’	15.2	27.6	55
39a	Average (Nos. 38–39)	13.4	22.8	60
40	<i>čüpnə</i> ‘to the rubbish’	5.8	20.0	29
41	<i>čüpnə</i> ‘to the rubbish’	8.0	20.8	38
41a	Average (Nos. 40–41)	6.9	20.4	34
42	<i>taptə</i> ‘he found’	9.0	15.9	56
43	<i>taptə</i> ‘he found’	9.0	17.6	51
43a	Average (Nos. 42–43)	9.0	16.8	54
44	<i>bardsə</i> ‘he went’	10.2	19.2	53
45	<i>bardsə</i> ‘he went’	11.3	23.4	48
45a	Average (Nos. 44–45)	10.8	21.3	50
45b	Average (Nos. 21a; 23a; 25a; 11.8 27a; 29a; 31a; 33a; 35a; 37a; 39a; 41a; 43a; 45a)	21.3	48	
IV. The first syllable open, the second closed				
46	<i>kadak</i> ‘nail’	5.7	9.8	58
47	<i>dəyət</i> ‘tar’	10.4	14.4	72
48	<i>dəyət</i> ‘tar’	10.8	11.6	93
48a	Average (Nos. 46–48)	10.6	13.0	82

Table 3. Relative length of vowels. Informant No. 2.

Nos.	Words and translation	The length of vowels		Ratio L_1/L_2 in %
		1st vowel	2nd vowel	
I. Both syllables open				
1	<i>apa</i> ‘aunt’	9.0	17.8	50
2	<i>ata</i> ‘father’	9.8	17.8	55
3	<i>darsə</i> ‘powder’	14.4	17.0	84
4	<i>kəsə</i> ‘man’	6.6	14.0	47
4a	Average (Nos. 1–4)	10.0	16.7	59
II. Both syllables closed				
5	<i>appak</i> ‘very white’	10.3	13.8	75
6	<i>izbač</i> ‘manager of a rural club’	13.6	17.2	79
6a	Average (Nos. 5–6)	12.0	15.5	77

Table 3 (Cont.)

Nos.	Words and translation	The length of vowels		Ratio L_1/L_2 in %
		1st vowel	2nd vowel	
III. The first syllable closed, the second open				
7	<i>atta</i> 'on horse'	9.6	16.0	60
8	<i>arba</i> 'cart'	11.2	21.6	52
8a	Average (Nos. 7–8)	10.4	18.8	56
IV. The first syllable open, the second closed				
9	<i>kadak</i> 'nail'	10.7	18.0	59
10	<i>tabak</i> 'bowl'	13.2	15.6	85
11	<i>kašək</i> 'spoon'	9.2	11.3	81
12	<i>kašək</i> 'spoon'	9.0	8.0	112
12a	Average (Nos. 11–12)	9.1	9.6	96
13	<i>tašəp</i> 'carrying'	10.0	7.6	131
14	<i>tašəp</i> 'carrying'	10.8	12.4	87
14a	Average (Nos. 13–14)	10.4	10.0	109
15	<i>kätəp</i> 'waiting'	3.4	11.6	29
15a	Average (Nos. 9; 10; 12a; 14a; 15)	9.4	13.0	75

Table 4. Relative length of vowels. Informant No. 3.

Nos.	Words and translation	The length of vowels		Ratio L_1/L_2 in %
		1st vowel	2nd vowel	
I. Both syllables open				
1	<i>ata</i> 'father'	11.5	26.4	44
2	<i>taga</i> 'horseshoe'	18.0	25.5	71
3	<i>taga</i> 'horseshoe'	19.6	24.4	80
3a	Average (Nos. 2–3)	18.8	25.0	76
4	<i>duya</i> 'shaft-bow'	19.5	26.0	70
5	<i>acə</i> 'sour', 'bitter'	12.8	18.1	71
6	<i>t̪ata</i> 'holds'	4.0	26.8	15
6b	Average (Nos. 1; 3a; 4–6)	13.3	24.6	55
7	<i>babai</i> 'grandfather'	14.8	31.6	47
II. Both syllables closed				
8	<i>tapta</i> 'trampling'	7.5	13.1	57
9	<i>tapta</i> 'trampling'	7.6	12.4	61
9a	Average (Nos. 8–9)	7.6	12.8	59
10	<i>dungəz</i> 'saw'	12.2	11.6	105
11	<i>dungəz</i> 'saw'	9.8	11.2	88
11a	Average (Nos. 10–11)	11.0	11.4	96
11b	Average (Nos. 8a; 10a)	9.3	12.1	78
III. The first syllable closed, the second open				
12.	<i>tapta</i> 'trample!'	8.7	20.4	42
13	<i>tapta</i> 'trample!'	8.5	19.6	43
13a	Average (Nos. 12–13)	8.6	20.0	42
14	<i>t̪otsa</i> 'if he catches'	7.2	17.1	42
15	<i>t̪otsa</i> 'if he catches'	6.2	20.8	30
16	<i>t̪otsa</i> 'if he catches'	4.8	16.0	30

Table 4 (Cont.)

Nos.	Words and translation	The length of vowels		Ratio L_1/L_2 in %
		1st vowel	2nd vowel	
16a	Average (Nos. 14–16)	6.1	18.0	34
17	<i>tətta</i> 'caught'	6.0	18.2	33
18	<i>tətta</i> 'caught'	5.0	16.8	30
18a	Average (Nos. 17–18)	5.5	17.5	32
18b	Average (Nos. 13a; 16a; 18a)	6.7	18.5	36
IV. The first syllable open, the second closed				
19	<i>kadak</i> 'nail'	9.1	13.7	66
20	<i>kadak</i> 'nail'	10.4	15.8	66
20a	Average (Nos. 19–20)	9.8	14.8	66
21	<i>kačan</i> 'when?'	11.6	16.0	70
22	<i>atap</i> 'naming'	11.4	14.7	77
23	<i>atəp</i> 'shooting'	11.1	9.3	119
24	<i>atəp</i> 'shooting'	10.6	8.4	138
24a	Average (Nos. 23–24)	10.8	8.8	128
25	<i>tətəp</i> 'holding'	6.9	6.8	101
26	<i>tətəp</i> 'holding'	6.0	7.1	86
26a	Average (Nos. 25–26)	6.4	7.0	94
27	<i>kəčək</i> 'dog'	3.4	7.4	46
28	<i>kəčək</i> 'dog'	7.6	14.0	54
28a	Average (Nos. 27–28)	5.5	10.7	50
29	<i>pəcān</i> 'hey'	7.1	17.6	40
30	<i>pəcān</i> 'hey'	6.0	20.4	29
30a	Average (Nos. 29–30)	6.6	19.0	34
30b	Average (Nos. 20a; 21; 22; 24a; 26a; 28a; 30a)	8.9	13.0	74

Conclusion

In Mishar Tatar, there are vowels of full formation (such as *a*, *o*, *u*, *ä*, *ö*, *ü*, *e* and *i*) and reduced vowels (*ə* and *ɔ̄*). The first are, at the same time, long according to their nature (qualitative length), while the second are short and the relation between the long and the short vowels in analogous positions is about 2:1. Only at the absolute end does the length of the reduced vowels increase somewhat and the relation is approximately 3:2.

The absolute figures do not differ in principle from those obtained for Qazan Tatar. For example, the average figures for the length of the vowel *a* in the first syllable of disyllabic words for three informants were: (1) from 10.0 to 11.5 cs, (2) from 10.4 to 10.9 cs, and (3) from 8.1 to 12.7 cs. In Qazan Tatar, the following cy-mographic data for three informants were recorded for the vowel *a* in the same positions: (1) 11.0–12.9 cs, (2) 11.2–13.0 cs, and (3) 16.6–17.2 cs. Analogous data for the vowel *a* in the second open syllable of disyllabic words in Mishar Tatar appeared to be (1) 22.2 cs, (2) 18.3 cs, and (3) 23.7 cs, while in Qazan Tatar the average figures were (1) 23.0–24.4 cs, (2) 23.2–24.8 cs, and (3) 31.7–33.1 cs (cf. my book *Zvukovoj stroj tatarskogo jazyka, eksperimental'no-foneticheskij očerk*, Part I, Qazan, 1959, p. 52, etc.).

The high vowels of full formation (*u*, *ü*, *i*, etc.) take an intermediate position between the low vowels of full formation and the reduced vowels in that, although their length can be long, in some positions it is unstable and may diminish even to the level of the reduced vowels.

Besides the dependence on the quality of the vowels, their length is subject to the influence of the phonetic position (the structure of the syllables, the influence of the neighbouring sounds, etc.). However, if the latter does not produce fundamental changes, the influence of the character of the syllable and of its place in the word are very important. Thus, for example, the length of the vowel *a* in the initial, open syllable of a disyllabic word is only half the length of *a* in the second (final) open syllable. The *a* in the second open syllable, in turn, is twice as long as the *a* in the second closed syllable. The same rule, with some variations, is characteristic of the reduced vowels and shows in the data of all the informants.

The second vowel, as a rule, is longer than the first. The length of the vowel in the initial, covered syllable is shorter than that in the uncovered syllable. The relative length of the first vowel (*a*) increases if in the second syllable we have the reduced vowel *ə*. The qualitative length of vowels can fundamentally influence the relative length (the ratio L_1/L_2), whereas the stress does not. For example, in the word *appak* ‘very white’, which has the stress on the first syllable, the second vowel is longer than the first. I have established an analogous rule also for a number of other Ural-Altaic languages, for example, the Finno-Ugric group.

The length of vowels depends on the phonetic position and on the quality of the vowel (qualitative length) but is not directly connected with the stress, for the stressed vowel can be shorter than the unstressed. The possibility of a quantitative stress is excluded, although the stress can favour to some degree the increase of the length of the stressed vowel, but this is not of principal importance.

II. THE TONE HEIGHT AND THE TONE MOVEMENT IN DISYLLABIC WORDS

The investigation of the tone movement in Mishar Tatar was based on the cymographic material obtained in 1954–55 at the Laboratory of the Qazan Pedagogical Institute from the pronunciation of three informants about 20–25 years of age, students in the Tatar Departments of the Qazan Pedagogical Institute and of the Qazan University. Two of them (Bulatov and Sulejmanova) came from the Čistaj region of the TASSR, while the third informant represented the sub-dialect spoken in the Čüpřale region of the Tatar Republic.

The material was recorded on the cymograph of the Verdin system, the recording error of which is 2.0% (the error usually tolerated is 5.0%). Some of the data obtained (on the mean tone height of the vowels) were included in works which I published in 1959–61. Below, I investigate the mean, the maximal and the minimal tone height and the tone movement of vowels in disyllabic words pronounced separately.

Informant No. 1

According to the data obtained from the first informant, in 25 measurements of 15 disyllabic words, the interval in the mean tone height between the first and the second vowels appeared, as a rule, negative and was distributed between $+1\frac{1}{4}$ tones (*bazda* ‘in the cellar’: 1 measurement from 2) and $-1\frac{1}{2}$ tones (*baka* ‘frog’: 1 measurement from 2; *közgöz* ‘mirror’: 1 measurement from 2; *töşçök* ‘little tooth’: 1 measurement from 2; *mača* ‘cat’: 1 measurement; *kəskəč* ‘tongues’: 1 measurement) and comprised, on the average, $\frac{1}{3}$ tone for 15 words. The positive interval (i.e. when the tone of the first vowel is higher than that of the second) is recorded only in the words *bazda* ‘in the cellar’ (2 measurements) and *pəčmak* ‘angle’ (1 measurement) in which the second syllable represents an affix. According to the decrease of the positive interval and the increase of the negative interval, the recorded words are ranged in the following way: *bazda* ‘in the cellar’ ($+\frac{1}{3}$ tone), *pəčmak* ‘angle’ ($+\frac{1}{2}$ tone), *arpa* ‘cart’ ($-\frac{1}{2}$ tone), *kadak* ‘nail’ ($-\frac{1}{4}$ tone), *arpa* ‘barley’ ($-\frac{1}{2}$ tone), *apa* ‘aunt’ ($-\frac{5}{8}$ tone), *barda* ‘he went’ ($-\frac{3}{4}$ tone), *arka* ‘back’ ($-\frac{7}{8}$ tone), *džyjt* ‘tar’ (-1 tone), *töşçök* ‘little tooth’ (-1 tone), *közgöz* ‘mirror’ (-1 tone), *baka* ‘frog’ ($-1\frac{1}{2}$ tones), *bakča* ‘garden’ ($-1\frac{1}{4}$ tones), *mača* ‘cat’ ($-1\frac{1}{2}$ tones) and *kəskəč* ‘tongues’ ($-1\frac{1}{2}$ tones).

The interval in the maximal tone height of the vowels is distributed between $+1\frac{1}{4}$ tones (*bazda* ‘in the cellar’: 1 measurement from 2) and $-3\frac{1}{2}$ tones (*közgöz* ‘mirror’: 1 measurement from 2), while the average for 15 words is about -1 tone. The interval in the minimal tone height of vowels is between $+1$ tone (*bazda* ‘in the cellar’: 2 measurements) and $-2\frac{3}{4}$ tones (*kəskəč* ‘tongues’: 1 measurement), the average for 15 words being $-\frac{5}{8}$ tone.

The tone movement in the first vowel is falling or rising–falling in 12 cases and even in 7, while in the remaining 6 cases the tone is rising or falling–rising. However, a clear rising tone has been recorded only in the word *arka* ‘back’ (1 measurement from 2; in the second case the tone is falling) and in the word *bazda* ‘in the cellar’ (1 measurement from 2; in the second case the tone is even).

The tone movement in the second vowel is rising in 11 cases and even in 7, and in the other 7 cases it is falling–rising–falling or fluctuating.

The interval between the maximal and the minimal tone within the first vowel is from zero (7 cases from 25, practically always in the closed syllable) to 2 tones (*arka* ‘back’: 1 measurement from 2, the tone is rising; *kəskəč* ‘tongues’: 1 measurement, that is, on the whole, falling suddenly, as if forming a ledge). In the second vowel, the interval between the maximum and the minimum is distributed between zero (*kəskəč* ‘tongues’: 1 measurement; *džyjt* ‘tar’: 2 measurements) and $4\frac{1}{2}$ tones (*közgöz* ‘mirror’: 1 measurement from 2) when the tone is falling, whereas, when the tone is rising, the interval reaches $-1\frac{3}{4}$ tones (*baka* ‘frog’: 1 measurement from 2). The average interval for 25 words is $\frac{1}{3}$ tone for the first vowel and $\frac{3}{4}$ tone for the second.

In most of the cases, a perceptibly negative interval in the tone height of vowels is connected with the rising tone movement of the second vowel, while the zero interval is usually accompanied by a more or less even tone, and the positive interval in

the tone height of vowels coincides with the falling or rising-falling tone movement of the second vowel and with the rising tone of the first vowel.

The specific peculiarity of this informant is the tendency to stress the initial syllable in disyllabic words consisting of a monosyllabic root and an affix belonging to a usually stressed one (for example, in the word *baz-da* ‘in the cellar’). In such cases, the increase of the relative tone height of the mean tone of the first vowel is accompanied by a tendency of the mean tone of this vowel to acquire a rising character, whereas in the second vowel the tone is relatively lower and tends to be falling.

Informant No. 2

According to the data obtained from the second informant, in 11 measurements of nine words, the interval recorded in the mean, maximal and minimal tone heights of vowels was negative, except for the word *tabak* ‘vessel’, in which the interval in the minimal tone heights of the vowels was equal to zero.

The interval in the mean tone heights of vowels is within the limits of $-1\frac{1}{2}$ tone (*tabak* ‘vessel’) to $-2\frac{1}{4}$ tones (*kötəp* ‘waiting’: 1 measurement, *taşəp* ‘carrying’: 1 measurement from 2) or to 2 tones (*ata* ‘father’). The interval in the maximal tone height is from $-1\frac{1}{2}$ tone (*tabak* ‘vessel’) to -3 tones (*taşəp* ‘carrying’: 1 measurement from 2); the interval in the minimal tone height is from zero (*tabak* ‘vessel’) to -3 tones (*taşəp* ‘carrying’).

According to the increase of the negative interval in the mean tones of vowels, the words are ranged in the following way: *tabak* ‘vessel’ ($-1\frac{1}{2}$ tone), *atta* ‘on horse’ (-1 tone), *kəşə* ‘man’ ($-1\frac{1}{4}$ tones), *dara* ‘powder’ ($-1\frac{1}{4}$ tones), *kaşək* ‘spoon’ ($-1\frac{3}{4}$ tones), *kadak* ‘nail’ ($-1\frac{1}{4}$ tones), *taşəp* ‘carrying’ ($-1\frac{1}{2}$ tones), *ata* ‘father’ (-2 tones) and *kötəp* ‘waiting’ ($-2\frac{1}{4}$ tones). In nine words, the average interval in the mean, maximal and minimal tone heights of vowels is about $-1\frac{1}{2}$ tones. The closed syllable favours an increase of the tone height, while the open syllable favours a decrease of the tone height. A reduced vowel in the second syllable may favour the increase of the negative interval.

The tone movement in the first vowel may be different: rising, rising-falling, even. The interval in the fluctuations of the tone within the first vowel is within the limits from zero (*ata* ‘father’: 1 measurement, *kötəp* ‘waiting’: 1 measurement) to 2 tones (*atta* ‘on horse’), while, on the average, it is a little less than 1 tone. The increase of the interval between the maximum and the minimum within the vowel is connected with the rising (on the whole) tone movement of this vowel (for example, *dara* ‘powder’, *atta* ‘on horse’).

In the second vowel, the tone is, as a rule, rising: in 11 measurements the tone was even in only one case (*taşəp* ‘carrying’: 1 measurement; in the second measurement of this word, the tone was rising) and in one case the tone was fluctuating (*kaşək* ‘spoon’: 1 measurement; in the second measurement of this word, the tone was rising). In other cases, the tone is rising and if we drop the short, final fall (after a rise), only one “exclusion” will remain, namely the case with the even tone. The interval of the tone rise in the second vowel is, on the average, equal to $-1\frac{1}{2}$ tones and fluctuates from zero (*taşəp* ‘carrying’: 1 measurement) to $2\frac{1}{2}$ tones (*atta* ‘on horse’), the

increase of the interval within the vowel being, in all cases, connected with the rising tone movement.

Informant No. 3

The third informant came from the Čüpřale region of the Tatar Republic, that is, from a different region from that of the first two informants, and there are certain differences in his pronunciation in comparison with those of the preceding informants. Thus, the interval in the mean tone heights of vowels in disyllabic words is, as a rule, positive (i.e. in favour of the first vowel) in the pronunciation of this informant. The case is the same also with the interval in the maximal and the minimal tone heights of vowels.

The interval in the mean tone height of vowels in 15 words (25 measurements) was distributed (in measurements) from +2 tones (*kadak* ‘nail’: 1 measurement from 2) to $-1\frac{1}{2}$ tones (*ata* ‘father’), while, on the average (for 15 words), it was a little more than half a tone. The negative interval in the mean tone height of vowels was recorded in the words *ata* ‘father’ ($-1\frac{1}{2}$ tones), *atap* ‘naming’ ($-\frac{3}{4}$ tone), *atəp* ‘shooting’ ($-\frac{3}{4}$ tone, 1 measurement), *tətəp* ‘holding’ ($-\frac{1}{2}$ tone, 1 measurement from 2; in the second case, we have $+\frac{3}{4}$ tone).

According to the falling of the negative interval and the rising of the positive one in the mean tone height of vowels, the words are distributed in the following series: *ata* ‘father’ ($-1\frac{1}{2}$ tones), *atap* ‘naming’ ($-\frac{3}{4}$ tone), *atəp* ‘shooting’ ($-\frac{3}{4}$ tone), *babai* ‘grandfather’ (zero tone), *ačə* ‘sour’ (zero tone), *tətəp* ‘holding’ ($+\frac{1}{4}$ tone), *tapta* ‘trample!’ ($+\frac{1}{2}$ tone), *kəčək* ‘dog’ ($+\frac{5}{8}$ tone), *duya* ‘arc’ ($+\frac{2}{3}$ tone), *tətsa* ‘if he catches’ (+1 tone), *taptap* ‘trampling’ ($+1\frac{1}{8}$ tones), *təta* ‘holds’ ($+1\frac{1}{2}$ tones), *taga* ‘horseshoe’ ($+1\frac{1}{2}$ tones), *tətə* ‘has caught’ ($+1\frac{1}{2}$ tones), *kadak* ‘nail’ ($+1\frac{3}{4}$ tones).

Characteristic of this informant is a perceptible influence of the quality of the neighbouring consonants (especially of the preceding) on the tone height of the vowel (cf. the words *ata* ‘father’ and *taga* ‘horseshoe’, in which the strong consonant *t* favours an increase of the tone height of the following vowel).

In the closed syllable, the tone tends to be higher (cf. the words *tətə* ‘he has caught’ and *tətsa* ‘if he catches’, on the one hand, and the words *tətəp* ‘holding’ and *təta* ‘holds’, on the other. In the first two cases, the positive interval greatly surpasses that in the second two cases. However, in the words *taptap* ‘trampling’ (2) versus *tapta* ‘trample!’ (2), both the mean and the maximal interval appeared equal to $+1\frac{1}{8}$ tone, on the average, for the first word, while for the second word the interval in the mean tone of vowels was $+\frac{1}{2}$ tone, and in the maximal tone height it was $+1\frac{1}{2}$ tones. A comparison of the words *atap* ‘naming’ and *atəp* ‘shooting’ shows that the negative interval is greater in the first word in comparison with the second, a fact which indicates the reduced character of the mixed vowel *ə*.

The interval in the maximal tone height of vowels fluctuates from $-2\frac{1}{2}$ tones (*ata* ‘father’) to $+1\frac{1}{2}$ tones (*taga* ‘horseshoe’, *taptap* ‘trampling’ (1 measurement from 2); *tapta* ‘trample!’, *kadak* ‘nail’, *tətəp* ‘holding’ (1 measurement from 2) and *tətsa* ‘if he catches’), while the average for 15 words was $+0.1$ tone, that is, the interval is practically absent.

The interval in the minimal tone height of vowels is within the limits from $-1\frac{1}{2}$

tones (*ata* ‘father’) to +2½ tones (*kadak* ‘nail’: 1 measurement from 2), and the average for 15 words is +0.6 tones.

The tone movement. The characteristic peculiarity of the pronunciation of this informant is that the tone makes a sharp rise or fall, instead of a gradual movement. For example, in the second vowel of the word *taga* ‘horseshoe’, the interval of such a sudden rise is equal to 2 tones; in the word *tətta* ‘he has caught’, the tone falls sharply to 1½ tones at the beginning of the second vowel etc., although there are also cases of a gradual rise or fall of the tone.

The tone movement in the first vowel is mostly falling or even, sometimes with fluctuations and often making a sharp fall (as a ledge). Only in the words *atap* ‘naming’, *tətta* ‘he has caught’ (1 measurement from 2) and *ata* ‘father’ has a rising tone been recorded. In the first two words, the tone makes a sharp rise (to 1 tone), while in the last word it rises gradually in the first part (to 1½ tones) and becomes even in the second part of the vowel. In the other cases, the interval between the maximum and the minimum fluctuates from zero (11 measurements) to 3½ tones (*taga* ‘horseshoe’: 1 measurement from 2), the tone of the first vowel being of a falling character, while the average for 15 words is 1 tone.

The tone movement in the second vowel is predominantly rising (12 cases) or even, sometimes with unimportant fluctuations (11 cases). Only in 2 cases is it falling—in the word *tətta* ‘he has caught’ (2 measurements)—accompanied by an important positive interval in the tone height of the first and the second vowels. In the initial syllable, we have a rising or an even tone; the rising tone of the first vowel is mostly accompanied by the greatest positive interval.

The interval between the maximal and the minimal tone height in the second vowel is distributed between zero and 3½ tones (the latter figure is in the words *duya* ‘arc’ and *babař* ‘grandfather’) when the tone is rising. When the tone is falling, this interval reaches only 1½ tones (*tətta* ‘he has caught’: 2 measurements). The average interval for 15 words is a little more than half a tone.

We may assume that the sharp changes of the tone height (partly levelled in the Čistaj sub-dialect) constitute the peculiarity in the intonation of Mishar Tatar, differentiating it from Qazan Tatar with its subtle shades peculiar to the pentatonica, whereas the sharp changes of the tone height which have been recorded in the pronunciation of the Mishar informants (especially the third one) can hardly be in agreement with the pentatonica. This circumstance may become the basis for far-reaching conclusions, because it gives grounds for looking for connections between the Mishar Tatars and the European peoples.

Table 1. The interval between the tone height of the first and the second vowels in disyllabic words. Informant No. 1.

No.	Words and translation	The interval in tones ($a^1 = 435$ Hz)			The interval between the maximum and the mini- mum within the	
		In the mean tone height	In the maxi- mal tone height	In the mini- mal tone height	1st vowel	2nd vowel
1	<i>apa</i> 'aunt'	– ½	– ¾	–	¾	1½
2	<i>apa</i> 'aunt'	– ¾	– 1	– 1½	1	½
2a	Average (Nos. 1–2)	– ½	– ⅞	– ¾	⅞	1
3	<i>baka</i> 'frog'	– 1½	– 1¾	– 2	¾	¾
4	<i>baka</i> 'frog'	– ¾	– 1¾	– ¾	¾	1¼
4a	Average (Nos. 3–4)	– 1½	– 1¾	– 1¾	¾	1¼
5	<i>bakča</i> 'garden'	– 1¼	– 1½	– 1¼	½	¾
6	<i>bakča</i> 'garden'	– 1¼	– 1½	– ¾	–	¾
6a	Average (Nos. 5–6)	– 1¼	– 1½	– 1	¼	¾
7	<i>arpa</i> 'barley'	–	–	+ ¼	1	½
8	<i>arpa</i> 'barley'	– 1	– 1¼	– ½	–	¾
8a	Average (Nos. 7–8)	– ½	– ⅞	– ⅛	½	⅞
9	<i>arba</i> 'cart'	– ¼	– ¾	–	½	1¼
10	<i>arba</i> 'cart'	–	– ¼	–	–	¼
10a	Average (Nos. 9–10)	– ⅛	– ½	–	¼	¾
11	<i>bazda</i> 'in the cellar'	+ ½	–	+ 1	–	1
12	<i>bazda</i> 'in the cellar'	+ 1¼	+ 1¼	+ 1	¾	½
12a	Average (Nos. 11–12)	+ ⅞	+ ⅞	+ 1	⅞	¾
13	<i>arka</i> 'back'	– 1	–	– 1½	2	½
14	<i>arka</i> 'back'	– ¾	– ½	– 1	1	¼
14a	Average (Nos. 13–14)	– ⅞	– ¼	– 1¼	1½	½
15	<i>mača</i> 'cat'	– 1½	– 1¼	– 1½	½	–
16	<i>bardž</i> 'went'	– ½	– ¾	–	–	¾
17	<i>kadak</i> 'nail'	– ¼	– 1½	–	–	1½
18	<i>pəčmak</i> 'corner'	+ ½	+ ½	+ ¾	–	½
19	<i>kəskəč</i> 'tongs'	– 1½	– ¾	– 2¾	2	–
20	<i>kəzgəd</i> 'mirror'	– ½	– 2	–	½	1½
21	<i>kəzgəd</i> 'mirror'	– 1½	– 3½	+ ½	½	4½
21a	Average (Nos. 20–21)	– 1	– 2¾	+ ¼	½	3
22	<i>dəγət</i> 'tar'	– 1	– 1¼	– 1	½	¾
23	<i>dəγət</i> 'tar'	– 1	– ¾	– 1	1	¾
23a	Average (Nos. 22–23)	– 1	– 1	– 1	¾	¾
24	<i>təščək</i> 'little tooth'	– ½	– ¼	– ¾	½	–
25	<i>təščək</i> 'little tooth'	– 1½	– ¾	– 2½	1¾	–
25a	Average (Nos. 24–25)	– 1	– ½	– 1¾	1½	–
25b	Average for 15 words (Nos. 2a; 4a; 6a; 8a; 10a; 12a; 14a; 15–19; 21a; 23a; 25a)	– ⅓	– 1	– ⅓	⅓	¾

Table 2. The interval between the tone height of the first and the second vowels in disyllabic words. Informant No. 2.

No.	Words and translation	The interval in tones ($a^1 = 435$ Hz)				The interval between the maximum and the minimum within the	
		In the maxi-		In the mini-		1st vowel	2nd vowel
		In the mean tone height	mal tone height	mal tone height	height		
1	<i>ata</i> ‘father’	-2	-2½	-1½	-	1¾	
2	<i>atta</i> ‘on horse’	-1	-1	-¾	2	2½	
3	<i>kadak</i> ‘nail’	-1½	-2	-1½	¾	1¼	
4	<i>tabak</i> ‘vessel’	-½	-½	-	¾	1½	
5	<i>kɔʃɔ</i> ‘man’	-1¼	-1¼	-1½	¾	1	
6	<i>kɔtɔp</i> ‘waiting’	-2¼	-2¾	-1½	-	1¼	
7	<i>dara</i> ‘powder’	-1¼+	-1¼-	-1½	1½	1	
8	<i>kašək</i> ‘spoon’	-1¼+	-1¼	-2	1¼	½	
9	<i>kašək</i> ‘spoon’	-1½	-1¼	-1½	¾	½	
9a	Average (Nos. 8–9)	-1¾	-1¼	-1¾	1	½	
10	<i>tašəp</i> ‘carrying’	-1½-	-1½	-2	¾	-	
11	<i>tašəp</i> ‘carrying’	-2¼	-3	-3	1½	1¾	
11a	Average (Nos. 10–11)	-1¾	-2¼	-2½	1⅓	¾	
12	Average for 9 words (Nos. 1–7; 9a; 11a)	-1½-	-1½+	-1½-	1-	1½-	

Table 3. The interval between the tone height of the first and the second vowels in disyllabic words. Informant No. 3.

No.	Words and translation	The interval in tones ($a^1 = 435$ Hz)				The interval between the maximum and the minimum within the	
		In the maxi-		In the mini-		1st vowel	2nd vowel
		In the mean tone height	mal tone height	mal tone height	height		
1	<i>ata</i> ‘father’	-1½	-2½	-1½	1½	2½	
2	<i>taga</i> ‘horseshoe’	+1¾	+1½	+2	1½	2	
3	<i>taga</i> ‘horseshoe’	+1¼	+1½	+2	3½	2	
3a	Average (Nos. 2–3)	+1½	+1½	+2	2½	2	
4	<i>duya</i> ‘arc’	+ ¾	-1½	-	2	3½	
5	<i>babai</i> ‘grandfather’	-	-1½	+2	-	3½	
6	<i>aca</i> ‘sour’	-	-	-	1½	1½	
7	<i>təta</i> ‘holds’	+1½	+ ¾	+1½	-	¾	
8	<i>taptap</i> ‘trampling’	+1¾	+1½	+2¼	¾	1½	
9	<i>taptap</i> ‘trampling’	+ ½	+ ¾	+1½	¾	1½	
9a	Average (Nos. 8–9)	+1¾	+1¾	+1¾	¾	1½	
10	<i>taptap</i> ‘trample!’	+ ½	+1½	-	1½	-	
11	<i>taptap</i> ‘trample!’	+ ½	+1½	-	1½	-	
11a	Average (Nos. 10–11)	+ ½	+1½	-	1½	-	
12	<i>kadak</i> ‘nail’	+2	+1½	+2½	-	1	
13	<i>kadak</i> ‘nail’	+1½	+1½	+ ¾	¾	-	
13a	Average (Nos. 12–13)	+1¾	+1½	+1¾	¾	½	
14	<i>atap</i> ‘naming’	-¾	-1	-1¼	1	1	
15	<i>atəp</i> ‘shooting’	-	-	-	-	-	

Table 3 (Cont.)

No.	Words and translation	The interval in tones ($a^1 = 435$ Hz)				The interval between the maximum and the minimum within the	
		In the maxi-		In the mini-		1st vowel	2nd vowel
		In the mean tone height	mal tone height	mal tone height	height		
16	<i>atəp</i> ‘shooting’	— $\frac{3}{4}$	— $1\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	$1\frac{1}{2}$
16a	Average (Nos. 15–16)	— $\frac{3}{8}$	— $\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	—	$\frac{3}{4}$
17	<i>tətəp</i> ‘holding’	+ $\frac{3}{4}$	+ $1\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	$1\frac{1}{2}$	—
18	<i>tətəp</i> ‘holding’	— $\frac{1}{2}$	— $\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	—	$\frac{3}{4}$
18a	Average (Nos. 17–18)	+ $\frac{1}{8}$	+ $\frac{3}{8}$	—	—	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{8}$
19	<i>kəčək</i> ‘dog’	—	—	—	—	—	—
20	<i>kəčək</i> ‘dog’	+ $1\frac{1}{4}$	—	+ $1\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	$1\frac{1}{2}$
20a	Average (Nos. 19–20)	+ $\frac{5}{8}$	—	+ $\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	$\frac{3}{4}$
21	<i>tətsə</i> ‘if he catches’	+ $1\frac{1}{2}$	+ $1\frac{1}{2}$	+ $\frac{3}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
22	<i>tətsə</i> ‘if he catches’	+ $\frac{1}{2}$	+ $1\frac{1}{2}$	—	$1\frac{1}{2}$	—	—
23	<i>tətsə</i> ‘if he catches’	+ $1\frac{1}{2}$	+ $1\frac{1}{2}$	+ $1\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—
23a	Average (Nos. 21–23)	+1	+ $1\frac{1}{2}$	+ $\frac{3}{4}$	1	—	$\frac{1}{4}$
24	<i>tətta</i> ‘he has caught’	+2	+1	+ $1\frac{1}{2}$	1	—	$1\frac{1}{2}$
25	<i>tətta</i> ‘he has caught’	+ $1\frac{1}{4}$	—	+ $1\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	$1\frac{1}{2}$
25a	Average (Nos. 24–25)	+ $1\frac{1}{2}$	+ $\frac{1}{2}$	+ $1\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
25b	Average for 15 words (Nos. 1; 3a; 4–7; 9a; 11a; 13a; 14; 16a; 18a; 20a; 23a; 25a)	+ $\frac{1}{2}$	+0.1	+0.6	0.9	—	$1\frac{1}{3}$
25c	Average (Nos. 1; 3a; 4–7)	+ $\frac{1}{3}$	— $\frac{1}{2}$	+ $\frac{3}{5}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$	—	$2\frac{1}{4}$
25d	Average (Nos. 13a; 14; 16a; 18a; 20a)	+ $\frac{1}{4}$	—	+ $\frac{1}{5}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	—	0.84
25e	Average (Nos. 11a; 23a; 25a)	+1	+1	+ $\frac{3}{4}$	1	—	0.58

The tone height of vowels

Here the figures on the mean tone heights of vowels in disyllabic words are listed. The numbers of the examples quoted correspond to those in the schemes showing the tone movement in the same sords. The figures following the words denote in turn the mean tone heights of the vowels in the examples quoted (in Hertz).

Informant No. 1

1	<i>apa</i> ‘aunt’	127	133
2	<i>apa</i> ‘aunt’	110	119
3	<i>baka</i> ‘frog’	109	128
4	<i>baka</i> ‘frog’	102	112
5	<i>bakča</i> ‘garden’	123	141
6	<i>bakča</i> ‘garden’	125	145
7	<i>arpa</i> ‘barley’	119	119
8	<i>arpa</i> ‘barley’	112?	125
9	<i>arpa</i> ‘cart’	122	126
10	<i>arpa</i> ‘cart’	125	126
11	<i>bazda</i> ‘in the cellar’	125	119
12	<i>bazda</i> ‘in the cellar’	134	116
13	<i>arka</i> ‘back’	111	124
14	<i>arka</i> ‘back’	119	128

15	<i>mačə</i> ‘cat’	126	150
16	<i>bardə</i> ‘he went’	125	132
17	<i>kadak</i> ‘nail’	125	130
18	<i>pəčmak</i> ‘corner’	138	128
19	<i>kəskəč</i> ‘tongues’	114	138
20	<i>kəzgə</i> ‘mirror’	127	136
21	<i>kəzgə</i> ‘mirror’	123	148
22	<i>dəyət</i> ‘tar’	115	129
23	<i>dəyət</i> ‘tar’	115	131
24	<i>təščək</i> ‘little tooth’	142	150
25	<i>təščək</i> ‘little tooth’	127	150

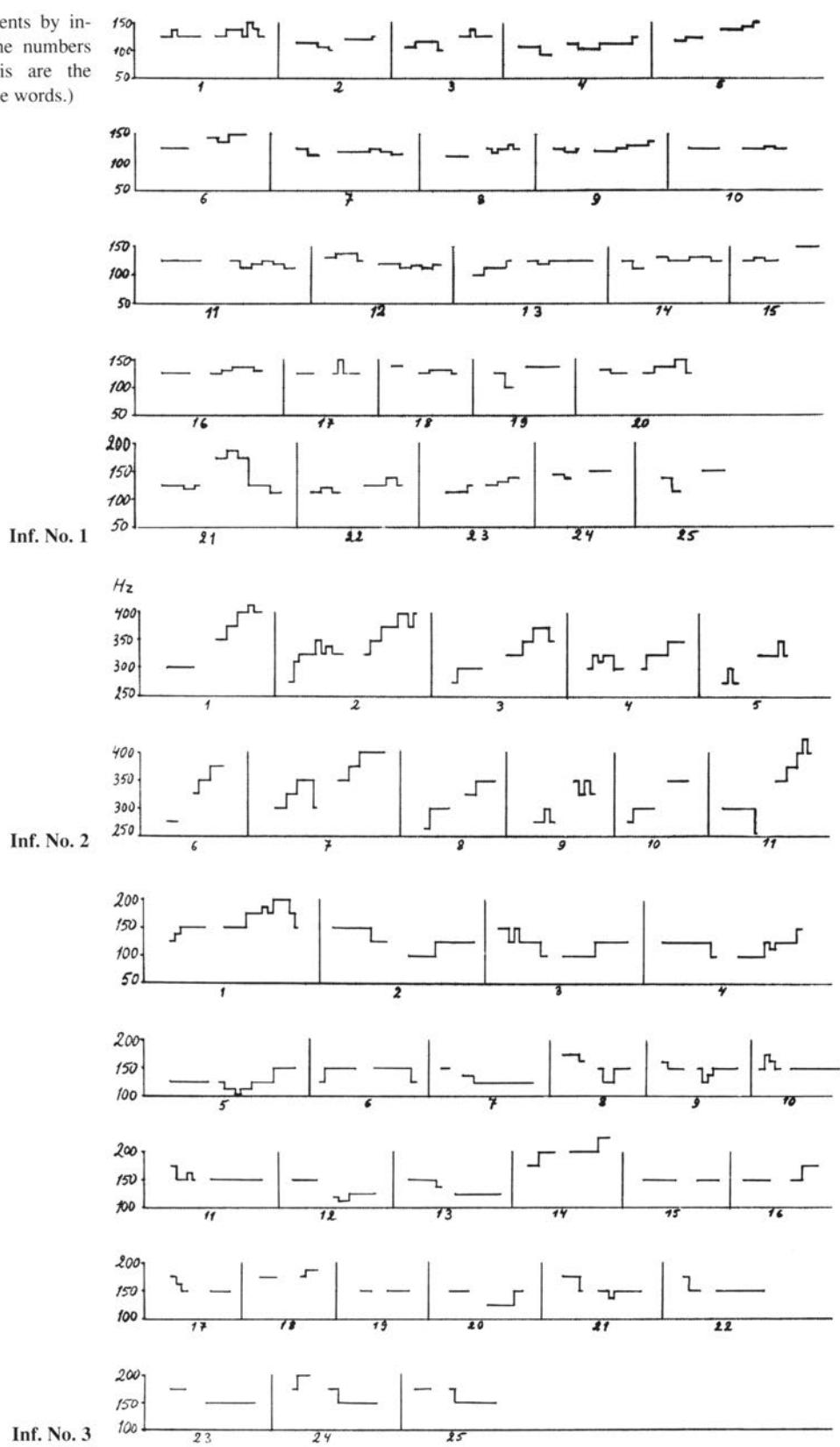
Informant No. 2

1	<i>ata</i> ‘father’	300	385
2	<i>atta</i> ‘on horse’	322	368
3	<i>kadak</i> ‘nail’	296	350
4	<i>tabak</i> ‘saucer’	312	331
5	<i>kəşə</i> ‘man’	283	330
6	<i>kətəp</i> ‘waiting’	275	357
7	<i>dara</i> ‘gunpowder’	326	382
8	<i>kašək</i> ‘spoon’	292	341
9	<i>kašək</i> ‘spoon’	281	338
10	<i>tašəp</i> ‘carrying’	295	350
11	<i>tašəp</i> ‘carrying’	296	381

Informant No. 3

1	<i>ata</i> ‘father’	144	174
2	<i>taga</i> ‘horseshoe’	142	115
3	<i>taga</i> ‘horseshoe’	131	112
4	<i>duya</i> ‘shaft bow’	122	116
5	<i>babaj</i> ‘grandfather’	125	127
6	<i>acə</i> ‘sour’, ‘bitter’	146	147
7	<i>təta</i> ‘holds’	150	127
8	<i>taptap</i> ‘trampling down’	172	142
9	<i>taptap</i> ‘trampling down’	153	145
10	<i>tapta</i> ‘trample down!’	159	150
11	<i>tapta</i> ‘trample down!’	158	150
12	<i>kadak</i> ‘nail’	150	121
13	<i>kadak</i> ‘nail’	148	125
14	<i>atap</i> ‘naming’	190	207
15	<i>atəp</i> ‘shooting’	150	150
16	<i>atəp</i> ‘shooting’	150	165
17	<i>tətəp</i> ‘holding’	162	150
18	<i>tətəp</i> ‘holding’	150	158
19	<i>kəčək</i> ‘dog’	150	150
20	<i>kəčək</i> ‘dog’	150	131
21	<i>tətsa</i> ‘if he catches’	171	148
22	<i>tətsa</i> ‘if he catches’	158	150
23	<i>tətsa</i> ‘if he catches’	175	150
24	<i>tətə</i> ‘he has caught’	192	156
25	<i>tətə</i> ‘he has caught’	175	153

Tone movements by informants. (The numbers on the x-axis are the numbers of the words.)



The tone movement of vowels

The movement of the tone height of vowels is given in figures. A figure after an example (a word) denotes in succession the tone height of the vowel in sections 2.0 centiseconds (cs) long, which corresponds to a distance of 5 mm on the cymograms. The formula $/150 \times 2/$ means that the section with the mean tone height of 150 Hz and having the length of 2 cs (= 5 mm) is repeated twice. The formula $/150 \times 0.5/$ denotes that the section with the mean tone height of 150 Hz comprises only half the length of 2 sigmas (cs), i.e. it is equal to 1 cs, and so on. The figures in round brackets denote the number of the vowel in the sample. The letter M denotes the mean tone of the vowel concerned.

Informant No. 1

1	<i>apa</i> ‘aunt’	(1) /125 × 2/; 138; /125 × 4/; M 127; (2) /125 × 2/; /138 × 3/; 125; 150; 138; 125; M 133
2	<i>apa</i> ‘aunt’	(1) /112 × 4/; /106 × 2/; /100 × 0.5/; M 110; (2) /119 × 10/; /125 × 0.5/; M 119
3	<i>baka</i> ‘frog’	(1) /106 × 2/; /112 × 4/; 100; M 109; (2) /125 × 2/; 138; /125 × 3/; M 128
4	<i>baka</i> ‘frog’	(1) /106 × 4/; /94 × 2/; M 102; (2) /112 × 2/; /106 × 4/; /112 × 6/; 125; M 112
5	<i>bakča</i> ‘garden’	(1) /119 × 2/; /125 × 3/; M 123; (2) /138 × 4/; /144 × 2/; 150; M 141
6	<i>bakča</i> ‘garden’	(1) /125 × 4/; 125; (2) /144 × 2/; /138 × 2/; /150 × 3/; M 145
7	<i>arpa</i> ‘barley’	(1) /125 × 2/; /112 × 2/; M 119; (2) /119 × 6/; /125 × 2/; /119 × 2/; /115 × 2/; M 119
8	<i>arpa</i> ‘barley’	(1) /112 × 4/; (2) 125; 119; 125; 125; 131; 125; M 125
9	<i>arba</i> ‘cart’	(1) /125 × 2/; /119 × 2/; /125 × 0.5/; 122; (2) /119 × 4/; /125 × 2/; /131 × 4/; 138; M 126
10	<i>arba</i> ‘cart’	(1) /125 × 5.5/; (2) /125 × 8/; /128 × 2/; /125 × 2/; M 126
11	<i>bazda</i> ‘in the cellar’	(1) /125 × 7/; (2) /125 × 2/; /112 × 2/; /119 × 2/; /125 × 2/; /119 × 2/; /112 × 2/; M 119
12	<i>bazda</i> ‘in the cellar’	(1) /131 × 2/; /138 × 4/; 125; M 134; (2) /119 × 4/; /112 × 2/; /115 × 2/; /112 × 2/; /117 × 1.5/; M 116
13	<i>arka</i> ‘back’	(1) /100 × 2/; /112 × 4/; 125; M 111; (2) /125 × 2/; /119 × 2/; /125 × 8/; M 124
14	<i>arka</i> ‘back’	(1) /125 × 2/; /112 × 2/; M 119; (2) /131 × 2/; /125 × 4/; /131 × 4/; /125 × 2/; M 128
15	<i>macə</i> ‘cat’	(1) /125 × 2/; /131 × 2/; /125 × 2.5/; M 126; (2) /150 × 4/
16	<i>bardə</i> ‘went’	(1) /125 × 5/; (2) /125 × 2/; /131 × 2/; /138 × 4/; /131 × 1.5/; M 132
17	<i>kadak</i> ‘nail’	(1) /125 × 3/; (2) 125; 150; /125 × 3/; M 130
18	<i>pəčmak</i> ‘corner’	(1) /138 × 2/; (2) /125 × 2/; /131 × 4/; 125; M 128
19	<i>kəskəč</i> ‘tongues’	(1) /125 × 2/; /100 × 1.5/; M 114; (2) /138 × 6/
20	<i>kəzgə</i> ‘mirror’	(1) /131 × 2/; /125 × 3/; M 127; (2) /125 × 2/; /138 × 4/; /150 × 2/; 125; M 136
21	<i>kəzgə</i> ‘mirror’	(1) /125 × 4/; /119 × 2/; 125; M 123; (2) /175 × 2/; /188 × 2/; /175 × 2/; /125 × 4/; /112 × 2/; 125; M 148.
22	<i>dəyət</i> ‘tar’	(1) /112 × 2/; /119 × 2/; /112 × 1.5/; M 115; (2) /125 × 4/; /138 × 2/; 125
23	<i>dəgət</i> ‘tar’	(1) /112 × 4/; 125; M 115; (2) /125 × 2/; /131 × 2/; /138 × 2/; M 131
24	<i>təščək</i> ‘little tooth’	(1) /144 × 2/; 138; M 142; (2) /150 × 4/
25	<i>təščək</i> ‘little tooth’	(1) /138 × 2/; /112 × 1.5/; M 127; (2) /150 × 4/

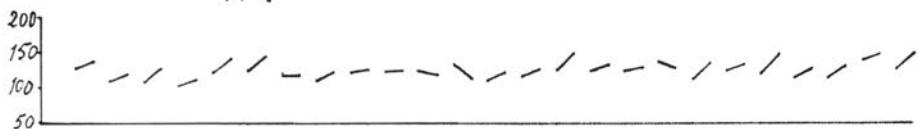
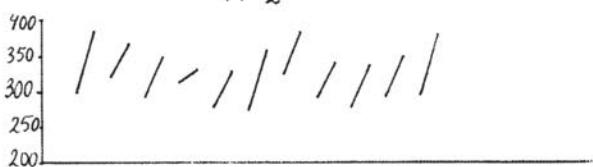
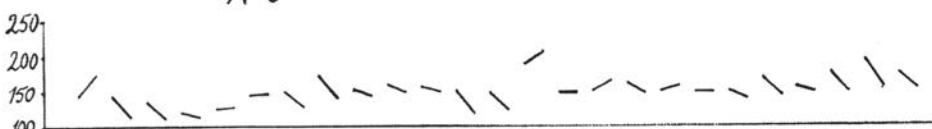
Informant No. 2

1	<i>ata</i> ‘father’	(1) /300 × 5/; (2) /350 × 2/; /375 × 2/; /400 × 2/; 425; /400 × 1.5/; M 385
2	<i>atta</i> ‘on horse’	(1) 275; 312; /325 × 3/; 350; 325; 338; /325 × 2/; M 322; (2) 300; /350 × 2/; /375 × 3/; /400 × 2/; 375; /400 × 0.5/; M 368

3	<i>kadak</i> 'nail'	(1) 275; /300 × 4.5/; M 296; (2) /325 × 3/; /350 × 2/; /375 × 3/; 350; M 350
4	<i>tabak</i> 'saucer'	(1) 300; 325; 312; /325 × 2/; /300 × 2/; M 312; (2) 300; /325 × 4/; /350 × 3/; M 331
5	<i>kəʃə</i> 'man'	(1) 275; 300; 275; M 283; (2) /325 × 4/; 350; 325; 330 M
6	<i>kətəp</i> 'waiting'	(1) 275; 275; (2) 325; /350 × 2/; /375 × 2.5/; M 357
7	<i>dara</i> 'gunpowder'	(1) /300 × 2/; /325 × 2/; /300 × 3/; /300 × 1.5/; M 327; (2) /350 × 2/; /375 × 2/; /400 × 4.5/; M 382
8	<i>kaʃək</i> 'spoon'	(1) 262; /300 × 3.5/; M 292; (2) /325 × 2/; /300 × 3.5/; 341
9	<i>kaʃək</i> 'spoon'	(1) /275 × 2/; 300; 275; M 281; (2) 350; 325; 350; M 338
10	<i>taʃəp</i> 'carrying'	(1) 275; /300 × 4/; M 295; (2) /350 × 3.5/
11	<i>taʃəp</i> 'carrying'	(1) /300 × 6/; /250 × 0.5/; M 296; (2) /350 × 2/; /375 × 2/; 400; 425; /400 × 0.5/; M 381

Informant No. 3

1	<i>ata</i> 'father'	(1) 125; 138; /150 × 4.5/; M 144; (2) /150 × 4/; /175 × 3/; 188; 175; /200 × 3/; 175; /150 × 0.5/; M 174
2	<i>taga</i> 'horseshoe'	(1) /150 × 7/; /125 × 3/; M 142; (2) /100 × 5/; /125 × 7/; M 115
3	<i>taga</i> 'horseshoe'	(1) /150 × 2/; 125; 150; /125 × 4/; 100; M 131; (2) /100 × 6/; /125 × 6/; M 112
4	<i>duya</i> 'shaft bow'	(1) /125 × 9/; 100; M 122; (2) /100 × 5/; 125; 112; /125 × 4/; 150; M 116
5	<i>babaj</i> 'grandfather'	(1) /125 × 7/; (2) 125; /112 × 2/; 100; /112 × 2/; /125 × 4/; /150 × 4/; M 127
6	<i>acə</i> 'sour', 'bitter'	(1) 125; /150 × 5.5/; M 146; (2) /150 × 7/; 125; M 147
7	<i>təta</i> 'holds'	(1) /150 × 1.5/; (2) /138 × 2/; /125 × 11/; M 127
8	<i>taptap</i> 'trampling down'	(1) /175 × 3/; 162; M 172; (2) 150; /125 × 2/; /150 × 3/; M 142
9	<i>taptap</i> 'trampling down'	(1) 162; /150 × 3/; M 158; (2) 150; 125; 138; /150 × 4.5/; M 145
10	<i>tapta</i> 'trample down'	(1) 150; 175; 162; 150; M 159; (2) /150 × 9/
11	<i>tapta</i> 'trample down!'	(1) 175; /150 × 2/; 162; /150 × 0.5/; M 158; (2) /150 × 9.5/
12	<i>kadak</i> 'nail'	(1) /150 × 4.5/; (2) 119; /112 × 2/; /125 × 4.5/; M 121

N 1*N 2**N 3*

Profile of tone heights by informants.

13	<i>kadak</i> ‘nail’	(1) /150 × 5/; 138; M 148; (2) /125 × 8/
14	<i>atap</i> ‘naming’	(1) /175 × 2/; /200 × 3/; M 190; (2) /200 × 5/; /225 × 2/; M 207
15	<i>atəp</i> ‘shooting’	(1) /150 × 6/; (2) /150 × 4/
16	<i>atəp</i> ‘shooting’	(1) /150 × 5/; (2) /150 × 2/; /175 × 3/; M 165
17	<i>tətəp</i> ‘holding’	(1) 175; 162; 150; M 162; (2) /150 × 3.5
18	<i>tətəp</i> ‘holding’	(1) /150 × 3/; (2) 152; /162 × 2/; M 158
19	<i>kəčək</i> ‘dog’	(1) /150 × 2/; (2) /150 × 4/
20	<i>kəčək</i> ‘dog’	(1) /150 × 3.5/; (2) /125 × 5/; /150 × 1.5/
21	<i>tətsa</i> ‘if he catches’	(1) /175 × 3/; /150 × 0.5/; M 171; (2) /150 × 2/; 138; /150 × 5/; M 148
22	<i>tətsa</i> ‘if he catches’	(1) 175; /150 × 2/; M 158; (2) /150 × 9/
23	<i>tatsa</i> ‘if he catches’	(1) 175 × 2.5/; (2) /150 × 9/
24	<i>tətta</i> ‘he has caught’	(1) 175; /200 × 2/; M 192; (2) /175 × 2/; /150 × 7/; M 156
25	<i>tətta</i> ‘he has caught’	(1) /175 × 3/; (2) 175; /150 × 7.5; M 153

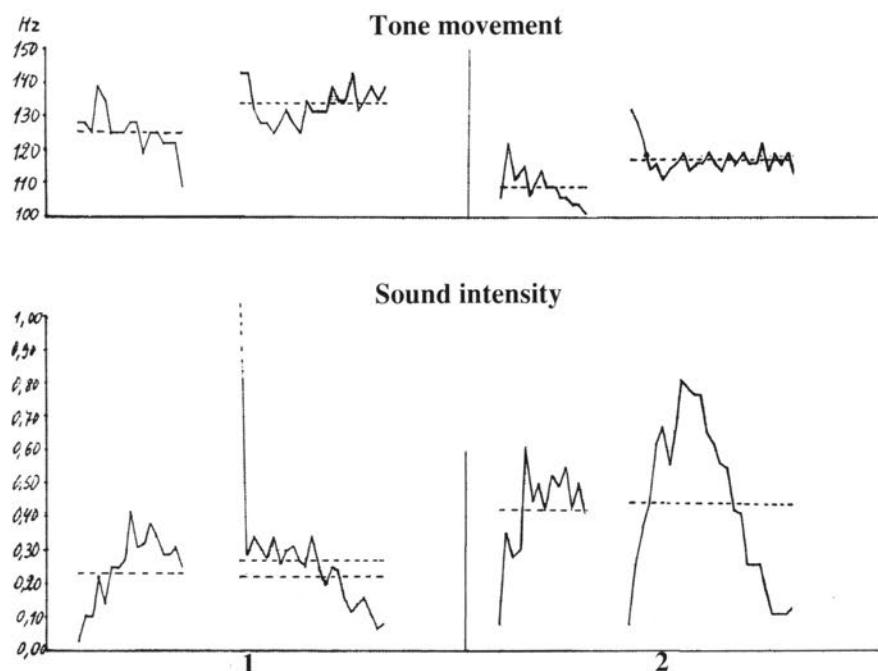
III. THE TONE AND THE SOUND INTENSITY MOVEMENT IN DI-SYLLABIC WORDS

An instrumental and phonetic study of Mishar Tatar was started by me in 1954–55 at the Phonetic Laboratory of the Qazan Pedagogical Institute. I recorded the pronunciation of several students, native Tatars coming from different regions of the Tatar ASSR. The recording was carried out by means of the cymograph of the Verdin system; I used the Marey tambourins and the Krueger-Wirth implement (the recording error was 2.0%; the error usually tolerated is 5.0%). Some results were published in the article entitled “Xarakter udarenija v mišarsko-tatarskom dialecte” (v. *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, Moscow, 1959, No. 2, pp. 113–116) and in my book *Zvukovoj stroj tatarskogo jazyka v svjazi s nekotorymi drugimi tjurkskimi i finno-ugorskimi jazykami*, part II, Kazan’, 1961, pp. 192–199. The main conclusion concerning the Mishar Tatar intonation was that the word stress in it had a tendency to fall to the initial syllable.

The present article is devoted to a parallel study of the tone and the intensity movement and is based on the pronunciation of two informants coming from the Čistaj linguistic region of the TASSR. On the cymograms, the lengths and the amplitudes of every vibration in 21 cases of disyllabic words pronounced separately were measured, and the tone height and the sound intensity in every vibration were calculated. The intensity was calculated by the formula $f = a^2 n^2$ or $f = a^2 / l^2$, in which f denotes the acoustic energy and a the amplitude of the vibration (provided we have a harmonic curve (sinusoidal) or the timbre vibrations on the curves are identical). This method of calculation (used at least for a century) is the best, at least in Russia.

Informant No. 1

1. *apa* ‘aunt’. The tone movement in the first vowel given in consecutive order in every vibration presented the following picture (cf. the schemes in the addenda): 128, 128, 125, 139, 135, 125, 125, 125, 128, 128, 119, 125, 125, 122, 122, 122 and 109 Hz. On the whole, there are 17 vibrations, the mean tone height of the vowel in



Examples from informant No. 1. Word 1 = *apa*. Word 2 = *apa*.

125 Hz, the maximal tone height is 139 Hz (in the fifth vibration) and the minimal tone is 109 Hz (the last vibration). After a short initial rise of c. 1 tone /H–c/ – (cis–d)/, the tone falls, with fluctuations, from 139 (in the third vibration) to 109 Hz (in the last vibration), the interval being c. 2 tones /cis–d/ – A/.

In the second vowel, the tone movement is as follows: 143, 143, 132, 128, 128, 125, 128, 132, 128, 125, 135, 132, 132, 132, 139, 135, 135, 143, 132, 135, 139, 135 and 139 Hz (23 vibrations in all). The mean tone is 133 Hz, the maximal is 143 Hz (first and 18th vibrations) and the minimal tone is 125 Hz (sixth and tenth vibrations). The tone, after a short fall from 143 Hz (first and second vibrations) to 125 Hz (sixth vibration), which makes an interval of 1½ tones /H–c/ – (cis–d)/, gradually rises, with fluctuations, to 143 Hz (in the 18th vibration), the interval being also 1½ tones, and then fluctuates between 132 and 139 Hz (half a tone).

The sound-intensity movement in the first vowel is as follows: 0,03, 0,10, 0,10, 0,22, 0,14, 0,25, 0,25, 0,27, 0,41, 0,31, 0,32, 0,38, 0,34, 0,29, 0,29, 0,31 and 0,25 RU. The mean sound intensity of the first vowel is 0,23 RU, the maximal is 0,41 RU (ninth vibration) and the minimal is 0,03 RU (first vibration). The intensity is, on the whole, rising: it rises with fluctuations from 0,03 (first vibration) to 0,41 RU (ninth vibration), after which it falls, also with fluctuations, to 0,25 RU (in the last vibration).

In the second vowel, the sound-intensity movement is as follows: 2,37, 0,29, 0,34, 0,31, 0,28, 0,34, 0,26, 0,30, 0,31, 0,27, 0,26, 0,34, 0,25, 0,20, 0,25, 0,24, 0,16, 0,12, 0,14, 0,16, 0,11, 0,07 and 0,08 RU. The mean intensity is 0,27 RU for vibrations 1–23 or 0,22 RU for vibrations 2–23. The maximal intensity is 0,34 RU (not counting

the first vibration, 2.37 RU), when the sound has not yet become stable. The intensity falls, with fluctuations, from 0.34 RU in the second vibration to 0.07 RU in the last but one vibration. $L_1 = 13.6$ cs; $L_2 = 17.2$ cs.

2. *apa* ‘aunt’. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 106, 122, 111, 114, 106, 109, 114, 109, 109, 106, 106, 104, 104 and 100 Hz (14 vibrations). The average is 109 Hz, the max. is 135 Hz (fifth vibration) and the min. is 100 Hz (last vibration). The tone rises from 106 to 122 Hz (= 1½ tones /Gis–H/) and then falls, with fluctuations, to 100 Hz, the interval being 1¾ tones /H – (G–Gis)/. The tone movement in the second vowel is as follows: 132, 128, 122, 114, 116, 111, 114, 116, 119, 114, 116, 116, 119, 116, 114, 119, 116, 116, 116, 122, 114, 119, 116, 119 and 114 Hz (26 vibrations). The average is 117 Hz, the max. 132 Hz (first vibration) and the min. 111 Hz (sixth vibration). The tone falls from 132 Hz (first vibration) to 111 (sixth vibration), the interval being 1½ tones /(c–cis) – (A–Ais)/, and then fluctuates between 114 and 119 Hz (once 122 Hz), which makes c. ½ tone /Ais – (Ais–H)/.

The intensity movement in the first vowel is as follows: 0.08, 0.35, 0.28, 0.25, 0.61, 0.45, 0.50, 0.42, 0.52, 0.49, 0.55, 0.42, 0.50 and 0.41 RU. The average is 0.40 RU, the max. 0.61 RU (fifth vibration) and the min. 0.08 RU (first vibration). The intensity rises from 0.08 (first vibration) to 0.61 RU (fifth vibration) with a fluctuation, and then it oscillates between 0.55 and 0.41 RU, with a slight tendency to fall. On the whole, the intensity is rising. The intensity movement in the second vowel is as follows: 0.08, 0.26, 0.37, 0.44, 0.62, 0.67, 0.56, 0.66, 0.81, 0.79, 0.77, 0.77, 0.66, 0.62, 0.56, 0.55, 0.42, 0.41, 0.26, 0.26, 0.26, 0.18, 0.11 0.11, 0.11 and 0.13 RU. The average is 0.44 RU, the max. 0.81 RU (ninth vibration) and the min. 0.08 RU (first vibration). The intensity rises from 0.08 RU (first vibration) to 0.81 RU (ninth vibration) and then gradually falls to 0.11 RU (23rd to 25th vibration).

3. *atta* ‘on horse’. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 143, 143, 147, 143, 143, 135, 147, 139, 139, 143, 143, 147, 143, 147, 156 and 161 Hz (16 vibrations). The average is 145 Hz, the max. 161 Hz (last vibration) and the min. 135 Hz (sixth vibration). The tone is, on the whole, rising: after an initial fall–rise from 147 to 135 Hz and again to 147 Hz, which makes ¾ tone, the tone rises from 139 Hz (eighth and ninth vibrations) to 161 Hz (last vibration), the interval being 1¼ tones /cis – e/. In the second vowel, the tone movement is as follows: 135, 135, 128, 125, 122, 119, 116, 116, 116, 119, 116, 116, 119, 119, 119, 116, 119, 119, 122, 122, 128, 114, 119, 116, 119, 119, 111 and 69 Hz (29 vibrations). The average is 118 Hz, the max. 135 Hz (first and second vibrations) and the min. 69 Hz (last vibration). The tone movement is, on the whole, falling: it falls from 135 Hz (first and second vibrations) to 116 Hz (seventh to ninth vibrations), which makes c. ½ tone, fluctuates mostly between 114 and 119 Hz (interval = c. ½ tone), then rises to 128 Hz and falls, with retardations, to 69 Hz, a fall which is equal to 5.5 tones /c – C/.

The intensity movement in the first vowel is as follows: 0.10, 0.32, 0.62, 0.83, 0.83, 0.94, 1.19, 1.21, 1.21, 1.0, 0.79, 0.88, 0.64, 0.50, 0.52 and 0.37 RU. The average is 0.71 RU, the max 1.21 RU (eighth and ninth vibrations) and the min. 0.10 RU (first vibration). The intensity movement is of a rising–falling character in the first vowel, the rise predominating: the tone rises from 0.10 RU (first vibration) to 1.21 RU (eighth and ninth vibration) and then falls to 0.37 RU (in the last vibration). In

the second vowel, the intensity is falling: after an initial rise from 0.84 (first vibration) to 1.17 RU (second and third), it falls, with retardations, to 0.01 RU (last vibration). The intensity movement is as follows: 0.84, 1.17, 1.17, 0.96, 0.77, 0.77, 0.66, 0.62, 0.62, 0.58, 0.58, 0.45, 0.40, 0.41, 0.38, 0.35, 0.37, 0.30, 0.23, 0.19, 0.17, 0.17, 0.13, 0.11, 0.11, 0.08, 0.08, 0.06 and 0.01. The average is 0.37, the max. 1.17 RU (second and third vibrations) and the min. 0.01 RU. $L_1 = 11.1$ cs; $L_2 = 32.4$ cs.

4. *atta* ‘on horse’. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 147, 147, 143, 139, 143, 143, 139, 143, 139, 147, 152, 152 and 179 Hz (13 vibrations). The average is 147 Hz, the max. 179 Hz (last vibration) and the min. 139 Hz (fourth, seventh and ninth vibrations). The tone movement is, on the whole, rising: it falls from 147 (first and second vibrations) to 139 Hz (fourth vibration), which makes $\frac{1}{2}$ tone /cis – (d-dis)/, fluctuates between 139 and 143 Hz, then rises from 139 Hz (ninth vibration) to 179 Hz (13th vibration), the interval being $\frac{3}{4}$ tones /(cis-d) – (f-fis)/. The tone movement in the second vowel is as follows: 102, 143, 143, 135, 119, 122, 122, 122, 116, 122, 116, 122, 122, 119, 119, 119, 125, 125, 119, 122, 125, 122, 128, 122 and 116 Hz (25 vibrations). The average is 122 Hz, the max 143 Hz (second and third vibrations) and the min. 102 Hz (first vibration). The tone is, on the whole, falling: it rises from 102 Hz (first vibration) to 143 (second and third vibrations), i.e. to over 3 tones /Gis – (cis-d)/, then falls to 119 Hz, the interval being $\frac{1}{2}$ tones /(cis-d) – (Ais-H)/, rises slightly, with fluctuations, to 128 Hz (23rd vibration) and then falls to 116 Hz (last vibration), the interval being 1 tone /c – Ais/.

The intensity movement in the first vowel is as follows: 0.28, 0.58, 0.86, 1.30, 1.17, 1.30, 1.37, 1.30, 1.06, 0.88, 0.94, 0.88 and 0.46 RU. The average is 0.94 RU, the max. 1.37 (seventh vibration) and the min. 0.28 RU (first vibration). The intensity is rising–falling: it rises from 0.28 RU (first vibration) with a fluctuation to 1.37 RU (seventh vibration) and then falls to 0.46 RU (last vibration). The intensity in the second vowel is as follows: 0.20, 2.04, 1.37, 1.35, 0.96, 0.86, 0.85, 0.86, 0.66, 0.64, 0.59, 0.72, 0.69, 0.50, 0.38, 0.27, 0.26, 0.25, 0.23, 0.12, 0.09, 0.12, 0.13, 0.07 and 0.06 RU. The average is 0.45 RU, the max. 2.04 RU (second vibration) or 1.37 RU (third vibration) and the min. 0.06 RU (last vibration). The intensity is predominantly falling: after a short rise from 0.20 RU (first vibration) to 2.04 RU (second vibration), it falls, with retardations, to 0.06 RU in the last vibration. $L_1 = 8.9$ cs; $L_2 = 20.5$ cs.

5. *takta* ‘board’. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 143, 143, 139, 132, 135, 132, 135, 135 and 135 Hz (10 vibrations). The average is 136 Hz, the max. 143 Hz (first and second vibrations) and the min. 132 (fourth and seventh vibrations). The tone is falling: it falls from 143 Hz (first and second vibrations) to 132 Hz, which makes an interval of $\frac{3}{4}$ tone /(cis-d) – (c-cis)/, and then fluctuates between 132 and 135 Hz. The tone in the second vowel is as follows: 147, 132, 139, 128, 125, 128, 128, 122, 132, 122, 128, 132, 132, 135, 132, 135, 135, 132, 139, 139, 128, 135, 143, 135, 128, 132 and 135 Hz (27 vibrations). The average is 132 Hz, the max. 147 Hz (first vibration) and the min. 122 Hz. The tone movement is falling–rising: it falls from 147 Hz in the first vibration, with fluctuations, to 122 Hz in the eighth and tenth vibrations, which makes an interval of 1 tone /(d-dis) – (c-cis)/, then the tone rises to 143 Hz (23rd vibration), the interval being $\frac{1}{2}$ tones /H – (cis-d)/, and then makes a final fall–rise.

The intensity movement in the first vowel is as follows: 1.00, 1.37, 1.77, 1.88, 1.23, 1.00, 1.17, 0.94, 0.90 and 0.17 RU. The average is 1.08 RU, the max. 1.88 RU (fourth vibration) and the min. 0.17 RU (last vibration). The intensity movement is rising–falling, the fall being predominant: it rises from 1.00 RU (first vibration) to 1.88 RU (fourth vibration), after which it falls, with a fluctuation, to 0.17 RU (in the last vibration). The intensity in the second vowel is as follows: 0.50, 0.85, 1.00, 0.67, 0.64, 0.59, 0.55, 0.50, 0.62, 0.46, 0.52, 0.55, 0.40, 0.38, 0.34, 0.38, 0.21, 0.25, 0.25, 0.18, 0.10, 0.10, 0.14, 0.09, 0.07, 0.04 and 0.04 RU. The average is 0.39 RU, the max. 1.00 (third vibration) and the min. 0.04 RU (26th and 27th vibrations). The intensity is, on the whole, falling: it rises from 0.50 RU in the first vibration to 1.00 RU in the third and then gradually falls, with fluctuations, to 0.04 RU in the last two vibrations. $L_1 = 7.3$ cs; $L_2 = 20.3$ cs.

6. *takta* ‘board’. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 172, 156, 152, 152, 161, 156, 161, 156, 161, 167, 152, 161 and 161 Hz (13 vibrations). The average is 159 Hz, the max. 172 Hz (first vibration) and the min. 152 Hz (third, fourth and 11th vibrations). The tone is mostly rising, with fluctuations: it falls from 172 Hz in the first vibration to 152 Hz in the third and fourth, which makes the interval 1 tone /f – (d-dis)/, then rises, with fluctuations, to 167 Hz (tenth vibration) and makes a final fall–rise. In the second vowel, the tone movement is as follows: 208, 135, 135, 132, 128, 122, 132, 125, 132, 128, 128, 125, 128, 132, 128, 128, 132, 128, 122, 128, 128, 128, 132, 122, 125, 125, 125, 125, 128, 125, 161 and 116 Hz (32 vibrations). The average is 128 Hz, the max. 208 Hz and the min. 116 Hz (last vibration). The tone is slightly falling, except for the initial, large fall and the final rise–fall, which can both be explained by the fact that the tone was not stable at the very beginning and at the very end of the vowel.

The sound intensity in the first vowel is as follows: 0.94, 2.96, 4.00, 4.75, 5.24, 4.12, 3.72, 3.06, 2.92, 2.16, 1.19, 0.86 and 0.41 RU. The average is 2.77 RU, the max. 5.24 RU (fourth vibration) and the min. 0.41 RU (last vibration). The intensity is rising–falling: it rises from 0.94 RU in the first vibration to 5.24 RU in the fourth and falls to 0.41 in the last vibration. The intensity in the second vowel is as follows: 0.92, 0.90, 1.61, 1.39, 1.17, 1.14, 1.35, 1.10, 1.10, 0.84, 0.81, 0.67, 0.67, 0.71, 0.67, 0.59, 0.61, 0.52, 0.46, 0.41, 0.38, 0.54, 0.25, 0.19, 0.14, 0.10, 0.09, 0.04, 0.02, 0.05, 0.06 and 0.04 RU. The average is 0.60 RU, the max. 1.61 RU (third vibration) and the min. 0.02 RU (29th vibration). The intensity is falling: after a short, initial rise from 0.90 RU (second vibration) to 1.61 RU (third vibration), the intensity falls, with fluctuations and retardations, to 0.02 RU in the 29th vibration and remains on nearly the same level.

The length of the first vowel (L_1) is 8.2 cs and that of the second vowel (L_2) is 24.7 cs.

7. *kadak* ‘nail’. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 357, 128, /125 × 2/, /122 × 2/, 132 Hz (7 vibrations). The average (for vibrations 2–7) is 126 Hz and the max 132 Hz (last vibration). For vibrations 1–7, the average is 160 Hz, the max. is 157 (first vibration) and the min. is 122 Hz. The tone is falling–rising. The initial fall from the first to the second vibration is probably the result of the fact that it has not yet become stable and cannot be taken into consideration. The average for the next six vibrations is 126 Hz. The tone movement in the second vowel is as

follows: 128, 132, 143, 135, 132, 135, 135, 132, 125, 128, 125 and 114 Hz (12 vibrations). The average is 130 Hz, the max. 143 Hz (third vibration) and the min. 114 Hz (last vibration). The tone is falling: after the initial rise from 128 to 143 Hz (= c. 1 tone /c–d/), the tone falls to 114 Hz, making an interval of 2 tones /d–Ais/.

The intensity movement in the first vowel is as follows: 2.25, 0.59, 0.56, 0.61, 0.61, 0.58 and 0.44 RU. The average for vibrations 2–7 is 0.56 RU and the max. is 0.61 (fourth and fifth vibrations), while the figure of 2.25 RU cannot be taken into consideration, as it differs too much and evidently results from the fact that the vowel has not yet become stable. The min. is 0.44 RU (last vibration). In the second vowel, the intensity movement is 0.26, 0.58, 1.30, 1.61, 1.59, 1.61, 1.74, 1.46, 1.17, 1.00, 0.72 and 0.41 RU. The average is 1.12, the max. 1.74 (seventh vibration) and the min. 0.41 (last vibration). The intensity is rising–falling: it rises from 0.26 (first vowel) to 1.74 (seventh vibration) and falls to 0.41 RU (last vibration). $L_1 = 5.5$ cs; $L_2 = 9.2$ cs.

8. *batkak* ‘swampy’. The tone of the first vowel is as follows: 116, 132, 132, 139, 132, 135, 139, 139, 139, 143, 139, 143 and 152 Hz (13 vibrations). The average is 137 Hz, the max. 152 Hz (last vibration) and the min. 116 Hz (first vibration). The tone is rising, with fluctuations from 116 Hz (first vibration) to 152 (last vibration), making an interval of 2½ tones /(d–dis) – Ais/. The tone in the second vowel is as follows: 139, 143, 135, 135, 132, 135, 125, 128, 128, 128, 125, 128, 125, 135, 125, 119, 122 and 122 Hz (18 vibrations). The average is 129 Hz, the max. 143 Hz (second vibration) and the min. 119 Hz (16th vibration). The tone is falling, with fluctuations, from 143 Hz (second vibration) to 119 Hz (16th vibration), which makes 1½ tones /d – (Ais–H)/.

The intensity movement in the first vowel is as follows: 0.18, 0.37, 0.46, 0.56, 0.58, 0.53, 0.56, 0.48, 0.77, 0.79, 0.37, 0.36 and 0.29 RU. The average is 0.48 RU, the max. 0.79 RU (tenth vibration) and the min. 0.18 RU (first vibration). The intensity is rising, not counting the final fall: it rises with a fluctuation from 0.18 (first vibration) to 0.79 RU (tenth vibration) and then falls to 0.29 RU (last vibration). The intensity of the second vowel is as follows: 0.18, 0.26, 0.35, 0.46, 0.40, 0.42, 0.25, 0.26, 0.31, 0.30, 0.35, 0.41, 0.34, 0.29, 0.25, 0.16, 0.14 and 0.10 RU. The average is 0.28 RU, the max. 0.46 (fourth vibration) and the min. 0.10 RU (last vibration). The intensity movement is rising–falling–rising–falling, the fall being predominant: it rises from 0.18 (first vibration) to 0.46 (fourth vibration), falls to 0.25 (sixth vibration), rises to 0.41 (11th vibration) and falls to 0.10 RU. $L_1 = 10.2$ cs; $L_2 = 13.9$ cs.

9. *batkak* ‘swampy’. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 102, 132, 132, 132, 135, 128, 132, 132, 128, 135, 128, 135 and 135 Hz (13 vibrations). The average is 130 Hz, the max. 135 Hz (fifth, tenth, 12th and 13th vibrations) and the min. 102 Hz (first vibration). Except for an initial rise, the tone fluctuates between 128 and 135 Hz. The tone movement in the second vowel is as follows: 135, 143, 139, 139, 135, 139, 135, 132, 132, 135, 128, 132, 128, 128 and 132 Hz (15 vibrations). The average is 134 Hz, the max. 143 Hz (second vibration) and the min. 128 Hz (11th, 13th and 14th vibrations). After a short initial rise (½ tone), the tone falls, with fluctuations, from 143 (in the second vibration) to 128 (in the 11th, 13th and 14th vibrations), making an interval of 1 tone /(cis–d) – c/.

The intensity movement in the first vowel is as follows: 0.02, 0.55, 0.79, 0.71, 0.85, 0.72, 0.76, 0.67, 0.48, 0.46, 0.41, 0.35 and 0.38 RU. The average is 0.55, the max. 0.85 (fifth vibration) and the min. 0.02 RU (first vibration). The intensity is rising–falling: it rises from 0.02 RU in the first vibration to 0.85 in the fifth vibration, and falls to 0.35 RU in the last vibration. In the second vowel, the intensity is as follows: 0.66, 0.88, 1.17, 1.42, 1.17, 1.17, 0.94, 0.94, 0.85, 1.00, 0.72, 0.62, 0.51, 0.37 and 0.20 RU. The average is 0.84 RU, the max. 1.42 (fourth vibration) and the min. 0.20 RU (last vibration). The intensity movement is rising–falling, the fall predominating: the intensity rises from 0.66 RU in the first vibration to 1.42 RU in the fourth vibration, then gradually falls to 0.20 RU in the last vibration. $L_1 = 10.1$ cs; $L_2 = 11.2$ cs.

10. *kapčək* ‘bag’. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 143, 147, 147, 143, 147, 147, 143, 152, 152, 147, 152 and 152 Hz (12 vibrations). The average is 148 Hz, the max. 152 Hz (eighth, ninth, 11th and 12th vibrations) and the min. 143 Hz (first, fourth and seventh vibrations). The tone is rising, with fluctuations, from 143 Hz (first vibration) to 152 Hz at the end, the interval being $\frac{1}{2}$ tone /cis–d) – dis/. The tone in the second vowel is as follows: 161, 132, 139, 139, 132, 139, 139, 139, 139, 135 and 152 Hz (11 vibrations). The average is 141 Hz, the max. 161 Hz (first vibration) and the min. 132 Hz (second and fifth vibrations). The tone is falling at the beginning and rising at the end, while for the most part it fluctuates between 132 and 139 Hz, the interval being c. $\frac{1}{2}$ tone /(c–cis) – (cis–d)/. The initial fall and the final rise can be explained by the fact that the tone is unstable in these positions.

The intensity movement in the first vowel is as follows: 0.21, 0.77, 1.19, 1.44, 1.66, 1.59, 1.59, 1.69, 1.61, 1.32, 1.19 and 0.45 RU. The average is 1.22 RU, the max. 1.69 RU (eighth vibration) and the min. 0.21 RU (first vibration). The intensity is rising–falling: it rises from 0.21 RU in the first vibration to 1.66 RU in the fifth and to 169 RU in the eighth, then falls to 0.45 RU in the last vibration. In the second vowel, the intensity movement is 1.00, 0.34, 0.60, 0.69, 0.69, 0.69, 0.66, 0.69, 0.66, 0.53 and 0.49 RU. The average is 0.64, the max. 1.00 (first vibration) and the min. 0.34 RU (second vibration) or 0.49 RU (last vibration). The intensity is rising–falling, not counting the initial fall from 1.00 RU (first vibration) to 0.34 RU (second vibration), which gives a falling character to the whole intensity movement in the second vowel. $L_1 = 8.1$ cs; $L_2 = 7.9$ cs.

11. *appak* ‘very white’. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 156, 156, 143, 147, 143, 143, 143, 147, 147, 156, 152, 147, 152, 152, 156 and 156 Hz (16 vibrations). The average is 149 Hz, the max. 156 Hz (first, second, 15th and 16th vibrations) and the min. 143 Hz (third, fifth, sixth and seventh vibrations). The tone is, on the whole, rising from 143 Hz (third vibration) to 156 Hz (last vibration), which makes the interval $\frac{3}{4}$ tone /cis–d) – (dis–e)/, not counting the short initial fall from 156 to 143 Hz (= $\frac{3}{4}$ tone). The tone movement in the second vowel is as follows: 161, 143, 143, 135, 132, 132, 128, 128, 128, 132, 135, 135, 132, 132, 135, 135, 132 and 143 Hz (19 vibrations). The average is 135 Hz, the max. 161 Hz (first vibration) and the min. 128 Hz (eighth, ninth and tenth vibrations). The tone is falling–rising: it falls from 161 Hz (first vibration) to 128 Hz (eighth, ninth and tenth vibrations), which makes the interval 2 tones /e–c/, and then rises, with fluctuations, to

143 Hz, the interval being $\frac{3}{4}$ tone /c – (cis–d)/. On the whole, the tone is more falling than rising.

The intensity in the first vowel is as follows: 0.17, 0.45, 0.64, 0.83, 1.00, 1.37, 1.44, 1.32, 1.51, 1.99, 1.85, 1.90, 1.69, 1.85, 1.99 and 1.35 RU. The average is 1.33 RU, the max. 1.99 RU (tenth and 15th vibrations) and the min. 0.17 RU (first vibration). On the whole, the intensity is rising, with a fluctuation, except for the final fall in the last vibration: it rises from 0.17 RU (first vibration) to 1.99 RU (tenth and 15th vibrations), after which it falls to 1.35 RU. In the second vowel, the intensity movement is 0.18, 0.50, 0.69, 0.85, 0.85, 0.79, 0.90, 0.72, 0.85, 0.81, 0.79, 0.89, 0.74, 0.90, 0.79, 0.71, 0.53, 0.40 and 0.26 RU. The average is 0.69 RU, the max. 0.90 RU (seventh and 14th vibrations) and the min. 0.18 RU (first vibration). The intensity is of a falling–rising character: it rises from 0.18 RU (first vibration) to 0.85 RU (fourth and fifth vibrations), the fluctuates between 0.72 and 0.90 RU, after which it falls from 0.90 RU in the 14th vibration to 0.26 RU in the last vibration. $L_1 = 10.7$ cs; $L_2 = 14.1$ cs.

11. *appak* ‘very white’. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 161, 143, 139, 143, 139, 139, 139, 147, 143, 143, 143, 147, 147, 147, 147 and 156 Hz (17 vibrations). The average is 145 Hz, the max. 161 Hz (first vibration) and the min. 139 Hz (third, fifth, sixth and seventh vibrations). The tone is, on the whole, rising, except at the very beginning, when it falls from 161 Hz (first vibration) to 139 Hz (third vibration), which makes the interval $1\frac{1}{4}$ tones /dis–e) – (cis–d)/, then the tone rises to 156 Hz in the last vibration. The tone in the second vowel is as follows: 152, 143, 135, 132, 132, 135, 125, 128, 128, 125, 135, 128, 128, 128, 135, 128 and 139 Hz (17 vibrations). The average is 133 Hz, the max. 152 Hz (first vibration) and the min. 125 Hz (seventh and tenth vibrations). The tone movement is falling–rising: it falls from 152 Hz (first vibration) to 125 Hz (seventh and tenth vibrations), making the interval $1\frac{3}{4}$ tones /dis – (H–c)/, then rises, with fluctuations, to 139 Hz, the interval being c. 1 tone /(A–c) – (cis–d)/.

The intensity movement of the first vowel is as follows: 0.18, 0.46, 0.69, 0.94, 1.06, 1.17, 1.30, 1.59, 1.59, 1.64, 1.64, 2.07, 2.16, 1.90, 1.82, 1.82 and 1.42 RU. The average is 1.38 RU, the max. 2.16 RU (13th vibration) and the min. 0.18 RU (first vibration). The intensity is predominantly rising: it rises from 0.18 RU (first vibration) to 2.16 RU (13th vibration), after which it falls to 1.42 RU in the last vibration. In the second vowel, the intensity movement is 0.72, 1.30, 1.23, 1.35, 1.59, 1.61, 1.21, 1.28, 1.17, 1.00, 1.17, 0.94, 0.76, 0.45, 0.36, 0.26 and 0.19 RU. The average is 0.98 RU, the max. 1.61 RU (sixth vibration) and the min. 0.19 RU (last vibration). The intensity is predominantly falling: it rises, with a fluctuation, from 0.72 RU (first vibration) to 1.61 RU (sixth vibration), then gradually falls, with two fluctuations, to 0.19 RU in the last vibration. $L_1 = 11.7$ cs; $L_2 = 12.8$ cs.

13. *baka* ‘frog’. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 92, 109, 102, 106, 104, 106, 104, 104, 104, 100 and 98 Hz (12 vibrations). The average is 103 Hz, the max. 109 Hz (second vibration) and the min. 92 (first vibration). The tone is slightly falling, except for the short initial rise: it rises from 92 Hz (first vibration) to 109 Hz (second vibration), then falls to 98 Hz in the last vibration, making the interval c. 1 tone /A – (G–Gis)/. The tone in the second vowel is as follows:

125, 116, 114, 109, 106, 106, 109, 109, 104, 109, 106, 111, 104, 109, 114, 104, 114, 114, 114, 114, 132, 116, 119, 111, 111, 116, 119, 119 and 104 Hz (30 vibrations). The average is 112 Hz, the max. 132 Hz (22nd vibration) and the min. 104 Hz (ninth, 13th, 16th and 30th vibrations). The tone is falling–rising–falling: it falls from 125 Hz (first vibration) to 106 Hz (fifth and sixth vibrations), the interval being 1½ tones /H–c/ – (Gis–A)/, then it gradually rises, with fluctuations, to 132 Hz (22nd vibration), the interval being c. 2 tones /Gis–A/ – (c–cis)/, after which it falls to 104 Hz (last vibration), the interval being 1¼ tones /(c–cis) – Ais/.

The intensity movement in the first vowel is as follows: 0.11, 0.49, 0.40, 0.41, 0.45, 0.49, 0.62, 0.62, 0.38, 0.41, 0.36 and 0.11 RU. The average is 0.40 RU, the max. 0.62 RU (seventh and eighth vibrations). The intensity is, on the whole, rising–falling, with fluctuations. It rises from 0.11 RU (first vibration) to 0.62 RU (seventh and eighth vibrations) and then falls to 0.11 in the last vibration. The intensity movement in the second vowel is: 0.27, 0.55, 0.56, 0.53, 0.52, 0.46, 0.48, 0.48, 0.45, 0.58, 0.62, 0.64, 0.50, 0.53, 0.48, 0.38, 0.41, 0.35, 0.30, 0.27, 0.25, 0.22, 0.21, 0.11, 0.06, 0.05, 0.04, 0.04, 0.04 and 0.01 RU. The average is 0.34 RU, the max. 0.64 RU (12th vibration) and the min. 0.01 RU (last vibration). The intensity is rising–falling, the fall being predominant: it rises from 0.27 RU (first vibration) to 0.56 RU in the third vibration, falls to 0.45 RU (ninth vibration), then rises to 0.64 RU (12th vibration), and gradually falls, with some fluctuations, to 0.01 RU in the last vibration. $L_1 = 11.7$ cs; $L_2 = 26.9$ cs.

14. *baka* ‘frog’. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 200, 114, 116, 111, 111, 114, 114, 114, 119, 116, 116, 116, 114, 116 and 114 Hz (15 vibrations). The average is 114 Hz, the max. 200 Hz (first vibration) and the min. 111 Hz (second vibration). Except for the initial fall, when the vowel has not yet become stable, the tone is slightly rising and fluctuates between 111 and 119 Hz, the interval being c. ¾ tone /(A–Ais) – (Ais–H)/. The tone movement in the second vowel is: 125, 125, 122, 125, 132, 125, 128, 132, 128, 128, 135, 128, 128, 132, 132, 132, 132, 132, 128, 128, 132, 135, 128, 122, 128, 132, 119, 125, 114 and 104 Hz (31 vibrations). The average is 127 Hz, the max. 135 Hz (11th and 23rd vibrations) and the min. 104 Hz (last vibration). The tone is rising–falling, the fall being predominant: it rises from 122 Hz (third vibration) to 135 Hz (11th vibration) (= c. 1 tone /H – (c–cis)/), remains between 128 and 132 Hz (12th–22nd vibrations) and then falls from 135 (23rd vibration) to 104 Hz (last vibration), the interval being 2¼ tones /(c–cis) – Gis/.

The intensity movement in the first vowel is as follows: 0.41, 0.20, 0.21, 0.31, 0.38, 0.37, 0.43, 0.53, 0.66, 0.45, 0.45, 0.45, 0.62, 0.45 and 0.27 RU. The average is 0.43 RU, the max. 0.66 RU (ninth vibration) and the min. 0.20 RU (second vibration). The intensity is falling–rising–falling, the rise being predominant: it falls from 0.41 (in the first vibration) to 0.20 RU (second vibration), then rises to 0.66 RU (ninth vibration), and after a fall to 0.45 RU (11th and 12th vibrations) rises to 0.62 RU (13th vibration); it falls to 0.27 RU in the last vibration. The intensity in the second vowel is: 0.23, 0.49, 0.64, 0.85, 0.94, 0.77, 0.72, 0.71, 0.59, 0.48, 0.42, 0.38, 0.35, 0.30, 0.25, 0.18, 0.22, 0.18, 0.14, 0.13, 0.10, 0.10, 0.10, 0.10, 0.08, 0.10, 0.08, 0.07, 0.05, 0.03 and 0.02 RU. The average is 0.32 RU, the max. 0.94 RU (fifth vibration) and the min. 0.02 RU (last vibration). The intensity movement is rising–

falling, with the fall predominating: it rises from 0.23 RU (first vibration) to 0.94 RU (fifth vibration), and gradually falls to 0.02 RU in the last vibration. $L_1 = 13.1$ cs; $L_2 = 24.4$ cs.

Informant No. 2

1. *apa* 'aunt'. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 278, 263, 263, 263, 278, 263, 278, 278, 294, 278, 294, 278, 294, 294, 278, 278, 294, 294, 294, 294, 294, 294, 294, 385, and 312 Hz (26 vibrations). The average is 288 Hz, the max. 385 Hz (25th vibration) and the min. 263 Hz (second, third, fourth and sixth vibrations). The tone is rising, with fluctuations, from 263 Hz (second, third and fourth vibrations) to 294 Hz (18th–24th vibrations etc.), after which it makes a leap to 385 Hz in the last but one vibration ($2\frac{1}{4}$ tones) and falls to 312 Hz in the last vibration ($1\frac{3}{4}$ tones). The tone movement in the second vowel is: 312, 294, 357, 278, 294, 333, 357, 333, 312, 333, 357, 333, 333, 333, 385, 333, 333, 357, 357, 333, 385, 357, 357, 385, 357, 357, 385, 357, 385, 333, 385, 357, 357, 417, 357, 385, 385, 357, 385, 357, 385, 357, 385, 357, 385, 357, 417, 357, 357, 385, 385, 385, 357, 385 and 385 Hz (61 vibrations). The average is 358 Hz, the max. 417 Hz (38th and 51st vibrations) and the min. 278 Hz (fourth vibration). The tone is rising, with fluctuations, from 278 Hz (fourth vibration) to 417 Hz (38th and 51st vibrations), which makes $3\frac{1}{2}$ tones /(*cis*¹–*d*¹) – (*gis*¹–*a*¹)/.

The intensity movement in the first vowel is as follows: 0.69, 0.81, 1.21, 1.46, 2.59, 2.50, 4.00, 4.93, 5.71, 7.95, 7.13, 9.00, 8.41, 10.43, 10.89, 10.05, 10.37, 12.89, 12.89, 12.89, 12.46, 12.04, 11.63, 11.6, 9.92 and 6.25 RU. The average is 7.72 RU, the max. 12.89 RU (18th–20th vibrations) and the min. 0.69 RU. The intensity of the first vowel is predominantly rising: it rises from 0.69 RU in the first vibration to 12.89 RU in the 18th–20th vibrations and then falls to 6.25 RU in the last vibration. The intensity in the second vowel is: 1.12, 1.25, 3.20, 2.07, 3.76, 5.11, 6.25, 7.13, 6.86, 9.00, 9.42, 7.84, 7.45, 8.58, 8.24, 7.84, 7.45, 9.92, 7.45, 7.45, 7.78, 7.78, 6.40, 9.49, 7.34, 6.60, 7.67, 6.60, 6.60, 6.92, 5.57, 6.45, 6.05, 3.72, 5.66, 5.24, 5.24, 7.13, 4.58, 5.34, 5.34, 3.46, 4.00, 3.72, 4.33, 4.00, 4.62, 4.00, 4.33, 3.46, 4.71, 3.20, 2.46, 2.59, 2.37, 2.13, 1.51, 1.17, 1.00, 0.85 and 0.48 RU. The average is 5.23 RU, the max. 9.46 RU (11th and 24th vibrations) and the min. 0.48 RU. The intensity is predominantly falling: after an initial rise from 1.12 RU (first vibration) to 9.42 RU (11th vibration), the intensity gradually falls, with fluctuations, from 9.92 RU (18th vibration) to 0.48 RU in the last (61st) vibration. $L_1 = 9.1$ cs; $L_2 = 17.4$ cs.

2. *ata* 'father'. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 312, 294, 294, 278, 278, 312, 294, 294, 278, 312, 294, 294, 312, 278, /312 × 10/, 333, 385 and 357 Hz (28 vibrations). The average is 308 Hz, the max. 385 Hz (27th vibration) and the min. 278 Hz (fifth, sixth, tenth and 15th vibrations). The tone is falling–rising, the rise being predominant: it falls from 312 Hz (first vibration) to 278 Hz (third vibration) the interval being 1 tone /(*dis*¹–*e*¹) – (*cis*¹–*d*¹)/, then it rises, with fluctuations, to 385 Hz in the last but one (27th) vibration, the interval being $2\frac{3}{4}$ tones /(*cis*¹–*d*¹) – (*fis*¹–*g*¹)/. The tone movement in the second vowel is: 357, 417, 357, 333, 385, 357, 357, 385, 385, 357, 357, 385, 357, 357, 385, 357, 357, 385, 357, 357, 385, 357, 357, 385, 357, 357, 385, 357, 357, 385, 357, 357, 385, /417 × 6/, 417, 357, 385, 385, /417 × 5/, 385, 417, 385, 417, 385, /417 × 5/, 385, /417 × 5/.

$\times 6/$, 385, $/417 \times 6/$, 454, 417, 385, $/417 \times 3/$, 385, 417, 385 and 417 Hz (69 vibrations). The average is 396 Hz, the max. 454 Hz (60th vibration) and the min. 333 Hz (fourth vibration). The tone is slightly rising, with fluctuations, from 333 Hz (fourth vibration) to 454 Hz (60th vibration), the interval being $2\frac{1}{4}$ tones $/(c^1-f^1)-(a^1-h^1)/$, after which the tone fluctuates between 385 and 417 Hz ($= \frac{1}{4}$ tone, $/g^1-(gis^1-a^1)/$).

The intensity movement in the first vowel is as follows: 0.66, \leftrightarrow 1.12, 1.25, 1.66, 2.07, 3.17, 5.66, 5.24, 6.10, 8.01, 12.25, 12.04, 13.32, 17.56, 14.29, 18.06, 18.06, 20.25, 18.58, 19.71, 18.58, 19.18, 18.58, 19.18, 20.25, 21.81, 19.89 and 19.01 RU. The average is 12.70 RU, the max. 21.81 RU (26th vibration) and the min. 0.66 RU (first vibration). The intensity is rising from 0.66 (first vibration) to 21.81 RU (26th vibration), after which it falls to 19.01 RU in the last vibration. The intensity in the second vowel is: 1.14, 3.69, 6.97, 6.76, 9.00, 6.60, 9.00, 11.42, 11.97, 10.30, 11.76, 14.82, 10.30, 12.25, 14.82, 11.29, 14.06, 8.58, 11.42, 12.25, 9.92, 9.00, 9.00, 7.67, 7.24, 7.67, 9.00, 6.25, 6.86, 6.86, 8.01, 7.56, 6.66, 6.25, 6.25, 5.34, 6.25, 5.34, 6.25, 5.24, 6.25, 6.25, 5.06, 5.06, 5.06, 4.33, 5.06, 5.43, 4.71, 4.71, 4.00, 3.69, 3.13, 3.06, 2.79, 2.79, 2.25, 2.25, 2.25, 2.10, 1.37, 1.32, 1.37, 1.37, 1.00, 0.85, 0.85, 0.59 and 0.45 RU. The average is 6.24 RU, the max. 14.82 RU (15th vibration) and the min. 0.45 RU (last vibration). The intensity movement is rising–falling the fall predominating: it rises from 1.14 RU (first vibration) to 14.82 RU (15th vibration), then gradually falls to 0.45 RU in the last (69th) vibration, always with fluctuations. $L_1 = 9.5$ cs; $L_2 = 17.5$ cs.

3. *atta* ‘on horse’. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 312, 312, 278, 312, 250, 294, 294, 312, 278, 294, 294, 312, 294, 312, 312, 294, 312, 333, 312, 312, 333, 312, 312, 333, 312, \leftrightarrow 333, 333, 454 and 312 Hz (31 vibrations). The average is 312 Hz, the max. 454 Hz (30th vibration) and the min. 250 Hz (fifth vibration). The tone is slightly rising, with fluctuations: after an initial fall from 312 Hz (first vibration) to 250 Hz (15th vibration), which makes c. 2 tones $/(dis^1-e^1)-(h-c^1)/$, the tone gradually rises and at the end leaps to 454 Hz, after which it falls to 312 Hz. The tone movement in the second vowel is: 383, 454, 333, 385, 385, 357, 385, 385, 357, 385, 357, 385, 385, 385, 385, 357, 385, 385, 385, 417, 385, 357, 385, 385, 417, 385, 417, 385, 417, 417, 417, 417, 357, 417, 417, 385, 417, 385, 417, 357, 454, 417, 385, 417, 385, 417, 385, 417, 385, 417, 417, 385, 417, 417, 417 and 417 Hz (60 vibrations). The average is 393 Hz, the max. 454 Hz (second, 44th and 54th vibrations) and the min. 333 Hz (third vibration). The tone movement is slightly rising, with fluctuations, from 333 Hz (third vibration) to 454 Hz (second, 44th and 54th vibrations). After an initial rise–fall from 385 Hz (first vibration) to 454 Hz (second vibration), then to 333 Hz (third vibration), the tone is gradually rising from 385 Hz (fourth and fifth vibrations) to 417 Hz (last four vibrations), the interval being $\frac{3}{4}$ tone $/(fis^1-g^1)-(gis^1-a^1)/$, not counting the fluctuations. If we count the fluctuations, the tone rise will be from 333 Hz (third vibration) to 454 Hz (44th and 54th vibrations), which makes $3\frac{1}{2}$ tones $/(c^1-f^1)-(h^1-c^2)/$. The fluctuations are mostly c. $\frac{3}{4}$ tone.

The intensity movement in the first vowel is as follows: 0.38, 0.77, 1.00, 1.56, 1.32, 2.72, 3.53, 5.06, 4.93, 7.34, 7.67, 10.18, 10.82, 13.62, 12.89, 15.05, 15.05, 14.59, 15.52, 17.06, 16.00, 15.52, 17.64, 14.52, 15.52, 18.23, 14.52, 16.00, 11.09, 8.47 and 2.43 RU. The average is 10.03 RU, the max. 18.23 RU (26th vibration) and

the min. 0.38 RU (first vibration). The intensity is predominantly rising, with a final fall. It rises, with fluctuations, from 0.38 RU (first vibration) to 18.23 RU (26th vibration), then falls to 2.43 RU (31st vibration). The intensity movement in the second vowel is: 2.37, 9.00, 6.76, 7.67, 9.00, 8.18, 11.97, 12.53, 11.42, 11.76, 14.21, 11.76, 13.10, 11.97, 11.42, 10.96, 9.00, 9.49, 7.67, 8.53, 8.53, 9.00, 6.86, 5.90, 6.86, 7.67, 6.86, 8.01, 5.34, 7.13, 5.34, 5.34, 5.38, 5.43, 5.43, 4.00, 5.38, 5.43, 4.62, 5.43, 4.62, 4.71, 3.46, 5.02, 4.33, 4.00, 3.35, 2.37, 2.25, 1.90, 1.77, 1.32, 1.37, 1.61, 0.72, 0.59, 0.56, 0.45, 0.45 and 0.34 RU. The average is 6.13 RU, the max. 14.21 RU (11th vibration) and the min. 0.34 RU (last vibration). The intensity is predominantly falling, except for the initial rise. It rises from 2.37 RU (first vibration) to 14.21 RU (11th vibration), then gradually falls to 0.34 RU in the last vibration, always with fluctuations. $L_1 = 10.0$ cs; $L_2 = 15.8$ cs.

4. *kadak* ‘nail’. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 278, 278, 294, 278, /294 × 5/, 278, 312, 294, 312, 278, 333, 278, 294, 333, 278, 294, 312, 294, 312, 294, 312, 294, 312, 312, 278, 312, 312, 333, 312, 294, 192 and 185 Hz (36 vibrations). The average is 293 Hz, the max. 333 Hz (15th, 18th and 32nd vibrations) and the min. 185 Hz (last vibration). The tone is slightly rising, from 278 Hz (first vibration) to 333 Hz (15th, 18th and 32nd vibrations), the interval being 1½ tones / (cis¹–d¹) – (e¹–f¹). The tone in the second vowel is: 294, 294, 294, 278, 294, 312, 278, /312 × 4/, 333, 312, 357, 312, 333, 312, /333 × 4/, 357, 333, 333, 357, 333, 333, 385, 333, 357, 333, 385, 333, /357 × 5/, 385, 333, 357, 385, 333, 417, 357, 357, 385, 385, 357, 357, 385, 385, 357, 357, 385, 357, 385, 357, 385, 357, 385, 357, 417, 357, 357, 357, 333, 385, 357, 312, 357 and 333 Hz (68 vibrations). The average is 345 Hz, the max. 417 Hz (45th and 60th vibrations) and the min. 278 Hz (fourth vibration). The tone is gradually rising, with fluctuations, from 278 Hz (fourth and seventh vibrations) to 417 Hz (45th and 60th vibrations), the interval being c. 4 tones / (cis¹–d¹) – (a¹–ais¹), after which there is a final fall, also with fluctuations.

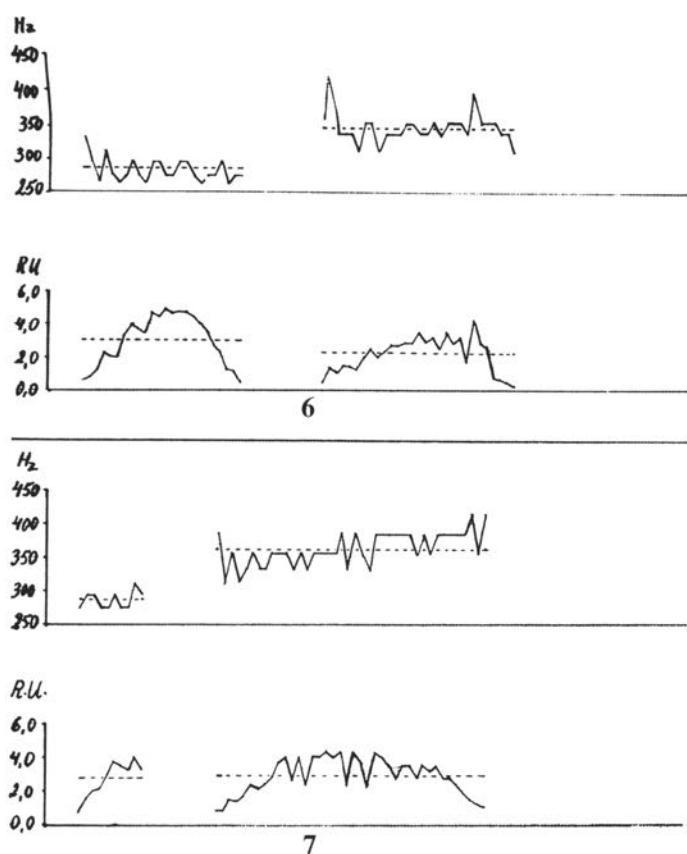
The intensity movement in the first vowel is: 4.93, 3.35, 7.02, 9.36, 15.05, 16.97, 18.92, 20.52, 20.52, 18.66, 23.14, 19.98, 21.34, 17.81, 23.72, 17.39, 17.89, 23.04, 16.00, 16.48, 18.06, 16.00, 16.97, 16.00, 16.97, 16.48, 18.58, 19.18, 13.03, 18.58, 18.06, 19.36, 14.06, 10.11, 4.00 and 3.03 RU. The average is 15.84 RU, the max. 23.72 RU (15th vibration) and the min. 3.03 RU (last vibration) or 3.35 RU (second vibration). The intensity is rising–falling, with some predominance of the fall. It rises from 3.35 RU (second vibration) to 23.72 RU (15th vibration), then falls, with fluctuations, to 3.03 RU in the last (36th) vibration. The intensity movement in the second vowel is: 2.72, 4.00, 4.49, 4.93, 6.71, 9.00, 8.01, 11.83, 14.06, 14.06, 16.00, 18.75, 16.48, 22.18, 15.52, 17.06, 15.05, 16.00, 16.56, 16.00, 16.00, 17.14, 14.98, 12.46, 14.98, 12.46, 11.56, 14.82, 11.09, 10.82, 9.00, 11.42, 8.58, 9.00, 9.00, 9.00, 8.58, 8.58, 7.67, 7.84, 7.34, 8.12, 5.76, 8.53, 6.25, 6.60, 8.12, 7.67, 6.25, 6.60, 7.24, 6.81, 6.25, 5.24, 6.81, 6.60, 8.12, 5.90, 8.01, 5.90, 5.57, 4.88, 3.24, 2.86, 1.82, 0.77, 0.86 and 0.45 RU. The average is 9.30 RU, the max. 22.18 RU (14th vibration) and the min. 0.45 RU last (68th) vibration. In greater part of the vowel, the intensity is falling: it rises from 2.72 RU (first vibration) to 22.18 RU (14th vibration), then falls to 0.45 RU in the last (68th) vibration, always with fluctuations. $L_1 = 12.0$ cs; $L_2 = 19.8$ cs.

5. *appak* ‘very white’. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 312,

263, 263, 250, 263, 263, 278, 278, 294, 294, 312, 312, 312, / $333 \times 7/$, 357, 357, 333, 385, 357, 357, 385, 385, 385, 417 and 385 Hz (32 vibrations). The average is 326 Hz, the max. 417 Hz (31st vibration) and the min. 250 Hz (fourth vibration). The tone is rising: after a short initial fall from 312 Hz (first vibration) to 250 Hz (fourth vibration) (= c. 2 tones $/(d^1-e^1)-(h-c^1)/$), the tone rises to 417 Hz (31st vibration, the last but one), which makes the interval $4\frac{1}{4}$ tones $/(h-c^1)-(gis^1-a^1)/$, and then falls to 385 Hz in the last vibration (c. half a tone). The tone in the second vowel is: 417, 357, 357, 385, 357, / $385 \times 4/$, 417, 357, 415, 385, 385, 385, 417, 385, 357, 357, 417, 383, 385, 385, 417 / $385 \times 4/$, 417, 385, 417, 357, 454, 385, 417, 385, 417, 417, 333, 417, 385, 417, 385, 385, 417, 333, 357, 357, 312 and 357 Hz (52 vibrations). The average is 385 Hz, the max. 454 Hz (33rd vibration) and the min. 312 Hz (51st vibration, i.e. the last but one). The tone fluctuates on one and the same level and falls only at the end. It fluctuates mostly between 417 and 357 or 385 Hz, which makes $1\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ tones, and falls at the end from 417 Hz in the 47th vibration to 312 Hz in the last but one vibration (the 51st).

The intensity in the first vowel is: 0.77, 0.79, 0.79, 0.90, 1.77, 2.02, 3.35, 4.45, 6.10, 6.10, 7.56, 6.86, 6.55, 6.25, 6.76, 6.76, 7.45, 6.76, 7.13, 7.13, 6.40, 7.73, 6.97, 6.40, 8.12, 6.25, 5.90, 6.05, 6.05, 6.05, 6.25 and 3.69 RU. The average is 5.38 RU, the max. 8.12 RU (25th vibration) and the min. 0.77 RU (first vibration). The intensity is more rising than falling: it rises from 0.77 RU (first vibration) to 7.56 RU (11th vibration), then fluctuates between 7.73 RU and 6.25 RU, and finally falls from 8.12 RU (25th vibration), with a retardation, to 3.69 RU (32nd vibration). The intensity in the second vowel is: 0.85, 0.74, 1.30, 2.13, 1.46, 2.86, 3.42, 4.33, 5.34, 5.86, 4.28, 5.43, 4.62, 4.97, 4.62, 6.25, 6.05, 4.28, 4.00, 6.50, 4.62, 4.62, 5.34, 6.25, 5.34, 5.66, 4.62, 4.62, 5.43, 4.97, 6.25, 4.88, 6.50, 4.62, 5.43, 8.01, 5.86, 5.43, 5.43, 2.56, 5.43, 4.62, 5.06, 4.62, 4.62, 5.06, 3.69, 1.77, 1.00, 0.86, 0.56 and 0.50 RU. The average is 4.30 RU, the max. 8.01 RU (36th vibration) and the min. 0.50 RU (52nd vibration, the last) or 0.74 RU (second vibration). The intensity rises from 0.74 RU (second vibration) to 5.86 RU (tenth vibration), the fluctuates mostly between 6.50 and 4.28 RU, after which it rises to a maximum of 8.01 RU (36th vibration) and falls, with fluctuations, to 0.50 RU in the last (52nd) vibration. On the whole, the intensity fluctuates on approximately one level, except for the initial rise and the final fall. $L_1 = 10.0$ cs; $L_2 = 13.5$ cs.

6. *kašək* ‘spoon’. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 333, 294, 263, 312, 278, 263, 278, 294, 278, 263, 294, 294, 278, 294, 294, 278, 263, 278, 278, 294, 263, 278 and 278 Hz (24 vibrations). The average is 283 Hz, the max. 333 Hz (first vibration) and the min. 263 Hz (third, sixth, tenth, 18th and 22nd vibrations). The tone fluctuates mostly between 294 and 263 Hz, the interval being c. $1\frac{1}{4}$ tones $/(d^1-dis^1)-(c^1-cis^1)/$, not counting the initial fall–rise from 333 Hz (first vibration) to 263 (third vibration) and to 312 Hz (fourth vibration), which makes c. 2 tones and $1\frac{1}{2}$ tones respectively. The tone in the second vowel is: 357, 417, 333, 333, 333, 312, 357, 357, 312, 333, 333, 333, 357, 357, 333, 333, 357, 333, 357, 357, 357, 333, 385, 357, 357, 357, 333, 333 and 312 Hz (29 vibrations). The average is 345 Hz, the max. 417 Hz (second vibration) and the min. 312 Hz (sixth, ninth and 29th vibrations). The tone rises from 357 Hz (first vibration) to 417 (second vibration), the interval being $1\frac{3}{4}$ tones, then falls, with retardation, to 312 Hz (sixth vibra-



Examples from informant No. 2. Word 6 = *kašək*. Word 7 = *kətəp*.

tion), the interval being 2½ tones, fluctuates (slightly rising) and reaches 385 Hz (23rd vibration), the rise covering in general 312–385 Hz (= c. 2 tones /dis¹ – (g¹ – gis¹)/), after which it falls, with retardation, to 312 Hz in the last vibration (c. 2 tones).

The intensity movement in the first vowel is as follows: 0.64, 0.88, 1.21, 2.25, 2.07, 2.02, 3.35, 4.00, 3.76, 3.57, 4.75, 4.49, 4.93, 4.71, 4.75, 4.75, 4.45, 4.00, 3.57, 2.79, 2.34, 1.21, 1.12 and 0.45 RU. The average is 3.00 RU, the max. 4.93 RU (13th vibration) and the min. 0.45 RU (last vibration) or 0.64 RU (first vibration). The intensity is rising-falling: it rises from 0.64 (first vibration) to 4.93 RU (13th vibration), then gradually falls to 0.45 RU in the last (24th) vibration. The intensity in the second vowel is: 0.41, 1.37, 1.14, 1.44, 1.44, 1.25, 2.04, 2.46, 2.07, 2.34, 2.79, 2.79, 2.92, 2.92, 3.50, 2.99, 3.20, 2.56, 3.46, 2.92, 3.20, 2.79, 4.33, 2.92, 2.46, 0.86, 0.76, 0.53 and 0.38 RU. The average is 2.19 RU, the max. 4.33 RU (23rd vibration) and the min. 0.38 RU (last vibration) or 0.41 RU (first vibration). The intensity is rising, with fluctuations, from 0.41 RU (first vibration) to 4.33 RU (23rd vibration), after which it falls to 0.38 RU in the last vibration. $L_1 = 8.5$ cs; $L_2 = 8.5$ cs.

7. *kətəp* 'waiting'. The tone movement in the first vowel is as follows: 278, 294, 294, 278, 278, 294, 278, 278, 312 and 294 Hz (10 vibrations). The average is 288

Hz, the max. 312 Hz (ninth vibration) and the min. 278 Hz (first, fourth, fifth, seventh and eighth vibrations). The tone fluctuates between 278 and 294 Hz, the interval being *c.* half a tone $/(cis^1-d^1)-(d^1-dis^1)/$, and only in the last but one vibration does the tone rise from 278 to 312 Hz, making the interval *c.* 1 tone $/(cis^1-d^1)-(dis^1-e^1)/$, after which it falls to 294 Hz, the interval being *c.* $\frac{1}{2}$ tone $/(d^1-dis^1)-(cis^1-d^1)/$. On the whole, the tone is slightly rising. The tone movement in the second vowel is: 385, 312, 357, 312, 333, 357, 333, 333, 357, 357, 357, 312, 357, 333, /357 $\times 4/$, 385, 333, 385, 357, 333, /385 $\times 6/$, 357, 385, 357, /385 $\times 5/$, 417, 357 and 417 Hz (40 vibrations). The average is 363 Hz, the max. 417 Hz (38th and 40th vibrations) and the min. 312 Hz (second and fourth vibrations). The tone is slightly rising with fluctuations: it rises from 312 Hz (second and fourth vibrations) to 417 Hz (38th and 40th vibrations), the interval being $2\frac{1}{2}$ tones $/(dis^1-e^1)-(gis^1-a^1)$.

The intensity movement in the first vowel is as follows: 0.69, 1.51, 1.99, 2.10, 2.79, 3.76, 3.57, 3.35, 4.00 and 3.31 RU. The average is 2.70 RU, the max. 4.00 RU (ninth vibration) and the min. 0.69 RU (first vibration). The intensity rises from 0.69 RU (first vibration) to 4.00 RU in the last but one vibration, after which it falls slightly (to 3.31 in the last vibration). The intensity movement in the second vowel is: 0.72, 0.76, 1.46, 1.42, 1.77, 2.25, 2.16, 2.34, 2.92, 3.72, 4.00, 2.62, 4.00, 2.34, 4.00, 4.00, 4.28, 4.00, 4.28, 2.31, 4.28, 3.72, 2.34, 4.28, 4.00, /3.42 $\times 4/$, 2.92, 3.42, 3.20, 3.42, 2.86, 2.86, 2.37, 1.90, 1.56, 1.14 and 1.00 RU. The average is 2.86 RU, the max. 4.28 RU (17th, 19th, 21st and 24th vibrations) and the min. 0.72 RU (first vibration) or 1.00 RU (last vibration). The intensity is, on the whole, rising–falling, with fluctuations: it rises from 0.72 RU (first vibration) to 4.28 RU (17th, 19th, 21st and 24th vibrations), after which it falls to 1.00 RU in the last vibration. $L_1 = 3.5$ cs; $L_2 = 11.7$ cs.

Table 1. Informant No. 1.

No.	Words and translation	Mean tone height (in Hertz)				Interval				Mean sound intensity (I) in relative units (RU)				The vowel length (L) in centiseconds (cs)			
		1st vowel	2nd vowel	In Hertz	In tones	In the units of the musical scale ($a^1 = 435$ Hz)	vowel	1st vowel	2nd vowel	1st vowel	2nd vowel	Ratio I_1/I_2	Ratio L_1/L_2	vowel	vowel	(L_1)	(L_2)
1	<i>apa</i> 'aunt'	125	133	-8	-½	(H-c) – (c-cis)	0.23	0.27	0.22	0.22	(0.94)	0.44	0.44	12.9	22.1	58	79
2	<i>apa</i> 'aunt'	109	117	-8	-¾	a – (Ais-H)	0.42	0.44	0.57	0.95	11.1	32.4	34				
	Average (Nos. 1–2)	117	125	-8	-¾		0.32	0.36	0.33	0.90	13.2	19.6	68				
3	<i>attā</i> 'on horse'	145	118	+27	+1¾	d – (Ais-H)	0.71	0.44	1.66	1.66	8.9	20.5	43				
4	<i>attā</i> 'on horse'	147	122	+25	+1½	(d-dis) – H	0.94	0.50	1.66	1.66	10.0	26.4	38				
	Average (Nos. 3–4)	146	120	+26	+1¾		0.82	0.50	1.66	1.66	10.0	26.4	38				
5	<i>taka</i> 'board'	136	132	+4	+¼	cis – (c-cis)	1.08	0.39	2.77	2.77	7.3	20.3	36				
6	<i>taka</i> 'board'	159	128	+31	+1¾	(dis-e) – c	2.77	0.60	4.62	4.62	8.2	24.7	33				
	Average (Nos. 5–6)	148	130	+18	+1		1.92	0.50	3.70	3.70	7.8	22.5	34				
7	<i>kadak</i> 'nail'	126	130	-4	-¼	(H-c) – c	0.56	1.12	5.0	5.0	5.5	9.2	60				
		(160)	(160)	(+30)	(+1¾)	(dis-e) – c	(0.81)	(0.81)	(72)	(72)							
8	<i>barkak</i> 'swampy'	137	129	+8	+½	c – cis	0.48	0.28	1.72	1.72	10.2	13.9	73				
9	<i>barkak</i> 'swampy'	130	134	-4	-¼	c – (c-cis)	0.55	0.84	65	65	10.1	11.2	90				
	Average (Nos. 8–9)	134	132	+2	+½		0.52	0.56	118	118	10.2	12.6	82				
10	<i>kapčak</i> 'bag'	148	141	+7	+½	(d-dis) – (cis-d)	1.22	0.64	191	191	8.1	7.9	103				
11	<i>appak</i> 'very white'	149	135	+12	+1¾	(d-dis) – (c-cis)	1.33	0.69	192	192	10.7	14.1	76				
12	<i>appak</i> 'very white'	145	133	+12	+¾	d – (c-cis)	1.38	0.98	141	141	11.7	12.8	92				
	Average (Nos. 11–12)	147	134	+13	+¾		1.36	0.84	172	172	11.2	13.4	84				
13	<i>baka</i> 'frog'	103	112	-9	-¾	Gis – (A-Ais)	0.40	0.34	118	118	11.7	26.9	44				
14	<i>baka</i> 'frog'	114	127	-13	-1	Ais – (H-c)	0.43	0.32	134	134	13.1	24.4	54				
	Average (Nos. 13–14)	108	120	-11	-¾		0.42	0.33	126	126	12.4	25.5	49				
	Average (8 words, 14 measurements)	134	129	+5	+0.3		0.90	0.61	160	(0.93)	(0.60)	(166)					

Table 2. Informant No. 1.

No.	Words and translation vowel	Mean tone height (in Hertz)		Interval		Mean sound intensity (I) in relative units (RU)			The number of the vibration Maximal tone			
		1st vowel	2nd vowel	In Hertz	In tones	In the units of the musical scale (a' = 435 Hz)	1st vowel (I_1)	2nd vowel (I_2)	I_1/I_2 %	1st vowel	2nd vowel	1st vowel vowel
1	<i>apa</i> 'aunt'	139	143	- 4	- 1/4	cis-(cis-d)	0.41	0.34	121	5	1, 18	9 (1), 3, 6
2	<i>apa</i> 'aunt'	109	113	- 4	- 1/4	A-(A-Ais)	0.61	0.81	75	5	1	5 9
	Average (Nos. 1-2)	124	128	- 4	- 1/4		0.51	0.58	98			
3	<i>atta</i> 'on horse'	161	135	+26	+1 1/2	cis-e	1.21	1.17	103	16	1-2	8-9 2, 3
4	<i>atta</i> 'on horse'	179	143	+36	+2	(f-fis)-d	1.37	2.04	67	13	2-3	7 2, (3)
	Average (Nos. 3-4)	170	139	+31	+1 1/4		(1.37)	(100)				
							1.29	1.60	85			
5	<i>takta</i> 'board'	143	147	- 4	- 1/4	(cis-d)-(d-dis)	1.88	1.00	188	1-2	1	4 3
6	<i>takta</i> 'board'	172	208	-36	-1 1/2	f-(gis-a)	5.24	1.61	325	1	1	4
	Average (Nos. 5-6)	158	178	-20	-1		3.56	1.30	2.56			
7	<i>kadak</i> 'nail'	132	143	-11	- 3/4	(cis-d)-(d-dis)	0.61	1.74	35	7	3	4-5 7
8	<i>batkak</i> 'swampy'	152	143	+ 9	+ 1/2	dis-(cis-d)	0.79	0.46	172	13	2	10 4
9	<i>batkak</i> 'swampy'	135	143	- 8	- 1/2	(c-cis)-(cis-d)	0.85	1.42	60	5, 10,	2	5 4
	Average (Nos. 8-9)	144	143	+0.5	-		0.82	0.94	116	12-13		
10	<i>kapčák</i> 'bag'	152	161	- 9	- 1/2	dis-e	1.69	1.00	169	8-9,	1	8 1
									11-12			
11	<i>appak</i> 'very white'	156	161	- 5	- 1/4	(dis-e)-e	1.99	0.90	221	1-2,	1	10, 15 7, 14
12	<i>appak</i> 'very white'	161	152	+ 9	+ 1/2	e-dis	2.16	1.61	134	15-16		
	Average (Nos. 11-12)	158	156	-0.5			2.08	0.76	178			
13	<i>baka</i> 'frog'	109	132	-23	-1 1/2	A-(c-cis)	0.62	0.64	97	2	22	7-8 12
14	<i>baka</i> 'frog'	200	135	+65	+3 1/2	(g-gis)-cis	0.66	0.94	70	1, (9)	11, 23	9 5
	Average (Nos. 13-14)	(119)	(-16)	(-1)								
		114	134	-19	-1 1/2		0.64	0.79	84			
		(154)	(+21)	(+1)								
		144	148	- 4	- 1/4		1.40	1.05	130			
		(149)	(+ 1)	(-)			(1.63)	(1.09)	(140)			

Table 3. Informant No. 2.

No.	Words and translation	Mean tone height (in Hertz)				Interval				Mean sound intensity (I) in relative units (RU)				The vowel length (L) in centiseconds (cs)			
		1st vowel	2nd vowel	In Hertz	In tones	In musical scale ($a^1 = 435$ Hz)	1st vowel	2nd vowel	I/I_2 %	1st vowel	2nd vowel	I/I_2 %	1st vowel	2nd vowel	L_1/L_2 %		
1	<i>apa</i> 'aunt'	288	358	-70	-1 3/4	$d^1 - (f^1 - fis^1)$	7.72	5.23	148	9.1	17.4	53					
2	<i>ata</i> 'father'	308	396	-88	-2 1/4	$dis^1 - (g^1 - gis^1)$	12.70	6.24	204	9.5	17.5	53					
3	<i>atta</i> 'on horse'	312	393	-81	-2	$(dis^1 - e^1) - (g^1 - gis^1)$	10.03	6.13	164	10.0	15.8	63					
4	<i>kadak</i> 'nail'	293	345	-52	-1 1/2	$(d^1 - dis^1) - (e^1 - f^1)$	15.84	9.30	169	12.0	19.8	61					
5	<i>appak</i> 'very white'	326	385	-59	-1 1/2	$e^1 - g^1$	5.38	4.30	125	10.0	13.5	74					
6	<i>kašč</i> 'spoon'	283	345	-62	-1 1/2	$(cis^1 - d^1) - f^1$	3.00	2.19	137	8.5	8.5	100					
7	<i>kìtip</i> 'waiting'	288	363	-75	-2	$d^1 - fis^1$	2.70	2.86	94	3.5	11.7	30					
	Average for 7 words	300	369	-70	-2		8.20	4.89	149								

Table 4. Informant No. 2.

No.	Words and translation	Mean tone height (in Hertz)				Interval				Mean sound intensity (I) in relative units (RU)				The number of the vibration Maximal tone Maximal intensity			
		1st vowel	2nd vowel	In Hertz	In tones	In musical scale ($a^1 = 435$ Hz)	1st vowel	2nd vowel	I/I_2 %	1st vowel	2nd vowel	I/I_2 %	1st vowel	2nd vowel	vowel	vowel	
1	<i>apa</i> 'aunt'	385	417	-32	-3/4	$(fis^1 - g^1) - (gis^1 - a^1)$	12.89	9.46	136	25	38.51	18-20	11, 24				
2	<i>ata</i> 'father'	385	454	-69	-1 1/2	$(fis^1 - g^1) - (a^1 - ais^1)$	21.81	14.82	147	27	60	26	15				
3	<i>atta</i> 'on horse'	454	454	-	-	$(a^1 - ais^1) - (a^1 - ais^1)$	18.23	14.21	128	30	2, 44, 54	26	11				
4	<i>kadak</i> 'nail'	333	417	-84	-2	$(e^1 - f^1) - (gis^1 - a^1)$	23.72	22.18	107	15, 18, 32	45, 60	15	14				
5	<i>appak</i> 'very white'	417	454	-37	-3/4	$(gis^1 - a^1) - (a^1 - ais^1)$	8.12	8.01	101	31	33	25	36				
6	<i>kašč</i> 'spoon'	333	417	-84	-2	$(e^1 - f^1) - (gis^1 - a^1)$	4.93	4.33	114	1	2	13	23				
7	<i>kìtip</i> 'waiting'	312	417	-105	-2 1/2	$(dis^1 - a^1) - (gis^1 - a^1)$	4.00	4.28	93	9	38, 40	9	17, 19,				
	Average	374	433	-59	-1 1/3		13.39	11.04					21, 24				

Conclusions

Informant No. 1

The intervals in the mean tone heights of vowels in the disyllabic words investigated are distributed within limits from +1½ tones (in the words *atta* ‘on horse’ (1 measurement from 2) and *takta* ‘board’ (1 measurement)) to -1 tone (*baka* ‘frog’ (1 measurement from 2)); the distribution in words is from +⅓ tone (*takta*) to -⅓ tone (*baka*). The average for all words is +0.3 tone. The negative interval (i.e. when the tone of the second vowel is higher than that of the first) is recorded in three words out of eight.

The interval in the maximal tone height is distributed from +2 tones (*atta* ‘on horse’ (1 measurement from 2)) to -1⅓ tones (*baka* ‘frog’ (1 measurement from 2)); in words, the deviations are from +1½ tones (*atta* ‘on horse’ (2 measurements)) to -1⅓ tones (*baka* ‘frog’ (2 measurements)); the average for all words is -¼ tone. The maximal pitch tends to be higher in the second vowel. The negative interval is recorded in five words out of eight. Thus, there is a certain difference between the pictures of the mean and the maximal tone height of vowels. This is why it is unreliable to base any conclusions only on the maximal pitch of the tone height of vowels.

The mean sound intensity is in most cases higher in the vowel of the initial syllable. The relation of the intensity of the first vowel to that of the second (I_1/I_2) is distributed between 462% in *takta* ‘board’ (1 measurement) and 50% in *kadak* ‘nail’; in words, the deviations are from 370% in *takta* ‘board’ (2 measurements) to 50% in *kadak* ‘nail’, while the average for all words is 160%. Only in two words is the ratio less than 100%.

The ratio of the maximal sound intensity of vowels is from 35% (*kadak* ‘nail’ (1 measurement)) to 325% (*takta* ‘board’ (1 measurement from 2)); in words, the distribution is from 256% (*takta* ‘board’ (2 measurements)) to 35% (*kadak* ‘nail’). The percentage of the ratio is less than 100 in three words out of eight: *apa* ‘aunt’ (98%); *atta* ‘on horse’ (85%) and *baka* ‘frog’ (84%).

The length of the second vowel, as a rule, surpasses that of the first vowel, the ratio L_1/L_2 being distributed between 34% (*atta* ‘on horse’ (1 measurement from 2)) and 90% (*batkak* ‘swampy’ (1 measurement from 2)), and only in one case is the ratio more than 100%, namely in the word *kapčək* ‘bag’, in which it is 103% (1 measurement). Here we have the vowel *a* of full formation in the initial syllable and the reduced vowel *ə* in the second syllable.

The tone and the intensity movement both tend more or less to be rising-falling, that is to say, they tend to be mostly rising in the first vowel and falling in the second vowel of a disyllabic word. Thus, for example, the highest pitch of the tone and the intensity within one vowel have a tendency, in the first vowel, to be nearer to the end of the vowel, and in the second vowel to be nearer to its beginning (cf. Table 2), although there are exceptions from this rule, and we can only speak of a general trend. This phenomenon is more clearly manifested in the sound-intensity movement and less in the tone. The tone movement in the first vowel can be rising, falling, falling-rising and rising-falling, in most cases with the rise predominant, while in the second vowel, on the contrary, the fall is predominant.

Informant No. 2

The intervals in the mean tone heights of vowels in disyllabic words lie within limits from $-1\frac{1}{2}$ tones (in the words *kadak* ‘nail’, *kašək* ‘spoon’ and *appak* ‘very white’) to $-2\frac{1}{4}$ tones (*ata* ‘father’), while the average for all words is -2 tones. The mean tone of the second vowel perceptibly surpasses that of the first in all cases without exception.

The interval in the maximal tone height of vowels is within the limits from zero (*atta* ‘on horse’) to $-2\frac{1}{2}$ tones (*kötəp* ‘waiting’). If we consider also the word *kadak* ‘nail’, in which the interval is -2 tones, we may conclude that the closed syllable favours an increase of the tone height. The word *appak* ‘very white’ is usually pronounced with the initial stress in literary Tatar, and here the interval is diminished to $-3\frac{3}{4}$ tone, while in *kašək* ‘spoon’, having the vowel of full formation in the initial syllable and a reduced (mixed) vowel in the second syllable, the interval is still -2 tones.

The ratio of the mean sound intensity (I_1/I_2 in relative units) is distributed from 125% (*appak* ‘very white’) to 204% (*ata* ‘father’) and only in one case is it below 100%—in the word *kötəp* ‘waiting’, where we have 94%. The average for all words is 149%, that is, the intensity of the first vowel surpasses that of the second in practically all cases.

It is interesting to note that in the word *kötəp* ‘waiting’, with both vowels reduced, the intensity tends to be a little higher in the second syllable, which has analogies in Qazan Tatar and Chuvash.

The ratio of the maximal sound intensity of the first vowel to that of the second ($I_{\max.1}/I_{\max.2}$) is from 101% (*kašək* ‘spoon’) to 147% (*ata* ‘father’) and, again, only in the word *kötəp* ‘waiting’, is the ratio below 100% (93%). The average for all words is 118%, i.e. the maximal intensity of the second vowel is again less than that of the first vowel.

The length of the second vowel systematically surpasses that of the first vowel, the ratio L_1/L_2 being between 30% (*kötəp* ‘waiting’) and 74% (*appak* ‘very white’), and only in one case is it equal to 100% (in the word *kašək* ‘spoon’), in which the first vowel is of full formation, while the second is a reduced (mixed) vowel.

The tone movement is, as a rule, more or less rising in the first vowel, whereas, in the second vowel, it is mostly a little rising or sometimes oscillating on one and the same level, which level is, however, higher than that of the tone in the first vowel. Thus, the rising tone of the first vowel is counterposed here to a less rising or an even tone of the second vowel, the mean tone of which is much higher than that of the first vowel.

The intensity movement in the first vowel is, as a rule, rising or rising-falling, with the rise predominant. In the second vowel, on the contrary, the intensity is mostly falling (after a short initial rise) or rising-falling, with the fall predominant, and only in the word *kašək* ‘spoon’ does the intensity of the second vowel appear to be gradually rising, while in the first vowel of this word the intensity is rising-falling and its mean height surpasses that of the second vowel.

Towards a Typological Classification of Turkish Pro-forms

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0. PRONOUNS AND PRO-FORMS

In traditional usage, the pronoun is a part-of-speech defined—just as other parts-of-speech—on the ground of its distribution, its range of syntactic functions, and the morphosyntactic categories for which it is specifiable (cf. Schachter 1985: 3).

A functional definition would define pronouns as linguistic elements which replace nouns or nominal phrases. Pronouns are, however, just one particular type of linguistic forms, the function of which is to replace different linguistic categories. Pro-adverbs replace adverbial expressions, pro-verbals replace verbals, etc. Thus, pronouns are a subcategory of pro-forms, which Bloomfield calls substitutes and defines as follows: “A substitute is a linguistic form or grammatical feature which, under certain conventional circumstances, replaces any one of a class of linguistic forms” (Bloomfield 1933:247).

The aim of this paper is to give a short outline of some aspects for which a description of pro-forms in Turkish should account. Our purpose here is not to define the class of pro-forms in Turkish, but rather to give a sketch of a typological framework in which parameters for the classification of pro-forms could be established. The following issues will be under survey:

- (1) the categorial status of the pro-forms
- (2) the morphosyntactic properties of the pro-forms
- (3) the substitution domain of the pro-forms
- (4) the referential properties of the pro-forms
- (5) the substitutional type of the pro-forms
- (6) the syntactic properties of the pro-forms.

1. THE CATEGORIAL STATUS OF THE PRO-FORMS

The best-known representatives of pro-forms, the pronouns (such as *ben* ‘I’, *bu* ‘this’, etc), are words, i. e., minimal free forms in Bloomfield’s terminology (1933: 178). Personal and demonstrative pronouns are pro-forms which typically belong to closed sets containing “a fixed and usually small number of member words, which are [essentially] the same for all the speakers of the language, or the dialect”, in contrast to the open sets “whose membership is in principle unlimited, varying from time to time and between one speaker and another” (Robins 1964:230). In some grammars of Turkish, words belonging to open classes are also described as pro-forms, for example, the nouns *insan* ‘human being’, *yer* ‘place’, *sey* ‘thing’, *is*

‘matter, affair’ (Kononov 1956:181ff). These lexical pro-forms might vary freely with other nouns of a similar meaning. For instance, besides *insan* ‘human being’ the synonymous nouns *adam* ‘man’, *kışı* ‘person’ are also used. The minimal free forms belong to specific word classes, as will be discussed later when their morphosyntactic properties are outlined.

Phrasal expressions are also to be found among the pro-forms. The pro-verbal form *öyle/böyle/şöyle/sey yap-* ‘do so’ is a verbal phrase containing a verb and its determinator, *öyle/böyle/şöyle* ‘so’, or an object, *sey* ‘thing’. Several types of nominal phrases might function as pro-forms. The duplicates as, for instance *şöyle böyle* ‘so so’, *falan filan* ‘so and so’ are a particular type of phrasal pro-forms. In some cases, the original phrasal structure of the pro-forms is more or less obscured as in *kimse (kim+ise)* ‘someone’ (functioning as a noun) or *herkes (her+kes)* ‘everybody’.

Bound forms, i. e. affixes, can also function as pro-forms. In Turkish, these are the personal suffixes which can be attached to verbal forms and the possessive suffixes. It would probably be plausible to describe the suffix *-ki* as a bound pro-form as well (cf. Lewis 1967:69ff.). Schachter 1985 observes that there is a “correlation between the prominence of closed classes in a language and another typological feature: the position of the language on the analytic-synthetic scale” and that “closed word classes tend to play a more prominent role in analytic languages than they do in synthetic languages. This is because much of the semantic and syntactic work done by the members of closed word classes in analytic languages is done instead by affixes in synthetic languages” (Schachter 1985:23). This is also true for Turkish. The task of pronouns is to a certain extent taken over by the pronominal bound forms.

2. THE MORPHOSYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF THE PRO-FORMS

The pro-forms which are minimal free forms, i. e. words, belong to specific word classes as noun, adjective, adverb. In other languages, there are also verbal pro-forms, however not in present-day Turkish. So-called verba pronominalia exist, for instance, in Kazakh *söyt-* ‘to do so’, Yakut *xayā-* ‘to do what’.¹ The different declination-forms of the nominal and adjectival pro-forms can be characterized in terms of the morphosyntactic categories number, case, person and possessive.

The personal pronouns, for example, have almost full nominal paradigms, i. e. six different case forms. Possessive suffixes are not used with the personal pronouns. The paradigms exhibit some—for Turkish inflection otherwise not typical—morphological irregularities. The idiosyncratic inflection of personal pronouns is a phenomenon to be found in many languages.

With regard to the morphosyntactic category number, the first and second person pronouns do not stand morphologically in a paradigmatic relation to each other, i. e. the plural pronouns are not formed by attaching a plural suffix to the singular pro-

¹ For verba pronominalia in Mongolian languages, see Benzing on Kalmyk: “Von den Pronominalstämme *e+ ‘dieser’, *te+ ‘jener’, *ya+ ‘was’ werden Verbstämme gebildet mit dem Sinn von ‘in dieser/jener/welcher Weise handeln oder vor sich gehen’ (1985:171).

noun. The plural form of the third person demonstrative pronouns, on the other hand, are regularly inflected plural forms formed by the suffixation of the inflectional formative *-lAr* (cf. Ruge 1982). In colloquial speech, however, the plural suffix can be attached to *biz* ‘we’ and *siz* ‘you’ as a confirmation of their semantic plurality and thereby individualising their referents: *bizler*, *sizler*. The use of these plural forms differs in some respect from that of the singular forms, for instance, with regard to the case marking in postpositional expressions: *sizin için* ‘for you’ but *sizer için* ‘for you’.

In the morphological typology of personal pronouns established by Forchheimer 1953, the Turkish pronoun system belongs to the type which is characterized as: Languages without morphological but with lexical plural, at least in the first person (i. e., a separate lexical entry such as *we* in English).

The personal pronouns and the bound categories of suffixes are also definable in terms of the category of person. We shall discuss the semantic content of this category below in connection with the description of the substitution type of the personal pronouns.

The description of the morphosyntactic properties of the pro-forms should not be blurred by their semantic properties. The pro-form stem *bura-* which designates location is a nominal form with regard to its declinational properties. It might function adverbially (*burada* ‘here’), or as a noun (*burası* ‘this place’) or attributively (*buradaki* ‘the one here’) as other nouns.

3. THE SUBSTITUTION DOMAIN OF THE PRO-FORMS

In our attempt to classify pro-forms in Turkish we can distinguish between different pro-forms with respect to the sort of syntactic category they can replace. According to Bloomfield, “the substitute replaces only forms of a certain class, which we may call the *domain of the substitute*” /.../ The substitute differs from an ordinary linguistic form, such as *thing*, *person*, *object*, by the fact that its domain is grammatically definable” (1933:247). We conceive of domain as a category which can be defined by setting it into relation to what Lyons calls denotatum: “By the denotation of a lexeme [...] will be meant the relationship that holds between that lexeme and persons, things, places, properties, processes and activities external to the language-system” (1977:208). The difference between denotation and reference is defined by him in the following way: “reference is an utterance-bound relation and does not hold of lexems as such, but of expressions in context” (1977:208). The term denotation, on the other hand, is employed “with respect to lexemes and expressions considered independently of their function in sentences and utterances” (1977:213). Pronouns do not have a denotatum in this sense. They have substitution domains in the Bloomfieldian sense, i. e., a relationship that holds between the pro-form and other linguistic entities.

The substitution domain of the pro-forms can be defined in different ways. In the case of the demonstrative pronouns, for instance, it can be defined in terms of grammatical form classes. The demonstrative pronoun *bu* ‘this’, for example, can replace a nominal phrase, or a clause/predication as the following examples, (1) and (2), show.

- (1) Bazi kondularin öünüdeyse insanlar_i vardi.
 certain shanty:PL:GEN front:3POSS:LOC:TOP people:PL existent:PST
 Bunlar_i içeride sıcaktan bunalmış kişilerdi.
 this:PL inside:LOC heat:ABL stupefy:PASS:PST.PRT people:PL:COP.PST
 "There were people; sitting in front of some houses.
 These_i were people who were stupefied by the heat inside."
- (2) Ama [su parayaydı]. En çok da Ökkeş buna_i
 but water money:WITH:COP.PST SUPL much also Ökkeş this:DAT
 şaşıyordu, kent yerinde her şey parayaydı.
 be embarrassed:YOR.PST town place:3POSS:LOC every thing money:WITH:COP.PST
 "But [the water was for money.]. This_i embarrassed Ökkeş the most, that one had to pay for everything in the town."

The phrasal pro-verb form *öyle/böyle/söyle yap-* ‘do so’ replaces verbal phrases, see example (3):

- (3) [Avlunun kapısından bisikletlerini içeriye soktular].
 court:GEN gate:3POSS:ABL bicycle:PL:3POSS:ACC inside:DAT push in:PST:3PL
 Ben de [böyle yaptım].
 I also so do:PST:1SG
 "They [pushed in their bicycles through the gate of the court]. I [did so], too."

On the other hand, the substitution domain of the bound pro-form *-ki* can be defined in terms of paraphrases. The suffix *-ki* can replace the possessed element in a corresponding possessive construction as in the following examples: *onunki* ‘the one belonging to him/her/it’, *en iyi arkadaşımıki* ‘the one belonging to my best friend’. It can also be used in expressions of location/time: *beriki* ‘the one which is nearer’, *geçen haftadaki* ‘the one which was last week’, etc. The relation between *-ki* and the replaced element is more complex in this case, and it would be difficult to define it syntactically.

Thus, a definition of the substitution domain of pro-forms is not always possible only in terms of grammatical notions. The first and second person personal pronouns (*ben* ‘I’, *sen* ‘you’, *biz* ‘we’, *siz* ‘you’) stand for the participants of a communicative situation. This means that there is not any grammatical form in the text which functions as their correlate when the speech act takes place directly in the given communicative situation. In case a communicative situation is indirectly presented, the participants are also described and the reference of the pronouns is identified on the basis of these descriptions. The relation between the description of the participants and the pronouns, however, is not the same type of substitutional relation as the one holding between a correlate and an anaphora in normal cases. In example (5), the names of the speaker and the pronoun are on different ‘textual levels’. In (6), the naming of the hearer has a stylistic value. It is not necessary for the identification of the reference of *sen*. In example (7), the case is different. Here, the third person demonstrative pronoun *o* actually replaces the grammatical form *Osman Yiğit*, i. e. *Osman Yiğit* is a necessary correlate for *o*. The same is true for the following sentences where *onu* ‘him’ is co-referential with *ikinci kaptan* ‘second captain’.

- (5) Mehmet_i: 'Ben_i göremiyorum be' diye söyledi.
 Mehmet I see+POT:NEG:YOR.PRS:1SG hey say:CONV mutter:PST
 "Mehmet_i muttered: 'I_i cannot see it, hey'.
- (6) Sen_i nasılsın, Mehmet_i?
 you how:2SG Mehmet
 'How are you, Mehmet_i?'
- (7) Osman Yiğit_i başını iki yana sallayarak biraz bekledi,
 Osman Yigit head:3POSS:ACC two side shake:CONV a little wait:PST
 sonra o_i da acele adımlarla, dışarı fırladı...
 later he also quick pace:PL:WITH out rush:PST
 Yukarı varınca ikinci kaptan_k orada dolaşır buldu.
 up arrive:CONV second captain there:LOC walk around:AOR find:PST
 Onu_k bir kenara çekerek meseleyi anlattı.
 he:ACC a side:DAT draw:CONV problem:ACC explain:PST
 "Osman Yiğit_i waited a little shaking his head from side to side, then he_i also rushed out at a quick pace...
 When he got up, he found the second captain_k there walking around. He drew him_k aside and then explained the problem.'

The substitution domain of lexical pro-forms can be defined in terms of some basic semantic features as *zaman* [+time]; *insan* [+human being]; *sey* [+object]; *yer* [+location], *şekil* [+form/kind/way/manner], etc. We can conceive of the substitution domain of the pro-form *insan*, for example, as the class of the expressions which have the semantic feature [+human being]. Note, that these lexemes can also be used as non-pro-forms, i.e., they can have a denotatum which consists of objects in the world. The denotatum of *insan* as a non-pro-form is the class of all human beings in the world.

4. THE REFERENTIAL PROPERTIES OF THE PRO-FORMS

"The term 'reference' / ... / has to do with the relationship which holds between an expression and what that expression stands for on particular occasions of its utterance" (Lyons 1977:174).

Expressions can be used referringly and non-referringly. Referring expressions refer to a specific person, object, event etc., i. e., they have a referent. Pro-forms can also be divided into three categories according to whether they are used

- (i) necessarily referringly;
- (ii) necessarily non-referringly
- (iii) either referringly or non-referringly.

Personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns belong to the first type, because in Turkish, they cannot be used non-referringly as, for example, *it* in the sentence *It is raining*.

The indefinite pronouns such as *kimse* 'someone', the interrogative pronouns *ne* 'what', *kim* 'who', *hangi* 'which', etc., the pro-form *falan*, the negative pro-form *hiç bir sey* 'nothing', the lexical pro-form *insan* 'human being' (*İnsan bunu düşünmez mi?* 'Doesn't one think of that?') and others can be used only non-referringly.

Some lexical pro-forms can be used both referringly or non-referringly. In the first but not in the second example, *sey* ‘thing’ is used referringly.

- (8) *Seyi_i* gördüm, arkadaşınızı_i.
 thing:ACC see:PST:1SG friend:2PL.POSS:ACC
 'I saw that (person), your friend.'
- (9) Bir *sey* söylemedi!
 a thing say:NEG:PST
 'He didn't say anything.'

The reference of referring expressions can be deictic or anaphoric.² First and second person personal pronouns can have only deictic references, i. e., their referent is defined in the communication situation. Demonstrative pronouns, on the other hand, might have either deictic or anaphoric reference.

Anaphoric reference is textually defined by the co-referential relation between the pro-form and its correlate expression in the text. Co-referentiality can be marked by co-indicization, i. e. by assigning the same referential indices to the correlate expression and the pro-form.

5. THE SUBSTITUTIONAL TYPE OF THE PRO-FORMS

"In addition to the class meaning, every substitute has another element of meaning, the *substitution-type*, which consists of the conventional circumstances under which the substitution is made" (Bloomfield 1933:248). This definition of substitution type can be conceived as corresponding to the notion of sense in Lyons' usage. The substitution-types are based upon:

- (i) speaker-hearer relation (*ben, sen, biz, siz*);
- (ii) relations of distance (*bu, şu, o, burada, surada, orada*);
- (iii) the interrogative type of *kim*, 'who', *ne* 'what', *nasıl* 'how', *niçin* 'why' stimulates the hearer to supply a speech-form;
- (iv) the negative type of *kimse* 'nobody', *aslâ* 'never', *hiç* 'nothing' excludes the possibility of a speech-form.

The substitution types of the Turkish pronouns have been discussed in several papers. For a discussion of the views presented in the literature up to 1976, see Johansson 1990.

The personal pronouns designate different types of speaker-hearer relations. Their substitutional content can be described by the following three features of person deixis proposed by Ingram (1978):

- (a) ±speaker
- (b) ±hearer
- (c) ±other(s)/±X^{1/n}.

where X¹ means X in singular and Xⁿ X in plural.

² The term 'anaphoric' is used here disregarding the positional difference between a correlate which precedes and one which follows the pro-form.

SPEAKER–HEARER RELATION

<i>ben</i>	[+speaker, –hearer,	–X]
<i>sen</i>	[–speaker, +hearer,	–X]
<i>biz</i>	[+speaker, +(±hearer),	±X ⁿ]
<i>siz</i>	[–speaker, +hearer,	+X ⁿ]
<i>on</i>	[–speaker, –hearer,	+X ¹]
<i>onlar</i>	[–speaker, –hearer,	+X ⁿ]

The category of speaker–hearer relation seems to stand in opposition to the case of the »third person«, i. e., the first and second person forms representing the persons taking part in the communicative situation—the speaker and the hearer—are in opposition to the »third person« which does not take part in the communicative situation. The demonstrative pronouns are marked with regard to the speaker–hearer relation as [–speaker, –hearer].

As we have shown above, there is an asymmetry between the first and second person forms on the one hand and the third person forms on the other hand. This situation is not specific for Turkish. That first and second person forms on the one hand and third person forms on the other hand function differently and also have different historical origins has been observed in many other languages.³

The demonstrative pronouns designate distance relations. Their semantic content has been discussed in the literature. They have the following properties with regard to this distance category:

DISTANCE

<i>bu</i>	[+approximity]
<i>su</i>	[+approximity, +directionality]
<i>o</i>	[–approximity]

The feature [directionality] stands for what Underhill calls “the additional notion of a gesture” (1976:121). For a more detailed analysis of their substitutional type, see Bastuji (1976: 132–143).

The substitutional type of the bound pro-form categories should also deserve a thorough survey. Here, we will only point out one property of the possessive suffixes. In our opinion, the possessive suffixes express relationality. In a possessive construction, they mark the grammatical relation of possessive between the nominal expression to which they are attached and the possessor-expression. In many other constructions the relationality is to be defined in terms of contextual meaning relations or in terms of the communicative situation. See example (10):

³ For example, Brugmann, Grundriß II/2: “sind die Pronomina der dritten Person von den Demonstrativa nicht rein zu trennen und fallen mit diesen begrifflich nicht selten zusammen. Sie sind, wie man sagen dürfte, Demonstrativpronomina in substantivischer Funktion, die auf in Rede Stehendes, auf Ausgesprochenes oder sofort Auszusprechendes, hinweisen, z. B. franz. *il*, aus lat. *ille*, oder got. *is* = nhd. *er*, mit lat. *is* identisch” (1911:306).

- (10) Yıl, 1919 olacak [...] Babam yok ortalarda.
 year 1919 be:PROSP father:1SGPOSS non-existent place:PL:LOC
 O, çok daha önceleri Anadoluya gitmiş, bizi öyle bırakıp...
 he much more before:PL:3POSS Anatolia:DAT go:PST.PRT we:ACC so leave:CONV
 "It had to be 1919... My father is not around. He had gone to Anatolia much earlier and thus left us..."

The time-expression *çok daha önceleri* 'much earlier' is related by the possessive suffix to the time expression of a previous sentence, 1919.

The specific content of relationality might be rather different in various contexts.

6. THE SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF THE PRO-FORMS

The first task in describing the syntactic properties of pro-forms would be to give an account of which syntactic functions the individual pro-forms can have and how they can be grouped according to their syntactic potentials. Some pro-forms can function as nuclei in NPs (as *kimse* 'someone' in the expression *her hangi bir kimse* 'whoever'), as predicatives (*Hayat böyle* 'Life is such'), as postpositive appositions (*kitap falan* 'book and such things'), etc. Many pro-forms have, either as their primary or secondary function, to modify the referential properties of nominal expressions, i. e., to function as determinators (e.g. *her* 'every' in *her zaman* 'always' or *bu* 'this' in *bu kitap* 'this book'), cf. Csató (1990). The bound forms might also function as syntactic categories. It has been argued that the personal inflection of the verb forms functions as the nucleus in Turkish sentence constructions (Brendemoen & Csató 1986).

Two main syntactic types can be distinguished with respect to their syntactic independence or dependence from a correlate: (i) dependent (anaphoric) pro-forms (e.g. the reflexive pronoun *kendim* 'myself') and (ii) independent pro-forms (e.g., the personal pronouns *ben* 'I', *sen* 'you', *hiç kimse* 'nobody').

A dependent or anaphoric pro-form is "characterized by the circumstance that the form for which substitution is made, has occurred in recent speech".⁴ The dependent substitutes have antecedents while the independent ones do not. The antecedent identifies the referential property of the pro-form. In case the pro-form lacks an antecedent, the reference is either deictically identified (*ben* 'I'), or the pro-form is used non-referentially (*hiç kimse* 'nobody').

A syntactic typology of pro-forms was elaborated by Chomsky along this parameter in the framework of the so-called *Government and Binding* theory (1981). This framework was applied to the description of the syntactic properties of some Turkish pronouns among others by Özsoy (1983). This typology also distinguished between two subtypes of pro-form-antecedent relations. The first type is when the pro-form is necessarily in the syntactic domain of its correlate. The definition of the

⁴ "Thus, when we say *Ask the policeman, and he will tell you*, the substitute *he* means, among other things, that the singular male substantive expression which is replaced by *he*, has been recently uttered. A substitute which implies this, is an anaphoric or dependent substitute, and the recently-uttered replaced form is the antecedent" (Bloomfield 1933:249).

syntactic domain of the correlate is theory-internal, and therefore it would be difficult to give a short presentation here without explaining the basic notions of the theory, see the relevant definitions in Chomsky (1981). The second type of pro-form-antecedent relations is when the pro-form must not be in the syntactic domain of the correlate.

An example of the first type is the reflexive pronoun *kendim* ‘myself’, *kendisi* ‘himself’, etc. This pro-form must stand in the syntactic domain of the antecedent. The personal pronouns *ben* ‘I’, *o* ‘he’, on the other hand, belong to the second type, i. e., they cannot stand in the domain of the antecedent. The following examples (11) and (12) illustrate these principles:

- (11) Ben_i çocuklarının bana_i / *kendime_i gördüklerini bilmedim.
 I child:PL:GEN I:DAT myself:DAT look:PRT:PL:3POSS:ACC know:NEG:PST:1SG
 “I did not know that the children were looking at me.”
 (The asterisk marks an ungrammatical form.)

The pronouns *bana* ‘to me’ and *kendime* ‘to myself’ are outside the syntactic domain of the correlate *ben* ‘I’. While the use of the personal pronoun *bana* ‘to me’ is grammatical, the reflexive pronoun *kendime* ‘to myself’ is ungrammatical in this construction.

- (12) Mehmet_i *onu_i / kendisini_i görmedi.
 Mehmet he:ACC himself:ACC see:NEG:PST
 “Mehmet did not see himself.”

In (12), Mehmet is co-referential with *onu* ‘him’ and *kendisini* ‘himself’. Since the pronouns stand in the syntactic domain of the correlate, the personal pronoun *onu* ‘him’ is ruled out but *kendisini* ‘himself’, the reflexive pronoun, is grammatical. Note that with a reading where *onu* ‘him’ is not co-referential with *Mehmet* the sentence *Mehmet_i onu_k görmedi* ‘Mehmet didn’t see him’ is well formed.

The advantage with Chomsky’s typology is that he extends it also to the phonetically not realised pronominal categories. This means that pro-forms which have a syntactic reality but are not represented as phonetic forms can also be examined. A relevant phonetically non-realized pro-form would be, e.g., the phonetically missing subject of a relative clause, as in the following example (13):

- (13) bize güveneceği_i şüpheli olan adam_i
 we:DAT trust:PRT.PROSP doubtful be:PRT man
 ‘the man about whom it is doubtful whether he is going to trust us’.

The missing subject of the participle is co-referential with the noun *adam*. As it has been argued, among others, by Csató (1985), the syntactic principles determining the distribution of this empty pro-form are the same as the ones defining the syntactic behaviour of the phonetically realized pro-forms. In this typology, therefore, we distinguish also between phonetically realized and phonetically not realised (empty) pro-forms.

SUMMARY

The class of pro-forms in Turkish, as it is usually conceived of in the grammars, contains a large number of entities with very different grammatical, semantic and pragmatic properties. In order to be able to define this class, we first have to make clear what properties a possible definition of this class should account for. In the present paper we have tried—mainly in accordance with Bloomfield's framework—to give a preliminary overview of the types of properties which a description of pro-forms has to consider and have attempted to ascribe them to specific components of the linguistic description. When outlining the specific aspects of a definition of pro-forms, we have illustrated them by examples taken from Turkish. These illustrations are not, however, meant to be an analysis of the Turkish pro-forms.

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The Old Testament and Text Linguistics

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Text linguistics within the study of grammar is *per se* nothing unknown to philologists even though the term is fairly new. Philologists deal with texts as coherent wholes—as far as this is ever possible, whereas in linguistics the highest unit was for a long time the “clause”. Gradually, however, one realized that too many features (pronominalization, link adverbials *etc.*) point to the text as a linguistic unit in its own right.

From the very beginning text linguistics as a working field has not been a uniform one. There are two main currents: the pragmatic and the semantic–syntactic. The former is directed more towards the mutual knowledge shared by speakers or writers and their listeners or readers, a knowledge which is supposed to shape their communicative interplay. The latter is more inclined to see the language as a system and thus look for the meaning that various constructions bear upon a text. Various text linguistic methods may be ranged in between the two main approaches: ‘tagmemics’, for instance, studies linguistic patterns in order to explore their function, while ‘functional grammar’ studies how participants and themes are employed and referred to as topics of clauses, or are otherwise focused upon.

Recently, two dissertations have been published within the text linguistic approach to the Old Testament: N. Winther-Nielsen, *A Functional Discourse Grammar of Joshua. A Computer-assisted Rhetorical Structure Analysis*² and D.A. Dawson, *Text-Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*.³ Winther-Nielsen’s work is carried out in a strict manner and to the point, while Dawson strives to achieve the pedagogic task of bridging the gap between linguistic research in OT Hebrew and the insights of traditional hebraists.

I

Winther-Nielsen states that his discourse–pragmatic grammar “integrates syntactic variation of semantic meaning for pragmatic purposes with a focus on cross-clausal relationships” (p. 14). The approach thus includes both a “top-down” use of schemes and a “bottom-up” use of context and cues in the text; that is to say, he continues the American discourse–pragmatic tradition in close interaction with a structural and semantic tradition (the Richter-school and Waltke-O’Connor’s *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, respectively). However, we learn that “the nature of the tie between grammatical constructions and textual structure at higher levels is still in need of extensive

¹ I wish to thank Dr. N. Winther-Nielsen, who has read and commented on an earlier draft of part one of this article.

² *Coniectanea Biblica*, OT ser. 40, Stockholm 1995.

³ University of Edinburgh 1993, reworked and published in *JSOT Suppl.* ser. 177, Sheffield 1994.

functional and pragmatic research" (p. 87). This, Winther Nielsen thinks, can be remedied by his rhetorical structure analysis, where 25 relations—emotional as well as logical—are used to trace coherence within a text, after which the result is contrasted to a computer-aided description of interclausal syntax.

In chapter 1 the author reviews current research on Joshua and the various methods involved. We learn, here, that there are two directions: a diachronic (historic) and a synchronic (holistic) one. As opposed to these, he proposes a textual analysis, which involves both text linguistics and literary reading, as well as an analysis of the rhetorical structure. (Regarding text-criticism, some notice is taken of the paragraph division in the most important manuscripts.) Next, the technical procedure is presented, and finally the outline of the investigation.

Chapter 2, dealing with the functional discourse grammar, is thoroughly integrated. By means of the scheme below, which also constitutes the outline of the entire thesis (p. 28), one can see how meaning (semantics), expressions (syntax) and uses of language (pragmatics) are combined at clausal, interclausal and textual level,

	<i>intraclausal</i>	<i>interclausal</i>	<i>textual</i>
<i>semantic</i>	predications	clause links	discourse
<i>pragmatic</i>	clause layer	reference	rhetorical layer
<i>syntactic</i>	verb function	verb sequence	verb hierarchy

Briefly, the discussion is as follows:

1a) The semantic roles of the participants, as well as predicate typology etc., belong to the clausal level.

1b) Pragmatically the clause is like an onion, where the layers are grouped around the center: the position of clause constituents is a part of the message, especially when they are dislocated from their usual place.

1c) The function of the verb involves syntactic features such as the predicate verb aspect, modality that adheres to the core of the clause (noun-phrase + verbal predicate), and tense which belongs to clause as a whole.

2a) From a semantic point of view, clause combining involves both embedding and dependence. A subordinate clause has both. Coordination involves neither, while co-subordination entails that a clause is dependent but not subordinate. In this category—according to the author—we find the well-known Hebrew sequential *wayyiqtol*-chains.

2b) Interclausal reference involves pragmatic coherence, inasmuch as "referential coherence ties connected chains of clauses together by references to participants or themes", p. 62.

2c) Interclausal verb sequence shows a syntactic system. This system does not appear only on the main story line (*i.e.* foregrounding), since we have off-line units as well (*i.e.* backgrounding). According to Longacre this can be demonstrated by a verb ranking cline, with foregrounded actions on the top, then, in due order, back-

grounded actions, backgrounded activities, settings, and finally negated clauses. Niccacci,⁴ on the other hand, proposes a kind of three-dimensional coordinate system, where grounding interplays with a relative time perspective, and where the outcome depends on text type (narration or discourse). We learn from the discussion that the function of backgrounded units (anteriority, simultaneity, contrast, emphasis) is not so easily integrated among the topic-focus functions of a functional grammar. Winther-Nielsen puts forward the labels “new focus for background (New-Foc)” and “contrastive focus (ParFoc)” (p. 75), corresponding to each of the two interclausal relationships, circumstantial/chiastic and contrastive/antithetical, respectively.

3a) Semantically, on the textual level we encounter the overall notion of discourse. One can say that discourse grammar is the grammar of textual configuration. The author makes five assumptions regarding text structure. First, we have a plan behind the text, *i.e.* a macrostructure. Second, the text is shaped in a compositional hierarchy (story, chapter, episode, paragraph). Third, there is a superstructure strategy, where we recover universals such as setting, complication and resolution, and furthermore, how these appear in the pragmatically defined text-types: narrative, instruction, exhortation, persuasion and exposition, (these text-types are put forward as a pragmatic alternative to the binary distinction between narrative and direct discourse). Fourth, there is a peak structure, *i.e.* a cumulative development towards a climax or resolution of the narrative; or towards the goal in other discourse types. Fifth, dialogue is treated separately and investigated as to its structure. Finally, by use of these five assumptions the profile of a story can be delineated in a diagram.

3b) The internal pragmatic organization of coherent contiguous texts (how the train of thought is held together M.E.) is presented by means of 25 relations. Among these “circumstance” (*i.e.* space and time) “solutionhood” (which states the problem), plus “elaboration” and “background”, all aim at general orientation, while “enablement” and “motivation” evoke potential ability and desire to solve the problem. Other relations: “cause”, “purpose” and “conditon” are recognized from traditional grammar.

3c) The rhetorical structure theory, which lies behind these 25 relations, is used to check the structural description of the interclausal grammatical coding that was carried out by means of a computer program developed by E. Talstra in Amsterdam.

Chapters 3–5 constitute an application of the theoretical discussion. First of all, Joshua ch. 2 is made the subject of an in-depth rhetorical and syntactic analysis (pp. 114–148), preceded by an account of various readings and a general discussion of episodic structure, *i.e.* discourse organization (3a, above), in light of the superstructural concepts: introduction, inciting incident, complication, climax, resolution, lessening tension and conclusion.

The intricate syntax of Jos 2:3ff. is sensitively dealt with. In this passage the heroine, Rahab, quickly hides the Israelite spies—while the king’s soldiers stand in the doorway and ask her to hand them over—and she even tells them a lie: Yes, the

⁴ See review article in *Or Suec* 40/1991, pp. 95–101.

men truly came, but went just before the closing time of the city gate. Moreover, she even urges the soldiers to pursue. At this point in the text, v. 6, comes a ‘flashback’, “but she had brought them up on the roof and hidden them”, and after this it is told that the soldiers pursued the spies, and that the city gate was closed after the soldiers had left.

In 2:8, then, it would seem that the shift to *wehemmā ṭerəem yiškāvun wehi’ āleta alehāem* (‘but they, before they were asleep, she went up to them’) prepares the reader for the dialogue to come, vv. 9–14. However, Winther-Nielsen recognizes an episode boundary between the two clauses, roughly: “but they were not yet asleep. // She went up to them”. The use of *terem* in a closing remark, is however not corroborated by any parallels in biblical Hebrew.

In a summary (p. 161), the author says that syntactic relations cannot code higher level discourse features, *e.g.* the signification of the syntax in Jos 2:8. It seems that here we are confronted with a weakness in the approach. Had due attention been paid to the significance of the (*we*)*subj-verb* clause in narrative (*i.e.* non-conversational) parts, it would not have been impossible to let the computer register this striking word order, regardless of its semantic and pragmatic use.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of “the spying on Jericho” in view of its referential coherence (2b above) and its dialogue structure and thematic macrostructure, (touched upon in 3a above).

Chapter 4 is dedicated to Joshua chs. 3–8—above all the Crossing of Jordan chs. 3–4, the Conquest of Jericho 5:13–6:26, and the Complication at Ai, 6:27–8:29—with brief discussions of the Passover at Gilgal 5:2–12, and the ceremonial reading of the law at Mt. Ebal, 8:30–35. The discussion of each story is introduced by a brief account of different readings.

In this chapter the discussion deals with discourse organization, foremost the boundary markers of the episode structure (3a above), and the rhetorical coherence with its grammatical coding (3b,c above), ending up with a discussion of the function of dialogue in the thematic (macro)structure. The results are presented in a table on p. 190.

Regarding the Conquest of Jericho, its beginning (Joshua meets the divine captain of the Lord’s army, 5:13–15) may be independent, as in fact ch. 6 opens with a digression on the closed gates of Jericho (pp. 193f.). This uncertainty makes the macrostructure of the story, *cf.* p. 210, open to debate. Nevertheless, Winther-Nielsen contends that *wayyelək Yehošua’ elāw* ‘Joshua went up to him’ (5:13b) introduces the first major episode (running up to 6:5). He refers to the proper noun as a resumed topic, notwithstanding that ‘elāw, ‘to him’, closely refers to ‘a man’ in 5:13a: *wehinne’iš’ omed lenægdo*, ‘look, a man was standing before him’.

The Complication at Ai begins with 6:27, Winther-Nielsen states, and he may be right. But, as Dawson wisely puts it: “boundaries are often ‘transition zones’ rather than strongly delineative borders” (*op. cit.* p. 129). On the whole, the discussion of the victory at Ai is rewarding. The story is well-known. Joshua’s battle plan proves successful: a feigned withdrawal allures the defenders to pursue, and thus the city is open for the dash of the ambush and set on fire.

In 8:18–23 we have a zone of turbulence marking the climax, as is correctly inti-

mated on p. 234 (cf. p. 84). By the use of non-sequential clauses the narrator, in a way, puts the events side by side, thus making them encroach upon one another. (The same phenomenon is met with in Esther 7:6ff.). A bit surprisingly, it is stated on p. 225, that a new paragraph opens in 8:21 with the precore slot *wIhošua wekol-Yisrā'el (rā'u)*, 'when Joshua and all Israel (had seen)'. We learn that this alleged introduction backtracks the story and narrates the events from the perspective of the Israelite main army. The rendering of the clause in the *past perfect*, however, brings about the opposite effect: the turmoil is turned into an account of a state of affairs that depends on a previous situation; in regard to the similar passage Judges 20:20b–41 such a solution is not likely—and perhaps not intended by Winther-Nielsen.

In chapter 5, finally, the investigation turns to a book-length analysis of constituents, coherence and content in the Book of Joshua. This entails that the discussion of the remaining parts of Joshua is mainly delimited to the episode and paragraph structure; and the findings are charted on p. 265

In the section called "The Grammar of interclausal Relations", pp. 266–291, the author intends to integrate the computational description of Joshua into his discourse grammar by pointing to the syntactic shaping of semantic content for pragmatic reasons. First, clause-divisions are dealt with, then the clause-linkage system (cf. 2a, above), and finally the sequential coherence (cf. 2c, above).⁵

A "special past perfect sense", is recognized by Winther-Nielsen in 10:8, *wayyo'mær Ywhh 'æl Yehošua* 'the Lord had said to Joshua'. The reason for the rendering in the past perfect is that the following unit "elaborates on the event narrated in the immediately preceding context" (p. 278). It seems more likely that this passage represents a choice on the part of the narrator: for some reason he prefers not to be strictly sequential. The pragmatic factor *per se* does not compel the common past narrative *wayyiqtol* to assume a past perfect sense.

Regarding the dispatch of soldiers for another ambush in Joshua 8:12 we encounter a similar problem in view of the sequential coherence: *wayyiqqah kaḥamešət 'alāfim 'iš wayyāšem 'otām 'orev*, 'he took about one thousand men and placed them as an ambush'. In spite of the discrepancy of number, 30000 in v. 3 versus 5000 in v. 12 (whatever the sense of 'elef, 'thousand' may be in this context), and in spite of the sequential narrative form, Winther-Nielsen contends: "It must be a summarizing recapitulation with a past perfect force 'he had taken'" (p. 223). In the opinion of the present reviewer this is highly debatable. If the *same* ambush is referred to, it would rather seem that *either* the whole unit, vv. 11–13, is backgrounded, and then a past perfect sense would be appropriate, *or* the narrator, for some reason, once again tells an event that he has just told—and he does this as if it were something new. The latter solution is a matter of *style*, not a grammatical phenomenon.⁶

⁵ Interestingly enough, Winther-Nielsen has found a *weqatal* chaining in boundary and city lists (*i.e.* in a non-sequential précis style), a phenomenon the present reviewer touched upon in his *Studies* p. 22, n. 16.

⁶ Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, pp. 84ff.

Non-sequential syntax is treated separately under the heading of referential syntax, (cf 2b, above), where it is concluded that “the marked PCS (=precore slot) constructions before *qatal* and *yiqtol* are used in various focus and topic functions (...) Only discourse-pragmatic analysis can verify functions in each individual case” (p. 291).

After a discussion of the thematic macrostructure, neatly summed up on p. 317, the whole investigation is finally concluded on pp. 318–325.

In the introduction to chapter 5 the following is stated:

The preceding investigations at interclausal level (*Joshua 2*) and story level (*Joshua 3–8*) have shown the interdependence of grammar and discourse. Both levels were shown to interact with the wider discourse context and the external pragmatic universe of communication (p. 236).

This is certainly right, but one should not take the “external pragmatic universe of communication” too lightly. After all, there are more than three millenia that separate us from the world encountered in *Joshua*. An external pragmatic approach has its pitfalls. We all know that communication involves a lot of shared information, feelings, general outlook etc. The language as a system should not be passed over too swiftly *en route* in the search for the mutual understanding shared by narrator and listener, otherwise one runs the risk of registering mere accidents rather than linguistic categories. E.g. *Jos 10:9b* is given as an example of a past progressive function of *qatal*, namely *kol hallaylā ‘ālā* ‘all night he was marching up’ (p. 49). True, ‘all night’ creates the atmosphere of ongoing activity, but the rendering ‘having marched all night’ corresponds to the *de facto* meaning of the Hebrew perfect.

A final remark: the aspectual interplay between units of action and units of state provides the narrator with a means for making a distinction between backgrounded information and foregrounded action. A rhetorico-pragmatic analysis of a biblical Hebrew prose, in the view of the present reviewer, is problematic as long as it does not account for the interplay between units of action and units of state; all the more so, as Biblical Hebrew actually has *grammatical* devices for expressing these units. If one does not take these devices seriously, one runs the risk of missing the perspective, provided by foregrounding and backgrounding. It is like serving oneself coffee with one eye shut—it is hard to hit the cup, merely because one has lost the third dimension!

To conclude, Winther-Nielsen’s thesis is a demanding, yet very rewarding book. It deserves to be read slowly! The different parts of the book are well integrated, and the author has taken pains to introduce and sum up every section excellently, thus making it easier for the reader to comprehend his presentation.

II

D.A. Dawson’s book *Text-Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* opens by stating that the basic idea that runs through the investigation is “the question of the role(s) of different clauses in different types of texts”, and he clarifies, and extends, his goal in a footnote by saying: “I seek to describe the motivating factors at the macro-syntactic level for the employment of micro-syntactic features” (p. 1).

First of all, there is a discussion of methodology, especially the integrity of description and effectiveness of communication. Using these criteria Dawson aims at evaluating “one of the currently most influential works” in the field of text linguistics, *viz.* A. Niccacci, *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose*,⁷ plus “two other significant works”, *viz.* M. Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect and Narrative Technique in Biblical Hebrew Prose*⁸ and F.I. Andersen, *The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew*⁹ (p. 13). These works are subsequently discussed in ch. 1, where Dawson points to certain flaws, either regarding theory/methodology, or general readability. In ch. 2 two additional works are discussed, *viz.* G. Khan, *Studies in Semitic Syntax*¹⁰ and R. Longacre, *Joseph. A Story of Divine Providence*.¹¹ These however, are seen as examples of “clarity and solidity of theoretical grounding” (referring to Khan), and a “rich potential of theory and methodology” (with reference to Longacre) cf. pp. 24, 52.¹²

Among the points that Dawson wishes to focus on in his discussion are:

- the necessity of studying all possible features that perform the same function;
- the recognition of text types and their influence on the distribution of clause types (narration, prediction, exhortation, description) “*all languages need to be able to distinguish these text-types one from another*” (p. 22);
- the interrelationship between the micro-syntactic and macro-syntactic levels of language.

Obviously, Dawson is impressed by Niccacci’s approach; but he nonetheless points to certain flaws: *a*) the conversational material is lumped together irrespective of text-type, *b*) the work almost never gets beyond the clause level, *c*) the application of linguistic principles is not rigorously thorough.

As Dawson himself recognizes, *(a)* is on the theoretical level: the division into text types (apart from the dichotomy narration/discourse) is not decisive for Niccacci’s investigation. In contrast to what is stated, however, it seems that even *(b)* is a matter of theory: Niccacci basically looks upon language *as a system* which can be described “from the bottom up”, so to speak. It should also be borne in mind that Dawson has not used Niccacci’s *Lettura sintattica* (1991), which is a revised abridgement of *Syntax*—however with *text samples*.

Niccacci’s analysis of the compound nominal clause, in which the fronted element in reality represents what is new (=predicate), thus reducing the verbal phrase to the role of theme (subject), finds more favour in the eyes of the author, but he asks whether this rather not is a case of “*de-emphasizing of the predicate and the emphasizing of the subject, without the categories themselves being reversed?*” (p. 38).

⁷ Engl. trans. *JSOT Suppl ser* 86, Sheffield 1990.

⁸ Uppsala 1990.

⁹ The Hague 1974.

¹⁰ Oxford 1988.

¹¹ Winona Lake 1989.

¹² B.K. Waltke and M. O’Conner, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, Winona Lake 1990, is briefly dealt with in a excursus, pp. 24ff., but otherwise is left out of the discussion, since this work restricts itself to phrase, clause and sentence (*op. cit.* p. 55).

As to Eskhult—the present reviewer—the flaws are reported to be: *a*) he attempts to cover too much ground in too few pages, *b*) he does not focus on text type as a conditional factor in deployment of clause types, *c*) he does not attempt to examine the (*we*)*subj-qatal* clause as one of several possibilities for its particular macro-syntactic function.

It seems that Dawson is not quite aware that Eskhult's goal was not to find out what constructions may serve the same function. Too many syntaxes of Biblical Hebrew simply do that kind of listing—and when all is said and done, it turns out that the nominal clause can serve most logical relationships. By simply establishing this and not asking *why*, one misses the chance of evoking the student's interest in the unique character of the language as such.

Andersen's *Sentence*, is held to be a landmark in Biblical Hebrew studies, inasmuch as it describes both “the Biblical Hebrew sentence (1) in terms of what units make it up, (2) in terms of what other options might replace it in the various slots which it can fill”, and, in addition “the effect it has on its wider context or contexts” (p. 48). It is also credited for giving proper attention to the different text types. Its general drawback lies, according to the author, in its dense linguistic jargong.

In ch. 2, Khan's study of the *casus pendens* construction in a number of Semitic languages is correctly put forward as a good example. It deals with absolute and non-absolute extrapositions. Each language is dealt with in regard to the internal structure of the constructions in question, and their functions within their wider context.

Even Longacre's book *Joseph* suffers, according to Dawson, from a minor flaw, and that is being too concise in its theoretical presentation. Therefore he has taken upon himself not only to give a full account of this book (pp. 56–69), but also to explain Longacre's linguistic method (ch. 3), and apply some of his basic principles to Hebrew text samples (chs. 4–5).

In a discussion on methodology and clarity one would expect an author to support his claims by quoting reviews and articles that are relevant the works dealt with, but Dawson does not do this. The presentation also suffers from the author's reluctance to examine the theoretical foundations of the scholars he takes exception with; when discussing Niccacci he does not mention H. Weinrich, or the ideas of H.J. Polotsky, in his later works; and when discussing Eskhult he does not take any stand to the aspectual theory of F. Rundgren. Nevertheless he concludes that Niccacci and Eskhult have the shared weakness in that they both “miss out principal conditioning factors, and focus on secondary ones” (p. 51).

So far, then, Dawson has assessed “the integrity of description” and “effectiveness of communication” in recent research. Before outlining “some of the first steps in producing an analysis that will pass both examinations”, he finds it necessary “to set out some definitions, to tie together some concepts and to detail the procedures to be used” (p. 70). This is done in ch. 3, which—interesting as it may be—is in itself poorly organized and is also poorly linked to the rest of the book. The introduction to “tagmemic theory” covers 37 pages,¹³ after which there are five pages on method-

¹³ Yet it is stated on p. 72: “My results will not seem to be tied exclusively to any one theory, and that is

ology in general and slightly more than nine pages on the methodological plan for chs. 4 and 5.¹⁴ Certainly, some useful points are made.¹⁵

As his own starting point Dawson finally chooses to deal with macro-syntactic markers, and Longacre's verb-rank clines for various text types, especially in reported speech (= conversation). The specific question asked is: “*Can we substantiate the existence of main-line clause types for more than the Narrative History text-type? and do these have relevance for reported speech as well?*” (p. 117, here italicized).

As is remarked by Dawson himself, Longacre already has shown that the main line marker is *wayyiqtol* in “narrative history”, *weqatal* in “prediction”, and volitive forms in “hortatory” texts (*Joseph*, pp. 81, 107, 121), while in “expository” texts, verbless clauses are assumed to occupy the main line (*Joseph* pp. 115f.).

Chapter 4 introduces text samples. “Narrative history” in Judges 2, and “procedure instruction” in Leviticus 14:1–32 are analyzed in detail. The analyses of texts embedded in other texts (*i.e.* Leviticus 6:1–7:37) plus the parallel pericopes in Exodus, are carried out more cursorily.

A discussion of text types in the Exodus material (pp. 137–151) arrives at the conclusion that Exodus chs. 25–30 are “procedure instruction”, while chs. 35–40 may be understood as “narrative history”, or “procedural how-it-was-done”; that is to say, the two text types apparently merge with reference to the past (!).

In conclusion, the main-line form in “narrative history” is confirmed to be *wayyiqtol*, and in “procedure instruction” it is established to be *weqatal*. The main-line form of “exposition” is affirmed to be the verbless clause.¹⁶

Moreover, the shift from main-line to off-line is stated to indicate a break in the flow of the text. This break can, according to Dawson, serve three functions: (a) to

intentional, for the things I describe in this study are readily accessible via common-sense approach to the language, once the analyst has been alerted to their possible presence, and thus we do not need to bury them in theory-specific communication”.

¹⁴ One is not surprised to read the following on pp. 113ff.: “Given that I have chosen (a) to evaluate several other works at the outset of this volume, and (b) to introduce the tagmenic model of linguistic analysis, and the principles of its methodology (in rather a greater degree of detail than is usually seen in such works), I am then left with less space in which to present substantiation of my ‘claims’, than I would like.”

¹⁵ Among the interesting points made, are that

- two parameters: “agent orientation” and “contingent temporal succession” build up a matrix for identification of text-types. “Narrative” has both, “behavioural” has only the former, “procedural” only the latter, and “expository” has neither.
- a third parameter “projection” places the action in the future. Thus “narrative” can be “story” or “prediction”, “behavioural” can be “eulogy” or “exhortation”, “procedural” may stand for “how-it-was-done” or “how-to-do”, and “expository”, finally, can be a “scientific paper” or a “budget proposal” (see pp. 95ff);
- in the “warp” of the text there are syntactical “main-line” and “off-line” units;
- these two units are realizations of the deep structure distinction “foreground” vs. “background”;
- in the “warp” we also have the rhetoric elements that make up the profile of a story, namely exposition, inciting moment, developing conflict, climax, dénouement, final suspense and conclusion.

¹⁶ Its off-line clause types are participial clauses, clauses with *hāyā*, and clauses with another finite verb.

introduce background information, (b) to signal change of scene, and (c) to indicate peak event.

Chapter 5 deals with the Jephthah and Ruth narratives. In the Jephthah story, Judges 10:6–12:7, dialogue covers 54 per cent of the text, and accounts for the overwhelming majority of the subordinate clauses—42 out of 49.

The macro-syntax is outlined in a table (p. 157), from which can be seen which episodes start and/or end with non-subordinate off-line clause(s).¹⁷

The conversational parts are dealt with on pp. 164–175.¹⁸ Dawson discusses whether “narrative discourse” (= *oral narrative*) is distinct from *narrative proper*, in view of the fact that a catchword may be extended into a sequential account. Finally he concedes that this idea of Niccacci is right *per se*; but that the phenomenon—rather than being a distinct type of text in its own right—should be explained as being caused by the embedding of the conversational part in the speech formula clause (p. 121, 175). True, one should not draw too sharp a line between the literary use of these two kinds of “narrative”, but it should also be observed that the interruptive force of verbless clauses, as well as clauses with the subject in first position, is weaker in dialogue than in narration. Often the pattern *weqatal*—*x-yiqtol* in dialogue is due to a stylistically conditioned chiasm only.

In Ruth dialogue covers 57 per cent of the text, and again dialogue accounts for the overwhelming majority of the subordinate clauses—74 out of 87.

As before, off-line clauses are found in clusters in the beginning and the end of episodes:

- (a) In 1:1–5 beginning is grammatically marked; end is not.
- (b) In 1:6–19a beginning is unmarked, but the end is marked by a summarizing *wayyiqtol* clause (not commented upon by Dawson).
- (c) In 1:19b–1:22b beginning and end are grammatically marked.
- (d) In 2:1–17 it seems that *wayhi ke’efā še’orim* is held to perform a twin task: terminal/initial, but this is not explicitly stated, cf. p. 182.¹⁹
- (e) In 2:17–3:7 the end of ch. 2 (Ruth stays with her *hamot* ‘mother-in-law’), and the beginning of ch. 3 (*watto’mer lāh No’omi ḥamotāh* ‘her mother-in-law, Noomi, said to her’) are interpreted as belonging to one and the same episode, notwithstanding that the resumption of *hamot* ‘mother-in-law’ signals a new episode.
- (f) In 3:6–18 the beginning is clear from the subject matter.
- (g) In 4:1–13 the beginning is grammatically marked.
- (h) In 4:13–17 the beginning is clear from the subject matter.
- (i) 4:18–22 is a genealogy

¹⁷ The author notes that in Judges there is “no heavy syntactic marking, since the pericopes are clearly distinguishable on the basis of semantic content”, and in a footnote he asks whether “this identification by contents rather than by syntax is merely a matter of the author’s choice, and therefore ‘stylistic’” (p. 156).

¹⁸ Dawson, referring to Longacre’s discussion, *Joseph*, pp. 119–140, refrains from an analysis of the hortatory texts.

¹⁹ The author’s discussion (p. 165f., 177f., 182) betrays a confusion regarding the introductory use of *wayhi*, and *ḥāyā* as a predicate verb. See further Eshkult, p. 30 and the references given there, and Wintner-Nielsen, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

The section, “Ruth—The reported Speech Material” (pp. 187–208) looks promising. One is eager to find an answer to the question asked: whether text-type is a conditioning factor in deployment of clause types even in conversation material. Dawson has done a considerable amount of work. He has counted the clauses and the various verb forms, and has identified the text types—where this *can* be done. Text type in dialogue has a tendency to change rapidly within single catchwords! Unfortunately the result of these efforts is meagre.²⁰ It is stated (pp. 206ff.) that the conclusions are hindered by three factors (which obviously could not have been foreseen):

- (a) the data sample has been too small to make any but the most obvious, and the most tentative observations,
- (b) the text type within conversational material shifts rapidly,
- (c) the frequency of subordination obscures the text type.

To conclude, Dawson’s book is a useful introduction to Longacre’s linguistic method. His discussion of texts embedded in other texts is worth consideration, and certainly it is important to discern various text types—especially the expository one—when discussing clause types. A more detailed discussion of off-line clauses in text types other than ‘narrative history’ would not have been out of place. Apart from the confirmation of Longacre’s achievements, it seems, however, that the findings are fairly negative. Apparently, it is not possible to distinguish between “narrative” and “procedural” with regard to the past; and in dialogue, text types intermingle so that no conclusions can be drawn as to the relation between text type and clause type. The general drawback with Dawson’s book is, in the eyes of the present reviewer, *not* its theoretical foundation,²¹ nor its method, nor its three aims: evaluation, method and application, *but* rather the lack of integration between these three, plus obvious difficulties in the application of the method chosen to the problems posited.

²⁰ The conditioning factor for various kinds of clauses, *e.g.* collocated imperatives, or conjoined cohortatives, *instead of* a switch-over to *weqatal* (1:8; 2:2,12) is not treated. Furthermore, *weqatal* in the conditional sentence *weṣāmit weḥālak...weṣātit* (2:9), and after a presentative clause *'ānoki Rut 'amātēkā ufārāstā kenāfēka 'al-'amātēkā* (3:9) is left without discussion.

²¹ Naturally, the present reviewer disagrees on several points, *e.g.* Longacre writes: “I do not find per se that the grand dichotomy verb clause versus noun clause is useful. Rather I absorb it into a rank scheme that can be thought of as the verbal spectrum for narrative...In this scheme I assume a cline, a structural slope from clauses that are relatively dynamic to clauses that are relatively static..” (Joseph, p. 81). Thus for Longacre it is not a question of whether “noun clauses” stand out as static in contrast to the surrounding “verb clauses” which feature the sequential action presented in the verb. Instead it is a question of where, according to a more objective and external standard, various types of clauses are situated on the scale. It seems that the Longacre’s logical approach fails to trace the innermost idea behind the inter-clausal relations. The most important realization of static background in a narrative is a verbless clause, or a clause with the subject in first position. It should be borne in mind that all the relationships: anteriority, circumstance, setting, contrast *etc.*,—in one word ‘background’ in a broad sense—have one thing in common: they do not signify any proceeding in the action. Consequently, when a textual unit, stands for a number of logical relationships, one should look for the idea behind it.

From East to West: The Transmission of Maqāmas and Other Narrative Material*

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During the Middle Ages the Maghreb was an important link in the transmission of literature and sciences between the different parts of the Islamic world. The main stream of influences tended to go from the East, the central lands of the Caliphate, to the West, although the flourishing Spanish state(s) often managed to reverse the flux. Among the manifold influences that proceeded from the East to the West through the Maghreb, the literary influence is an important one. The present study will focus on one specific area of this vast influence, viz. narrative literature: maqāmas, anecdotes and tales (*Märchen*). This material was transmitted both orally and in written form, as will be seen. It will also be seen that neither linguistic nor cultural barriers were able to halt the stream: Arabic themes and motifs were diffused into Hebrew, Syriac and Persian literature in *Dār al-islām* and translated into Latin and Romance languages in Christian Europe. I shall not discuss the material in chronological order, but in descending order of literariness, beginning with maqāmas, which are a purely written genre, and which to my knowledge have never been diffused in anything other than written form.¹

It is well known that the genre of maqāma was created by al-Hamadhānī,² the Persian *homme-de-lettres* of the late 4th/10th century (d. 398/1007). When al-Hamadhānī actually wrote his maqāmas is somewhat uncertain and he may have written them over a lengthy period of time. If we believe the oft-repeated story about his controversy with Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (d. 383/993)³ in 382 (see, e.g., al-Hamadhānī, *Rasā'il*, p. 28–84)⁴—and there is no reason to disbelieve it—then he had written at least some of his maqāmas by 382. Al-Hamadhānī died in 398, being about forty at the time,⁵ so it seems probable that he may have written only some of his maqāmas by 382, and continued his activities later. (There is some evidence for dealing with the maqāmas not as a unified collection but as consisting of several layers.) Thus we may conclude that his maqāmas were written be-

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¹ It should be pointed out that the formal reading of written material in a *mağlis* does not make the mode of transmission oral. A chain TEXT (the teacher's book)—ORAL DELIVERY—TEXT (the student's note-book) does not differ much from the Mediaeval habit of copying manuscripts by dictation.

² The rather facile attempt of Zaki Mubarak (see his *La prose arabe au IV^e siècle de l'Hégire*) to find a predecessor for the Hamadhānian maqāma in the Forty Stories of Ibn Durayd has been sufficiently refuted by several scholars, and does not need to be refuted once again.

³ Ath-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīma* IV:209.

⁴ Parts of this long *risāla* are very often found in the biographical articles on al-Hamadhānī.

⁵ See, e.g., ath-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīma* IV:256–258.

tween (not much earlier than) 382 and 398, the year of his death, and that they were thus composed mainly in Nishapur and Herat, the places where al-Hamadhānī spent his last years.⁶

As the genre seems to have been much “in the air” in the times of al-Hamadhānī (cf. the *Hikāyat Abī'l-Qāsim* by al-Azdī, roughly contemporaneous with al-Hamadhānī, and the works of at-Tanūkhī, especially his *al-Faraḡ ba'da ash-shidda* etc.) it comes as no great surprise that the maqāmas were soon imitated by others.⁷ Ibn Nubāṭa (d. 405/1014) may have written his maqāma(s) independently of al-Hamadhānī—though I personally feel disinclined to believe in such coincidences—and very little is known of the works of Abū'l-Isbā' 'Abdal'azīz al-'Irāqī (late 10th century) who is credited with a maqāma of Resurrection.⁸ The earliest well-known follower of al-Hamadhānī in the East was the Christian doctor Ibn Buṭlān (d. 458/1066) whose medical maqāma⁹ has lately received deserved attention.¹⁰ Ibn Buṭlān wrote his maqāma in Constantinople after having resided for several years in Cairo so that it is possible that he was acquainted with al-Hamadhānī's work while still in Cairo.

If we turn our attention towards the West we note that the genre diffused rapidly to the Maghreb and al-Andalus. As far as I know, the first mark of Hamadhānian influence comes from early 11th-century Qayrawān where Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuṣrī included 19 maqāmas¹¹ by al-Hamadhānī in his compilation *Zahr al-ādāb* and spoke very highly about their author (p. 305). Many biographical works give 413 as the year of al-Ḥuṣrī's death, but there is a tradition that he completed his *Zahr al-ādāb* not earlier than 450 (al-qāḍī ar-Rashīd ibn az-Zubayr quoted in al-Wāfi VI:62), which fits in with the variant date 453 given for his death in several sources.¹² Although the question cannot be definitely solved I am prepared to accept the earlier date, as al-Ḥuṣrī speaks of ath-Tha'ālibī as still alive at the time of his writing *Zahr al-ādāb* (see Preface, p. 22). Ath-Tha'ālibī was probably born

⁶ Al-Hamadhānī travelled a lot in Iran during his lifetime, so that some maqāmas may have been written *en route*, which would nicely fit the vagabond themes of the genre.

⁷ For concise lists of maqāmas, see Blachère–Masnou and EI² s.v. *maqāma* (Brockelmann—[Pellat]). Neither of these lists is anywhere near complete.

⁸ Blachère–Masnou, p. 123, no. 2 (with reference to Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur I:524). Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur Supplementband I:432 mentions *Maqāmat fī l-kīmiyā'* by the author. Whatever the name of his work, it most probably does not belong to the maqāma-genre.

⁹ I prefer to call Physicians' Dinner Party a maqāma, as the story is written in a continuous form. Ibn Buṭlān is remarkably free in composing his work: the rigid norms of the later maqāmas did not yet put the authors into a narrow strait-jacket. It should be noted in passing that his work bears considerable resemblance to both al-Azdī's *Hikāya* and to the “Weaver of Words” (*Hā'ik al-kalām*; see A.F.L. Beeston, *The Genesis of the Maqāmat Genre*. JAL 2, 1971, p. 1–12—the story was widely known and it will be discussed in detail by the present writer in another article).

¹⁰ The text has been edited (Ibn Buṭlān, The Physician's Dinner Party. Wiesbaden 1985) and translated (*Ibn Buṭlān, Das Ärztbankett*. Stuttgart 1984) by F. Klein-Franke.

¹¹ Or 20 if we include maqāma 40, which is given as a risāla in *Zahr al-ādāb*. Note that Richards (The maqāmat of al-Hamadhānī: General remarks and a consideration of the manuscripts. JAL 22, 1991, p. 98) has overlooked one maqāma. The maqāmas are (using the enumeration of the standard editions which exclude ash-Shāmīya): 1–8+10–18+20+29+[40].

¹² See al-Wāfi VI:61ff., Yāqūt I:358ff. See also Ibn Rashīq, *Ummūdhaq*, p. 45ff.

in about 350 (see al-Wāfi XIX:194) and he died in 429 or 430. In 450 he would have been a centenarian and al-Huṣrī would have missed the news of his death by more than two decades. Also al-Huṣrī's student Ibn Sharaf (see below) would have been almost as old as his teacher if the latter died at a reasonably old age in 453.

Al-Huṣrī wrote his work in Qayrawān (al-Wāfi VI:61ff.) and he seems to have explicitly had in mind the desire to make the Eastern writers known in his home-land (loc.cit.). In the study of al-Hamadhānī's maqāmas his work is of prime importance, and it seems to prove, or at least give preference to, the assumption that al-Hamadhānī's maqāmas were not written as a unified collection but that there is to be discerned a group of maqāmas which circulated independently from the other collection and which most probably represents the earlier phase of the collection, as I shall endeavour to show in more detail in another context.

Al-Huṣrī's student Muḥammad ibn Abī Sa‘īd *Ibn Sharaf* (born about 390/1000, d. 460/1067)¹³ read *belles lettres* in his native Qayrawān with al-Huṣrī and may have become acquainted with al-Hamadhānī's work through al-Huṣrī. From Qayrawān Ibn Sharaf travelled to Sicily¹⁴ and from thence to Spain where he stayed for the rest of his life. Ibn Sharaf knew a collection of twenty maqāmas by al-Hamadhānī though he did not have access to all of them (*Ibn Sharaf, Masā'il al-intiqād*, p. 4). What is interesting is that he does not know of the existence of any larger collection of maqāmas.¹⁵ *Masā'il al-intiqād*, which was written in Spain between 449 and 460 (1057/1067),¹⁶ defines itself (p. 4) as an imitation of al-Hamadhānī although in reality the imitation does not amount to more than presenting a fictitious pair of interlocutors.

At the same time the maqāmas were imitated in Sicily by Muḥammad ibn al-Hasan at-Ṭubā Abū ‘Abdallāh aş-Şiqillī (al-Qiftī, *Inbāh* III:107–108), who wrote a collection which, according to al-Qiftī, “put the maqāmas of al-Hamadhānī to shame” (loc.cit.). According to al-Qiftī, he was still alive in 450 in Sicily “wa-azunnuhu ‘āsha ba‘da dhālikā muddatan”. His poems were widely known on the island (al-Qiftī, *Muhammadūn*, p. 256).

Slightly earlier was the Spanish vizier Abū ‘Āmir Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdalmalik *Ibn Shuhayd* (b. 382/992, d. 426/1035 in Córdoba),¹⁷ who seems to have known the collection of al-Hamadhānī. It is not certain which version he knew but it is worth mentioning that the reference to the maqāmas in his *R. at-Tawābi‘ wa’z-zawābi‘*

¹³ His biography is conveniently compiled by Pellat in the Introduction of *Masā'il al-intiqād*, q.v. See also *Ibn Rashīq, Unmūdhağ*, p. 273ff. and *Ibn Dihya, Muṭrib*, p. 67ff. as well as *al-Wāfi* III:97ff.

¹⁴ Note that *Ibn Rashīq, Unmūdhağ*, p. 45, explicitly says that al-Huṣrī's works became known in Sicily. Although this would have been natural in any case, one may suggest the Ibn Sharaf had a part in making his teacher known on the island of Sicily.

¹⁵ The present standard edition consists of 51 maqāmas to which one may add the expurgated *ash-Shāmīya* which raises the total to 52 maqāmas, although many manuscripts have smaller collections. See provisionally D.S. Richards, The maqāmat of al-Hamadhānī: General remarks and a consideration of the manuscripts. *JAL* 22, 1991, p. 89–90.

¹⁶ Arié, Notes, p. 204.

¹⁷ See *Ibn Dihya, Muṭrib*, p. 158ff., *al-Wāfi* VII:144ff., *Yāqūt* I:218–219.

(water description, in al-maqāma al-Mađīrīya p. 79)¹⁸ comes from a maqāma not included in the selection of al-Huṣrī, although this does not necessarily mean that it was not among the collection used by al-Huṣrī, who says in his Zahr al-ādāb (p. 306 referring to what he had written in the preface, p. 33–34) that he has excluded the longer maqāmas to which Mađīrīya may well have belonged.

Thus we have seen that the collection of al-Hamadhānī became rapidly known—and imitated—in the Islamic West: half a century after the death of the Eastern author his works had become part of the literary canon in the far West. Later, though, as is well known, his maqāmas were superseded by those of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122). Al-Ḥarīrī read his maqāmas with hundreds of eager admirers—as well as imitators—in his home in Baghdad in the early 6th century; to give but one example, the isnād of Ibn Khayr, who died in Córdoba in 575/1180, reaches back to al-Ḥarīrī in Baghdad in 504/1111 (Fahrasa, p. 387).¹⁹ Symptomatically, Ibn Khayr does not mention al-Hamadhānī's maqāmas anymore, although he had read al-Huṣrī's Zahr al-ādāb (Fahrasa, p. 380). Al-Ḥarīrī's work was often imitated in Spain as well as commented on—the standard commentary still being that of ash-Sharīfī (d. 619/1222). The vogue enjoyed by the maqāmas became considerable in Spain, and they were imitated by al-Ḥarīzī (d. in the early 13th century) in Hebrew. Moreover, the Andalusian maqāma—which had developed considerably from al-Hamadhānī's and al-Ḥarīrī's maqāmas—even returned to conquer North Africa.²⁰

A crucial, but often superficially studied question in the field of Arabic and European literary relations is whether the Arabic maqāma had any influence on European literature, and specifically on the Spanish picaresque novel. Among the Arabists, J.T. Monroe has recently exhibited sound scepticism on this question,²¹ but on the other hand, e.g., Brockelmann—[Pellat] (El²) have taken such influence almost for granted.²² This question cannot be tackled here but suffice it to say that at least the present writer is very sceptical about any possible influence. As long as no credible source for the influence can be shown, there is no reason to presume any influence, especially as the maqāmas were not popular folklore, thus more or less excluding the possibility of oral influence (which would be difficult to pinpoint). The incredible popularity of maqāma among the Arabic-speaking

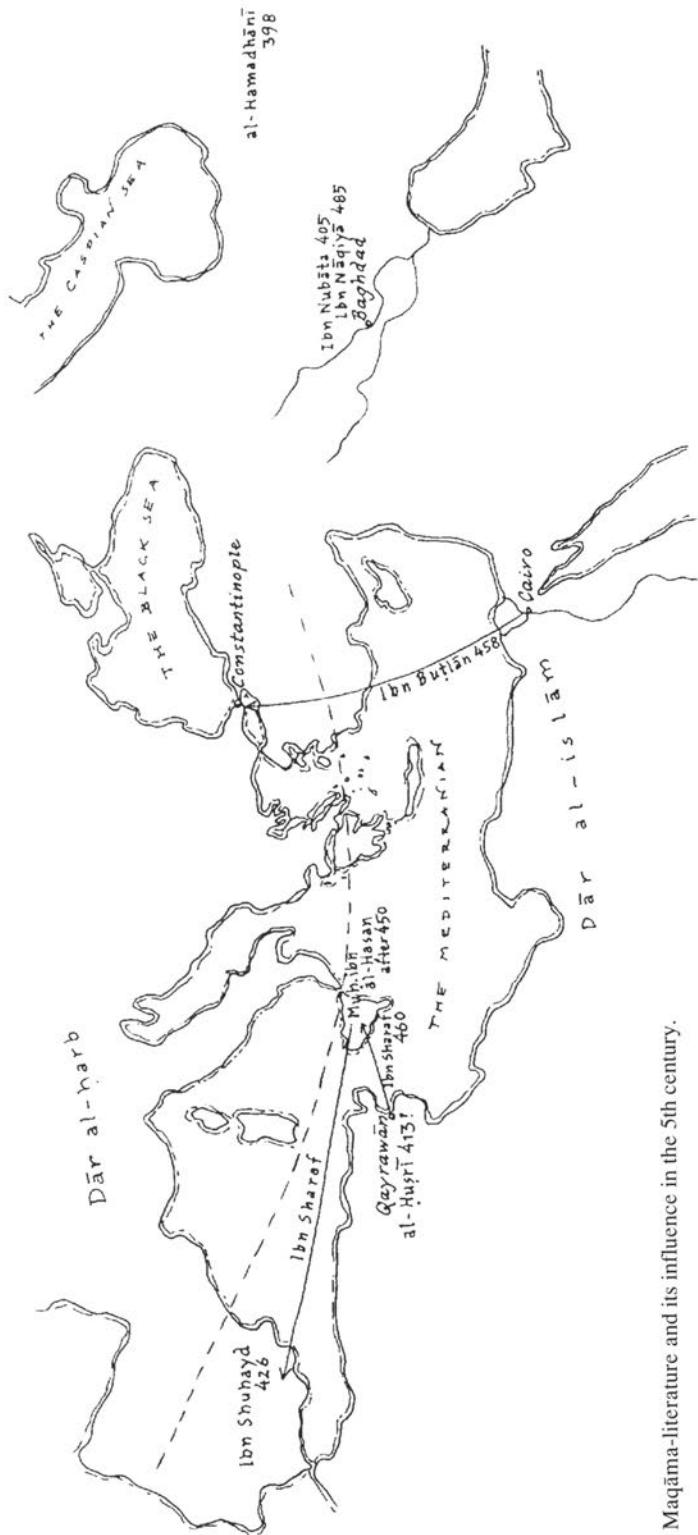
¹⁸ See J.T. Monroe, *Risālat at-Tawābi' wa z-zawābi'*. The Treatise of Familiar Spirits and Demons by Abū 'Āmir ibn Shuhaid al-Ashja'ī, al-Andalusī. University of California Publications. Near Eastern Studies 15, 1971. Elements of the same description are found (anonymously in al-Huṣrī, Zahr al-ādāb, p. 235, and in another maqāma of al-Hamadhānī (no. 18 Qazwīnīya) which has been included in Zahr al-ādāb (p. 1111–1113).

¹⁹ Pierre MacKay, Certificates of Transmission on a Manuscript of the Maqāmāt of Ḥarīrī. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society NS 61:4, 1971.

²⁰ For the Andalusian maqāma in general, see Rachel Arié, Notes sur la maqāma andalouse. *Hespéris* 9, 1968, p. 201–217; N. Nemah, Andalusian maqāmāt. *JAL* 5, 1974, p. 83–92; C. Brockelmann—[Ch. Pellat], article makāma in El². De la Granja's *Maqāmas y risālas andaluzas. Tracucciones y estudios*. Madrid 1976, has not been available to me.

²¹ The Art of Badī' az-zamān al-Hamadhānī as Picaresque Narrative. Beirut 1983.

²² The attempt of A.M. Rambaldo (*El Libro del Buen Amor y las Makamas árabes hispano-hebreas*. *Sefarad* 40, 1980, p. 141–145) to show the dependence of Libro de Buen Amor on the maqāma tradition is not very convincing.



Maqāma-literature and its influence in the 5th century.

literati²³ in Dār al-Islām did not provide the stimulus for it to cross the boundaries to Dār al-ḥarb, Christian Europe.

In the other narrative genres, anecdotes and tales, the picture is more variegated: here, too, the centre of activity was in the East²⁴ but the reverse route of influences was not negligible: Ibn ‘Abdrabbih’s collection *al-‘Iqd al-farīd*, to take but one example, was well known in the East, too. In the field of literary anecdotes, the picture—if we exclude the reverse stream from West to East—is very similar to that of maqāmas. Many scholars travelled to the East and brought manuscripts back with them, and some—the most famous of all being al-Qālī, d. 356/967—were even sent for by the Umayyad rulers and invited to Spain, where they must have had a similar position as the “genteel” people who went to South America from Golden Age Spain taking with them the latest news and vogues of the Court. “Eastern” collections were read as such (cf. e.g. the list of manuscripts in Ibn Khayr’s *Fahrasa*) and new ones were compiled largely of Eastern material (cf. the above mentioned Zahr al-ādāb as well as *al-‘Iqd al-farīd*, the majority of which is based on Eastern material²⁵), although some have a considerable amount of Western material (e.g. Ibn ‘Āṣim’s *Hadā’iq al-azāhir*).

Similarly, the literary tale collections (*Kalīla wa-Dimna* among others) were transmitted through the Maghreb. Ibn Sharaf, to take but one example, knew *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and imitated (‘ārāda) it in his *Kitāb az-zamān*.²⁶ The fate of this material differs from that of the maqāmas mainly in that it crossed the boundary between the Christian and Muslim worlds. In Spain, several tale collections were translated into Spanish or Latin (mainly by Jews, often in collaboration with Christians, who were better versed in Latin). The earliest collections to be translated were *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (*Calila e Digna*, about 1251) and *Libro de los Engannos* (1253).²⁷ In the field of anecdotes, the most important mediator was *Disciplina Clericalis* by Petrus Alphonsi (d. 1110). As the author himself says in the Introduction and as an analysis of the material confirms, this was partly translated from Arabic sources.²⁸

²³ Note that in this context the word ‘popular’ has no etymological overtones whatsoever: the maqāmas were not read by the people (*populus*). This point has been missed, e.g., by D. Pinault in his *Story-Telling Techniques in the Arabian Nights*. Leiden 1992, p. 235–236.

²⁴ Even outside the Caliphate, as many of the tales originate from India, but this side of the question has to be left outside our discussion in this context: that many of the tales, and even some of the collections, come from India is an unquestionable fact.

²⁵ Cf. the source study by Werkmeister. It should be noted that Werkmeister overestimates the role of oral tradition: lack of word-to-word consistency with the source is definitely not an indication of oral tradition, as the Mediaeval writers were not interested in word-to-word tradition of material except in the case of the Qur’ān, ḥadīths, ancient poetry etc.

²⁶ Ibn Dihya, *Mutrib*, p. 67. Ibn Sharaf also mentioned *Kalīla wa-Dimna* as an example of fictive writing in his preface to the *Masā’il al-intiqād* (p. 4), as, by the way, Ibn Buṭlān had also done in his Physicians’ Dinner Party (p. 3: “‘alā madhhabi Kalīla wa-Dimna”).

²⁷ See Angel Del Río, *Historia de la literatura española*. I. Barcelona 1988, p. 156–157.

²⁸ Some of the Arabic parallels are marked in the notes of Hermes, The ‘Disciplina Clericalis’ of Petrus Alfonsi. London 1977 (p. 178–191), several are added in the valuable contribution of Schwarzbau (International folklore motifs in Petrus Alphonsi’s “Disciplina Clericalis”, several articles in *Sefarad*) and more recently in Marzolph’s *Arabian Ridens*.

Anecdotes and tales were also transmitted orally as is the wont of folklore material all over the world. Material was transmitted directly from the Maghreb, probably Tunisia, to Sicily; the Sicilian Giufà is obviously a version of Ġuhā.²⁹ The numerous occurrences of Arabic motifs in Spanish literature (in the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes*,³⁰ Don Juan Manuel's *El Conde Lucanor* etc.) are partly taken from oral material (which must have crossed the language barrier during the times when Arabic culture was dominant in the Peninsula), partly from the Mediaeval translations (*Disciplina clericalis* etc.). Through these sources, several works of European literature show clear traces of Arabic influence. Among the most famous one may mention *Aucassin et Nicolette*; *the Decamerone*; *the Canterbury Tales*; *fabliaux*, all greatly indebted to Arabic material.

The time allotted for individual papers does not allow me to discuss the material in detail, so let me conclude with one specific case of the literary interrelations of the Mediterranean world, viz. the famous *la casa lóbrega* episode in *Lazarillo de Tormes*.³¹ The episode has diffused from the oral tradition into several of the great classics of world history. It has also become part of the Ġuhā cycle from which it may be familiar to many of you.

The story is told in *Lazarillo* (p. 96) in the first person. The boy, at the time the servant of the impoverished *escudero*, hears how a woman laments besides the bier of her beloved husband in the following words:

Marido y señor mío, ¿adónde os me llevan? ¡A la casa triste y desdichada, a la casa lóbrega y obscura, a la casa donde nunca comen ni beben!

The boy hears the words, panics and runs to warn his poor master that “¡nos traen acá un muerto!”

Some three centuries before the anonymous writer of *Lazarillo*, the great mystic of Iran, Ḥalāladdīn Rūmī had used the same story in his *Masnavī-yi Ma‘navī* (II: 3116–3127 with the mystic commentary in v. 3128–3154). Whereas the two literary masters elaborate the scene for their own purposes, the story is told with almost folkloric conciseness by the Spanish writer Ibn ‘Āṣim (Ḥadā’iq, p. 150).

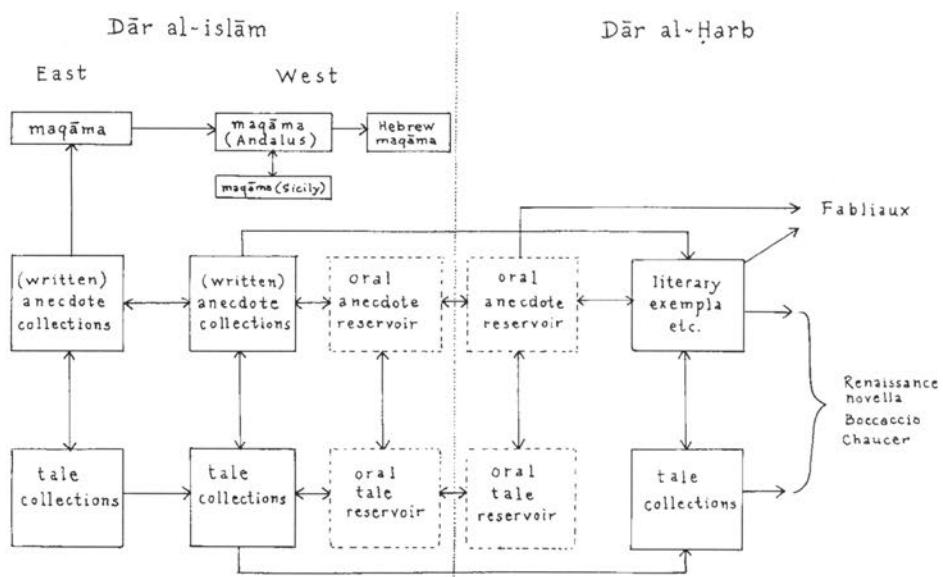
This anecdote, more than any other single story, exemplifies the manifold and complicated literary relations between the Islamic East, the Islamic West and Christian Europe. The same story has been told for centuries by common people in Arabic, Persian and Spanish, and has been adopted in several literary works of undeniable quality in the same three languages. In the face of this anecdote, one cannot

²⁹ See Fr.M. Corrao, *The Infraction of the Religious Codes in the Mediterranean Folk Literature. The case of the Islamic Ġuhā and the Sicilian Giufà*. The Arabist – Budapest Studies in Arabic 9–10, 1994, p. 283–293 (with further references).

³⁰ One should avoid the frequent mistake of interpreting the presence of Arabic material in *Lazarillo* as an indication of its genetic linkage with *maqāmas*. Arabic folklore had become an unavoidable element in Spanish folklore during the centuries of cohabitation.

³¹ The theme has been often noted before, most recently by Marzolph in his *Das Haus ohne Essen und Trinken*. The references are to the edition of Fr. Rico, but note that the edition of J.V. Ricapito (*Lazarillo de Tormes*. Ediciones Cátedra. Madrid 1977) contains useful references (p. 170 note 123).

help feeling how vain it is to speak of any boundaries in Mediterranean literature. What we have is a single literary world stretching from the Atlantic to the Ganges, from the Sahara to the woodlands of Central Europe.



Transmission of the Narrative Material Between the Islamic East, the Islamic West and the Christian Europe.

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Arabic Dialectology: The State of the Art

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Recently a Festschrift was presented to the renowned Finnish Arabist Heikki Palva. The book consists of papers from nearly all the specialists now working within the field of Arabic vernaculars and is therefore a worthy tribute to one of the most eminent Arabic dialectologists of our time. At the same time, however, the contributions form a cross-section of the best there is in Arabic dialectology today. For that reason, the work deserves a review in its own right, as a presentation of the achievements and goals of present Arabic dialectology.

Dialectologia Arabica. A Collection of Articles in Honour of the Sixtieth Birthday of Professor Heikki Palva. Ed. by Tapani Harviainen, Asko Parpolo and Harry Halén. Studia Orientalia, 75. Helsinki: The Finnish Oriental Society, 1995.

Farida Abu-Haidar: “*The Linguistic Content of Iraqi Popular Songs*”. The Festschrift begins with a contribution by Farida Abu-Haidar. Among earlier works by the same author are an important description of the central-north Lebanese Arabic dialect of Baskinta,¹ a contribution to the Leslau Festschrift about sex-related linguistic characteristics among expatriate Iraqis,² and a study of the Christian Arabic dialect of Baghdad.³ Thus, the author is very competent to examine the popular songs of Iraq. She starts with the remark that, to date, there has been little interest in the vocal content of Iraqi music and, in filling this gap, she focuses on eight popular Iraqi songs with the intention of analysing their linguistic content. The songs were recorded in Baghdad between 1959 and 1966.

The subgrouping of the paper is imprecise. Heading 4, “Phonological features”, covers, among other things, the forms of the 1st pers. sing. pronoun. Heading 5, “Grammatical features”, includes “Syllable structure” (5.1) and syntax. Heading 6, “Glossary”, contains some typical Iraqi terms used in the songs. Cases of *licentia poetica* are discussed as phonological or morphological features, both under headings 4 and 5. Since grammar is usually taken to include the phonetics of a language, a better subgrouping would have been the traditional one: phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon.

Iraqi popular songs are generally classified in a way that is similar to the sociolinguistic classification of the Arabic dialects, that is, there are urban songs and ru-

¹ F. Abu-Haidar, *A Study of the Spoken Arabic of Baskinta*, James G. Forlong Fund, 28, Leiden & London: Brill, 1979.

² F. Abu-Haidar, “Language and Sex: The Case of Expatriate Iraqis”, in *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of His Eighty-Fifth Birthday, November 14th, 1991*, edited by A. S. Kaye, vol. 1, 28–38, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991.

³ F. Abu-Haidar, *Christian Arabic of Baghdad*, Semitica Viva, 7, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1992.

ral/Bedouin songs. However, even urban songs are often adorned with Bedouin linguistic features, like the pronunciation of *g* as *q*, and *č* as *k*, and the use of typically Bedouin lexical items. Such a re-utilization of Bedouin features in songs is common in other Arab countries as well.

After an introduction which is mainly concerned with metrical features, the eight Iraqi songs are presented in transcription with English translations. Then follows an analysis of their phonological, morphological and syntactic characteristics. The author reflects that the language of the songs often seems to be “of a composite nature where urban, rural/Bedouin and classical Arabic elements are freely blended”. This is nothing to be surprised at, considering the nature of the songs and the mixed dialectal map that characterizes Baghdad (clarified by H. Blanc in his classical *Communal Dialects of Baghdad* (1964)). This means, of course, that the linguistic features of the songs cannot be attributed to a specific Iraqi dialect, which limits their value for a discussion of the Iraqi dialects.

Some of the linguistic features of the songs are inadequately described. What Abu-Haidar calls elision of *a-* in word junction, for example, *ana atrayyag minna* > *ana trayyag mina*, “I have breakfast from it”, is not a separate elision phenomenon, but another example of the already described elision of the glottal stop in initial position (for example *lā'āni* > *lāni*). The “phonological feature” (4.3), “Loss of gemination”, which Abu-Haidar reports “takes place when the metre and rhyme scheme have to be adhered to”, is not a phonological feature at all, but an example of *licentia poetica*. The same holds true for sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.1.1 (there is no 5.1.1.2).

Under the heading “Phonological features”, two varieties of the 1st pers. sing. independent pronoun are listed:

āna Sometimes shortened to *ana*. Attributed to south-western Iraqi

āni Never shortened. Attributed to Baghdadi

I doubt that this is a phonological feature. The long initial *ā* of the 1st pers. sing. pronoun is a characteristic of the *gilit* Mesopotamian Arabic dialects, as distinct from the *qəltu* dialects. The Muslim (but not Christian or Jewish) Baghdadi exhibits the form *āni* (but Jewish and Christian Baghdadi *ana*). Some *gilit* dialects have retained a presumably older form *āna*, which is also found in the songs. Both forms *āni* and *āna*, together with the *qəltu* and Standard Arabic *ana* in one and the same song (V), account for the mixed linguistic character of the texts. I know of only one *qəltu* dialect showing a long *ā* in the first syllable of the 1st pers. sing. pronoun and that is the dialect of Albū Kmāl in eastern Syria, spoken by settlers from 'Āna in Iraq.⁴

An interestingly frequent use of the imperative is described in section 5.3, “Verbal forms” (Heading 5: “Grammatical features”). The imperative is a popular poetical device in many literatures to convey a feeling of “imminent immediacy” and is so in many Iraqi popular songs, for example, *jaawib la tSiir i'naadi*, “Answer, don't be obstinate!”. However interesting this may be, it is a literary device and not a grammatical feature.

⁴ P. Behnstedt, “Qəltu-Dialekte in Ost-Syrien”, *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 24 (1992): 35–59.

The bibliography is very brief. At least Haim Blanc, *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*,⁵ and Otto Jastrow, *Die mesopotamisch–arabischen qəltu–Dialekte*,⁶ should have been consulted by the author.

Lidia Bettini: “*Trois contes féminins du moyen Euphrate*”. This important contribution to Arabic dialectology consists of three short tales by a woman narrator from eastern Syria, living in the village of ‘Ašāra about 60 km down the river from Dēr ez-Zōr. The three texts were recorded in September 1993 and are consistently transcribed and translated, though without analysis or commentary. Since very few texts have been published from this region, these three enhance significantly our knowledge of the eastern Syrian and northern Iraqi dialects.⁷ A close reading of the texts confirms this reflection. Sixty kilometres down the Euphrates from Dēr ez-Zōr, a dialect is spoken that is clearly not of the *qəltu* type, nor of the “normal” Syro-Palestinian type. The 1cs pronoun is *āni* (not *ana*), the 1cs⁸ ending of the perfect conjugation is *-(i)t* (not *-tu*, as in the *qəltu* dialects), and the 3mp perfect ending is *-aw* (not *-u*). In fact, even the Dēr ez-Zōr dialect shows traces of an *-aw* ending in the perfect, namely as a *-o-* < **-aw-* before object suffixes. This influence of the verbs III inf. Otto Jastrow regards as an indication that the dialect of Dēr ez-Zōr is positioned in a *gilit* superstratum.⁹ Obviously, ‘Ašāra is part of that superstratum, which brings out in relief the local tradition related by Bettini that the *gla’iyyīn*—among which the ‘Ašāra inhabitants are reckoned—are autochthonous in the region and to be distinguished from the *qəltu* speakers in Dēr ez-Zōr upstream and Albū Kmāl downstream (near the Iraqi border). The ‘Ašāra dialect reveals a rather close affinity with the rural *gilit* dialects of Iraq. Except for the features already mentioned, gender distinction is upheld in the plural of the verb and the pronouns (as distinct from the *qəltu* dialects and the *gilit* city dialects), and the 3fs pronominal suffix is invariably *-ha*. However, the tendency to disyllabism in 3rd pers. independent pronouns is not as strong as is usual in the *gilit* dialects (3fs *hiyye*,¹⁰ but 3mp *hum*), and more importantly, the form of the 3ms pronominal suffix is *-u(h)/-hu*¹¹ (not *-a/-ø* as, for example, in the dialect of the Baghdadi Muslims). The latter feature is clearly a Bedouin characteristic and connects the ‘Ašāra dialect with some Syro-Mesopotamian border dialects that are reckoned to be of the Bedouin North Arabian type, for example, *Faḍl* and *N̄ēm* (although the 3mp pronoun is disyllabic: *homma*). The

⁵ Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, 10, Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University, 1964.

⁶ Two volumes, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 43:4 and 46:1, Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1978 and 1981.

⁷ O. Jastrow, *Die mesopotamisch–arabischen qəltu–Dialekte*, vol. 1, *Phonologie und Morphologie* (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 43:4, Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1978), pp. 28 and 274. Some dialects of the region are treated in P. Behnstedt, “M’adḍamīye: ein neuer *qəltu*-Dialekt aus Syrien”, *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 22 (1990): 44–66, and *idem*, “*Qəltu*-Dialekte in Ost-Syrien”, *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 24 (1992): 35–59.

⁸ First person *communis generis* singular, etc.

⁹ Jastrow, *qəltu–Dialekte*, 216 f., 237, 248.

¹⁰ With *imāla* in III:12. Otherwise presumably *hiyya*.

¹¹ The first form after a consonant, the second after a vowel.

postconsonantal allomorph *-hu*—amply attested in the three texts—must be regarded as quite archaic (*Faḍl* in fact *-h*). The pronoun *āni* was regarded by Jean Cantineau as a characteristic of the small-cattle-herding (sheep and goats) Bedouin of Syria.¹² In footnote 2, Lydia Bettini gives a few reflections on the affinities of the ‘Ašāra dialect. She apparently reckons the Bedouin dialects of Syria as a third group, distinct from that of ‘Ašāra. Her further elaborations on this point in a future work will be highly appreciated.

Dominique Caubet, “*ža, élément narratif dans le récit familier en arabe marocain*”. Dominique Caubet is a specialist in Moroccan Arabic dialects and here makes an original contribution to the syntax of “the” Moroccan dialect, the data being collected from a family of peasants (both children and adults) living in daily contact with the city of Fez. The paper concerns what might be regarded a syntactic particle in the making, still rather transparent in origin. The particle *ža* is also used as a regular verb, *ža/yži* “to come, arrive”, but as a particle it is used almost exclusively in the perfect (m. *ža*, f. *žāt*, pl. *žāw*). The verb, which corresponds to Standard Arabic *ğā'a/yağ'ū*, has thus come to be utilized in Moroccan as a particle for the vivid expression of the progressive aspect or for an immediate intention of the subject. So far, this is a common type of innovation among the Arabic dialects. We need only compare the *kū- < ykūn < yakūnu* prefix in Anatolia, and *kā- < kā'in* in Morocco and Algeria.¹³ The latter syntactic modifiers, however, are prefixed to the imperfect form of the main verb and used in all types of speech. This is not the case with *ža*. *ža* in Moroccan Arabic is used exclusively in narrative contexts, and not only before the imperfect. Usually (but not always), it is followed by an independent pronoun: *ža hūwa gāl l-u*, “But to the other one he said”. This is not, of course, a simple progressive marker but serves the primary purpose of attracting the attention of the audience, making them see what the narrator sees (in his mind). Mrs. Caubet mentions two types of texts in which this syntactic feature is frequent: scoffing stories and narrative familiar speech. The two main constructions are *ža* in the perfect plus independent pronoun (or nominal phrase), and *ža* in the perfect plus verb in the perfect. The predominance of the perfect is probably due to the restriction to narrative texts. Mrs. Caubet concludes that *ža* marks the intrusion of a person in the narrative, for the expression of (1) a first presentation, (2) a sudden action of an already known person, (3) something he says, (4) distinction between two male or female persons. The phrase with the *ža* is uttered vividly and the narrator thereby wants to maintain the attention of his or her audience and often the expression is emotional.

Madiha Doss: “*Some Remarks on the Oral Factor in Arabic Linguistics*”. Madiha Doss graduated in Paris in 1991 with a dissertation on the Arabic language in Egypt.¹⁴ In this paper, she makes some important clarifications as to the feature of

¹² J. Cantineau, “*Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d’Orient*,” *Annales de l’Institut d’Études Orientales* 2 (1936): 1–118, 3 (1937): 119–237, esp. 173.

¹³ W. Fischer and O. Jastrow, eds., *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*, Porta Linguarum Orientalium, N.S. 16, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1980, 75.

¹⁴ *L’arabe en Egypte: Étude évolutive d’une langue de relation*.

orality in language and especially the Arabic language, and then applies the concept of orality to an Egyptian manuscript dating from the 17th century. As has long been recognized, oral style is additive rather than subordinate and exhibits a larger number of coordinative elements. Subordinating conjunctions, for example, are rare. Doss aptly remarks that orality is a feature that may be extant in written texts as well as in speech. Concerning Arabic, in particular, Barbara Johnstone has said that there is “a historical link between contemporary prose and older spoken discourse forms”,¹⁵ which means that Modern Standard Arabic is by its nature paratactic and that in Arabic language is made “poetic” by repetitions, parataxis and formulas. Since these are features that are even more apparent in the old pre-Islamic prose, Johnstone’s and Doss’s statements are very convincing, not to say self-evident. The Arabic language, as Doss says, is based on an oral development. But “features of orality are not to be confused with the different aspects of the spoken language”,¹⁶ that is dialect. Doss maintains that this point of view has not been adopted in any study of the Arabic language. She is probably right. It is time to consider the oral factor in the written language as well.

The text that Doss examines with these ideas in mind is a collection of stories about the rivalling factions in Egypt, the Faqārīs and the Qāsimīs. The author is Muṣṭafā ibn al-Ḥāgg Ibrāhīm al-Qīnālī, who seems to have been an eyewitness of or partaker in the military activities. The language in the document reveals several dialectal features, most notably the particle *b-* prefixed to the imperfect and the personal pronouns *inti* (f.s.) and *intu* (pl.). But the language is also substandard in other ways. The text is inconsistent or ambiguous as to the reference of pronouns, and the five extant manuscripts reveal a totally divergent order of the events described. This makes Doss hypothesize an oral origin for the chronicles. The written text is traced back to an initial oral transmission. At a later stage, it was written down by different scribes, possibly for use in a military, uneducated milieu. Doss examines the document and finds examples of ambiguity, asyndetic constructions, ellipsis, etc., which are taken to reveal a text closer to the code of speech. She is certainly right as to the document examined. However, was that the intention expressed in the introductory sections on orality in written documents? Having been introduced to the interesting idea of an oral residue in the Arabic standard language the reader expects something more from the example text than a series of soldiers’ stories that reveal oral elements because they were oral before they were put down on paper to ensure their proper transmission. It is easy to agree with Madiha Doss that the “analysis of more texts of this variety can be of a great usefulness to the understanding of the history of Arabic and also of its present day social uses”. Yes, but why just “of this variety”? Why not examine with fresh eyes examples of mainstream Arabic narrative literature?

Kerstin Eksell: “Complexity of Linguistic Change as Reflected in Arabic Dialects”. In this important study, Kerstin Eksell presents the main issues in the difficult field

¹⁵ B. Johnstone, “‘Orality’ and Discourse Structure in Modern Standard Arabic”, in *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics I: Papers from the First Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*, edited by M. Eid, held at the University of Utah, April 24–25, 1987, 215–233, Amsterdam, 1990. Quoted from Doss’s paper, p. 50.

¹⁶ Doss, 52.

of Arabic historical linguistics. It is an inventory of problem areas, with an emphasis on syntax, and at the same time a brief survey of research. As Eksell notes, “studies in the history of Arabic language and factors underlying linguistic change are few, especially syntactic ones” (63). The few scholars who dare to publish in this field tend to overemphasize a single idea from general historical linguistics, such as diglossia, pidginization, creolization, koineization and code-switching. While acknowledging the validity of such ideas, Eksell emphasizes the complexity of the process and at the same time the human factor underlying it. Language is a social behaviour of man: “The differences between *Jahiliyya* Arabic and New Arabic appear to a great extent as a historical shift from a tribal/semi-nomadic society to a settled society with ethnic plurality” (63). A target of her critique is the frequently made supposition of unattested stages in the development of the Arabic language. This, of course, pertains to Ferguson’s idea of a military koine as a basis for New Arabic (the stage or “type” or “common denominator” of the modern dialects), but also Versteegh’s pidgin-language theory. Such fictive language strata had to be invented because of the underlying supposition that the available linguistic material exhibits features that occur in New Arabic but not in Old Arabic. The latter entity is the traditional term for the supposed linguistic stage, distinct from Classical Arabic, from which the modern dialects developed. Eksell points out that there existed a large number of regional dialects prior to the written evidence of Old Arabic and suggests that “this continuum of dialects with its fluctuations and shifts we should courageously admit to be the origin of Old Arabic, instead of looking for the miraculous missing dialect or koine form” (65). Versteegh puts forward thirty-four such features, supposed neologisms not occurring in *Jahiliyya* Arabic, without any differentiation as to period of time, diachronic level and cultural setting. Some of them are discussed by Eksell and found to have been inherited from Old Arabic, for example, the loss of the glottal stop and the assimilation of the feminine endings into -a (cf. the Qur’anic spelling), and the tendency to lose postconsonantal -h in the pronominal 3ms suffix. The latter tendency is not so strong and so universal as Versteegh seems to imply, and Eksell rightly points out that it cannot be adduced as a characteristic of New Arabic. A postconsonantal pronominal -h is found in the dialects of the whole Arabian peninsula (with a few exceptions: the Syro-Mesopotamian border dialects, Mecca and northernmost Yemen). In Egypt, some dialects have retained the -h (for example, the oasis dialects), and in the Maghreb it is frequently retained as an allo-morph in special environments (for example, in Tunis, a postconsonantal allomorph is used as object suffix before an indirect suffix pronoun).¹⁷ However, whether the loss of a postconsonantal -h is an example of a relatively recent, parallel development in several dialectal areas or a phenomenon inherited from Old Arabic, as Eksell suggests, remains an open question.

Several traits of the modern Arabic dialects are typical of diachronically “later” Semitic languages in general. Eksell mentions the loss of the dual number in all dialects and the loss of gender distinction in the plural in the sedentary dialects. One

¹⁷ H.-R. Singer, *Grammatik der arabischen Mundart der Medina von Tunis*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984.

could have added the loss of the case-marking by final short vowels. The most conspicuous features of the Arabic dialects are thus to be considered the result of a general drift, caused by the general language type of Semitic, which makes it improbable that the change would be the outcome of the conquest period (with its resulting “koine”), although Eksell cautions that we “should distinguish between the telos of Arabic and the general drift of Semitic languages” (65). In this context, Eksell analyses some developments in the syntax of the dialects. She begins with one of the fields in which she is an expert, the genitive constructions, and mentions that she believes the development of an analytical genitive (cf. the above-mentioned loss of case-marking) by way of a substantival genitive exponent to be a pidgin feature. But the main part of her syntactic discussion concerns the verbal system. Eksell chooses nine dialects thought to be representative of the Arabic dialectal area (leaving out the Arabian Peninsula and Egypt), and makes a thought-provoking, comparative survey of the various particles used to renew the expression of the progressive aspect by prefixing them to the prefix conjugation form (for example, *b*-imperfect in the Syro-Palestinian area and *ka*-imperfect in Morocco). As Eksell notes, one difficulty is that the various grammars used for reference use different systems of classification: some speak of a renewal in terms of tense, others of aspect, others again of *Aktionsart*. Eksell concludes that this diversity reflects a complexity in the renewal process itself, some particles denoting progressive action rather than aspect, others having both *Aktionsart* and aspect significance, etc. It may be so. But the diverse standpoints of the grammars make the discussion in this instance uncertain. An analysis of aspect, mode of action, and/or tense changes in different dialects should be made by scholars sharing the same theoretical framework, otherwise comparisons may not be meaningful. However, her paper is meant to be a discussion of problems within the field of Arabic historical linguistics and not a full-scale, comparative investigation of changes in the verbal system. Some statements, therefore, will need further qualifications in another place, for example, “The great majority of changes, and almost all, if we agree that the *b*-imperfect originally marked only actual present/progressive action, affects the *Aktionsarten* and not the tenses or the aspects”. Do we really agree? I doubt that. In a series of dialects in the Arabian Peninsula, the *b(i)*-imperfect designates what Fischer-Jastrow calls “der gerade in Gang befindlichen Handlung”,¹⁸ which is as much as an expression of an aspect. This expression of the progressive aspect, of course, may be widened to denote also the general present, as in Syria and in Cairo. Eksell aptly cites F. Rundgren’s *Erneuerung* from 1963,¹⁹ and I suspect that in many (but not necessarily all) cases the first stage in the renewal by a particle prefixed to the imperfect was the new and fresh expression of the progressive aspect, which soon became capable of designating a general truth as well.

Kerstin Eksell’s valuable discussion ends with the highly likely suggestion of an Aramaic substrate for the Syro-Iraqi area. In addition to the evidence of Cypriot Arabic adduced by her, I would like to mention the discussion of the origin of the

¹⁸ Fischer-Jastrow, *Handbuch*, 75.

¹⁹ F. Rundgren, *Erneuerung des Verbalaspekts im Semitischen. Funktionell-diachronische Studien*, Uppsala, 1963.

-hon/-kon pronominal suffixes in the Syro-Lebanese area. Most scholars seem to end up with a consciousness of the Aramaic substratal influence.²⁰

Wolfdietrich Fischer: “Zum Verhältnis der neuarabischen Dialekte zum Klassisch-Arabischen”. In this contribution, the renowned Wolfdietrich Fischer reconsiders the much discussed, but still unsettled, question of the relationship between the Neo-arabic (NA) and the Classical Arabic (CA) language types. How long was Old Arabic (OA), as represented in the Qur’ān, a living, spoken language? Was CA a special literary language, differing from the spoken Arabic of its time, or did it receive its relatively uniform appearance from the normative work of the Arabic grammarians in the 8th century? All these questions, Fischer says, boil down to the question of how and when the diglossia situation that is so characteristic of the Arabic linguistic area today emerged. Considering the reports from the same Arabic grammarians about dialectal differences within the old written language of their day, Fischer regards it as a reasonable conclusion that the modern Arabic dialects derive their origin from those reported dialects in OA, rather than from the rather uniform CA. In this instance, he discusses the thesis of Kees Versteegh of 1984,²¹ that the NA linguistic type is the result of a pidginization and creolization process in the adoption of Arabic as spoken language by the conquered peoples in Islamic times. In this perspective, Versteegh regards the CA of the Qur’ān and the ancient poetry only as an “elevated register” of the spoken language. Fischer demurs to Versteegh’s pidgin/creole theory and points out that the decisive characteristics of a pidgin or creole language are lacking in the NA dialects, namely the lexical and grammatical dissolution of the structure of the mother tongue. On the contrary, the main grammatical structure of OA has been preserved in NA, for example, the broken plurals, the prefix and suffix conjugations, the verbal stems and the genitive compound. Even the dialects in the Arabic Peninsula, where no conditions of pidginization or creolization have ever occurred, exhibit the same linguistic type as the rest of the NA dialects. The phenomena in NA adduced by Versteegh as proofs of a creolization in the Arabic world Fischer prefers to regard as the results of a continuous development process within Arabic itself. After having examined Versteegh’s arguments, Fischer proceeds to discuss the relationship between NA and OA and states that the basis of such an analysis must be comparative investigations of the NA dialects, which is a field entered by only a few scholars (Fischer mentions W. Diem, K. Eksell and J. Retsö). By comparative arguments, he sets about answering the question whether all the NA dialects originate from a common proto-lan-

²⁰ W. Diem, “Zum Problem der Personalpronomina *honne* (3. Pl.), *-kon* (2. Pl.) und *-hon* (3. Pl.) in den syrisch-libanesischen Dialekten”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 121 (1971): 223–230. P. Behnstedt, “Noch einmal zum Problem der Personalpronomina *honne* (3. Pl.), *-kon* (2. Pl.) und *-hon* (3. Pl.) in den syrisch-libanesischen Dialekten”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 141, 2 (1991): 235–252. W. Arnold and P. Behnstedt, *Arabisch-Aramäische Sprachbeziehungen im Qalamūn (Syrien). Eine dialektgeographische Untersuchung mit einer wirtschafts- und sozial-geographischen Einführung von Anton Escher*, Wiesbaden, 1993.

²¹ K. Versteegh, *Pidginization and Creolization: The Case of Arabic*, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science. Series IV: Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 33, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1984.

guage or whether we have to suppose a multidialectal structure for this proto-Neo-Arabic. This question, Fischer suggests, can be settled only by a comprehensive reconstruction of proto-Neo-Arabic by the methods of comparative linguistics, and in the present contribution he gives five examples of such reconstructions: in the personal pronouns, in the inflection of the suffix conjugation, the base stems of the perfect, the dual number in the verbal flection, and the long and short forms (cf. the “nun paragogicum” in Hebrew) of the prefix conjugation. Fischer makes a distinction between central proto-Neo-Arabic (central PNA), which he supposes has undergone a koineization process along the lines of Ferguson’s theory,²² and border PNA, which has developed rather isolatedly out of OA. Data from central PNA Fischer derives from the central Arabian Peninsula, Syria–Lebanon–Palestine, Egypt–Sudan, and the Maghreb. Border PNA is testified in the Yemenite dialects, which frequently exhibit archaic linguistic features. As for the separate personal pronouns and the suffix conjugation, Fischer arrives at the following result:

	<i>Central PNA</i> <i>Emphatic/ non-emph.</i>	<i>Border PNA</i>	<i>Early central PNA</i>	<i>Late central PNA</i>
3ms	<i>huwwā/hū</i>		<i>katab</i>	<i>katab</i>
3fs	<i>hiyyā/hī</i>		<i>katabit/at</i>	<i>katabit/at</i>
2ms	<i>intā</i>	<i>antā</i>	<i>katabt</i>	<i>katabt</i>
2fs	<i>intī</i>	<i>antī</i>	<i>katabtī</i>	<i>katabtī</i>
1cs	<i>anā</i>	<i>'anā</i>	<i>katabtū</i>	<i>katabt</i>
3mp	<i>hummā/hum</i>		<i>katabū</i>	<i>katabū</i>
3fp	<i>hinnā/hin</i>		<i>kataban</i>	<i>kataban</i>
2mp	<i>intum</i>	<i>antum</i>	<i>katabtum</i>	<i>katabtū</i>
2fp	<i>intin</i>	<i>antunna</i>	<i>katabtin</i>	<i>katabtin</i>
1cp	<i>niḥnā</i>	<i>naḥnū</i>	<i>katabnā</i>	<i>katabnā</i>

As would be expected from Fischer, the derivations are cautiously made. There are, of course, many forms the origins of which are still doubtful. Fischer himself mentions 2fp *intan* and 3fp *hin* in Sudan, for which he suggests an analogical development **intin* > *intan* under the influence of the 2fp impf. form *y-...-an*. If he is right, we have to suppose an identical analogical process in several other dialects, for example, in the Bedouin dialects of the western Delta (il-‘Alamayn 2fp *intan/t-...-an*), in Kōm Lōlah in upper Egypt (under Bedouin influence: 2fp *intan/t-...-an*),²³ in Nigeria and in eastern Libya (Benghazi). However, *intan* is attested not only in North Africa (including Egypt) but also in central Arabia and in that region frequently without a trace of an analogical verb form, for example, Hāyil (northern Saudi Ara-

²² C. A. Ferguson, “The Arabic Koine”, *Language* 25 (1959): 616–630.

²³ M. Woidich, “Ein arabischer Bauerndialekt aus dem südlichen Oberägypten”, *ZDMG* 124, 1 (1974): 42–58. The data represent a region that is called Upper Egypt 3 in Behnstedt and Woidich, *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte* (the west bank of the Nile from il-Bi'rāt to Esna).

bia: 'intan but *ta-...-in*) and *Rwala* ('Anaze tribe, 3fp *hin*, 2fp 'intan but *ta-...-in*).²⁴ Other locations of *intan* are the Lower Gulf (variant *intan/t-...an*),²⁵ the southern *k*-dialects of Yemen (Ğiblah 3fp *han*, 2fp *intan/ti-...-ēn*), south-eastern Yemen (3fp *hin*, 2fp *intan/ti-...-an* in Ȇuşün al-Ğalâl; 3fp *han*, 2fp *intan/ti-...-an* in im- Āgir),²⁶ the rural *Gilit* dialects of Iraq,²⁷ and the Bedouin of northern Israel (for example, Ğrifât 'intan/t-...-an).²⁸ Although the *han/intan/ti-...-ēn* in some (not all) *k*-dialects of Yemen may be described as due to a South-Arabian substratum and though we must surely reckon with the possibility of parallel (independent) development, the evidence is a little too strong to be explained as such. It is more reasonable to regard also *intan* as a central PNA form and to conclude, as Fischer also does, that there was a dialectal diversity already in PNA. An analogical influence from the verb does not seem to be the correct explanation in this case. A similar conclusion might be reached for the 3fp pronoun *han*. The evidence does not seem to support the idea that *han* is an analogical formation, either from the verb or from a 2fp *antan*. Very interesting are the border PNA forms reconstructed by Fischer. Having suffered no koineization influence, they are nearly identical with those of CA. Equally fruitful is Fischer's diachronic distinction between early and late PNA. Late PNA is supposed to have exhibited the verbal form 2mp *katabtū*—an early analogical development from 3mp *katabtū*—to which should be added the in Syria–Palestine exceedingly frequent 2mp pronoun *antū*.

Fischer's investigation is, in its essence, a challenge and a signpost for future comparative Arabic dialectology. His results are preliminary but suggest that the modern Arabic dialects have developed from a PNA that was already divided into dialects. For the central PNA, he supposes a longer period of koineization, so that it is possible to distinguish between an early central PNA and a late central PNA. In the early stage, he reckons the *qəltu*-dialects of Mesopotamia, but also, and less conspicuously, the city dialects (Cairo, Damascus, Mecca).²⁹ Even more surprisingly, he considers the rural and Bedouin central dialects to belong to the late stage in the koineization of the central PNA. Obviously, this attempt to reconstruct a proto-Neo-Arabic language is the beginning of a toilsome—but fascinating—work in comparative Arabic dialectology.

Olga B. Frolova: "Egyptian Folk Songs in the Unique Manuscripts of the St. Petersburg University Library" is a study of three Arabic manuscripts in the St. Petersburg University library dating from the 16th to the 19th century and containing Egyptian folk songs (sing. *mawwāl*). Frolova supplies transcriptions and translations of some notable *mawwāls*, together with notes and variants. Since the manuscripts are un-

²⁴ T. Prochazka jr., *Saudi Arabian Dialects*, London, 1988.

²⁵ C. Holes, *Gulf Arabic*, London and New York, 1990, 159.

²⁶ P. Behnstedt, *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte*, part 1, *Atlas (Jemen-Studien, 3*, Wiesbaden, 1985), Karte 37.

²⁷ H. Blanc, *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*, Cambridge, Mass., 1964, 60, 63.

²⁸ J. Rosenhouse, "Some Features of Some Bedouin Dialects in the North of Israel", *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 7 (1982): 23–47.

²⁹ All three city dialects exhibit the "late" features 1cs *katabt* and 2cp *katabtū* and have lost the gender distinction in the plural of the verb and the pronouns.

pointed, I would have expected a discussion of the basis for her transcriptions. For example, in a *mawwāl* of Yūsuf al-Maġribī (d. 1611) she transcribes *qabbaltu rigluh*, “I kissed his feet”, whereas from MS. O. 896, containing a record of folk songs from Egypt in the first third of the 19th century, she quotes *fa qult*, and a little later *fa qulte*, “(and) I said”. An ending -*t* in the 1cs perfect form is actually found in the Cairo dialect according to Tomiche,³⁰ but nowhere in the whole Egypt is a -*tu* ending attested for the first person. How does Frolova know that *qabbaltu* was not intended to be read *qabbalt*?

Jacques Grand'Henry: “*Quelques proto-formes nominales et verbales en arabe maghrébin*” reconstructs a series of proto-Maghrebinian noun and verb forms. For each word, the supposed proto-Semitic form is presented, together with the Magrebinian evidence. Grand'Henry frequently quotes Cowan's (unpublished) dissertation but fortunately remains independent of him.³¹ The in all 23 word studies represent an important contribution to our understanding of the Maghreb Arabic language type, although I do not feel completely at ease with his making Classical Arabic the starting-point for the derivations of PFAM (protoforms of Maghreb Arabic) words. For example, derivation 2.6, “Ar. clas. *kabīr* ‘grand’ > PFAM **kibīr*”, simply cannot be stated with any confidence, since there might have been a proto-Neo-Arabic (PNA) dialect, contemporaneous with Classical Arabic, in which a *kibīr* “big” had already developed. Cf. the PNA “perfect base” *f'il* reconstructed by Fischer in the Festschrift instead of Old Arabic *fa'ila* (p. 81).

Clive Holes: “*The Rat and the Ship's Captain. A Dialogue Poem (Muḥāwara) from the Gulf, with some Comments on the Social and Literary-Historical Background of the Genre*”. This paper discusses the “debate poem” as a literary genre in the ancient and modern Middle East and presents a transcription with translation of one such poem from modern Bahrayn, “The Rat and the Ship's Captain”. The characteristic of the genre is “A pair of combatants—sometimes human, but more often animals, related inanimate objects, abstract ideas, parts of the body, seasons, etc.—engaging in a verbal duel in which each tries to demonstrate superiority over the other by a combination of argument and vituperation”. In the first half of the paper, Holes surveys the spread of the genre and its historical roots. Apparently it was deeply rooted in the ancient Near East: there are Sumerian, Akkadian, Hebrew, Syriac, Persian and medieval Arabic examples. In the modern Arab world, the genre seems to be confined to the vernacular culture. Its *Sitz im Leben* is a *hadar* environment. Holes especially traces the origins of the Bahrayni debate poem back to a period when ancient Bahrayn “was heavily Christianised and must have been multilingual for at least three centuries before the coming of Islam”, with Old Arabic dialects, Christian Aramaic, Syriac and Persian as the spoken languages of the day. Holes suggests that

³⁰ N. Tomiche, *Le parler arabe du Caire*. Maison des Sciences de l'Homme: Recherches Méditerranéennes. Textes et études linguistiques, 3, La Haye: Mouton, 1964, 103 and 197.

³¹ W. G. Cowan, *A Reconstruction of Proto-Colloquial Arabic*, Cornell University Ph.D. diss. 1960, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1975. Although important as one of the few comparative studies in Arabic dialectology (dealing only with phonology), this work is methodologically substandard.

the modern Bahrayni debate poems have an origin in ancient Syriac forerunners. The language of the debate poems in Bahrayn seems to be a dialectal koine not identifiable with any actual dialect. However, they show a strong Muslim Iraqi (*gilit*) dialectal influence, absent from normal Bahrayni Šī‘ī speech. Holes concludes this valuable paper with a philological commentary on the poem.

Bruce Ingham: “*Texts in the Dialect of the Rwallah of Northern Arabia*”. Ingham says that this is possibly the first collection of recorded texts of modern standards from the Rwalla (nom. unit. *Rwayli*) tribe (‘Anaze type) and he is right.³² Previous sources of this dialect have been linguistic, field-research data, without texts, by Cantineau³³ and Prochazka.³⁴ The Rwalla dialect is of a fairly pure Najdi type. The recordings were collected by William Lancaster and then given to Ingham, who never got into touch with the speakers of the dialect. Although this means that there remain some unclear points in the texts, it is only a minor drawback, since Ingham is one of the world’s leading specialists in Arabian dialects and is well acquainted with adjacent Najdi colloquials. In the main, the texts confirm the reports of Cantineau and Prochazka. The texts exhibit a curious mixture of *-hum* and *-ham* pronominal suffixes,³⁵ whereas previous reports on the Rwalla tribe mention only a separate pronoun *ham* and a suffix pronoun *-hum*. In this instance, Ingham makes the important observation that this is a *fast-speech phenomenon*. It explains why related ‘Anaze tribes like the Hofuf, Bišāh, and ar-Riyāq exhibit *hum*: *(-)ham* is only a fast-speech allomorph to *(-)hum* in Rwalla. From the texts, it is clearly seen that the indep. pron. *hum* is the regular form, not *ham*. It should be noted, however, that the Šammar dialect of the town of Ḥāyil in northern Saudi Arabia (south of the Rwalla territory) exhibits both separate *ham* and suffix *-ham*.³⁶ In the latter case, we do not know whether they are fast-speech allomorphs or not. The carefully transcribed texts with philological notes represent an important contribution to Saudi Arabian dialectology.

Otto Jastrow: “*Das Mädchen mit den sieben Brüdern. Ein Text im arabischen Dialekt von Qarṭmīn*”. The well-known dialectologist Otto Jastrow contributes to the Palva Festschrift a text from the Mardin region, the Arabic of which belongs to the so-called *qəltu* dialects. The inhabitants of *Qarṭmīn* represent an Arabic-speaking island of Muslims in a Kurdish- and Turoyo-speaking environment. Their language has been previously investigated by Jastrow in the already classical work *Die mesopotamisch-arabischen qəltu-Dialekte*.³⁷ After a short general introduction, a tale by a 17-year-old boy is presented in transcription with translation, without fur-

³² The tribe is described in W. Lancaster, *The Rwalla Bedouin Today*, Cambridge, 1981. In footnote 2 by a misprint referred to by Ingham as “Lancaster (1988:viii)”.

³³ J. Cantineau, “Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d’Orient”, *Annales de l’Institut d’Études Orientales* 2 (1936): 1–118; 3 (1937): 119–237.

³⁴ T. Prochazka, *Saudi Arabian Dialects*, London, 1988; *idem*, “The Spoken Arabic of Abū Thōr in al-Ḥasā”, *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 18 (1988): 59–76.

³⁵ For example, both *lihum* (Text 1:12) and *liham* (Text 3:6).

³⁶ T. Prochazka, *Saudi Arabian Dialects*, London, 1988, 126.

³⁷ Vols. 1–2, Wiesbaden, 1978–81.

ther comments. The 3½ pages of text complement the texts from *Qarṭmīn* already published in vol. 2 of Jastrow's previous monograph and confirm the morphology of the dialect given in both volumes of that work.

Jérôme Lentin: “Kān ya ma kān: sur quelques emplois de ma dans les dialectes arabes du moyen-orient”. Lentin, a pupil of David Cohen, studies in this paper some usages of the particle *mā* in non-Maghrebian, modern Arabic dialects. After having recalled the interrogative, negative and emphatic uses of *mā* in Classical Arabic, Lentin turns to the modern dialects and gives examples of exhortative (Cairo: *ma yisma'* “let him hear!”) and corroborative (Saïda: *ma sa'ältek* “I did ask you a question”) functions, as well as the special phrases like *yā mā* “how often!” (Syria and Palestine). Lentin suggests that all these uses originate from the interrogative function of *mā*. A further shade of meaning is achieved by phrases with the structure *X ma X*, for example, ‘*abīd ma 'abīd* “it was just slaves” (Jordan), having the nuance of “depreciatory indefiniteness” (Palva). The special phrase *Kān (ya) ma kān* is treated in the last section of the paper. In this phrase, *ya* only reinforces *ma* and may be discarded without any substantial change of meaning. In the light of the previously enumerated usages of *ma*, Lentin strongly argues that its function in *Kān (ya) ma kān*—contrary to a translation by Jastrow in his *q̠alṭu* study³⁸—should not be taken as a negation but has in this phrase an emphatic force.

Antonius van Reisen: “Synchronic Jīm-Variation in Jordan — A Mirror of Historical Change”. Since the pronunciation of the consonant *ğīm* in Arabic is an important isogloss that differentiates regional and tribal variants of Arabic, Antonius van Reisen has set about investigating the variation of *ğīm* pronunciation in Jordan in a wider, dialectal context. The present paper forms part of a forthcoming dissertation and is an important contribution to this complex subject. As for Jordan, van Reisen's data are mostly recordings from the national radio broadcasts and the reworking and analysis of the material represent an enormous work. The primary source is a phonemic transcript of 60 000 words based on 17 hours of speech. The outcome of the endeavour enables van Reisen to present a picture of the *ğīm* variation in Jordan that in depth and number of parameters surpasses all other studies on the subject. In Greater Syria, the palato-alveolar affricate pronunciation ([dʒ]) is generally a characteristic of the rural and Bedouin dialects, whereas the palato-alveolar voiced fricative ([ʒ]) is an urban feature. However, owing to the prestigious influence of the urban vernaculars, the affricate pronunciation is “steadily gaining ground, especially among the rural population of central Syria and the Bedouin of North Israel” (164). This phenomenon is not confined to the Syro-Palestinian dialects. In many parts of the Arab world, [ʒ] carries more prestige than [dʒ]. In this respect, the vernacular of the Christian communities seems to be more urbanized than the Muslim ones. In Aleppo, Christians exhibit [ʒ], whereas the Muslims retain the affricate [dʒ], and the same difference is reported from Jerusalem in the first decades of this century. At present, even Muslims tend to use the pronunciation [ʒ] in Jerusalem, except for older speakers. Also the parameter of sex determines the pronunciation of *ğīm*. In-

³⁸ Jastrow, op. cit., 404.

terestingly, the affricate variant [dʒ] is in general successfully avoided by female migrants to the cities. The females, in contradistinction to the males, readily adopt the urban speech pattern [[ʒ]]. This surprising observation may indicate that the usual supposition that female speakers are generally more conservative as regards language change than male speakers³⁹ is valid only in the more “closed” (for women) milieu of rural or Bedouin life. The pronunciation of ġīm may also vary for the same speaker because of dissimilation or assimilation. In particular, [dʒ] is deaffricated before dental plosives. The most conservative position is word initial. Thus the older generation in Damascus generally retain the [dʒ] pronunciation at the beginning of a word, and the same goes for many other dialectal areas. Some minor terminological inadequacies⁴⁰ do not reduce the impression of laborious accuracy in van Reisen’s investigation, and his paper makes a strong case against Alan Kaye’s suggestion of a historical change [ʒ] > [dʒ], “in the light of the current state of *j* in Jordan” (van Reisen, p. 179).

Jan Retsö: “Pronominal State in Colloquial Arabic: A Diachronic Attempt”. Despite the title, Retsö in this article actually sets about tracing nothing less than the origin of the number morphemes in the inflection of the noun in Semitic. He begins by recalling the definition of (nominal) *state*, which he presented in the Rundgren Festschrift of 1986: “state is a kind of allomorphic variation affecting bound morphemes marking gender, number and case”. Although this definition would need some qualifications,⁴¹ the principal character of state as an allomorphic variation should be commonly accepted by now. As for the so-called construct state in the *ʔidāfa* syntagm, the definition implies that state-marking is an additional, redundant, morphological marking generated by certain (but not all) syntagms. The starting-point, of course, is the immense repository of linguistic data in Colloquial Arabic, and especially the peculiar phenomenon of the so-called pseudo-dual number, pointed out in a study by H. Blanc as early as 1970. In contradistinction to the ordinary dual, the pseudo-dual is characterized by (1) denoting plurality (two or more), (2) showing a morphological differentiation (-ayn, -ān, -īn, -ihīn) that is not found in the dual (-ayn) and (3) having a specific pronominal state (= allomorph), without -n-, before pronominal suffixes. The ordinary dual, as well as the masculine plural, regularly retain the -n before suffixes in the modern Arabic dialects. Thus, in the dialects, there is state variation only in the pseudo-dual, precisely the morphological category that

³⁹ Cf. J. C. E. Watson, *A Syntax of Ḫanāñ Arabic*, Semitica Viva, 13, Wiesbaden, 1993, 1; W. Diem, *Skizzen jemenitischer Dialekte*, Beiruter Texte und Studien, 13, Beirut, 1973, 19.

⁴⁰ “voice assimilation has been attested in most Arabic dialects on both the diachronic and synchronic levels” (172). Assimilation is always a synchronic phenomenon. Van Reisen seems to mean that voice assimilation is attested not only in the modern Arabic dialectal area but also in ancient Arabic vernaculars. The reader also hesitates about the heading 3 “The Problem” (167), because the disagreement between Kanakri’s data (“Style and Style-Shifting in Educated Spoken Arabic of Jordan”, diss. Univ. of Wisconsin 1989) and van Reisen’s data is not mentioned in the introduction as the main target of the paper.

⁴¹ The definition holds true for Classical Arabic, but in general, state may affect not only bound morphemes but also the stem itself. For example, the Hebrew word *dābār* “word” has the construct state alloform *d̄var*.

is non-existent in the classical language!⁴² Such a state of things naturally generates a lot of questions, and Retsö indeed puts up some very basic ones. (1) From whence comes the differentiation between dual and pseudo-dual which is unknown to the Arabiyya? (2) Why is a special pronominal state found as a rule with the pseudo-dual and rarely with the dual and plural? (3) How should the difference between masculine plural/pseudo-dual *-īn* and the dual *-ayn* in Maghrebi Arabic be explained (in Djidjelli,⁴³ the pseudo-dual morpheme has two pronominal-state allo-morphs *-ā-* and *-ī-*)? The answers to these questions lead directly to a discussion of the inflection of the noun in the earlier stages of proto-Semitic. Retsö first assumes that the Arabiyya system with *-n* as absolute-state marker represents a development from the archaic Akkadian system with masc. plural *-ū/-ī* without state variation and dual abs. *-ān/-ayn*, dual cstr. *-ā/-ay*. Thus, absolute-state marking with *-n* in the plural would be a development from the dual. But the Akkadian evidence also intimates that the *-ān/-ayn* endings in the earlier stages of Semitic denoted the countable plural rather than strictly the dual. In this instance, Retsö aptly points to the broken plural patterns *fi'lān* and *fu'lān* in Arabic and the outer formation of the masc. plural in Geez (*-ān*). Then he puts forward the hypothesis that *-ān/-ay(n)* were “originally” two different plural suffixes without any case distinction. This is possibly confirmed⁴⁴ by a fem. plur. suffix *-āy* among the Šammari Bedouin and the fact that the dual suffix *-ān* may occur in oblique cases in pre-Classical Arabic. If this is correct, state variation seems to have occurred in *-ayn* (cstr. *-ay*), not in *-ān*. In an early state of Semitic, there were two plural suffixes: *-āt/-ay(n)* (the latter with state variation), and a set of suffixes denoting abstracts: *-ī/-ū/-ān*. The later systems in Akkadian and Arabic represent various levellings of the asymmetries inherent in the old system, for example, in the Arabiyya *-n* was introduced as a absolute-state marker in all plural suffixes (except *-āt*). The modern Arabic dialects instead adopted the *-n* ending for all states (usually even before pronouns). The morphological peculiarity of the pseudo-dual in the dialects—the starting-point of Retsö—in this context is explained by its being the oldest plural marker in Semitic (except for *-āt*). The dual on the other hand, contrary to the assumption of many scholars (including the present author), in Retsö’s view stands out as an innovation, not a survival. This is thought-provoking and stimulating. Time will show whether his line of thought is the more fruitful to go on.

Judith Rosenhouse: “Features of Intonation in Bedouin Arabic Narratives of the Galilee (Northern Israel)”. Rosenhouse has already in earlier studies appeared as a specialist in the Bedouin dialects of northern Israel,⁴⁵ and in this study she investigates the delicate subject of speech melody or pitch modulation during speech. Inton-

⁴² Retsö’s statement that the Arabiyya “does not show any trace of a pronominal state” (188) must be qualified by saying “distinct pronominal state”, because in the Arabiyya the pronominal state equals that of the construct state; cf. *ṣāriqū-hā* “her thieves”.

⁴³ A city about 240 km east of Algiers.

⁴⁴ Retsö does not expressly maintain this.

⁴⁵ J. Rosenhouse, “Some Features of Some Bedouin Dialects in the North of Israel”, *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 7 (1982): 23–47; and *idem*, *The Bedouin Arabic Dialects. General Problems and a Close Analysis of North Israel Bedouin Dialects*, Wiesbaden, 1984.

nation is a macro-syntactic, linguistic marker that may extend beyond the independent sentence. It thus belongs to the much-invoked discipline of discourse linguistics, but unfortunately it is not accessible through written texts. Rosenhouse's data are from stories spontaneously told by four native speakers from the Galilee region. The material has been analysed with the help of a sonograph in Bonn. The results indicate that there are four levels of pitch in these dialects and that it is possible to define four classes of intonation features ("intonemes"): levels, contextual dependence, finality and continuation. As would be expected, "Semantics (including meaning units, affections and roles) seems to be the hidden force driving the system" (205). Interestingly, women's speech includes more pitch modulations and variations than does men's speech.

Arlette Roth: "*La particule yā comme opérateur stylistique dans quelques énigmes arabes maghrébines*". Having previously studied the Chadic, Sudanic and Cypriote Arabic dialects, Arlette Roth here investigates some functions of the particle *yā* in Maghreb Arabic. She gives many examples of *yā* as an apostrophic, stylistic device, the functions of which exceed by far those in Standard Arabic.

Haseeb Shehadeh: "*Bōrad and His Brothers in Kufir-Yasīf Dialect*". This article investigates the verbal form *fō'āl* in the Kufir-Yasīf Palestinian Arabic dialect (western Galilee). This form corresponds to the infrequent *faw'ala* quadriliteral form with *w* as second radical in Classical Arabic. In all, he adduces 74 example verbs of this form, one of which is the title verb *bōrad* "to cool off", an extension of the Standard Arabic verb *barada*. Since this linguistic feature has not been adequately discussed before and is not attested in the published texts and grammars of Palestinian Arabic, this material represents an important contribution to the lexicon and morphology of the Palestinian dialects.

Hans-Rudolf Singer: "*Ein arabischer Text aus Safi (Marokko)*". The eminent authority on Tunisian and Moroccan dialects in this paper contributes to our knowledge of the Moroccan city dialects. Very little has been known until now about the Safi dialect. The town belongs linguistically to the Marrakesh–New Fez group. The text is difficult, full of Maritime terminology of mixed origin. It is translated and supplied with a (much needed) glossary. Notable is the use of the present prefix *ta-*.

Saad A. Sowayan: "*taww in Najdi Arabic*". Sowayan is a scholar from King Saud University who has previously published studies on Arabian oral literacy, among other things.⁴⁶ In this paper, the adverb *taww* is in focus. This adverb is not mentioned in Ingham's work on the dialect.⁴⁷ Sowayan defines its meaning as "right now", "have just" or "still not" (with negation). Like *inna*, it may take pronominal suffixes, if not followed by the express subject. Sowayan makes no attempt to discuss its origin.

⁴⁶ S. A. Sowayan, *Nabaṭi Poetry. The Oral Poetry of Arabia*, Berkeley/Los Angeles & London, 1985; *idem*, *The Arabian Oral Historical Narrative*, Wiesbaden, 1992.

⁴⁷ B. Ingham, *Najdi Arabic: Central Arabian*, Amsterdam, 1994.

Martine Vanhove: "A propos du verbe dans les dialectes arabes de Yāfi'" (Yémen). The dialects of *Yāfi'*, a mountainous region about 200 km north-east of Aden, have never been studied before. Interestingly, they seem to belong to an area continuing the region of the so-called *k*-dialects, mentioned by Behnstedt in his *Atlas* of the northern Yemenite dialects,⁴⁸ because they show *-k* suffixes in the perfect. The data presented stem from two villages, Tenħāra and Gebel Yazīdi, and have been obtained by field studies by Vanhove, using a questionnaire. The paradigms of the perfect conjugation reveal a trait rather typical of the north-western *k*-dialects (Behnstedt 2C) than of the south: *-š(i)* ending in the 2fs form, which is usually explained as a South-Arabian substrate. The rest of the perfect endings fit well into this pattern. Only 3fs *-ah* is not attested among the northern *k*-dialects, but rather in the central *k*-dialect group.⁴⁹ This impression is confirmed by the prefix conjugation which shows prefix vowel *i* throughout. Vanhove presents no text. Her study is a valuable investigation of two mountain dialects situated more to the south in Yemen than those previously known by Diem's and Behnstedt's publications.

Manfred Woidich: "Das Kairenische im 19. Jh.: Gedanken zu Ṭanṭāwī's "Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire". The point of departure for Woidich is a 19th-century treatise of the Cairo dialect by the Egyptian writer and teacher Muḥammad Ḥayyād al-Ṭanṭāwī (1810–1861). Woidich concludes that the dialect that Ṭanṭāwī describes is linguistically closer to the rural dialects in the Delta than to the modern Cairo vernacular. Thus, the Cairo dialect of Ṭanṭāwī's time showed strong rural traits, and furnishes us with data from a period that preceded the formative period of the modern Cairo dialect, which, according to H. Blanc and Woidich, occurred in the later part of the 19th century.

Andrzej Zaborski: "First Person Pronouns in Arabic in the Light of Arabic and Hamito-Semitic Dialectology". Zaborski's scope in this interesting study is the whole Afroasiatic language family. He notices that in later studies (from Castellino⁵⁰ onwards) dialectal variations have been considered as innovations. He himself, however, prefers to try the other way round. He suggests that for proto-Hamito-Semitic it is possible to reconstruct such 1cs variants as *'an-'a*, *'an-ī*; *'an-u*, *'an-ā-k-u* and *'an-ā-k-i*. He questions the common view that *"nī* in Hebrew represents an innovation and points out that the same formation is found also in Cushitic. He even suggests that proto-Chadic had an independent 1cs pronoun *'ani*. In this discussion, Zaborski finds new and fresh material in the modern Arabic dialects. He rightly points out that the *-i* ending of the pronoun in many Arabic dialects either cannot be explained by *imāla*, since many of the dialects concerned show no *imāla* at all, or the *imāla* does not affect the pronouns. In many other cases, the first person pronouns may be unaffected by *imāla* although it affects the second and third person pronouns. Zaborski therefore maintains that, although the *imāla* may contribute to a

⁴⁸ P. Behnstedt, *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte*, part 1, *Atlas*, Wiesbaden, 1985, group 2.

⁴⁹ Behnstedt, op. cit., Karte 72.

⁵⁰ G. R. Castellino, *The Akkadian Personal Pronouns and Verbal System in the Light of Semitic and Hamitic*, Leiden, 1962.

change from *ana* to *ani* (or the petrifying of old forms with *-i?*), it cannot be regarded as the only origin of all the variants of the 1cs pronoun with ending *-i/-ī*. However, in those dialects in which a gender distinction *'ana/'ani* is found, Zaborski accepts it as an innovation, simply because no gender distinction has been attested in the first person singular in any other Afroasiatic language. But to regard the rather widespread *ani* in the Arabic dialects (especially in Yemen) only as a product of the analogical, second person opposition *anta/anti* would be too simplistic. He prefers to suppose that an archaic *communis* *'ani* in some dialectal regions in the light of *'anta/'anti* was reinterpreted as a feminine. Zaborski does not mention, however, that such a process presupposes that a form *ana* was available (or became created) in the same dialectal area. According to Zaborski, it is significant that this gender differentiation occurs in dialects that are geographically adjacent to regions with a *communis ani*. Perhaps it is, but, in such a case, from whence came *ana*?

Zaborski also deals with the relation between the 1cs and 1cp pronouns and prefers the possibility of 1cp < 1cs + plural marker. This is a formation principle that can be discerned for the second and third person plural pronouns in Semitic, Berber, Cushitic, Egyptian and perhaps Chadic. In proto-Berber, it is obvious and is supported by Prasse,⁵¹ 1cp *enakkw-ani* < *enakkw* + plural marker. Zaborski now suggests that *k* may have been spirantized to *h* at the end of a syllable with /ā/ in proto-Hamito-Semitic, so that the same scheme is applied at least to the long form of the 1cs pronouns in Semitic: *'an-ā-k-na* /*'an-ā-k-nu* > (*'a*)*n-a-h-na/u* > *'an-aḥ-na/u*. Zaborski rightly points out that there are 1cp forms with *-na* in many Arabic dialects. He does not believe Blau's explanation that *-na* originates from an analogy with the pronominal suffix *-na* and says that there must have existed a synchronic element *na* already in proto-Hamito-Semitic, since it came to be used both as a prefix in the prefix conjugation and as part of the 1cp pronoun (*'a*)*nahnV* (but did he not explain this form above as *'an-aḥ-na/u*?). In the light of the archaic origin of the element *na*, Zaborski prefers to suppose that both *-na* och *-nu* are Hamito-Semitic in origin and that the *nahna* (with variants) in the modern Arabic dialects preserve an archaic form of the pronoun. Lastly, with the help of David Cohen, Zaborski maintains that the 1cp pronouns without the initial *-n* in the Arabic dialects also represent an archaism, against the commonly held view that *iḥna* is the result of a dissimilation (< *niḥna*). In this instance, he points to Syriac *ḥnan*, Beja *henén* and proto-Cushitic. He maintains that the dropping of *n-* occurred through a reinterpretation of (*'a*)*na-ḥna/u* from a comparison with *'ana*. Zaborski's treatment of the subject is fascinating and a joy to read but is in the main just a little bit too hypothetical to be immediately convincing.

⁵¹ K.-G. Prasse, *Manuel de grammaire touarègue (tahaggart)*, vol. 1, *Phonétique, écriture, pronom*, Copenhagen, 1972.

Notes on Indo-European Ritual Phraseology with Special Regard to Vedic

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0 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

1. *tvám [...] práśastibhiḥ mahayase* (RV 6.15.2) “You (Agni) [...] are honoured (lit. magnified) by hymns”
2. *nábhya āśīd antárikṣam* (RV 10.90.14) “from (his) navel was (produced) the atmosphere”
3. *cittám mányābhiḥ* (TS 5.7.14) “thought with the nape of the neck”

These three phrases have formed the basis of this short study. Their interrelation pertains, on the one hand, to the grammatical construction (1 and 3), which may be exposed to a typological comparison with similar phrases in other Indo-European languages, and, on the other hand, to the principles of correlation between the offering and the recipient (2 and 3).

The former approach has thus an external bias and consists of bringing forth textual evidence for similar grammatical constructions and a common semantic sense of the verb of offering in Latin and Old Norse. The latter approach has an internal bias. Here, a specific principle of correlation between offering and recipient characteristic of Vedic ritualism is highlighted.

1 THE GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTION AND THE SEMANTIC SENSE OF THE VERB OF OFFERING

In his work *Myth, Cosmos, and Society*, Bruce Lincoln discusses two different verbs (Latin *mactare* and Germanic **blōtan*) forming “three different grammatical constructions, occurring (a) with the offering or victim in the accusative and the recipient of the offering in the dative; (b) with the offering or victim in the accusative and no mention of a recipient; and (c) with the recipient in the accusative and the offering or victim in the dative of instrument.”¹ Lincoln calls our attention to the fact that the verbs *mactare*, **blōtan* and the Old Indic verb *tanóti*—which all occur in a sacrificial context—are circumscribed by the same semantic sense (e.g. “strengthening”, “extension”, etc. (**meg-* “great” (suffixed form **mag-to-* “made great”); **bhlād-* “to worship” (probably an extended form of **bhel-* “to blow, swell”); **ten-* “to stretch”). It is worth noting that expressions like “strengthening” or “extension” as

¹ Bruce Lincoln, *Myth, Cosmos, and Society: Indo-European Themes of Creation and Destruction*, Cambridge, Mass., 1986, p. 194.

sociated with cult ceremonies are re-echoed in Indo-European terms for the sacred (cf. Greek *ἱερός* “holy” (lit. “filled with the divine”): Old Indic *iśirá-* “strong”; Old Irish *noib* “holy” :*nīab* “vital force”).²

It is, of course, wrong (although mistakenly implied by Lincoln) that “the dative of instrument” occurs in Latin.³ It is also noteworthy that the textual evidence for the Old Norse verb *blóta* forming the construction with the recipient in the accusative and the offering in the dative is absent in the Eddic poetry and all other texts characterized as pre-christian. This grammatical construction (as a feature of that period) was very likely invented by the grammarians of the 19th and 20th century as a consequence of their power of deduction. Marius Nygaard, for instance—seemingly by interlocking the constructions *blóta einu* (neut.) (cf. Hdl. 4) and *blóta einn* (masc.) (cf. Atl. 78)—postulates the phrase “*hedre en med noget*”.⁴

As far as Latin is concerned, we may follow Kurt Latte: “Von den Handlungen, in denen der Römer seine Beziehung zu den Göttern realisiert, trägt das Opfer besonders altertümliche Züge. Das Wort dafür ist *mactare*, das ‘mehren’ bedeutet. Objekt ist in alter Sprache regelmäßig der Gott, das Opfer steht im Instrumentalis. Es heißt also: den Gott mit dieser Darbringung mehren, seine Kraft verstärken”.⁵

Cicero—while making charges against the Pythagorean Vatinus—asks his opponent if he is accustomed “to appease (lit. magnify) the Di Manes (infernal deities) with the entrails of the boys” (*puerorum* [gen.pl.] *extis* [abl.inst.pl.] *Deos Manes* [acc.pl.] *mactare*) (Cic., *In Vatinum* 6.14)).

A similar construction comprising the Old Indic cognate verb *maháyati* (< *meg-) “animates, strengthens, gladdens, honours, glorifies” occurs in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā (RV) 6.15.2: *tvám* [acc.sg.] [...] *prásastibhiḥ* [inst.pl.] *mahayase* “You (Agni) [...] are honoured (lit. magnified) by hymns”.⁶

The verbs *yájati* “worships, offers, hallows” and *tanóti* “expands, extends, spreads, endures” occur, however, more frequently in identical constructions associated with sacrifice (e.g. *yajñéna* [inst.sg] *yajñám* [acc.sg] *ayajanta devás* [nom.pl] “with the sacrifice the gods worshipped/offered/hallowed the sacrifice” (RV 10.90.16) or *púruṣena* [inst.sg.] [...] *devā* [nom.pl.] *yájñam* [acc.sg.] *atanyata* (RV 10.90.6) “with P° the gods performed (lit. extended) the sacrifice”). The verb *tanóti* has, as pointed out by Lincoln, practically the same semantic sense as *mactare*.

In Vedic literature we also find similar constructions comprising only two nouns designating the offering and the recipient (e.g. Taittirīya-Saṃhitā (TS) 5.7.11–23 (see below)). Here, we must supply a verb of offering, which, as a suggestion, ought to designate either “worship” or “expansion”, since “slaying” or “killing” would render the grammatical construction impossible. The verb of offering would never

² Émile Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes: 2. Pouvoir, droit, religion*, Paris 1969, pp. 192–194; Edgar C. Polomé, “Der indogermanische Wortschatz auf dem Gebiete der Religion”, in Wolfgang Meid (ed.), *Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz*, Innsbruck 1987, p. 202.

³ Regarding the Latin ablative of instrument and the Old Norse dative of instrument, it is worth mentioning that “puisqu’à époque historique l’instrumental est une des premières victimes du syncrétisme casuel” (Jean Haudry, *Préhistoire de la flexion nominale indo-européenne*, Lyon 1982, p. 68).

⁴ Marius Nygaard, *Eddasprogets syntax*, Bergen 1865, pp. 18–19.

⁵ Kurt Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, Munich 1960, p. 45.

⁶ Karl Friedrich Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda*, 2nd part, Cambridge Mass. 1951.

connote destruction if the instrumental (or an instrumental qualifier) was used with the offering and the accusative with the recipient.

As has already been touched upon, the Germanic verb **blōtan* corresponds semantically with *tanóti* and *mactare*—at least with regard to the etymological sense of the word—and it does form the construction with the recipient in the accusative and the offering in the dative (cf. Gothic *fastubnjam jah bidom blotande fraujan* (L II. 37) “honouring the Lord with fastings and prayers”⁷).

The cases of phraseological congruences in Old Norse are assuredly more complex than the cases of Vedic, Latin and Gothic, although phrases comprising the verbs *blóta* “to worship, sacrifice”, *auka* “to augment, increase” and *magna* (< *magh- “to be able, have power”⁸) “1. to empower, strengthen; 2. to charm, make strong by spell”, allow us to discern a similar structure with a significant range of variation:

- A. Fas. II 87: *blótar hann einum gölt*
- B. Atl. 78: *blótt, sem vill, börnum*
- C. Hdl. 4: *Pórr mun hon blóta*
- D. Hdl. 38: *sá (Heimdallr) var aukinn jarðar megni [...] ok sonardreyra*
- E. G>r. II 21: *þat var of akit jarðar magni [...] ok sonardreyra*
- F. Völs. 4: *aukinn ertu Völsi*
- G. Hdl. 35: *rammaukinn mjök, rögna kindar*
- H. Fms. I 295: *hann magnaði með miklum blótskap líkneski Pórs*
- I. Fms. II 73: *ok svá mjök var magnat líkneski Freyrs*
- J. Einarr (Vellekla 32): *rammaukin kveðk riki rögn Hákonar magna*
- K. Mark. (Erlksdrápa) 1.11: *magna goðdóm*
- L. Sigvatr (Erfidrápa Ólafs helga 25): *jöfur magnar goð*

The most striking similarities occur in phrase H. We may, for instance, compare it with RV 6.15.2 (*tvám [acc.sg.] [...] prásastibhiḥ [inst.pl.] mahayase* “You (Agni) [...] are honoured (lit. magnified) by hymns”) and Cicero’s *In Vatinum* 6.14 (*puerorum [gen.pl.] extis [abl.inst.pl.] Deos Manes [acc.pl.] mactare* “to appease (lit. magnify) the Di Manes (infernal deities) with the entrails of the boys”). Here, the grammatical constructions are to some extent identical (**recipient** (*tvám* (Agni); *Deos Manes*; *líkneski Pórs*) (accusative) **offering or victim** (*prásastibhiḥ*; *puerorum extis*; *miklum blótskap*) (instrumental; ablative/dative of instrument) **verb of offering** (*mahayase*; *mactare*; *magnaði* < *meg-/magh-)). Since all the verbs of offering may be derived from *meg- (the case of *magna* is, of course, not unconditional), it seems as if the attention drawn to the verb *blóta* by Lincoln is in part misleading.

It would seem reasonable to characterize the verbs *blóta*, *auka* and *magna* as al-

⁷ The domestic character of this Gothic phrase is indicated by the lack of object in the Greek phrase: *νηστείας καὶ δεήσεσιν λατρεύουσα* “serving with fastings and supplications”.

⁸ *magh- and *meg- may be etymologically united. The evidence (Walde, A. and Pokorny, J.) is, however, ambiguous (cf. Welsh *maw* “expanding” (< magh-/meg-)) (Stuart E. Mann, *An Indo-European Dictionary*, Hamburg 1984–1987, s.v.).

ternating and partially synonymous verbs of offering (i.e. from an etymological point of view) occurring in similar formulaic expressions, but we do not have to presuppose that these formulaic expressions were co-existent. Perhaps the one was replaced by the other in consequence of the verb undergoing a semantic change which rendered the specific grammatical construction of these formulaic expressions impossible.

An attempt has been made by Lillemor Santesson to interpret the sequences **niuhaborur** and **niuhagestumr** (inscribed on the Stentoften stone) as “with nine bucks” and “with nine stallions (**ha(n)gestumr**)” respectively. This interpretation presupposes that the dative forms of the offerings are read as instrumental qualifiers. The semantic sense of the verb *gefa* prevents us, however, from attaching this sacrificial memorial to the above-mentioned repertory of formulaic expressions with any certainty.⁹

It remains unclear whether these phraseological congruences should be approached from a generic or a typological angle. The former point of view would enforce us to suggest a phrasal substratum (tentatively: **OFFERING**-e/-o, -bhi/-mi, etc. “magnify” (*ten-/meg-/*bhel-) **RECIPIENT**-m/-m̄, etc.), but since the congruences principally pertain to the grammatical construction and the semantic sense of the verb of offering (the lexical correspondences are restricted to the verbal root(s) *meg-(*magh-)), the proposition of a generic interrelationship must, of course, be treated with caution. From a typological point of view, however, this congruence may expose some specific characteristics of ritual modes of thought.

2 THE PRINCIPLES OF CORRELATION BETWEEN OFFERING AND RECIPIENT

The Vedic emphasis on correlations, homologies, and identifications—a way of looking at things comparable with Swedenborg’s “doctrine of correspondence”—has thus been characterized by Boris Oguibénine:

“Cela revient plus précisément à ce que les hymnes s’appuient sur un réseau de corrélations, d’homologies et d’identifications ou de connexions entre divers ordres, divin, rituel et humain, enfin, macrocosmique et microcosmique. Pour comprendre la vraie nature des hymnes, il est donc nécessaire de se rendre compte de ce double fait: les hymnes sont créés par les poètes qui énoncent et résolvent les énigmes sous forme de corrélations et d’identifications et les hymnes sont eux-mêmes emplis de symbolisme et de sens latents et seconds dûs justement à l’attitude du poète énonciateur à la parole énoncée.”¹⁰

It seems as if the Vedic poets and ritualists were simultaneously engaged in procedures of coding and decoding. Here, we will briefly examine how this was done.

We may indicate that the phenomena of the physical world transformed into their spiritual correspondences are not solely understood as substantial matters. According to L. Renou the correlation between *cándramās* and *mánas* in the *Puruṣasūkta*

⁹ Lillemor Santesson, “En Blekingesk blotinskrift: En nytolkning av inledningsraderna på Stentoftenstenen”, *Fornvännen* 84 [1989], pp. 223–229.

¹⁰ Boris Oguibénine, “Le signifiant et le signifié dans le sacrifice védique”, in *Essais sur la culture védique et indo-européenne*, Pisa 1985, pp. 121–122.

(RV 10.90.13) is due to a “jeu verbal”¹¹ or, as Lincoln puts it, “a homology [...] resting on phonological resemblance [-māḥ/máṇas] rather than on substantive, morphological, or positional bases.”¹² We may as well find homologies resting on lexical identity rather than on phonological resemblance. Such is very likely the case in TS 5.7.13, where the phrase *nirṛtim nirjālmakena śīrṣnā* “Nirṛti with the maneless head” is characterized by a correlation between two nouns comprising the prefix *nir-* “out, forth, away”.

A positional base as well as a morphological base, on the contrary, seem to underlie the correlation between *śīrṣnāḥ* and *dyáuh* in RV 10.90.14 since “the heaven is the highest part of the cosmos, just as the head or skull is the highest part of the body” and “the shape of the cranial cap suggests the perceived rim of heaven.”¹³ By continuing this line of analysis, Lincoln suggests that the homology of atmosphere and navel—accompanied by the homology of earth and feet—“marks the midpoint of an encompassing vertical structure”.¹⁴ This interpretation is undoubtedly suggestive, but in my opinion it is not conclusive, for the principle of correlation between *nábhyam* and *antárikṣam* may as well be due to a play on (excluded) words.

It seems as if the phrase *cittám mányābhiḥ* “thought with the nape of the neck” (TS 5.7.14 (see above)), occurring in a passage regarding the horse sacrifice (*aśvamedhá*), would only make sense if a third, hitherto excluded element (tentatively *mányate* “thinks” or *manyúḥ* “spirit, mind, mood, ardour” (*vman-*)) was interposed between the offering and the recipient, a lexeme establishing a semantic relation with *cittāḥ* and a phonological, homonymous, or folk etymological relation with *mányā* “nape of the neck”. *Mányā* is unlikely to be a derivative of *man-*, but in this context it would not make any sense to differentiate homonymy and polysemy (see note 15). The relationship between *nábhyam* and *antárikṣam* is possibly of a similar nature. Here, the noun *nábhaḥ* “1. mist, clouds; 2. atmosphere, sky” may serve as a link between *nábhyam* and *antárikṣam*.¹⁵ This would consequently enable us to transcribe these clusters as follows:

1. **cittám** (a) “thought” → *man-* (b) “think” etc. (*mányate, manyúḥ* “mood, temper of mind”) → **mányābhiḥ** (c) “with the nape of the neck”.

2. **nábhyāḥ** (a) (*nábhyam*) “from (his) navel” **āśid** “was (produced)” → (*nábhaḥ* (b) “atmosphere”) → **antárikṣam** (c) “the atmosphere”.

1. A → SYNONYMY (SEMANTIC) → B → HOMONYMY (PHONOLOGICAL)
→ C

¹¹ Louis Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, vol. XVI, Paris 1967, p. 150.

¹² Bruce Lincoln, op.cit., p. 18.

¹³ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁴ Loc.cit.

¹⁵ According to Manfred Mayrhofer, “Die Erwägung glottogonischer Zusammenhänge von *NABH* ‘bersten’ mit *nábhās-* ‘Wolke’ oder *nábhya-* ‘Nabe’, *nábhi-* ‘Nabe, Nabel’ [...] ist müßig.” (Manfred Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, vol. 2, Heidelberg 1992, s.v.).

2. A → HOMONYMY (PHONOLOGICAL) → B → SYNONOMY (SEMANTIC)
 → C

Since the correlation between the offering and the excluded lexeme is not necessarily synonymous, but at least semantic, the relation between the recipient and the excluded lexeme would not necessarily be homonymous, but at least lexical or homophonous.

For the sake of clarification we may note that a similar phenomenon occurs in the expression “bees and honey”—an English rhyming slang noun for “money”¹⁶—where we can locate a semantic correlation between “bees” and “honey”, and a phonological or lexical correlation between “honey” and “money”. Here, as in the Vedic phrases discussed above, the principle of correlation is characterized by the exclusion of an element which would render the phrase more intelligible:

bees (*a*) and → (money (*b*)) → honey (*c*)

A → SEMANTIC → C → PHONOLOGICAL → B

It may be suggested that a “secret linguistic knowledge” or an inherited poetic doctrine (Middle Irish *berla fortchide na fileid triasa n-agallit cach dib a chele* “hidden language of the Poets through which each of them addresses his fellow”; Old Indic *gúhyā ná vocad* “he (the poet) should tell them like secrets”) held in trust by the poets of different Indo-European societies (e.g. Irish and Indic) has motivated this principle of correlation,¹⁷ perhaps a poetic doctrine connected with the esotericism which occasionally may have motivated the ellipsis in the R̄gveda.

Perhaps the importance of phonological similarities in Vedic ritualism (beside the morphological and positional similarities) enforces the ritual analyst to dissolve the dichotomy between “Wörter und Sachen” and turn his attention to homology, the common denominator of homonymy and homomorphism.

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¹⁶ John Ayto and John Simpson, *The Oxford Dictionary of Modern Slang*, Oxford 1992, s.v.

¹⁷ See Calvert Watkins, “Aspects of Indo-European Poetics”, in Edgar C. Polomé (ed.), *The Indo-Europeans in the Fourth and Third Millennia*, Karoma 1982, pp. 104–120.

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The Formal Structure of Gul Khān Naṣīr's Poetry¹

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most outstanding Balochi poets of the 20th century is Mīr Gul Khān Naṣīr, who was born in 1914² into the Brahui Mengal tribe. His birthplace was the Mengal settlement in Noshke, situated 120 kilometres southwest of Quetta. After primary and secondary education in Noshke and Quetta, Gul Khān Naṣīr went on to study science at the Islamiya College in Lahore. Due to eye problems, however, he left his studies unfinished and took service in the Kalat State in the mid 1930's. It was at this time he became involved in politics, and when the Kalat State National Party was founded, Gul Khān Naṣīr became the vice-president of this party. Due to the progressive programme of the party, it was soon pronounced illegal and Gul Khān Naṣīr had to leave his post as the treasurer of the Kalat State.³

Gul Khān Naṣīr took an active interest in the development of the Balochi language. In 1951 he and some friends, among them 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldīnī, founded a literary circle called *Balochi Zubāne Dīwān*.⁴ For Gul Khān Naṣīr political and cultural strivings always went hand in hand. After the election in 1971, which was won by the National Awami Party, an autonomous Provincial Government of Balochistan was established (1972–73), in which he received the post as the Secretary of Education. In September 1972 he organized a convention in an attempt to establish a unified orthography for Balochi. He, himself, and many of his literary active friends were at that time in favour of Roman script. However, the script problem was not solved in any definite way, and when the Provincial Government was overthrown in 1973, Gul Khān Naṣīr was one of the members of the Government to be arrested. He was held in prison until 1978, three years in Balochistan Central Jail, Mach, and two years in the Central Jail, Hyderabad.

Since Balochi had by tradition hardly been used at all as a written language, it was only natural that Gul Khān Naṣīr wrote his early poetry in Persian and Urdu. Shortly before the Independence of Pakistan, however, he started to compose also in Balochi. Gul Khān Naṣīr is regarded by many as the greatest contemporary Ba-

¹ The system of transcription used here is identical with that used in C. Jahani, *Standardization and Orthography in the Balochi Language*, presented on pp. 15–20, except for the fact that *ñ* is used instead of *ŋ*.

² According to family notes; in one place, however, Gul Khān Naṣīr himself had crossed over the year 1914 and changed it to 1911. Evidently a government secretary named Gul Khān Naṣīr was visiting Noshke on the same night as the poet was born, and he was then called after him. The more probable year of this visit is 1911. Information given by 'Abdullāh Jān Jamāldīnī in a conversation in Aug. 1994.

³ See also Baloch, pp. 154–156.

⁴ See also Jahani, p. 27.

lochi poet. His poetry has been published in altogether nine books, five during his own lifetime and four posthumously. Six of these are collections of poems, *Gulbāng* (1952), *Šapgirok* (1964), *Grand* (1971), *Hone gwānk* (1988), *Purang* (1988), and *Gulgāl* (1993), two are longer epic poems, *Dāstān-i Dosten Šīren* (1964) and *Hammal-i Jī'and* (1969), and the sixth one, *Hapt haykal u jangānī zirāb* (1990), also contains two epic poems. Many of Gul Khān Naṣīr's poems are still unpublished.

In a short autobiographical paper kept by his daughters,⁵ Gul Khān Naṣīr wrote about himself, that he had no living master of Balochi. However, he collected all the old Balochi poetry he could find, and these pieces were his master. He regards himself as especially influenced by the classical Balochi poets Abū Bakr Rind, Bālāch Gorgej, Jām Durrah and Rahm ‘Alī Marrī, and he is also much impressed by the Persian poet Firdausī. He does not consider himself as a great composer of *ghazals*, but feels that his *maṣnavīs* and *rubā’īs* are of higher standard. Gul Khān Naṣīr also stresses that he is eager to be regarded as the people's poet, who sides with the oppressed and poor against their oppressors. He wants his poetry to be the very voice of those who have no other means of making their needs and desires heard.

The last years of his life Gul Khān Naṣīr spent wholly on studies and writing. He took a special interest in the history and traditions of the Baloch. In addition to his Balochi poetry he also wrote several books in Urdu on the political and literary history of the Baloch and Balochistan. Gul Khān Naṣīr passed away on December 6, 1983.

The aim of this paper is to show how Gul Khān Naṣīr, already well versed in Persian poetry, also used the Arabic-Persian poetical structure when composing in Balochi. It is therefore necessary to give a short review of the formal structure of the classical Persian poetry here.

FORMS AND METRES IN GUL KHĀN NAṢĪR'S POETRY

The classical Persian poetry is developed out of the Arabic bedouin poetical forms and the Middle Persian poetical traditions. There are several types of poems with differing rhyme patterns, among which some of the most common are the *qaṣīda*, the *ghazal*, the *rubā’ī*, the *maṣnavī*, the *qīt‘a*, the *musammat*, the *musaddas*, the *tarkībband* and the *tarjī‘band*. For a description of these different types of poems the reader is referred to Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, I, pp. 70–103.⁶

The Persian metres are based on a system of short and long syllables. A short syllable contains a short vowel with no following consonant, and a long syllable contains a short vowel with one following consonant or a long vowel without any following consonant (or a following *-n*). There is also an overlong syllable, counted as a long + a short syllable, which either contains a short vowel with two following consonants or a long vowel with one following consonant (except *-n*) or

⁵ This paper was written in Urdu and translated into Balochi for me by Gawhar Malik, one of Gul Khān Naṣīr's daughters, at a visit to her home on Aug. 22, 1994.

⁶ See also Thiesen, pp. 79–81.

two following consonants. Some syllables in Persian, e.g. the *iżāfa*, a final *-a*,⁷ and a final *-u*, may be pronounced either long or short. In the analysis of Gul Khān Naṣīr's poetry it will be seen that he has been able to employ this Arabic-Persian metrical system very smoothly when composing in Balochi.

In fact, Gul Khān Naṣīr is not the only modern Balochi poet to follow this system. As already noted by Barker and Mengal, several of the leading contemporary Balochi poets, such as Muḥammad Ḥusayn ‘Anqā,⁸ Murād Sāhir,⁹ Āzāt Jamāldīnī,¹⁰ ‘Aṭā Shād,¹¹ and Malik Muḥammad Ṭawqī,¹² employ Arabic-Persian metres in at least some of their poems. It may, however, be noted that Barker and Mengal failed to identify the metre of the poem written by Gul Khān Naṣīr which they chose to publish. This poem, *Kūkū*, is scanned $\text{---}\text{--}/\text{---}\text{--}$, and its metre is not of Balochi origin, but rather a *rajaz-i murabba‘-i sālim*.¹³ In *An Anthology of Classical and Modern Balochi Literature*, I, Elfenbein analyses all the metres employed by contemporary Balochi poets as syllabic. However, the occurrence of an overlong syllable which indeed is counted overlong (see below), causes the hemistich to be one syllable shorter than a hemistich with no overlong syllables.¹⁴

Gul Khān Naṣīr started composing in Balochi around the time of the Independence of Pakistan (1947), and his first collection of poetry, entitled *Gulbāng*, appeared, as already mentioned, in 1952. The very first poem Gul Khān Naṣīr composed in Balochi was *Byā o baloč*,¹⁵ which he wrote at a political congress in Peshawar after having heard poems recited in Pashto, something which evidently made a very strong impression on him. This poem is a *tarkībband*¹⁶ with the rhyme *xa*,¹⁷ *xa*, *xa*, *xa*, *bb*, *cc*, *xc*, *xc*, *xc*, *dd* etc., and its metre is *rajaz-i murabba‘-i sālim*, scanned $\text{---}\text{--}/\text{---}\text{--}$.

byā o baloč, byā o baloč
byā o baloč be bundaren
mulkā ta’ī ḥunge jatag
mālān̄ ta’ī bār kurtagant
taw kaptagay be dast u pā

gāle gušīn̄ imroza’ī¹⁸
gār kurtagay rāhā watī
bun dātagant logān̄ ta’ī
līkan nadāray āga’ī
pād ā biyā bahr-e xudā

⁷ In modern Persian pronounced *-e*.

⁸ Barker-Mengal, II, p. 352.

⁹ Ibid., p. 382.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 386.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 389–390.

¹² Ibid., p. 393.

¹³ Ibid., p. 362.

¹⁴ This happens in e.g. *Ustumāne šā’ir*, hemistich no. 7, 19, 23, 38, 41, 42, 44, 50 (syllables counted according to Elfenbein's transcription), Elfenbein, I, pp. 158–162. See also ibid., e.g. p. 169.

¹⁵ *Gulbāng*, pp. 43–50.

¹⁶ See Gibb, p. 91.

¹⁷ The first stanza here differs from the rest of the stanzas by not having the rhyme *aa* in the first couplet.

¹⁸ This word occurs in a 'persianized' form. The Balochi word for 'today' is *maročī*.

pād ā jawāñ oštātagant
 ‘ayš o tanobe majlisāñ
 tuhme ča āzāten bunā
 čo bačč-i āżar e zamān
 pād ā ki sakken minzile

nākas tarā ġayrāñ jatag
 par tī mazārī gardinā
 sawdāgire ač mağribā
 nāne naginday diljamen
 marg int za ‘īfie sazā

lānk bastag o čārikkagant
 par qawm u mulkā ištagant
 par koh u daštāñ kištagant
 nimrūdī ačā ništagant
 lofīt sangīnen dile

mulk ač ta ’ī dastāñ šutag
 tawq-e ġulāmī sāzitag
 mulkā ta ’ī kangālitag
 zānay xatā če-it kutag
 marg-e ġulāmī be qażā

The poem *Faryād*¹⁹ is written in the metre *mutaqārib-i muşamman-i mahżūf*, scanned - - / - - / - - / - , i.e. the same metre as in the *Šāhnāma* of Firdausī. As already mentioned, Gul Khān Naşīr regarded himself as very much influenced by Firdausī and his poetry, and some of the words in the following extract, like *Şahsawār*, *nāmdār*, *pahlawānān*, *jangjūyān*, may indeed remind the reader of the war scenes in the *Šāhnāma*. The poem is a *bayt*, rhymed in the *musarra*^c fashion where every hemistich has the same rhyme, i.e. aa, aa, aa, etc. throughout the whole poem.²⁰ Gul Khān Naşīr composed this poem after visiting the Red Fort Museum in Delhi, where he was impressed by a painting depicting the struggle of freedom of the Indians against the British.

ča čammāñ manī ars bastant qaṭār
 jahāñ būt čammāñ demā tahār
 kujā ant maročī muğul şahsawār
 kujā pahlawānān u hindī mazār
 kujā ant baločāñ sabzen sagār
 biyānt maročī waṭan kant tawār
 may pāken waṭan gipta jawren kufār²¹

dile ḥon būtant goñ arsāñ awār
 ča bām o darāñ čist būt e tawār!
 kujā ant maročī yalen nāmdār
 kujā jangjūyān-i awgān kaṭār
 kujā waptagant turk u tāzī tatār
 ki nām o nişān-e muğul būta gār
 biyānt, bigindant, bibant şarmsār

Another poem in the same metre is *Taw ay*,²² which is a *ghazal* of nine couplets, with a *taxalluṣ*²³ in the final couplet.

manī dil manī nawjawānī taw ay
 ghamāni²⁴ siyāhen dhanz o mujān
 manī gāl u guptār murwārid ant
 siyāhen şapānī tahā gham dihen
 ča ‘išq-e malangī u besārīyā

manī zīnat o zindagānī taw ay
 man şādāñ, manī şādmānī taw ay
 e durreñ Zubāne rawānī taw ay
 manī māhtābeñ nişānī taw ay
 murid āñ manī jān u hānī taw ay

¹⁹ *Gulbāng*, pp. 21–23.

²⁰ See Gibb, p. 79.

²¹ Here without *tašdīd* for the sake of the metre.

²² *Purang*, p. 5.

²³ Obligatory mention of the poet's name (pen-name etc.) at the end of certain types of poems.

²⁴ The spelling of *ġamānī* that Gul Khān Naşīr preferred at one point, see Jahani, p. 138.

ča kulleñ jahānā waṭan sārīyā
ča dard o ghamāñ, man ki besuddh bāñ
manī dil nalarzīt har muškilā
naṣīr āñ pa šayr o zubāñ dānīyā

wa guḍḍ ač waṭan, dost u jānī taw ay
manī noš dārū ghamānī taw ay
manī himmat o pahlawānī taw ay
manī āb u jawhar zubānī taw ay

The poem *Dīwā*²⁵ is written in the metre *hazaj-i murabba'-i sālim*, scanned ---- / ----. It is a *musaddas*²⁶ with the rhyme aa, aa, bb, cc, cc, bb, dd, dd, bb, etc.

ča hawr o gwāt u ač tūpān
dil o jān o sar o sāmān
balāñ bī sikka lālānī

kanāñ sāhā ta 'ī dempān
kanāñ kullāñ ta 'ī kurbān
guleñ dīwā šamālānī

bir e tārīkīyā ewak
ta 'ī gird muč̄ bant yak yak
balāñ bī sikka lālānī

ta 'ī nūrā int may dil sak
ganok šaydā ča drā'eñ ṭak
guleñ dīwā šamālānī

The poem *Ustumāne šā'ir*²⁷ is written in the metre *hazaj-i musaddas-i maḥżūf* scanned ---- / ---- / ---. The rhyme pattern, which is foreign to the Arabic-Persian system, is aa, bb, cd, cd, and it varies in each stanza.

naṣīre šā'irī tūpān u grande
mudāmī ḥāh u kūkār o tawār int
na goñ pullān bahāre mayl dārīt
na husn o āšikē payl dārīt

jitā'eñ gipta yak rāhband u rande
sadā'ī wā u zang o āh u zār int
na goñ mahgonagāñ ništ o niyāde
na goñ waš zemuleñ šayrāñ siyāde

The poem *Baločistān*, *Baločistān*,²⁸ one of Gul Khān Naṣīr's most well known pieces, is also a *hazaj*, but this time, just as in *Dīwā*, a *hazaj-i murabba'-i sālim*. The rhyme pattern is aa, bb, cc, aa, dd, ee, ff, aa, etc., which, like the rhyme in the previous poem, is alien to the Arabic-Persian system.

baločistān! baločistān
may haḍḍ o goše gul pākā
taw ay may māt u sereñ lāp
ta hammay māl u hammay jān

may nām o nang u burzeñ šāñ
suruštag ač ta 'ī ḥākā
bibay²⁹ sabz o mudām šādāp
baločistān! baločistān

CONCLUSIONS

A brief look at the poetical forms that Gul Khān Naṣīr uses shows that many of his poems can be classified into the classical forms. He has, for example, composed many *ghazals*, some of which are published in *Gulbāng* (pp. 129–144). Many

²⁵ Šapgirok, pp. 70–72, see also Elfenbein, I, pp. 186–191.

²⁶ See Gibb, pp. 93–94.

²⁷ Šapgirok, pp. 31–33, see also Elfenbein, I, pp. 158–163.

²⁸ Grand, p. 31, see also Elfenbein, I, pp. 162–165.

²⁹ The text has the form *bay*, which does not fit the metre and must be regarded as a misprint for *bibay*.

ghazals are also found in *Purang*. *Qaṣīdas* are found e.g. on pp. 73–76 in *Šapgirok* and on pp. 156–159 in *Grand*. In both these books there are also many *rubā’īs* published.³⁰ In his epic poems Gul Khān Naṣīr does not normally follow the rhyme of the *masnawī*,³¹ whereas the *masnawī* rhyme is occasionally found in shorter poems.³² It is evident that Gul Khān Naṣīr in many of his poems prefers a freer rhyme pattern than the Arabic-Persian verse-forms allow, often with the poem divided into stanzas with a change of rhyme between the stanzas. It is also, as already noted above, common to find a recurring rhyme in a refrain found at each point where the rhyme changes throughout the poem.

As for the metre, it may first of all be noted that, just like in Persian the word ‘and’ and the *iżāfa* may be counted either long or short. When they are counted long they are here transcribed *o* (e.g. 1:6, 2:2, 3:1, 4:2, 5:3, 6:1)³³ and -*e* (e.g. 1:5, 1:12, 2:6), and when they are counted short they are transcribed *u* (e.g. 1:5, 1:8, 2:4, 3:3, 5:1, 6:4) and -*i* (e.g. 1:9, 2:4).³⁴ Furthermore it is evident that a syllable containing a long vowel followed by one or two consonants or a short vowel followed by two consonants, i.e. overlong syllables, may be counted only long (e.g. 1:1 -*loč*, 1:2 *gār*, 1:6 *lānk*, 2:1 -*tant*) or overlong (e.g. 1:10 -*tīt*, 2:1 *ars*, 2:3, *nām-*, 3:2 *šād-*, 5:4 *payl*), as the metre requires. It is worth noting that also an -*n* can give an overlong syllable in Balochi (e.g. 2:1 *ḥon*, 3:2 -*hen*).³⁵ Since the nasalization is much stronger in Balochi, at least in the Southern (Makrānī) and the Eastern dialects, than in Persian, there is, like in Urdu, a marked difference between a nasalized vowel and a vowel followed by an -*n*. This may be the reason why an -*n* can make a syllable overlong.

On the other hand there are instances where *man* (e.g. 3:2) and *int* (e.g. 4:4)³⁶ have to be counted as short syllables, which also has to be ascribed to the nasalization. This is also true of -*ī* (e.g. 1:9 -*dī*, 3:5 -*rī*), *e* (e.g. 3:3) and *may* (e.g. 2:7, 6:1, 6:2). In fact, Thiesen notes that the same thing happens in Urdu poetry, where “all final long vowels and diphthongs whether nasalized or not may be shortened as the metre requires.”³⁷ In Balochi, as well as in Urdu, a syllable may begin with two consonants (e.g. 1:1 *byā*, 5:1 *gran-*) and a hamza may have to be added between a consonant and a vowel (e.g. 1:9 -*żar’ e*, 6:2 -*tag’ ac*), which, according to Thiesen, is more common in Urdu than in Persian.³⁸ Some words, like *byā/biyā* (e.g. 1:1/1:5) and *ta’i/tī* (e.g. 1:3/1:12) in the examples above, can be read in two alternative ways as the metre requires.

³⁰ For *rubā’īs*, see also Elfenbein, I, pp. 196–201.

³¹ An exception is the introduction to *Hapt haykal*.

³² See e.g. *Grand*, pp. 35–36, and *Purang*, pp. 80–81.

³³ In the reference to the poems the first figure indicates the poem, which are numbered 1–6, and the second figure indicates the couplet. No. 1:6 thus means that an example of the word ‘and’ in a long syllable position is to be found in the first poem, *Byā o baloč*, couplet no. 6.

³⁴ Note, however, that there is no difference in the pronunciation of the long and short *iżāfa*, nor of the long and short ‘and’.

³⁵ See also Thiesen, p. 195.

³⁶ In 1:15, on the contrary, *int* has to be counted as a long syllable.

³⁷ Thiesen, p. 197. It may be noted that the syllable -*rī* in *besārīyā* is the final syllable of the word in the nominative case and that here the word occurs with the acc./obl. ending -ā.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 186 and 191.

The main difference between the metrical analysis in Balochi and in Persian thus seems to be the overlong syllables. In Persian an overlong syllable can never be counted as only long,³⁹ whereas this is quite possible in Balochi, where, as already noted, even an *-n* can make the syllable overlong.

In his autobiographical paper, Gul Khān Naṣīr writes that he never really felt at ease when composing in Persian and Urdu, and that he was very relieved when he realized that he could write his poetry in his mother tongue. His immediate decision was then that he would never again “make the mistake” of writing poetry in other languages. It is, however, clear that he had mastered the Arabic-Persian poetical forms and metres, and that he, together with his fellow poets, was able to introduce them into the modern Balochi poetry.⁴⁰

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³⁹ This rule is valid also for Urdu, see *ibid.*, p. 189.

⁴⁰ For a comment on the metres of classical Balochi poetry, see Barker-Mengal, pp. 264–266, and Lazard, “Le mètre épique baloutchi et les origines du motaqāreb”.

Guido Renis „Ecce Homo“ in der koptischen Frömmigkeit

OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS, Elleran

Für den aufmerksamen Beobachter der koptischen Frömmigkeit ergeben sich in den letzten Jahren immer wieder unerwartete Überraschungen. Vor einiger Zeit berichtete ich in dieser Zeitschrift über gewisse Aspekte der zeitgenössischen Marienfrömmigkeit bei den Kopten. Dieser Marienkult wird heutzutage weitgehend geprägt durch rein westliche Gnadenbilder, sei es durch die Darstellung der Immaculata von Zeitūn (1968) oder von ‘Ard Babadeblu (1986) oder durch das Gnadenbild der Schmerzensmutter, der *al-Hazina*, der „Mater Dolorosa“ des Florentiner Meisters Carlo Dolci (1616–1686)¹.

In diesem Beitrag möchte ich nun die Aufmerksamkeit auf eine neue „soteriologische“ Ikonographie richten, die zweifelsohne auch die koptische Volksfrömmigkeit mitgestaltet. Es handelt sich um das im Westen überaus populäre und volksbeliebte Christusbild „Ecce Homo“ des italienischen Meisters Guido Reni (1575–1642). Hatte es doch der aus Bologna stammende Maler verstanden ein Leidensbild Christi zu schaffen, das durch die Jahrhunderte eines der volkstümlichsten Andachtsbilder in der römisch-katholischen Welt wurde. Das in der Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden beheimatete Original stellt jene fast überspitzten Eigenarten des realistisch-sentimentalen Christustypes dar, bei dem alles Göttliche lediglich als Pseudoekstase mit entsprechendem Augenaufschlag sichtbar wird². Dennoch erfreute sich dieses Christusbild mit dem zum Himmel gerichteten Blick und geöffneten Mund einer ganz besonderen Beliebtheit im 19. Jahrhundert, so daß seine zahlreichen Nachbildungen in allen größeren Galerien Europas zu finden sind (fig. 1). Neben der „Mater Dolorosa“ von Carlo Dolci wurde Guido Renis „Ecce Homo“ zum weitverbreitesten Andachtsbild in der westlichen Christenheit. Man denke nur an die Massenauflagen der lithographischen Anstalten für volkstümliche Pendants und für die Stahlstiche und Klischees der Millionen von Sterbebildchen über einhundert Jahre. Wenn irgendwo Höchstauflagen von Einzelbildern geschätzt werden sollten, so ließe sich der Rekord von Guido Renis „Ecce Homo“ nicht überbieten³.

Zur Entstehung dieses Christustyps sei erwähnt, daß nur bei dem Evangelisten Johannes (19, 4–6) die uns überlieferte Szene der Vorführung Jesu mit der Dornenkrone aufgezeichnet ist. So handelt es sich beim „Ecce Homo“ um ein ‘historisches Bild’, das einen wesentlichen Teil der Leidensgeschichte Christi zur Schau stellt. Es

¹ Meinardus, O., „Carlo Dolcis ‘Mater Dolorosa’ in der koptischen Mariologie“, *Orientalia Suecana*, XLI–XLII, 1992–93, 155–165.

² „Ecce Homo“, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Freiburg, I, 1968, 436.

³ Brückner, Wolfgang, *Elfenreigen-Hochzeitsträume. Die Öldruckfabrikation 1840–1940*. Köln, 1974, 83.

wurde auch dieser Moment der Passion Christi immer wieder in dramatisch erschütternder Weise von den großen Meistern der flämischen und italienischen Schule der Renaissance dargestellt⁴.

In der traditionellen Passions-Ikonographie der Orthodoxie, sowohl der byzantinischen, als auch der altorientalischen, spielt die Darstellung des dornengekrönten Schmerzensmannes eigentlich keine Rolle⁵. Erst der spät-mittelalterliche Einfluß westlicher Sakralkunst führte zu einer Übernahme des dornengekrönten Heilands. So malte in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts der aus Jerusalem stammende griechische, arabophone Ikonograph Astâsî ar-Rûmî (Eustathius der Grieche)⁶ für die Gottesmutter-Kirche ad-Damshirîyah und für die St. Merkurius-Kirche (Abû 's-Sai-fain), beide in Alt-Kairo gelegen, den Gekreuzigten mit der Dornenkrone⁷. Es ist fraglich, ob Astâsî ar-Rûmî sich bewußt war, daß diese Darstellung eine eklatante Abweichung von der traditionellen orthodoxen Passions-Ikonographie war. Bemerkenswerterweise wurde diese westlich inspirierte Darstellung des Gekreuzigten mit der Dornenkrone auch in die Ikonographie der neo-koptischen Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts eingebbracht. Zweifelsohne versuchte man wohl die Leiden Christi dem Betrachter so eindringlich wie möglich nahe zu bringen. So findet man heutzutage Kreuzigungsdarstellungen der neo-koptischen Schule von Isaac Fanûs und seinen Schülern, die das gequälte Leiden des Dornengekrönten am Kreuz veranschaulichen⁸. Es ist doch erstaunlich zu welchem Maße eine selbstbewußte orthodoxe Theologie und Frömmigkeit so völlig fremdartige Kunstformen akzeptiert und in die Darstellungen ihrer eigenen Tradition einfließen läßt.

Mit diesen Beispielen möchte ich nun nicht behaupten, daß ein direkter Zusammenhang zwischen den zeitgenössischen Malereien des dornengekrönten Christus am Kreuz und der in der koptischen Frömmigkeit weitverbreiteten Andachtsikonegraphie des „Ecce Homo“ von Guido Reni besteht. Aber dennoch scheint es bezeichnent, daß das Bild des „Ecce Homo“ in weiten Kreisen der koptischen Bevölkerung eine so völlige und auch unbedenkliche Akzeptanz gefunden hat. Somit stellt sich auch die Frage, ob das breite Band der christlichen Devotionalien, die in den Kiosken der koptischen Kirchen und Klöster angeboten werden, eine echte Nachfrage koptischer Frömmigkeitsbedürfnisse sind.

In einer Atmosphäre betonter emotionaler Religiosität wie sie auch hier und da heutzutage in koptischen Kreisen zu beobachten ist – man denke nur an die überaus lebhafte Resonanz zu den Mariophanien in Zeitûn 1968 und in 'Ard Babadeblu in 1986 – entspricht der dornengekrönte, zum Himmel schauende Passionschristus natürlich mehr den heilsbedürftigen Erwartungen der Gläubigen, als das starre Antlitz des byzantinisch-koptischen Pantokrators. Offensichtlich erkennt man eine Zuwen-

⁴ Rogier von der Weyden (1399–1464), Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), Tizian (1477–1576), Gaudenzio Ferrari (1480–1546), Jacopo Tintoretto (1518–1594).

⁵ Biedermann, Hermenigild M., *Die Passion*. Recklinghausen, 1958, 46. „Nur sehr selten findet man im Osten auf den Bildern die im Abendland zur Selbstverständlichkeit gewordenen Dornenkrone“.

⁶ Meinardus, O., „The Iconography of Astâsî ar-Rûmî“, *Studia Oriental Christiana Collectanea*, XIV, 1970/71, 377–397, Pl. x–xv.

⁷ Cf. *Le Monde Copte. Revue Semestrielle de culture égyptienne*, 18. Umschlag.

⁸ Fanus, Isaac, *Das Leben, die Wundertaten und das Leiden des Herrn Christus*. Kairo, n.d. Chaillot, Ch., „Propos d'Isaac Fanus“, *Le Monde Copte*, 19, 9.

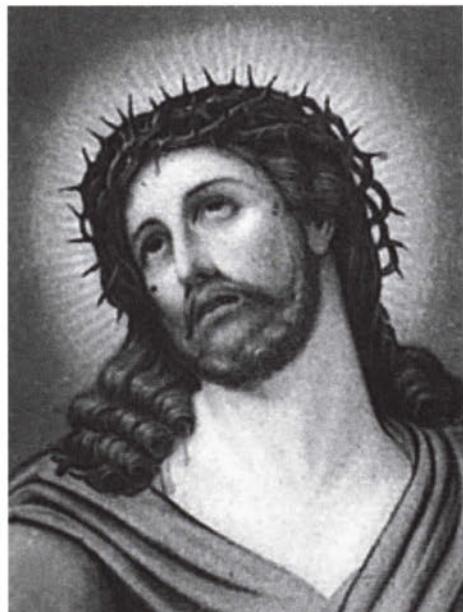


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5a.

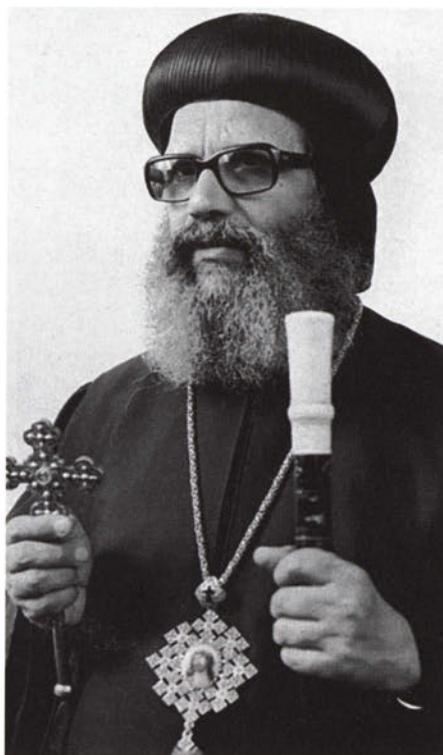


Fig. 5b.

dung zu den gefühlsvollen Darstellungen der italienischen Renaissance. Warum sollten die von westlicher Zivilisation so stark beeinflußten Kopten in ihrer Frömmigkeit anders reagieren als es die Europäer taten?

Man denke doch nur an die überaus weitverbreiteten spät-katholischen Christusdarstellungen des 19. Jahrhunderts vom Herzen Jesu, die man immer wieder an den Altarschränken der koptisch-orthodoxen Kirchen Oberägyptens findet⁹. Dasselbe gilt ebenfalls für die Unzahl von Kopien des ‘Abendmahls’ von Leonardo da Vinci¹⁰, das zum Inbegriff aller Abendmahlssdarstellungen geworden ist. Gerade beim ‘Abendmahl’ erkennt man an den Gesten die Vergeistigung der dargestellten Personen.

Geschmackloserweise sind die Darstellungen von Renis „Ecce Homo“ als ikonographische Bereicherungen von Wanduhren instrumentalisiert worden, als ob der Hersteller den Benutzer an das Zitat Friedrich Schillers erinnern wollte: „Mach deine Rechnung mit dem Himmel, Vogt! Fort mußt du, deine Uhr ist abgelaufen“¹¹! In vielen koptischen Kiosken, wie z.B. in denen der Gottesmutter-Kirche zu Zeitûn (fig. 2) und der Gottesmutter-Kirche im Hârat ar-Rûm (fig. 3) befinden sich diese „Wanduhrendarstellungen“ des „Ecce Homo“. Bei dem Uhrenbildnis aus dem Hârat ar-Rûm liest man zusätzlich den arabischen Text eines der letzten Worte Jesu am Kreuz: „Vater vergib ihnen“ (Lk 23,34). Aber nicht nur als Wanduhrenschmuck, sondern auch als Schlüsselanhängerbild, als Plakat in allen Größen und als Foto-Amulett werden die Bilder des „Ecce Homo“ in den koptischen Kiosken angeboten. Die koptischen Miniatur Foto-Amulette stellen im allgemeinen jene Kult-Personen dar, die zur Zeit die religiösen Bedürfnisse und Interessen widerspiegeln¹². Das in Plastik eingeschweißte Bild (3.7 × 5.6 cm) zeigt auf der einen Seite Renis „Ecce Homo“ und auf der anderen Seite die Gottesmutter von Zeitûn, jene Immaculata die auf einer von Rosen umgebenen Wolke schwebt¹³.

Besonders anlässlich der populären Wallfahrten (mawâlid) zu Ehren der Gottesmutter oder eines der Heiligen bieten die „fliegenden Händler“ ihre fototechnischen „Kunstwerke“ von abartigen und grotesken Fotomontagen den Gläubigen an. Die abgebildete Fotomontage zeigt links ein aus der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts stammendes Brustbild des Schmerzensmannes aus der westlichen religiösen Filmproduktion¹⁴. Mit einer Dornenkrone auf dem Haupt schaut der blutüberströmte Schmerzensmann nach unten. Die Dornenkrone wird mit einem Strick gehalten. Auf der rechten Seite ist eines der vielen Andachtsfotos des populären koptischen Thau-maturgen Abûnâ Fanûs al-Bûlî (fig. 4). Von vielen koptischen Gläubigen aus Ägypten

⁹ Die Begründerin der Herz Jesu Frömmigkeit war St. Marguerite Marie Alacoque (1647–90). Cf. Rix, J., *Cultus SS. Cordi Jesu et purissimi Cordis B. Virginis Mariae*. Freiburg, 1905.

¹⁰ Refektorium von S. Maria della Grazie, Mailand.

¹¹ Schiller, Friedr., *Wilhelm Tell*, IV, 3 (Tell).

¹² Meinardus, O., „Zeitgenössische Begebenheiten in der Volksfrömmigkeit der Kopten“, *Orientalia Suecana*, XL, 1991, 180–183.

¹³ Meinardus, O., „Von der Mariophanie zum Gnadenbild. Zur Ikonographischen Entwicklung der Gnadenbilder von Zeitûn und ‘Ard Babadeblu‘“, *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 39, 4, 1990, 289–299.

¹⁴ Osten, v.d. Gert, *Der Schmerzensmann. Typengeschichte eines deutsches Andachtsbildwerkes von 1300–1600*. Berlin, 1935. Panofsky, E., „Imago Pietatis, Ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des Schmerzensmannes, etc.“ *Festschrift M.J. Friedländer*, Leipzig, 1927, 261–308.

ten und Übersee wird er im Pauluskloster (Dair Anbâ Bûlâ) am Roten Meer aufgesucht, die in ihm einen Wundertäter, Hellseher und Heiler erkennen. 1930 in Dafash bei Samalût in der oberägyptischen Provinz Minya geboren, trat er 1946 als Novize dem Dair Anbâ Bûlâ bei. Die Mönchsweihe erhielt er 1948. Der Klosterbischof Anbâ Arsanîüs weihte ihn zum Priester und *qummus* (Hegoumenos). Von 1986 bis 1990 residierte Abûnâ Fanûs al-Bûlî in der klösterlichen Dependance in Bûsh bei Beni Suef im Niltal. Seine Beliebtheit bei Teilen der koptischen Bevölkerung scheint ungebrochen¹⁵.

Die Fotomontage von dem Schmerzenmann mit dem koptischen Mönch zeugt in meinen Augen von einer Stil- und Geschmacklosigkeit. Es ist bedauerlich, daß Bilder von derart taktlosen Kombinationen die Frömmigkeit vieler hilfesuchenden Kopten prägen.

Ein ungewöhnlicher Gebrauch des „Ecce Homo“ Bildnisses auf bischöflichen Insignien ist bei den Liturgica des koptischen Bischofs Arsenius von Minya und Abû Qurqâs zu sehen. Sein ledernes bischöfliches Kreuz (*staurôs* oder *salîb sadr*) trägt in der Mitte ein Medaillon mit dem „Ecce Homo“. Dasselbe gilt für seine Krone (*tâg*), die ebenfalls ein Medaillon mit dem „Ecce Homo“ zeigt¹⁶ (fig. 5a, b).

Durch diese Darstellungen auf bischöflichen Insignien erhielt das „Ecce Homo“ Bildnis zusätzliche, offizielle Akzeptanz im ikonographischen Kanon der koptischen Kirche.

¹⁵ Meinardus, O., „Aspects of the Popular Religion in the light of the present Coptic Renaissance“, *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea*, XXIII, 1990, 276–277.

¹⁶ *Dair al-Baramûs*, publ. by the Monastery of the Virgin, Nubar Printing Press, n.d.

« Histoire de la *hiġāba* et des *huġġāb* en al-Andalus umayyade (2^e/VIII^e–4^e/X^e siècles) »

MOHAMED MEOUAK, Madrid

Tout au long de l'émirat puis du califat umayyade de Cordoue, le *hāġib* resta toujours supérieur, en rang et pouvoir, au vizir. Tandis que ce dernier était en Orient 'abbāside l'auxiliaire direct et indispensable du souverain, c'est le *hāġib* hispano-umayyade qui était le véritable suppléant ou bras droit du « prince » et détenait les plus hautes responsabilités administratives au sein de l'état¹. D'ailleurs, le titulaire de la *hiġāba* possédait toujours le titre, voire la charge de vizir et c'est certainement dans ce sens qu'il serait souhaitable d'étudier les caractères de cette charge de « chambellan » : est-il possible de comparer ce haut-fonctionnaire au vizir 'abbāside? Avant de le faire, il convient tout d'abord de s'arrêter sur la traduction du terme *hāġib* par celui de « chambellan ». Cet officier qui était à la direction de l'administration civile et militaire est, pensons-nous, appelé à juste raison par le nom de « chambellan »². Peut-être est-ce l'étymologie du mot qui conduit à cette traduction, voire interprétation. En effet, le radical *h.g.b* dans sa première forme signifie « empêcher », « occulter », « voiler » d'où l'idée d'un personnage chargé de garder l'accès aux appartements du souverain et ne laisser pénétrer auprès de lui que les visiteurs sûrs³. Par ailleurs, nous savons qu'en Orient à l'époque umayyade, le *hāġib* avait des tâches très spécifiques et selon J. Sauvaget, citant une anecdote datée du règne de Mu‘āwiya, il était chargé d'« annoncer les visiteurs, les introduire, interdire – au besoin ‘à coups de sabre’ – l'entrée à ceux qui se sont vu refuser l'audience : tel

¹ Sur la *hiġāba* en al-Andalus umayyade, v. E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au X^e siècle : institutions et vie sociale*, Paris, 1932, pp. 63–66; Id., *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, Leyde-Paris, 1950–1953, 3 vols., III, pp. 18–22. On comparera avec d'autres formations politiques du Maghreb dans J.F.P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim Government in Barbary until the sixth century of the Higra*, Londres, 1958, pp. 14–17; avec l'Ifrīqiya fāṭimide : F. Dachraoui, *Le Califat fatimide au Maghreb (296–362/909–973). Histoire politique et institutions*, Tunis, 1981, pp. 301–303; avec al-Andalus naṣride : R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane aux temps des Naṣrides (1232–1492)*, Paris, 1973, pp. 201–208. Pour l'Orient, nous renvoyons à l'article détaillé de l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (désormais *E.I.*²), nouvelle édition, Leyde-Paris, 1960–..., *sub. voc.* « *ḥādjib* », vol. III, pp. 47–51 [D. Sourdel : pour l'institution à l'époque du califat et en al-Andalus, pp. 47–48; C.E. Bosworth : sous les dynasties orientales, pp. 48–49; A.K.S. Lambton : pour l'état salgūkide, p. 49 et Rédaction : pour l'Egypte, la Syrie et l'Afrique du Nord, pp. 49–51].

² C'est ce qui ressort de plusieurs études et à ce propos E. Lévi-Provençal, *op.cit.* (1932), pp. 63–64 était partisan d'une révision de la traduction de ce mot. Contrairement à D. Sourdel, « ‘Wazīr’ et ‘Hāġib’ en Occident », *Etudes d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, Paris, 1962, 2 vols., II, pp. 749–755 surtout p. 754 qui préféra adopter l'équivalence avec « chambellan ».

³ Sur les diverses significations du radical *h.g.b*, v. A. Kazimirski de Biberstein, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, Paris, 1860, 2 vols., I, pp. 379–380; R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Leyde, 1881, 2 vols., I, p. 249.

est le rôle du chamellan (*ḥāḡib*) qui paraît à la cour dès le temps de Mo‘āwiya [...]. Le même J. Sauvaget ajoutait que « c'est sur le mot servant à désigner le rideau (*ḥāḡib*) qu'a été formé le titre de chambellan (*ḥāḡib*) et d'autres locutions comparables achevèrent d'établir de la manière la plus formelle ce détail du cérémonial »⁴. Plus tard, aux temps des ‘Abbāsides de Bagdad, il semble que le *ḥāḡib* était également celui qui s'interposait entre le *sitr* ou « portière » et les personnages qui prétendaient être reçus en audience par le calife⁵. On est ici en présence d'un véritable dispositif mis en place lors des audiences officielles et d'une réelle organisation du cérémonial où le *ḥāḡib* joue un rôle fondamental. Nous reviendrons sur cette question au cours de notre étude, et notamment à l'époque du second calife hispano-umayyade al-Ḥakam II⁶.

D'un point de vue du contenu sémantique et du sens au plan administratif, le terme *ḥāḡib* évolua sensiblement dans le contexte hispano-umayyade. En effet, ce dernier était bel et bien le plus haut responsable des administrations gouvernementales choisi par le souverain afin de l'assister dans ses activités politiques, diplomatiques et militaires. De ce fait, il nous semble même possible de faire de ce haut-fonctionnaire un équivalent du moderne « ministre d'état » au sens où il était l'un des responsables des décisions prises au sein de l'état. Théoriquement, cet agent était le « directeur » des trois principaux services de l'état : la maison du souverain, la chancellerie et le bureau des finances⁷. Notons cependant que cet ensemble de prérogatives ne nous est pas apparu dans sa totalité à travers la documentation textuelle arabe et qu'il nous faudra donc nuancer celles-ci. C'est ainsi que nous verrons au préalable la place donnée au *ḥāḡib* dans les sources hispano-arabes et ses caractéristiques à l'époque émirale puis, nous verrons sa place au sein du gouvernement durant le califat et en dernier lieu, nous essaierons de conclure sur les raisons de son abondon en tant qu'institution politico-administrative à la fin du X^e siècle.

I. – *Le ḥāḡib à travers la documentation hispano-arabe :*

A l'origine, ce dignitaire était celui qui servait d'« écran » entre le souverain et les sujets du pays, jouant en quelque sorte le rôle de gardien de la demeure princière⁸. Peut-être la fonction a-t-elle existée sous cette forme en al-Andalus umayyade, d'autant plus que nous savons que ce haut-fonctionnaire évoluait en toute liberté dans l'enceinte du palais souverain. Cependant, nous savons que les émirs puis les califes se déchargèrent de la presque totalité de leurs responsabilités gouvernementales.

⁴ J. Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine. Etude sur les origines architecturales de la mosquée et de la basilique*, Paris, 1947, p. 131.

⁵ D. Sourdel, « Questions de cérémonial ‘abbaside », *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, XVIII/1 (1960), pp. 121–148 surtout p. 132; sur le *sitr*, v. E. Tyan, *Institutions de droit public musulman, tome I : le Califat*, Paris, 1954, pp. 498–501.

⁶ On reviendra sur cet aspect à travers l'article de M. Barceló, « El Califa patente : el ceremonial omeya de Córdoba o la escenificación del poder », *Actas de las 2^a Jornadas de Estudios Históricos : « Estructuras y Formas del Poder en la Historia »* (Salamanca, 28 de febrero–2 de marzo de 1990), Salamanca, 1991, pp. 51–71.

⁷ E. Lévi-Provençal, *op.cit.* (1932), pp. 63–66; Id., *op.cit.* (1950–1953), III, p. 18.

⁸ Sur ce point, v. E.I.², *sub voc.* « ḥādžib », vol III, p. 47; E. Lévi-Provençal, *op.cit.* (1950–1953), III, p. 18 note 1.

tales en confiant au *ḥāḡib*, une vaste délégation de pouvoir. En effet, nous savons d'après l'écrivain Ibn Sa'īd, cité par al-Maqqarī, que la calife choisissait parmi ses vizirs son conseiller qui devint son « suppléant » (*nā'ib*) dans la majeure partie des affaires de l'état et qui portait le nom de *ḥāḡib*⁹. C'est le terme *nā'ib* qui retient ici notre attention, pour une raison liée à la réalité de sa fonction. En effet, cette appellation évoque sans nul doute une délégation de pouvoir de l'autorité centrale. L'acception de « suppléance » que est généralement attribuée au substantif *nā'ib* prend toute son ampleur et il s'agit bien du premier rôle joué par ce haut-fonctionnaire. Contrairement au *ḥāḡib* hispano-umayyade, son homologue fāṭimide paraît quant à lui avoir été confiné dans des fonctions subalternes et parfois même domestiques de « maire de palais ». D'ailleurs, si l'on se réfère à la liste des *ḥuğğāb* qui servirent la dynastie Šī‘ite d'Ifrīqiya, on se rend compte que certains d'entre eux étaient de condition servile¹⁰. Cette situation est sans conteste à mettre en relation avec l'affaiblissement de l'influence des dignitaires d'origine arabe et berbère qui souffrissent de la promotion des *Ṣaqāliba*/Slaves attachés au service personnel des *imām-s* fāṭimides¹¹.

Selon Ibn Haldūn, il y avait en al-Andalus un vizir qui avait préséance sur ses collègues et qui était titulaire de la *ḥiğāba*. D'après ce même historien, le haut-fonctionnaire détenteur de cette charge dépassa en pouvoir tous les agents de l'état¹². Malgré le caractère théorique de cette indication, nous pensons qu'elle concorde assez bien avec la réalité évoquée par les données textuelles.

II. – Les prérogatives du *ḥāḡib* à l'époque émirale :

Lors de l'accession du premier émir umayyade de Cordoue 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'āwiya [I^e], on commença à nommer des hauts-fonctionnaires au poste de la *ḥiğāba*. Ce souverain eut successivement cinq *ḥuğğāb* à son service : Tammām b. 'Alqama, Yūsuf b. Buht, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Mahrān, 'Abd al-Hamīd b. Muġīṭ et Manṣūr *al-fatā'*¹³. Si l'on s'arrête sur le texte d'Ibn 'Idārī, on remarque que les dignitaires des grandes familles d'origine arabo-orientale et *mawlā* telles que les Banū Abī 'Abda, Banū Šuhayd, Banū Fuṭays, Banū Ḥudayr, Banū Basīl et Banū 'Abd al-Ra'ūf n'accédèrent pas à la *ḥiğāba* avant l'émirat de Muḥammad [I^e], c'est-à-dire en l'année 852¹⁴. C'est effectivement sous le règne de ce dernier que l'on verra par

⁹ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib min ḡuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb wa- ḏikr wazīrah Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb* (désormais *Nafh al-ṭib*), éd. de I. 'Abbās, Beyrouth, 1968, 8 vols., I, p. 216.

¹⁰ D'après l'ouvrage de F. Dachraoui, *op.cit.* (1982), pp. 301–303.

¹¹ Sur le personnel slave au service de l'état fāṭimide, v. I. Hrbek, « Die Slawen im Dienste des Fāṭimidien », *Archiv Orientální*, 21 (1953), pp. 543–581.

¹² Ibn Haldūn, *Al-Muqaddima*, trad. française de V. Monteil : *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, Beyrouth, 1967, 3 vols., II, p. 491.

¹³ Ibn 'Idārī, *Al-Bayān al-muğrib fī aḥbār al-Andalus wa-l-Maġrib* (désormais *al-Bayān*, II/trad.), éd. de G.S. Colin et E. Lévi-Provençal, Leyde, 1948–1951, 2 vols., II, p. 48/trad. française d'après l'édition de R. Dozy, Leyde, 1848–1851 d'E. Fagnan : *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne intitulée al-Bayān l-Moġrib*, Alger, 1901–1904, 2 vols., II, p. 74; *Dikr bilād al-Andalus* (désormais *Dikr*), éd. et trad. espagnole de L. Molina : *Una Descripción Anónima de al-Andalus*, Madrid, 1983, 2 vols., p. 110/118.

¹⁴ Ces familles et d'autres d'origine berbère, esclave et affranchie ont été étudiées dans notre thèse de

exemple des membres des Banū Šuhayd et Banū Abī ‘Abda détenteurs de cette haute responsabilité¹⁵. Mais dès le règne de ‘Abd al-Rahmān [II], on assista à la structuration de cet office en véritable charge. Par la suite, et notamment durant l’émirat de ‘Abd Allāh, à partir de l’année 888, la fonction de *ḥāḡib* fut véritablement constituée et organisée comme une institution de l’appareil étatique hispano-umayyade : *huṭṭat al-ḥiḡāba*¹⁶. On ajoutera à cela qu’une charge spécifique de la *hiḡāba* avait été mise en place à cette époque avec celle de *hiḡābat alawlād* ou fonction de tutelle des enfants des souverains. Nous avons seulement un exemple de titulaire de cet office, quelque peu singulier, en la personne de Abū ‘Utmān ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ğamr Ibn Abī ‘Abda, haut-fonctionnaire appartenant à une importante famille de dignitaires cordouans¹⁷.

Si l’on prend l'exemple de la carrière politico-administrative de ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Umayya b. Īsā Ibn Šuhayd, nous remarquons qu'il assuma les responsabilités de *ḥāḡib* seulement pendant une courte durée¹⁸. Par ailleurs, nous n'avons relevé aucune information sur de quelconques activités administratives menées par ce personnage. Il en fut également de même pour l'autre *ḥāḡib* de l'émir ‘Abd Allāh, Sa‘id b. Muḥammad al-Salīm qui fut sans doute nommé après l'année 888¹⁹. Ces deux mentions soulèvent le problème de l'existence du haut-fonctionnaire chargé de superviser les services gouvernementaux et détenteur de la charge de conseiller du souverain. Peut-on affirmer qu'après 888, il n'y eut plus en al-Andalus d'agent titulaire de la *hiḡāba*? Il est possible de suggérer une réponse en notant à la lumière de l'historiographie hispano-arabe qu'un personnage exerça bien les prérogatives du *ḥāḡib* sans en porter le titre mais tout en remplissant le rôle de « ministre d'état ». Il s'agit en effet de Badr al- Şaqlabī qui vécut à l'époque de l'émir ‘Abd Allāh²⁰. Cette

Doctorat : *Les structures politiques et administratives de l'état andalou à l'époque umayyade (milieu II^e/VII^e–fin IV^e/X^e siècles) : étude prosopographique et essai synthèse des principales charges gouvernementales*, Université Lumière-Lyon 2, 1989, 2 vols.

¹⁵ *Al-Bayān*, II, p. 93/152; *Dikr*, p. 146/151. Mais cette considération est faite à l'exception de ‘Īsā b. Šuhayd qui fut *ḥāḡib* de l'émir ‘Abd al-Rahmān [II] (règne à partir de 822). Sur ce haut-fonctionnaire, v. sa notice dans Ibn Hayyān, *Al-Muqtabs min anbā’ ahl al-Andalus* (désormais *al-Muqtabis*, II), éd. de M.‘A. Makkī, Beyrouth, 1973, pp. 26–28.

¹⁶ *Al-Muqtabis*, II, p. 28; Ibn Hayyān, *Al-Muqtabis fī ta’rīḥ rigāl al-Andalus* (désormais *al-Muqtabis*, III), éd. de M. Antuña, Paris, 1937, p. 53. Sur le concept de charge/*huṭṭa*, v. M. Meouak, « La notion de charge politico-administrative en al-Andalus umayyade. Remarques sur le terme *huṭṭa* », *Der Islam*, sous presse.

¹⁷ Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-Hulla al-siyarā'*, éd. de H. Mu'nis, Le Caire, 1963, 2 vols., I, pp. 146 et 247; Š. Ahmad, « Usrat Abī ‘Abda wa-dawruhā fī ta’rīḥ al-Andalus fī ‘ahd al-wulā’ wa-l-imāra (92–316 h.) », *Al-Baḥt al-‘Ilmī*, 35 (1985), pp. 49–99 surtout pp. 68–70; M. Marín, « Orígenes de las familias de al-Andalus en la época omeya según la obra de Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Hulla al-siyarā'* », *Ibn al-Abbar. Polític i escriptor àrab valencià (1199–1260)*, Valencia, 1990, pp. 237–247 surtout p. 242.

¹⁸ Ibn al-Qūtiyya, *Ta’rīḥ iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, éd. et trad. espagnole de J. Ribera, Madrid, 1926, p. 103/88; *al-Bayān*, II, p. 113/186.

¹⁹ *Al-Muqtabis*, III, pp. 4, 5 et 53; *al-Bayān*, II, pp. 151/251 et 167/278 dans lequel on apprend qu'il mourut en 914, deux ans après l'accession au pouvoir du futur premier calife hispano-umayyade ‘Abd al-Rahmān [III].

²⁰ Sur le *curriculum politicae* de ce personnage, v. M. Meouak, « Les 'marges' de l'administration hispano-umayyade (milieu II^e/VIII^e–début V^e/XI^e siècles) : prosopographie des fonctionnaires d'origine saqlabī, esclave et affranchie », *Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus. Homenaje a José M. Fórneas VI*, éd. M. Marín, Madrid, 1994, pp. 305–336 surtout pp. 317–318.

spécifité de la fonction de « ministre d'état » pose deux problèmes liés à la situation politique confuse de la fin du IX^e siècle et à la difficulté que l'on éprouve à cerner avec précision les rouages de l'administration²¹. Nous pouvons en effet nous demander pour quelles raisons l'émir 'Abd Allāh, après avoir destitué coup sur coup deux titulaires de la *ḥiḡāba*, n'en investit pas officiellement Badr al-Ṣaqlabī? On peut penser que l'émir n'éprouvait pas une entière confiance envers les officiers responsables de l'administration. D'ailleurs, lorsqu'il est question de l'accession de Badr al-Ṣaqlabī aux fonctions de *ḥāḡib*, le chroniqueur cordouan Ibn Ḥayyān le qualifie de « personnellement attaché et alerte en la matière », sous-entendant le fait qu'il exerça fidèlement sa charge à l'égard du souverain umayyade au pouvoir²². Ce dernier détail nous invite à penser à une espèce de fiction quant à la présence d'un vizir au sommet de la hiérarchie gouvernementale. En supprimant le titre de *ḥāḡib*, l'émir 'Abd Allāh désirait probablement conserver une plus grande mainmise sur les affaires de l'état et ne laisser à aucun dignitaire le soin de jouer le rôle de « ministre d'état ».

Nonobstant ce fait, nous pouvons penser que le titulaire officiel de la *ḥiḡāba* était bien le conseiller privilégié du souverain. C'est ce qui semble se confirmer par Ibn Ḥayyān quand ce dernier nous offre la relation attestant les tâches de « conseiller » de l'émir en la personne de Badr al-Ṣaqlabī. A partir de cette notice, nous allons voir comment un haut-fonctionnaire de l'administration ne détenant pas la charge de *ḥāḡib*, pouvait exécuter des missions politico-diplomatiques de première importance. Ce dernier joua donc un rôle assez considérable de négociateur durant les révoltes (*fitna*) qui secouèrent la région de Séville. En effet, en modifiant l'attitude intransigeante de l'émir 'Abd Allāh à l'égard des révoltés, Badr al-Ṣaqlabī accomplit une véritable œuvre de médiation. Après une consultation auprès des vizirs, le souverain accepta la proposition d'indulgence que le haut-fonctionnaire émit en faveur d'un des rebelles, 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Ḥaḡgāg²³. Dans cette affaire, les vizirs ne semblent pas, pour leur part, avoir joué un rôle déterminant. Toutefois, Badr al-Ṣaqlabī, qui avait été amené à remplir une mission à caractère politico-diplomatique sans être officiellement *ḥāḡib*, se trouva chargé en l'année 900 de consulter et de discuter les dossiers de l'état avec les autres vizirs: *wa-ammarā fa-wāda 'a lahu firāš li-l-ṣūrā ma 'a l-wuzarā'*²⁴. Cette indication souligne le fait que l'émir le chargea de s'acquitter d'une tâche exceptionnelle : le souverain, en difficulté, fit appel à un haut-officier et lui confia les pouvoirs de *ḥāḡib* de manière que l'on qualifiera dans ce cas d'« officieuse ».

Les caractéristiques des attributions du *ḥāḡib* d'époque émirale ne sont pas clairement définies dans les textes arabes. Mais cependant, nous devons une fois encore supposer que la chancellerie et les services financiers, si telle est la structure de base

²¹ M. Meouak, « Notes historiques sur l'administration centrale, les charges et le recrutement des fonctionnaires dans l'Espagne musulmane (2^e/VIII^e–4^e/X^e siècles) », *Hespéris-Tamuda*, XXX/1 (1992), pp. 9–20 surtout pp. 10–12; D. Sourdel et J. Bosch Vilá, *Regierung und Verwaltung des Vorderen Orients in Islamischer Zeit*, teil 2, Leyde, 1988, pp. 81–82 et 91–98 (J. Bosch Vilá).

²² *Al-Muqtabis*, III, pp. 4–5.

²³ Sur ces révoltes à Séville, v. l'exposé général d'E. Lévi-Provençal, *op.cit.* (1950–1953), I, pp. 356–368.

²⁴ *Al-Muqtabis*, III, p. 131.

de l'administration cordouane, furent dirigés par des agents gouvernementaux proches du *bayt* hispano-umayyade. Dans ce contexte, nous distinguons un personnage qui est sans aucun doute le plus haut officier dont les prérogatives paraissent toucher à la fois aux domaines administratif et politique.

*III. – L'évolution de la *hiğāba* à l'époque califale :*

Nous venons de voir que l'administration centrale de Cordoue se trouva privée de *ḥāġib* pendant une grande partie du règne de l'émir 'Abd Allāh. Or, à l'avènement en 912 du futur premier calife hispano-umayyade, on constate bien l'intégration complète à cette fonction de Badr Ibn Aḥmad, l'un des plus hauts dignitaires de l'état du début du X^e siècle²⁵.

Les débuts du règne de 'Abd al-Rahmān [III] ne correspondaient pas encore à la période de paix intérieure qui caractérise le milieu du X^e siècle. Aussi, est-il possible que le souverain, en investissant un nouvel agent à la *hiğāba*, ait voulu se doter d'un auxiliaire capable de le seconder dans les missions aussi délicates que celles consacrées à la « pacification » définitive du pays²⁶. D'ailleurs, d'un point de vue historiographique, on remarque que les chroniqueurs n'ont pas manqué de relever avec une certaine fréquence les succès militaires des armées hispano-umayyades, parfois commandées par un personnage titulaire de la *hiğāba*²⁷. Nous voyons apparaître à l'examen du *Muqtabis* et du *Bayān* notamment, le rôle de « ministre d'état » et de chef de l'administration qu'exerça Badr Ibn Aḥmad comme *ḥāġib*. Les textes hispano-arabes fournissent des indications qui permettent de mettre en évidence la nature des fonctions liées à cette charge. Ce haut responsable possède souvent un statut à la fois de cadre militaire et de conseiller politique. Sous ces deux aspects, il contribue, entre autres facteurs, à la réalisation de l'unité territoriale et à la consolidation des structures gouvernementales.

La charge de direction des armées est bien attestée dans les sources hispano-arabes comme étant une responsabilité ponctuelle. Le rôle prépondérant joué par le *qā'id* Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Abda n'empêche pas pour autant Badr Ibn Aḥmad d'être à maintes reprises commandant des armées cordouanes²⁸. Toutefois, il semble qu'il n'eut pas sous ses ordres la totalité du *ğund* et du *gayṣ*. Il faisait essentiellement figure de représentant du gouvernement et détenait une sorte de pouvoir de contrôle et de surveillance des opérations militaires²⁹.

Lors de la conquête de la ville de Carmona en 917, le *ḥāġib* Badr Ibn Aḥmad diri-

²⁵ Sur le *curriculum politicae* de ce personnage, v. M. Meouak, « Micro-prosopographie et biographie arabes : histoire gentilice des fonctionnaires hispano-umayyades (l'exemple des Banū Badr Ibn Aḥmad) », *Actas del XVI Congreso de la UEAI (Salamanca, 27/VIII–2/IX/1992)*, Salamanque, 1995, pp. 375–385 surtout pp. 380–383.

²⁶ Sur cette période de crise entre le pouvoir central et les « seigneurs » rebelles à l'autorité hispano-umayyade, v. l'excellente étude d'E. Manzano Moreno, *La frontera de al-Andalus en época de los Omeyas*, Madrid, 1991, pp. 346–370 pour l'époque de 'Abd al-Rahmān [III].

²⁷ V. l'exemple de Badr Ibn Aḥmad à la note 25.

²⁸ Sur Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Abda, v. Š. Aḥmad, *op.cit.* (1985), pp. 71–77.

²⁹ C'est également l'avis d'E. Lévi-Provençal, *op.cit.* (1950–1953), III, p. 18 qui pense que le *ḥāġib* du X^e siècle ne dirigeait plus les expéditions militaires. Sur les armées hispano-umayyades et la charge de

gea uniquement le corps de cavalerie³⁰, alors que durant la bataille contre le roi de Galice Ordoño, à Mitonia en 918, il détenait bien en tant que délégué du pouvoir central, l'ensemble du commandement³¹. Il y a d'autres exemples montrant la caractère de représentation du *bayt* hispano-umayyade confiée au *ḥāḡib* au cours d'événements militaires. Il semble d'ailleurs que Badr Ibn Aḥmad ait été un bon stratège et l'on peut supposer que les écrivains hispano-arabes minimisèrent sensiblement le rôle des *quwwād* (pl. de *qā'id*) afin de célébrer la personnalité du *ḥāḡib* considéré comme le seul et unique auxiliaire du souverain. Au sujet des pouvoirs conférés par l'émir au « ministre d'état », il nous faut nous attarder sur en passage relatif à la prise de la ville de Niebla en 917³². En effet, en accordant le « pardon » (*amān*) aux habitants de la cité, Badr Ibn Aḥmad fait figure de véritable délégué mandaté par le pouvoir central. Dans ce cas, le *ḥāḡib* est investi d'une délégation émanant directement du souverain. En plus de sa charge de *ḥāḡib*, Badr Ibn Aḥmad était le conseiller politique du pouvoir car il portait le titre de *mudabbir al-dawla* et se retrouvait désormais comme étant le plus haut dignitaire de l'état³³.

Un autre haut-fonctionnaire, Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. Mūsā Ibn Ḥudayr n'eut pas la même intense activité que son prédécesseur en matière de responsabilités militaires. Nommé à la *hiğāba* en 921 à l'issue de la mort de Badr Ibn Aḥmad, il avait en tant que préfet de la ville (*ṣāḥib al-madīna*) également participé à la *bay'a* intronisant 'Abd al-Raḥmān [III] à Cordoue en 912³⁴. En l'année 928, il prit part à la conquête de la ville de Mérida mais il semble y avoir participé avec une charge de type civil³⁵. A cette occasion, nous pouvons supposer qu'il était là en tant que représentant du pouvoir afin de constater le bon déroulement de la mise en place de la paix et de la réorganisation des services administratifs de cette ville. Il est toutefois difficile, compte tenu de ces informations, de préciser les tâches assignées au second *ḥāḡib* de 'Abd al-Raḥmān [III]. Mais afin de pallier ce problème, nous pourrions mettre en parallèle l'activité de Badr al-Ṣaqlabī avec celle de Mūsā b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥudayr. Nous le savons, le premier n'avait pas été officiellement nommé *ḥāḡib* et malgré cela, il contribua en partie au rétablissement de l'ordre dans la région de Séville. Quant au deuxième, il resta bien en retrait des questions politiques. Dès lors,

³⁰ *qā'id*, v. M. Meouak, « Hiérarchie des fonctions militaires et corps d'armée en al-Andalus umayyade (II^e/VII^e–IV^e/X^e siècles) : nomenclature et essai d'interprétation », *Al-Qanṭara*, XIV/2 (1993), pp. 361–392 surtout pp. 362–365 et 375–380.

³¹ *Al-Muqtabis*, V, pp. 136–138/111–112; *Una Crónica Anónima de 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir* (désormais *Crónica Anónima*), éd. et trad. espagnole d'E. Lévi-Provençal et E. García Gómez, Madrid-Grenade, 1950, pp. 55–56/124–125; *al-Bayān*, II, p. 164/284.

³² *Al-Muqtabis*, V, pp. 145–147/117–119; *al-Bayān*, II, pp. 173–174/286–187.

³³ *Al-Muqtabis*, V, pp. 128–130/105–107; *Crónica Anónima*, pp. 53–54/122; *al-Bayān*, II, p. 169/281.

³⁴ Sur son titre/charge de *mudabbir al-dawla*, v. note 25.

³⁵ *Al-Muqtabis*, V, p. 173/136; *Crónica Anónima*, p. 67/138; Ibn Ḥārīt al-Ḥušānī, *Qudā' Qurṭuba*, éd. et trad. espagnole de J. Ribera, Madrid, 1914, pp. 200–201/250–251; Ibn Sa'īd, *Al-Muğrib fi ḥulā l-Maġrib* (désormais *al-Muğrib*), éd. de Š. Ḳayf, Le Caire, 1953–1955, 2 vols., I, p. 185; *Dikr*, p. 160/170. Sur la charge de « préfet de la ville », v. E.I.², sub.voc. « *ṣāḥib al-madīna* », vol. VIII, pp. 862–863 [M. Meouak; P. Guichard].

³⁶ *Al-Muqtabis*, V, pp. 238–141/182–184; *al-Bayān*, p. 198/327; E. Lévi-Provençal, *op.cit.* (1950–1953), II, p. 24.

nous devons poser la question de savoir s'il était effectivement nécessaire de posséder le rang de *hāḡib* pour pouvoir remplir des fonctions politiques de première importance? L'explication de la faible activité de Mūsā b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥudayr se trouve sans doute dans la personnalité même du souverain cordouan. Ce dernier fit de la monarchie hispano-umayyade un régime que l'on peut considérer comme véritablement « autocratique ». C'est en effet à son époque que les insignes et les marques du pouvoir personnel s'affirmèrent avec en prolongement, la mise en place du califat en 929³⁶. De plus, à la mort de son second *hāḡib*, le calife hispano-umayyade ne nomma plus aucun officier à la charge et cela jusqu'à la fin de son règne en 961. Ainsi, nous pouvons imaginer qu'en tant que chef suprême des rouages de l'état, il pris en mains les rênes de l'administration. En guise d'exemple, on peut rappeler le fait que le nombre élevé des vizirs dès l'année 933 explique en un sens l'abandon temporaire de la charge de *hāḡib*. Cette interruption signifie probablement que le premier calife de Cordoue ne considérait plus comme étant nécessaire l'investiture d'un nouveau « ministre d'état » car la multitude de vizirs pallierait l'absence de *hāḡib*³⁷. Cependant, il nous faut nuancer cette supposition à la lumière d'un passage tiré de la chronique d'Ibn 'Idārī. Cet auteur nous apprend qu'en 945, 'Abd al-Rahmān [III] reçut une ambassade envoyée par le *basileus* de Byzance Constantin Porphyrogénète. A cette occasion, le calife était entouré de son fils al-Hakam, de ses vizirs et de ses *huḡgāb*³⁸. Comment peut-on interpréter cette information, s'il est vraiment établi que les administrations hispano-umayyades ne comportèrent pas plus d'un seul « ministre d'état » pour un temps donné?

Deux suggestions peuvent être avancées pour résoudre cette difficulté. D'une part, il est possible que l'auteur ait voulu célébrer le faste avec lequel la cour de Cordoue recevait ce genre d'ambassades et dans ce cas, on pourrait plutôt traduire le terme *huḡgāb* par « maîtres de cérémonies » officielles. D'autre part, cette chronique est, sauf erreur de notre part, la seule à mentionner la présence de plusieurs *huḡgāb* à une même période. Il nous est malheureusement impossible de donner une réponse définitive à cette question du fait d'un manque de renseignements complémentaires.

C'est al-Hakam [II] qui reprit la tradition de la dynastie en nommant un *hāḡib* le jour de son intronisation³⁹. Ainsi, la charge la plus convoitée de la hiérarchie administrative était, si l'on excepte la notice d'Ibn 'Idārī sur un nombre élevé de *huḡgāb*, restée sans titulaire pendant près de vingt-huit ans. C'est par ailleurs sur cette époque que l'on est le mieux documenté quant à la place et au rôle du *hāḡib* au sein des cérémonies officielles et religieuses. En effet, on remarque que le protocole et la disposition des diverses classes de notables étaient particulièrement rigides. A ce sujet, il faudrait noter une certaine proximité topographique du *hāḡib* vis-à-vis du calife⁴⁰.

³⁶ Sur cette question, v. M. I. Fierro, « Sobre la adopción del título califal por 'Abd al-Rahmān III », *Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios Arabes*, 6 (1989), pp. 33–42.

³⁷ Sur ce phénomène, v. M. Meouak, « Notes sur le vizirat et les vizirs en al-Andalus à l'époque umayyade (milieu du II^e/VIII^e–fin du IV^e/X^e siècles) », *Studia Islamica*, LXXVIII (1993), pp. 181–190 surtout pp. 185–188.

³⁸ *Al-Bayān*, II, p. 236/353.

³⁹ Il aurait nommé à la *hiḡāba* le *fatā* Ġa'far b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Šaqlabī sur lequel on verra, entre autres sources, *al-Bayān*, II, p. 233/386.

⁴⁰ M. Barceló, *op.cit.* (1991), pp. 56–62.

Le rétablissement de cette charge ouvrait la voie aux appétits de pouvoir de Muḥammad Ibn Abī ‘Āmir qui allait faire de la *hiğāba* un véritable tremplin pour ouvrir le chemin à la direction et au contrôle de toutes les administrations gouvernementales. On sait combien le titre de *ḥāḡib* pouvait accroître le prestige et l'autorité de celui qui le détenait. En effet, Ibn Abī ‘Āmir se fit appeler al- Manṣūr et de plus, il s'octroya la titulature souveraine d'*al-malik al-karīm* ou « le souverain providentiel »⁴¹. Il réussit même à reléguer Hişām [II], le troisième calife cordouan, à un rôle de figuration politique en faisant modifier les paraphes des écrits et des documents officiels à son avantage⁴². Ibn Abī ‘Āmir ne s'arrêta pas là puisqu'on donna le nom d'*al-Hāḡibiyya* à l'une de ses résidences et cela en mémoire à son titre en *ḥāḡib*⁴³. Entre mémoire politique et fondation souveraine, al-Manṣūr avait, d'une certaine manière, cristallisé le prestige du titre de *ḥāḡib*⁴⁴. Enfin, notons que l'un des fils d'al-Manṣūr, ‘Abd al-Rahmān était allé encore plus loin en matière de titulature puisqu'il se fit appeler *al-ḥāḡib al-a‘lā* ou « le *ḥāḡib* suprême »⁴⁵.

Au terme de cette courte étude sur les conditions de l'exercice de la *hiğāba*, nous constatons qu'il est encore difficile d'entrevoir avec précision les prérogatives de ce fonctionnaire. Toutefois, il est certain que ce haut-dignitaire était bien l'officier le plus important de l'état cordouan. Si les sources ne se font que très discrètement l'écho de ses activités, c'est sans doute parce qu'il était considéré comme le véritable support et auxiliaire du gouvernement central et donc, un élément fondamental dans l'édifice politico-administratif hispano-umayyade. Il est vrai que pour al-Andalus umayyade, nous ne possédons malheureusement pas de textes du type des manuels à l'usage des fonctionnaires et des « traités » sur l'exercice des offices d'état comme il en existe pour l'Orient musulman, notamment pour la période ‘abbāside⁴⁶. Nous aurions souhaité, il est vrai, avoir eu l'opportunité de lire le *Kitāb fī l-wuzarā’ wa-l-wizāra* et le *Kitāb fī l-ḥuğğāb* (parfois cité *Kitāb al-ḥuğğāb li-l-ḥulafā’ bi-l-Andalus*) de l'historien cordouan du X^e siècle ‘Isā b. Ahmad al-Rāzī⁴⁷.

⁴¹ Sur ce titre, v. E. Lévi-Provençal, *op.cit.* (1932), p. 66; M. Van Berchem, « Titres califiens d'Occident. A propos de quelques monnaies mérinides et ziyaniennes », *Journal Asiatique*, IX (1907), pp. 245–335 surtout pp. 266 et 275; *E.I.², sub.voc. « malik »*, vol. VI, pp. 245–246 (A. Ayalon); B. Lewis, « Malik », dans « Mélanges Charles Pellat », *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, XXXV/139–140 (1987), pp. 101–109.

⁴² L. Molina, « Sobre un apodo del Omeya Hişām II », *Al-Qanṭara*, V (1984), pp. 469–471 sur l'épithète *al-mu‘ayyad* ou « l'assisté ».

⁴³ *Al-Muğrib*, I, p. 321; Ibn ‘Idārī, *Kitāb al-Bayān, tome III : Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane au XI^e siècle*, éd. d'E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris, 1930, p. 62.

⁴⁴ Sur l'anthroponymie relative aux fondations de villes et places principales en Orient ‘abbāside, v. G. Calasso, « Appunti sull'onomastica delle città di fondazione islamica : l'elemento antroponimico », *Problemi di Onomastica Semitica Meridionale* (a cura di Alessandra Avanzini) : *Seminari di Orientalistica*, 1, Pise, 1989, pp. 143–160.

⁴⁵ Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb, *Kitāb A‘māl al-a‘lām fī man būyi ‘a qabl al-iḥtilām*, éd. d'E. Lévi-Provençal, Beyrouth, 1956, p. 90.

⁴⁶ V. deux études consacrées à ce genre de textes : D. Sourdel, « Le livre de ‘Abd Allāh al-Bağdādī, *Kitāb al-kutṭāb* », *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales*, XIV (1952–1954), pp. 115–153 et Id., « Fragments d'al-Şūlī sur l'histoire des vizirs ‘abbāsides », *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales*, XV (1955–1957), pp. 99–108.

⁴⁷ Sur cet auteur et son œuvre, v. F. Pons Boigues, *Ensaya bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles*, Madrid, 1898, n° 41.

En dépit de la maigreur de l'ensemble des informations recueillies, on distingue parfaitement une évolution dans l'exercice de la *ḥiġāba* de la période émirale à la fin de la première moitié du X^e siècle. L'époque des émirs est ce que l'on peut qualifier de « formative period » en matière de structures étatiques. Cela nous permet donc de poser le problème, au combien difficile à résoudre en si peu de pages, de savoir si les Umayyades de Cordoue empruntèrent réellement à l'Orient ‘abbāside ou bien continuèrent-ils à utiliser les traditions et les pratiques de la Syrie umayyade? Mais l'on n'oubliera pas non plus la position intéressante mais au combien discutable d'une « école de pensée » qui voudrait voir un modèle wisigothique dans les premières structures étatiques d'al-Andalus umayyade⁴⁸. Quant à l'époque califale, elle marque un tournant décisif quant à la nécessité de s'adjudger les services d'un « ministre d'état ». Mais l'attitude du premier calife hispano-umayyade est singulière car nous pouvons nous demander s'il n'avait pas préféré déléguer son pouvoir à plusieurs dignitaires plutôt que de le confier à un seul? En agissant ainsi, il mettait ainsi ses héritiers à l'abri, pour une courte période, de l'usurpation ‘āmiride (*al-wahša al-‘āmiriyya*) de pouvoir qui allait se produire avec l'ascension irrésistible de la dynastie des Banū Abī ‘Āmir entraînant avec eux la chute du califat et du règne des Umayyades à Cordoue⁴⁹.

⁴⁸ On renverra le lecteur aux travaux de J. Vallvé, « España en el siglo VIII : ejército y sociedad », *Al-Andalus*, XLII (1978), pp. 51–112; Id., « El zaldímedina de Córdoba », *Al-Qanṭara*, II (1981), pp. 277–318 qu'il faut, entre autres travaux, tenir en compte pour qui s'intéresse aux premières décennies de la mise en place des structures politico-administratives hispano-umayyades. Dans une toute autre direction de pensée, v. P. Chalmeta, *Invasión e Islamización. La sumisión de Hispania y la formación de al-Andalus*, Madrid, 1994, pp. 349–387 [chapitre intitulé « El surgir de un estado neo-omeya »] et surtout pp. 381–387 pour des indications très résumées sur les institutions gouvernementales au début de l'émirat umayyade de Cordoue.

⁴⁹ V. le résumé de M^a J. Viguer, « Historia política », dans *Historia de España de Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, VIII : *Los Reinos de Taifas. Al-Andalus en el siglo XI*, dirigida por José María Jover Zamora, Madrid, 1994, pp. 29–38.

Mysticism and Poetry in Arabic Literature

REUVEN SNIR, Haifa

Many changes in technique and form have taken place in Arabic poetry since its revival in the 19th century. It has become a modern art, influenced by Arabic and Muslim tradition as well as by foreign and especially western culture, but careful to avoid any blind imitation. Reflecting the spirit of the modern period, Arabic poetry expresses the entire range of human experiences using various literary modes and techniques. One of the most interesting phenomena since the late 1950s has been the employment of mystic concepts, figures and motifs, particularly Muslim (i.e. Sufi), for the expression of contemporary experiences, philosophies and ideologies.¹ Moreover, mystic dimensions in contemporary Arabic poetry reflect nearly all the aspects of mysticism, beginning with asceticism, that is, the *via purgativa* (the purifying path), and ending in the supreme mystical stage, that is, the *via unitiva* (the unifying path).² However, contrary to the ancient Muslim mystics (i.e. Sufi poets), contemporary poets do not follow a practical mystic or Sufi way of life. The employment of Sufi terms for non-mystical purposes is beyond the scope of this article. However, this phenomenon, which is part of a more general trend towards the secularization of religious terms, is obviously more conspicuous among Muslim poets (Snir 1986, pp. 454–462).

The poets at the centre of the Neo-Sufi trend in modern Arabic poetry are the Egyptian Ṣalāḥ ‘Abd al-Ṣabūr (1931–81),³ the Syrian ‘Alī Ahmād Sa’īd, nicknamed Adūnīs (b. 1930),⁴ and the Iraqi ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bayyātī (b. 1926).⁵ Modern Arabic prose also includes conspicuous mystic dimensions requiring a separate comprehensive study. It must suffice it to mention the Nobel laureate Nājib Mahfūz (b. 1911), especially in his writings published in the 1960s.⁶

I. GENERAL BACKGROUND

Early mystic Arabic poetry arose along with the development of Sufi theory at the beginning of the 9th century A.D. and flourished during the next several centuries. Its origins were in the spontaneous utterances of the early Sufis, who expressed poetically their love of God and at the same time their rejection of worldly pleasures. Noteworthy medieval Sufi poets included Rābi‘a al-‘Adawiyya (d. 801),

¹ On this subject see Schimmel 1983 (1976), pp. 216–228; Ḥaddāra 1981, pp. 107–122; Semann 1979, pp. 517–531; Snir 1986.

² See examples in Snir 1986a.

³ On him see Snir 1984; Snir 1985; Snir 1989; Snir 1992a; Snir 1993.

⁴ On him see Snir 1994.

⁵ On him see Snir 1992a; Snir 1993a.

⁶ See Snir 1986, pp. 178–182.

al-Husayn b. Manṣūr, nicknamed al-Hallāj (the wool-carder) (d. 977), ‘Umar b. al-Fāriq (d. 1235), and Muhyī al-Dīn b. al-‘Arabī (d. 1240). Sufi poetry also developed in other languages, especially Persian.⁷ From the 13th century A.D., a new genre of Sufi poetry developed, that is, the panegyric poems for the Prophet Muḥammad (*al-Madā’ih al-Nabawiyya*) (Schimmel 1982, pp. 171–211), the most famous of which was *al-Burda* (the Mantle Ode), by the Egyptian poet Sharaf al-Dīn Al-Būshīrī (d. 1295). This poem in memory of the poet’s miraculous recovery from paralysis by a vision in which the Prophet cast his mantle over him, is thought to have special powers against illness and misfortune and has merited over forty interpretations and even more imitations.⁸ However, Arabic mystic poetry gradually lost the spontaneity and enthusiasm that had characterized its early stages, with the exception of a few poets who stood out against the background of their era, such as ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nabūlsī (1640–1731), who also wrote a commentary on Ibn al-Fāriq’s poetry, Ḥasan Rīḍwān (1824–92) and ‘Alī ‘Aql (1894–1948). In our times, traditional Sufi poetry has primarily been written within the circles of Sufi orders and published by relevant magazines such as *Majallat al-Taṣawwif al-Islāmī*, the organ of the High Council of the Sufi orders in Egypt, as well as in special religious collections.

The birth of modern Arabic poetry in the second half of the 19th century paved the way for the appearance of mystic dimensions in non-religious poetry. Neo-classical poets, such as the Egyptian Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī (1839–1904), Ahmād Shawqī (1868–1932) and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (1871–1932), and the Iraqi Jamīl Ṣidqī al-Zahāwī (1863–1936) and Ma‘rūf al-Ruṣāfī (1875–1945), turned to the famous, poetic, medieval heritage in trying to achieve similar quality by means of *mu‘ārafa*, i.e. composing a poem according to the rhyme and metre of a well-known poem. Among the ancient poems that served as models were also Sufi poems, such as the above mentioned *al-Burda*. Dealing only marginally with mystic and essential topics, these poets concentrated primarily on external imitation of the early Sufi and panegyric poems for the Prophet. Consequently, their poems, prompted by the attempt to exhibit a high degree of technical ability, generally do not reflect successfully of sincere emotion of Divine love.

An important shift became apparent in the Romantic poetry written after the First World War. Arab poets started to emphasize personal experiences and feelings for nature, together with pantheistic experiences and mythological elements. Among them were Muslim poets such as the Egyptians Ahmād Zakī Abū Shādī (1892–1955), Ibrāhīm Nājī (1893–1953) and ‘Alī Maḥmūd Ṭaha (1902–49); the Tunisian Abū Al-Qāsim al-Shābbī (1909–34), and the Sudanese al-Tijānī Yūsuf Bashīr (1910–37), as well as Christian poets such as the *Mahjar* poets, that is, those who were active mainly in New York, like Jubrān Khalil Jubrān (1883–1931), Mīkhā’īl Nu‘ayma (1889–1988), Nasīb ‘Arīḍa (1887–1946), Īliyā Abū Mādī (1889–1957) and Rashīd Ayyūb (1872–1941).

Following the Second World War, which undermined the belief that technology and science would be able to bring about human salvation, one senses a strong ten-

⁷ On Sufi poetry in general see Schimmel 1982.

⁸ Mubārak 1935, pp. 148, 161–170; Schimmel 1982, pp. 185–187.

dency to return to the values of pure, early, Muslim mysticism, i.e. Sufism. This appeared first in the works of Muslim poets who had previously been leftists. In trying to fill the spiritual emptiness from which they suffered, and to express the sense of alienation and strangeness of human beings in modern civilization, they found refuge in mysticism. The spread of ancient Sufi literature among the Arab intellectuals has reinforced the mystical tendency in Arab poetry. It was also prompted by the great influence of the irrational, mystical schools in modern western literature, such as Romanticism, Surrealism and Symbolism.

II. MYSTICISM AND POETRY

Poetic experience to which the incentive to compose poems is usually attributed, and the most intensive religious experience, i.e. the mystical experience, share several similarities (Korteling 1928, pp. 163–164). For example, both of them are emotional experiences which are given verbal expression, even though it is claimed, especially in mysticism, both in general⁹ and in Islam,¹⁰ that it is impossible to convey the relevant emotional experience in its entirety through the medium of words, since the experience extends beyond the powers of language. The impossibility of expressing the ineffable makes silence the ideal of both mystics and poets, and, indeed, quite a few poets and mystics have sunk into deep silence or at least have expressed their craving for silence. Nevertheless, paradoxically the difficulties in expression have not prevented mystics and poets from communicating their experiences, for otherwise no one would have known of the existence of those experiences. Furthermore, a cursory survey of the corpus of literary and religious production will reveal that those difficulties seem to have only prompted a massive, poetic and mystic, written production.

However, one great similarity between both experiences when expressed verbally is the intensive use of particularly poetic means of expression, not to speak of the evident fact that the most successful attempts to express verbally mystical experiences have been made through the medium of poetry. The extensive employment of symbols, synesthesia and oxymorons, in addition to a distinct tendency to obscurity are shared by both poets and mystics in trying to describe their experiences. Surrealism had a powerful influence on poetry in this domain, especially as regards automatic writing, as is familiar from both mysticism and poetry.

Moreover, Arab poets find parallels between the stages of mystical experience and the poetic creative process, even stating that they are identical. 'Abd al-Şabūr, for example, goes so far as to make some very unusual interpretations of early Sufi texts, actually constituting a unique theory of the creative process. It is based on certain components derived from the aesthetics of Plato, Aristotle and Nietzsche, but its final shape takes on a mystic character ('Abd al-Şabūr 1969, pp. 5–18; Snir 1993). The initial idea for the creation of a poem is compared to *al-wārid*, a Sufi term de-

⁹ See Scholem 1954, pp. 4–5; Heiler 1958, pp. 139–142, 147, 190; Eliade 1959, p. 10; Knox 1951, p. 249; Korteling 1928, p. 2.

¹⁰ See al-Ṭusi 1960, p. 388; Al-Ghazālī 1956, p. 96; Al-Hafnī 1980, p. 32; 'Afifi 1963, pp. 19, 248; Surūr 1957, pp. 116, 121; Ḥusayn 1964, p. 77.

noting a preliminary mystic stage.¹¹ After a period of incubation, there begins the second stage, *al-talwīn wa-l-tamkīn* (perpetual change and consolidation),¹² a Sufi term denoting the transition of the mystic from one ecstatic state into what is described by Ibn al-‘Arabī as *ḥāl ahl al-wuṣūl* (the state in which are found those who have reached the highest mystical level) (Ibn al-‘Arabī 1938, p. 240). This is followed by the final stage, that is, the return of the poet to his ordinary state prior to the onset of *al-wārid*. Now he must totally separate himself from the experience to enable him to employ his rational sense of criticism before the poem is presented to the public. It is very reminiscent of T.S. Eliot's comment that “the more perfect the artist, the more completely separate in him will be the man who suffers and the mind which creates” (Eliot 1950, pp. 5–6). Also deserving mention are Wordsworth's words in the preface to the second edition of Lyrical Ballads (1800): “Poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings: it takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity” (Wordsworth, edition 1965, p. 460). Indeed, ‘Abd al-Şabūr has himself testified to his experience as follows: “I have never written when I am at the height of emotion” (al-Miṣrī 1983, p. 41), and in another place: “The poet does not reveal his emotions immediately upon their eruption within him” (‘Abd al-Şabūr 1982, p. 18).

In describing the poet during the creative process, ‘Abd al-Şabūr also borrows the image of the Sufi progressing on the mystical path towards the Divine essence. He also sees Sufi elements in the goal of the poetic creative process, giving the Aristotelian catharsis a new and original meaning (Snir 1993, pp. 82–84). Another important characteristic common to poetry and mysticism is the leap beyond reality, to a world which always remains in need of revelation. In order to prove this, the ancient image of the poet as a prophet was revived. This image was common in Romantic poetry and is still used by post-Romantic poets.¹³ In addition, the “vision” (*al-ru'yā*) has a prominent place, according to contemporary poets, in both Sufi and poetic experiences. The “vision” which reconstructs the world refers to a leap beyond recognized reality, *beyond ordinary perception, while seeing things in ordinary reality in a different light, distinct from their external appearances.*¹⁴

Both mysticism and poetry are described as being inspired by external supernatural forces. The mystical experience is referred to as a divine gift, as illustrated by the Sufi saying: *al-aḥwāl mawāhib* (the mystical states are divine gifts).¹⁵ The poet is compared to *majnūn*, i.e. a madman (al-Bayyātī 1979, III, 155), as long ago it was common in Arab society to treat the poet as a being in touch with devils and spirits (*jinn*) (Imru' al-Qays 1969, p. 322). This was very common in Romantic poetry in general (Adams 1971, p. 511), being an echo of the same view familiar from ancient Greek culture (Homer, The Odyssey, edition 1984, p. 337), particularly from the

¹¹ See al-Tūsī 1960, p. 418; al-Qushayrī [n.d.], p. 74; Ibn al-‘Arabī 1938, p. 237; al-Hafnī 1980, p. 263; al-Ḥakīm 1981, pp. 1202–1207.

¹² See al-Tūsī 1960, p. 443; al-Qushayrī [n.d.], pp. 69–70; Ibn al-‘Arabī 1938, pp. 239–240; al-Hafnī 1980, pp. 48–49; al-Ḥakīm 1981, pp. 1006–1008.

¹³ See, for example, Adūnīs 1971, p. 40; ‘Abd al-Şabūr 1982a, p. 70.

¹⁴ See Abd al-Şabūr 1982, p. 16; al-Bayyātī 1968, p. 19; Adūnīs 1972, pp. 109–110; Adūnīs 1974, p. 97; Adūnīs 1978, pp. 166–169, 198.

¹⁵ See al-Qushayrī n.d., p. 54. Cf. Nicholson 1975, p. 29; Trimingham 1971, p. 201 n. 2.

teachings of Plato (Plato, *The Dialogues*, edition 1937 [1892], I, 249–250, 288–290). It is interesting to mention in this regard the view that considers madness or psychotic states as special, and even mystic, modes of consciousness (James 1945, p. 26; Tart 1969, pp. 23–43). Poetry and mysticism are also united in their rejection of rational thought, which, according to the Sufis, is an obstacle on the path to true experience.¹⁶ Contact with the Divine essence, according to Sufi theory, can be achieved only through the heart (al-Hafnī 1980, pp. 35 and 218; Stoddart 1976, pp. 45–46).

III. SUFI ASCETIC ELEMENTS

Early Muslim asceticism (*zuhd*) is the historical basis of Muslim mysticism and many of its principles were later assimilated into the theories of Muslim mysticism (Sufism). Three primary dimensions of early Muslim asceticism are reflected in contemporary Arabic poetry, as follows.

A. *The philosophical dimension*: The dualism between the soul and the body is a fundamental aspect of Muslim asceticism and mysticism, as is the yearning of the soul to escape from the despised bodily prison and to merge with its Divine source.¹⁷ References in contemporary poetry to the body as despised and to the soul as a divine essence are generally an expression of the search for meaning by human beings in modern civilization. The strangeness of man in the modern world is often compared to the strangeness of the soul in the bodily prison.¹⁸ Quite a few poets describe their sense of strangeness in terms of the shock experienced by the naive poet on coming from the sleepy village into the bustling city.¹⁹

B. *The existentialist dimension*: Like early ascetics (*zuhhād*) and Sufis (who were also called *al-ghurabā'*, i.e. the “strangers”), contemporary poets reject reality and express existentialist alienation from it. Both Muslim and Christian poets wonder about the meaning and purpose of life, taking imaginary trips to reveal the secret of existence and frequently becoming immersed in deep depression over the nature of human existence, from which there is no escape. In order to concretize these ideas they use Sufi folkloristic and mythological images, such as that of the Sufi Bishr b. al-Ḥārith al-Ḥāfi (d. 227/841),²⁰ Sindibād²¹ and Sisyphus.²² The conviction of the valuelessness of human existence is often described as an inescapable loss of the way, as in existentialist philosophy.²³ Human existence is tragic and absurd, and

¹⁶ See al-Ṭūsī 1960, p. 63; al-Kalābādhī 1980, pp. 78–79; Ibn al-‘Arabī [n.d.], IV, p. 112; al-Ḥakīm 1981, p. 813.

¹⁷ See al-Ḥallāj 1974, p. 40; al-Suhrawardī 1335 H., pp. 9, 39–40; al-Ghazālī 1933, III, p. 51; al-Ghazālī 1343 H., pp. 3–4, 6.

¹⁸ See, for example, ‘Abd al-Ṣabūr 1981, pp. 25–27.

¹⁹ See, for example, al-Bayyātī 1968, pp. 11–12; Ḥijāzī 1982, pp. 106–112, 188–189, 221–230, 439–446.

²⁰ See, for example, ‘Abd al-Ṣabūr 1972, pp. 261–269.

²¹ See, for example, ‘Abd al-Ṣabūr 1972, pp. 7–13.

²² See, for example, al-Bayyātī 1984 [1979], pp. 105–110.

²³ See, for example, Abd al-Ṣabūr 1972, I, pp. 7–13; ‘Abd al-Ṣabūr 1981, pp. 19–22, 55–57; al-Bayyātī 1984 [1979], pp. 105–110.

alienation, strangeness, spiritual confusion and sadness are imprinted on the character of man by his very nature as a human being. Expressions of these feelings are found, for example, in 'Abd al-Şabûr's play *Musâfir Layl* (Night Traveller) (1981 [1969]), in which he was influenced by J.P. Sartre's *Les Mots* (especially Sartre 1964, pp. 89–90), in its Arabic translation (Sartre [n.d.], pp. 81–82).

C. *The ascetic dimension:* The negation of worldly life is illustrated in Sufi theory in the striving for death, as well as in the denial of the desires of the body. Likewise, contemporary poets express their loathing of this world and its vanities, abstain from its pleasures and crave for death, which is the gate of true life. However, while among the early ascetics the negation of worldly life was particularly conspicuous but the striving for death was limited, since Prophetic traditions had forbidden it, contemporary poets frequently express their craving for death, while their loathing for life in this world is not particularly evident. In contrast to the early ascetics, contemporary poets do not speak out against life in this world but rather against life in modern civilization, yearning for the purity and simplicity of the past, which was free of enslavement to technology and science. However, in contrast to the ascetics and the early Sufis, contemporary poets, as mentioned above, do not put their ascetic views into daily practice.

IV. ILLUMINATIVE, ECSTATIC AND PANTHEISTIC DIMENSIONS

At the heart of every form of mysticism lies the yearning for contact with the Divine, which assumes the form of love. The expression of this love in contemporary poetry nearly always appears in close connection with Sufi tradition as well as by the extensive use of erotic²⁴ and wine symbolism.²⁵ As in early Sufi tradition, this love is a secret between the lovers—the poet and God—and it cannot continue once it is revealed. The title of one of the poems of Şalâh 'Abd al-Şabûr, *Tajrîdât* (Stripplings) ('Abd al-Şabûr 1981, pp. 79–85), alludes to the Sufi term *tajrîd*, which describes the mystic state of being empty of everything except God (al-Kalâbâdhî 1980, pp. 133–134). The poem, which is divided into three parts, is the last poem in 'Abd al-Şabûr's last collection entitled *al-Ibhâr fi al-Dhâkira* (The Sailing in the Memory). It is loaded with Sufi terms, such as *ḥâl* (a mystical "state") (al-Qushayrî [n.d.], p. 54), *yaqîn* (certitude) (al-Qushayrî [n.d.], pp. 140–143), *sâhw* (sobriety) (al-Qushayrî [n.d.], pp. 64–65), *maḥw* (effacement) (al-Qushayrî [n.d.], p. 66), *ṣam̄t* (silence) (al-Qushayrî [n.d.], pp. 96–100) and *sîrr* (secret; the innermost part of the heart in which the divine revelation is experienced) (Schimmel 1983, p. 192).

The first part describes an ecstatic state which the poet had experienced, while the second is very rationalistic and refers only indirectly to the mystic refuge of human beings. The last part alludes to the Sufi radical *tawakkul* (trust in God).²⁶ Moreover, the poet considers the yearning for God and the Unified State (the attainment of the Absolute, according to the mystics) as the only refuge from the hopelessness of the material world. Referring to the ineffability, which is inevitable in the highest mysti-

²⁴ See, for example, 'Abd al-Şabûr 1986, pp. 13–19; 'Abd al-Şabûr 1981, pp. 43–48.

²⁵ See, for example, 'Abd al-Şabûr 1981, pp. 69, 85.

²⁶ See al-Qushayrî [n.d.], pp. 129–137; al-Kalâbadhî 1980, pp. 120–121. Cf. Snir 1989.

cal state, and employing wine symbolism, he says in the concluding lines of the poem:

Oh Lord! Oh Lord!
You have made me drink so that whenever
Your Wine penetrates into my spot of intoxication
You force me to keep silent, and so I am
Choked with my secrets.

Some poems describe the highest illuminative, ecstatic and pantheistic stages, including *unio mystica*, in which all distinctions disappear and the mystic and God become one entity.²⁷ One of the most outstanding works in this regard is Adūnīs' *Kitāb al-Taḥawwulāt wa-l-Hijra fī Aqālīm al-Nahār wa-l-Layl* (The Book of Changes and Migration into the Regions of Night and Day) (Adūnīs 1965). This ecstatic and pantheistic work combines alchemical metamorphoses and transformations. Much of the book is a surrealist psychogram of the unconscious in accordance with Adūnīs' outlook on the close similarity between Muslim mysticism and Surrealism (Adūnīs 1992).

V. SUFI TERMS IN THE SERVICE OF SOCIAL VALUES

Alongside the expression of personal experiences, there has, since the beginning of the 1960s, been a tendency to combine figures and concepts from the Sufi tradition with social views of the world. By combining their social views with their mystical outlooks, contemporary poets succeeded in expressing their ideas in a most innovative and original way. Prominent among them are the above-mentioned poets Ṣalāḥ ‘Abd al-Ṣabūr,²⁸ ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bayyātī²⁹ and Adūnīs.³⁰ For this purpose, they delved into the early Sufi sources in search of appropriate figures, through whom they could express their views and to whom they could add new and modern dimensions. The central idea is that the mystical striving for contact with God cannot be realized without the concomitant enforcement of social justice.

Adūnīs' poem *Marthiyat al-Ḥallāj* (Elegy for al-Ḥallāj), published in the collection entitled *Aghānī Miḥyār al-Dimashqī* (Songs of Miḥyār of Damascus) (1961) (Adūnīs 1971 [1961]), pp. 190–191), illustrates this kind of poetry:

Your green poisonous quill.
Your quill whose veins swelled with flame.
With the star rising from Baghdad
Our history and our immediate resurrection
In our land—in our repeated death.

Time lies down on your hands
And fire is in your eyes
Sweeping away and spreading up to the sky

²⁷ See, for example, ‘Abd al-Ṣabūr 1957, pp. 95–96 [= ‘Abd al-Ṣabūr 1972, pp. 47–49]. Cf. Snir 1985.

²⁸ See, for example, ‘Abd al-Ṣabūr 1964; ‘Abd al-Ṣabūr 1972a.

²⁹ See, for example, al-Bayyātī 1979, II, pp. 143–156.

³⁰ See Snir 1994 and the poem below.

O star rising from Baghdad
Loaded with poetry and birth,
O green poisonous quill.

Nothing is left for those who come from far
With thirst, death and ice.
In this land of resurrection.
Nothing is left but you and Presence.
O Galilean language of thunder
In this land of peels
O poet of secrets and roots.

The title of the poem alludes to the martyrdom of the above mentioned, mystic poet al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 922), whose name has become a symbol for suffering love and unifying experience. But al-Ḥallāj, in contrast to other early Sufis, was also known for his involvement in the society which surrounded him, without giving up his mystical aspirations. Aside from preaching on mystical love, he was described by the ancient Sufi sources as very sensitive to the social gap existing between the poor and the rich. One tradition indicates that he used to distribute money among the poor. Moreover, instead of performing the Muslim pilgrimage, he advised people to feed and clothe orphans, in order to make them happy (Schimmel 1983, p. 71). In his political involvement he expressed his support for the chamberlain Naṣr al-Qushūrī, who favoured better administration and juster taxation. These were dangerous ideas at a time when the Caliph was almost powerless and the viziers, though all-powerful for a short period, changed frequently. People were afraid that al-Ḥallāj's ideas might have repercussions on the social organization and even on the political structure (Schimmel 1983, p. 68). Al-Ḥallāj also participated in an attempt to overthrow the regime and was consequently arrested and executed. It has been proved that it was not so much his famous utterance *anā al-ḥaqq* (I am the Absolute Truth, i.e. God) which brought about his execution but rather some of his religious and social theories.³¹

The meaning of rebirth and revival, associated with the figures of al-Ḥallāj (who had been executed more than a thousand years before the poem was written) and Jesus (who had been executed about a thousand years before al-Ḥallāj's execution), emphasizes the relevance of the poem to the present and the future. But this relevance also stirs up in the reader's mind the image of the poet Adūnīs himself, specifically in view of the striking parallels between him and al-Ḥallāj, presented as a new Jesus. Adūnīs is not only a poet but is also inclined to mysticism, and he has proved his commitment to society and nation as well. Before he left Syria in 1956, he was engaged in hectic political activity in connection with the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP), which was founded by Anṭūn Sa'ādah (1904–49). This activity landed him in jail, prompting the writing of some poems of violent, social and political protest and the condemnation of Arabic authorities and society (Hazo 1971, p. xiv). Sa'ādah, who, it is said, even chose his pen-name, stressed the national Syrian identity and the western features of the Syrian civilization in an attempt to

³¹ See Massignon 1971, pp. 99–104; Massignon 1982, I, pp. 271–337; Schimmel 1982, p. 30.

separate the Syrians from the other Arab nations and culture. And, indeed, Adūnīs's poems from the 1950s are replete with direct allusions to the earth, which is longing for salvation and for a new cultural dawn to illuminate the waste land of the senile, collapsing Arab-Islamic culture, using myths such as those of Tammuz, the Phoenix and Christ.³²

The poem, which is supposed, according to its ironic title, to be a lamentation for a personage who died more than a thousand years ago, is transformed in the process of reading into a vision of the Arab nation's rebirth. Moreover, since the star is rising now **from** Baghdad, the death of al-Ḥallāj, as al-Bayyātī indicates, referring to his own poem using the figure of al-Ḥallāj, "is the bridge which civilization and mankind cross to reach a more perfect existence" (al-Bayyātī 1968, p. 41). This is the Adūnīsian vision, shared by other Arab poets, in which poetry, mysticism and reality coexist: none of these is exclusive or blind or rooted in its own steps.

A similar, Sufi social world-view, which combines mystical vision with a striving for absolute social justice, became apparent in prose as well, as in the works of Najīb Maḥfūz. The timing of the appearance of this type of social and mystical world-view in both poetry and prose is apparently connected with the disappointment of Arab intellectuals with leftist world-view in the wake of the revelation of Stalinist crimes and the political events in the Arab countries in the mid-1950s.

CONCLUSION

Contemporary Arab poets make very frequent use of early mystic terms and figures, loading them with new meanings. As secular poets they rarely concern themselves with the precise meanings of the ancient terms, concentrating on the expression of their experiences and feelings, as well as their social views. However, they are not committed only to Sufi themes and Sufism is not a way of life for them, contrary to the early Sufi poets. However, Neo-Sufi poetry is similar to ancient Sufi poetry, especially from the point of view of its spontaneity and the intimate direct contact with the Divine, bypassing any sort of mediation. Modern, "secular", mystical poetry closes a circle originally opened by the first Sufi religious poets 12 centuries ago. The simplicity and spontaneity which characterized the early, mystic, Muslim works are revived in contemporary poetic expressions of mystical love. It will be sufficient to compare the poetry of the young Egyptian poetess Wafā' Wajdī³³ with the poetry of Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya to realize the close similarity in the expression of mystic feelings, despite the barrier of religious piety and the interval of time dividing them.

Prominent poets of the Neo-Sufi trend belong geographically to various parts of the Arab world, including poets who are not Muslims, like the Christians Yūsuf al-Khāl (1917–87) and Khalīl Ḥāwī (1925–82), the Jew Murād Mīkhā'il (1906–86), who was even nicknamed "the Sufi poet", and even the Bahai Mu'yyad Ibrāhīm (1910–87). However, it goes without saying that the new trend includes primarily Muslim poets, for whom Sufi tradition is both their religious and their cultural heritage.

³² For a study on the significant role of the SSNP in the poetry of Adunis see Zeidan 1979, pp. 71–94.

³³ See, for example, the poems in her collections Wajdī 1980; Wajdī 1985.

It is difficult to define at this early stage the role which the new mystic trend will play in the history of Arabic literature. The factors leading to it, especially the plight of man in modern civilization, are not factors whose influence can be neutralized by material changes. Only from a more distant perspective will it be possible to evaluate the true place of this trend in modern Arabic literature, and to specify more precisely the processes and spiritual tendencies in the Arab world which it reflects.

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Two Funerary Inscriptions in Cursive Pahlavi from Fars

Peter Calmeyer
In Memoriam

AHMAD TAFAZZOLI, Tehran

1. THE INSCRIPTION OF MEYDĀNAK (KĀZERUN I)

The Pahlavi inscription of Meydānak (Kāzerun I) was first published by A. Hassuri,¹ but he was unable to provide a photograph of the inscription. However, he published his own drawing of it. Mr. H. Hātamī, who is well informed about the region of Kāzerun, has recently procured me some good photographs of the inscription (Plates 1–2). Besides, he has kindly sent me a descriptive note about the exact situation of the site, correcting the editor's description. According to Hātamī, Meydānak is situated about 3 km to the north of Bālā-deh, a village 54 km to the south-east of Kāzerun, on the main road from Kāzerun to Farrāšband. The inscription is carved on a rock about 30–40 m to the west of the Bālā-deh-Maydānak road, above a small Zoroastrian *da-khma*.

Hassuri's decipherment of the inscription needs some modifications and corrections.

Transliteration	Transcription
1 <u>ZNH</u> 'stwd'n	ēn astōdān
2 ZK Y	ān ī
3 whšt bhl	wahišt-bahr
4 'p'nd'n(?)	Ābān-dān(?)
5 Y BRTH	ī duxt
6 Y plhw̄d'n'n	ī Farrox-dānān

Translation

This ossuary belongs to Ābāndān(?), daughter of Farroxdān, whose lot is paradise.

Commentary

Line 1: *astōdān* ‘ossuary’. This is the first attestation of this word in a Pahlavi inscription. Other words, such as '*sp'nw* /aspānwar/, '*špl* /ašwar/² ‘resting-place, tomb’ and *daxmag* ‘tomb’, are used more or less as synonyms.

Line 4: Ābān-dān(?). The reading of the name of the deceased remains enigmatic. Although the first part of it seems to be '*p'n-*/Ābān-/ ‘waters’, the reading of the second part is dubious. Neither in the editor's drawing nor in the present photograph

¹ “Two Unpublished Pahlavi Inscriptions”, *ZDMG* 134 (1984), pp. 92–3.

² See the Appendix.



Plate 1–2. The inscription of Meydānak. Photo: Hasan Hatami.

does the shape of the letters allow the reading *~dwht/~duxt* ‘daughter’ proposed by him. The bottom of the *n*, the final letter of the first part of the word, seems to have been joined in an unusual way to a vertical stroke, which itself is attached to a dent (representing *d/g/y* ?) followed by the ligature ‘*n*’. The name may therefore be read as *'p'nd/g/y'n* i.e. Ābāndān/Ābānagān/Ābān-јān, unattested elsewhere.

Line 5: The reading *BRTH /duxt/* ‘daughter’ seems to me certain. The editor’s reading *BNT(H) lmk* for *duxt* (*ī*) *Ramak*³ does not accord with what is clearly represented in the photograph.

Line 6: The reading *plhw d'n/n/Farrox-dānān/* rather than *plhw d(y)n/n /Farra^v dēnān/* suggested by the editor, is certain. In fact it is attested as *plhw d'n* on a Sasanian seal belonging to the collection of M.I. Mochiri (No. 40.19).⁴ The relation of the son or the daughter to his or her father is generally expressed in Middle Persian in three ways: 1) X (name) + *ezāfe*-particle (*ī*) + Y (father’s name) + *pus /duxt*, for example, a) *wr̥c ZY tyry BRH /Warāz ī Tīr pus/* ‘Warāz, son of Tīr’⁵ or b) *bwlcytk' Y ym'ngwšnsp BRT* /Burzīdag ī Jamāngušnasp duxt/ ‘Burzīdag, daughter of Jamāngušnasp’.⁶ In some cases, the *ezāfe*-particle is absent.⁷ 2) X + *ezāfe*-particle +

³ *Op.cit.*, p. 93.

⁴ Ph. Gignoux & R. Gyselen, “Sceaux sassanides de la collection M.I. Mochiri, *Studia Iranica* 10 (1981), p. 205.

⁵ Ph. Gignoux, “Les noms propres en moyen-perse épigraphique”, *Pad nām ī Yazdān*, Paris, 1979, p. 53. In Book Pahlavi: *Frašāward ī Wištāsp shāh pus* (*Ayādgār ī Zarērān* §59).

⁶ The Kāzerun Inscription II, ll. 10–11. See A. Tafazzoli, “L’inscription funéraire de Kāzerun II (Parišān)”, *Studia Iranica* 20 (1991), pp. 128–29.

⁷ For example, *zwtydy 'ywdy BRH* or *šhpwḥry k'lny mtryn BRT*. See Gignoux, *op.cit.*, p. 54.

Y⁸ ending in the patronymic suffix -ān,⁹ for example, a) mtrky ZY pl̄h' t̄n/Mihrag ī Frahādān/ 'Mihrag, son of Frahād'¹⁰ or b) Humāy ī Wištāspān¹¹ 'Humāy, daughter of Wištāsp'. 3) X + ezāfe-particle (*i*) + Y, for example, a) pylwc Y mltbw/Pērōz ī Mardbūd/ Perōz, son of Mard-būd'¹² or b) spndlmt klpkwny/Spandarmat Kirbak-kun/ 'Spandarmat, daughter of Kirbak-kun'.¹³

The filiation formula of this inscription accords with the first construction. How could then the existence of the final suffix be justified? The form Farroxdānān may either be a proto-patronym¹⁴—and in this case it means ‘descendant of Farroxdān’, as it was taken by de Blois¹⁵—or rather it may be a patronym used in a late expression of the relation of a son or daughter to his or her father, in which both *BRH*, *BRT/H/pus, duxt/* and the father’s name with a pleonastic -ān are used. In fact, in the Pahlavi Model Marriage Contract,¹⁶ the following formulae are used: *wahmān ī wahmānān pus* and *wahmān ī wahmānān duxt* ‘X son/daughter of Y’.¹⁷

2. THE INSCRIPTION OF TAL-E SEFĪD

This inscription is carved on a flat, squarish stone, which in its present state measures 57 cm in length and 45 cm in width. It was discovered in the village of Tal-e Sefid/Esfīd belonging to the district of Rostam, 27 km to the north-west of the town of Nūrābād (Fahlīān-Mamasanī).¹⁸ Regrettably a large piece of stone has broken away from the upper edge. As a result, the first line, the second containing the name and the patronym of the deceased and the end of the third containing the name of the month, except its initial letter, are missing. The stone, which seems to have been the lid of a lost ossuary, was first described briefly by U. Seidl¹⁹ and the decipherment of its inscription was undertaken by P. Skjærvø.²⁰ The photograph at the disposal of

⁸ In some cases, probably under the influence of the Parthian formation, the *ezāfe*-particle is absent. See Gignoux, *op.cit.*, pp. 51–2.

⁹ This is the usual formula in Book Pahlavi, for example, Ādurbād ī Mahraspānān, Ardašīr ī Pābagān, etc.

¹⁰ Gignoux, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

¹¹ *The Pahlavi Dinkard*, ed. D.M. Madan, Bombay, 1911, 815.9.

¹² Gignoux, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

¹³ Gignoux, *op.cit.*, p. 59. His reading (*klpkny*) was corrected by D.N. MacKenzie, *IJ 29* (1986), p. 131, who takes it as a nickname rather than a patronym.

¹⁴ Gignoux, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

¹⁵ F. de Blois, “Middle-Persian Funerary Inscriptions from South-Western Iran”, *Medioiranica. Proceedings of the International Colloquium organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven*, ed. W. Skalmowski & A. van Tongerloo, Leuven 1993, p. 35, n. 31. The author, however, mistakenly takes the deceased person as a man, considering the following word to be his father’s name.

¹⁶ *The Pahlavi Texts*, ed. Jamasp-Asana, Bombay 1890–1913, p. 141. See D.N. MacKenzie, “The Model Marriage Contract in Pahlavi”, *K.R. Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay 1969, p. 105.

¹⁷ Exactly the same construction is used in the colophon of the *Ayādgār ī Zarērān* (*Pahlavi Texts*, 16) a text of Parthian origin, as Wištāsp puhr Lu(h)rāspān ‘Wištāsp, son of Luhrāsp’. It may be a late loan-shift formation adopted from Pahlavi, but cf. Garāmīk-kird puhr Jāmāsp (*ibid.*, p. 16).

¹⁸ See H. Habibī Fahlīānī, *Mamasanī dar gozargāh-e tārīx*, Shiraz, 1371/1992, p. 183.

¹⁹ U. Seidl mit einem Anhang von P.O. Skjærvø, *Iranische Denkmäler*, Lieferung 12, Berlin 1986, p. 7, Tafel 18e.

²⁰ *Op.cit.*, p. 25

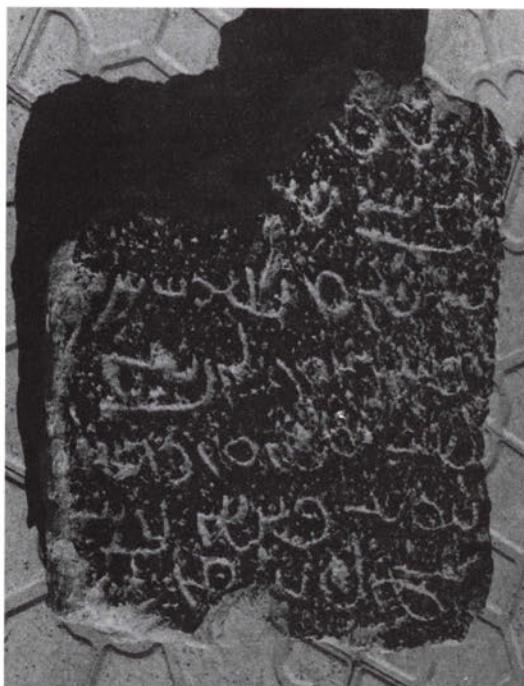


Plate 3. The inscription of Tal-e Sefid.
Photo: E. Sheikh-al-Hokamāyī.

these scholars and published in the book is by no means satisfactory and the proposed decipherment is therefore in part unsatisfactory. Mr. E. Sheikh-al-Hokamāyī has recently provided me with a better photograph (Plate 3), which has enabled me to propose a better reading of the inscription:

Transliteration

- 1 [ZNH špl(?)]
- 2 [... Y ...]
- 3 BYRH š[trywr]
- 4 Y ŠNT 70 3 3 Y
- 5 yzdkr̄t' lwb'n
- 6 l̄d plmwt' krtn
- 7 'Pš yzd'n BR'
- 8 'mwlc[y]t

Transcription

- [ēn ašwar (?)]
[X ... ī ... Y]
māh š[ahrēwar]
ī sāl haftād ud šaš ī
yazdgird ruwān
rāy framūd kardan
uš yazdān be
āmurzāyēd

Translation

(This ossuary/resting-place) was ordered to be made (by X, son of Y), for (his own) soul, in the year 76. May God have mercy on him.

Commentary

Line 3: The name of the month seems to be Šahrēwar, since the initial letter of the word is still visible on the stone.

Line 4: The reading *-plyt/-āfrīd* suggested by Skjærvø should be abandoned. Following the month's name the word ŠNT/sāl/ 'year' and a figure indicating the date are expected, as in the cases of similar inscriptions. As a matter of fact the word ŠNT followed by the figure 73 (70 + 3 + 3) is clearly visible.

Line 5: The ligature *yzd* and the final letters *rt* make the reading *yzdkt/Yazdgird/* certain. Thus, the death of the anonymous person occurred in the month of Šahrēwar (the 6th month) of the year 76 of the era of Yazdgird, i.e. October/November A.D. 707.

Line 7: The word *yazdān* is used here, probably under Islamic influence, as singular 'God'.²¹

Line 8: At present, there is a break towards the middle of the lower edge of the stone, making a gap between the letter ' and the letter *t* of the final word. The break seems to be recent, since it is not seen in the photograph published by Seidl, in which there seems to be the letter *y*. Thus, Skjærvø read the word as '*mwlc'yt/āmurzāyēd/* 'to have mercy on'. This interpretation encounters a difficulty, since the present stem of the verb *āmurzīdan* is *āmurz-*²² and not *āmurzāy-*. Another form of this verb occurs in the funerary inscription of Constantinople as '*mwlc'd/y* read as *āmurzāi*²³ or *āmurzāy* and is interpreted as the 2nd pers. sg. imperative of a causative form²⁴ or as 2nd pers. sg. imperative with a suffix *-ā*.²⁵ The simplest way to explain this form is to take it as a late form constructed on the analogy of *abaxšāy-* 'to have mercy on'; cf. *tuxšāy-*²⁶ instead of *tuxš-* 'endeavour', *waxšāy-*,²⁷ instead of *waxš-* 'grow', and *niyōxšāy-*,²⁸ instead of *niyōxš-* 'listen'.

APPENDIX

Pahlavi *ašwar/aspānwar*

Despite the doubts expressed by F. de Blois,²⁹ I believe that the meaning and the etymology suggested by M. Shaki for *aspānwar* and mine for *ašwar*³⁰ hold good. The word *aspānwar* is used in two different meanings semantically related: 'a resting-place, residence' and '(eternal) resting-place', hence 'grave, tomb'.³¹ The first

²¹ Gignoux, *op.cit.*, pp. 159–63.

²² Henning, "Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente", ZII 9 (1933), p. 168.

²³ H.S. Nyberg, "L'inscription pehlevie d'Istanbul", *Byzantion* 38 (1968), pp. 113, 116. He probably took the form as 2nd pers. sg. subjunctive.

²⁴ See Ph. Gignoux & D. Feissel, "Encore un mot sur l'inscription pehlevie de Constantinople", *Studia Iranica* 15 (1986), p. 160, who followed the suggestion of M.N. Boglyubov.

²⁵ F. de Blois, "The Middle-Persian Inscription from Constantinople: Sasanian or Post-Sasanian?" *Studia Iranica* 19 (1990), p. 214, n. 21. This suffix is used, according to M. Boyce, A Word-List, *Acta Iranica* 9a, Téhéran & Liège 1977, p. 3, in verse only.

²⁶ *Pahlavi Texts*, p. 39 §4.

²⁷ *Indian Bundahišn*, MS. K20 fol. 96v, 1.14. Cf. *Great Bundahišn*, TD1, ed. P. Anklesaria, Teheran [1970], 54.1.

²⁸ *Wizidagihā i Zādspram*, ch. 3 §68 (MS. K35), eds. Th. Gignoux & A. Tafazzoli, Paris 1993, pp. 210, 331 n. 1. There are some other verbs with two present stems, such as Man. M. Pers. *xrydn*, *xryn-/xyr-* and Pahl. *uzidan*, *uzih-/uz-* 'go out'.

²⁹ See p. 32 of the article mentioned in n. 15.

³⁰ See note 6.

³¹ Cf. Pers. *ārām-gāh* 'resting-place, home; tomb, grave'.

usage is clearly seen in *Dēnkard*.³² The first meeting of Zoroaster with Wištasp would certainly have taken place in a more respectable place than ‘a racecourse, corral’, as suggested by de Blois. The text itself defines the meeting-place as *dar* ‘court’, just as in the Persian *Zarātušt-nāma*.³³

³² *Dēnkard*, 673, pp. 17–18.

³³ Ed. Dabīr-Siāqī, Teheran, 1338/1959, verse 729 (*dar-gāh*).

Die bulgarisch-tschiwaschische Frage in der tatarischen Literatur

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Die Frage nach der Herkunft der Wolga-Bulgaren und der Tschuwaschen sowie deren Sprachen ist immer noch ein Diskussionsthema unter Turkologen und Altaisten. Die verschiedenen Theorien diesbezüglich sollen hier nicht im einzelnen dargestellt werden, zumal die Forschungsgeschichte und die wichtigsten Theorien hinsichtlich des Tschiwaschischen bereits in einigen Artikeln von Nikolaus Poppe eingehend behandelt worden sind. Der vorliegende Beitrag wird lediglich auf einige in der westlichen Welt wenig bekannte Werke tatarische Schriftsteller aufmerksam machen.

Als Beispiele wählen wir vier Vertreter der neueren Periode des tatarischen Schrifttums, jener Epoche seit der Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts, die als die Zeit der Erneuerung, der Modernisierung oder der Europäisierung bezeichnet wird. Zwei dieser Autoren stammen aus dem 19. und zwei aus dem 20. Jahrhundert; sie haben sich mit der Geschichte der Wolga-Bulgaren, mit der bulgarisch-tschiwaschischen Frage oder mit der Sprache und Volkskunde der Tschuwaschen beschäftigt:

Şehab ed-Dīn Merjanī (1818–1889)
Hüseyin Feyzhanī (1828–1866)
Zarif Beşirī (1888–1962)
Mirfatih Zekiev

Merjanī

Als erster Autor sei der bekannte Historiker und Islamwissenschaftler Şehab ed-Dīn Merjanī aus Qazan (1818–1889) erwähnt, der mehrere Werke zu philosophisch-religiösen Fragen und zur Geschichte des Landes verfaßte. Er bediente sich meist der arabischen Sprache und verfaßte nur wenige Werke in „Tschaghataisch“ oder „Türkī“, d.h. der damals dem Ost- und Nordtürkischen gemeinsamen Literatursprache. Sein wichtigstes und für uns in diesem Zusammenhang interessantestes Werk trägt den Titel (Mustafād al-ahbār fī aḥwāl Qazān wa Bulğār) مُسْتَفَادُ الْأَخْبَارِ فِي أَحْوَالِ قَازَانَ وَ بُلْغَارٍ (Mustafād al-ahbār fī aḥwāl Qazān wa Bulğār: Die tradierten Nachrichten über die Lage von Qazan und Bulgar). Es ist auf Türkī geschrieben und wurde in den Jahren 1885 und 1900 in zwei Bänden in Qazan herausgegeben. Bereits vorher hatte Merjanī eine kleine Abhandlung über dieselbe Frage verfaßt, die schon im Jahre 1877 auf einem Kongreß in Qazan von Wilhelm Radloff behandelt worden war.

Bei den Türkvölkern innerhalb Rußlands war Merjanī überhaupt der erste moderne Historiker im westlichen Sinne, da er nicht nur die orientalischen Quellen, sondern auch Grabsteininschriften, Münzen und andere archäologische Funde meisterhaft zu auszuwerten wußte. Unter den Orientalisten in Qazan und in Petersburg

war er sehr gut bekannt. Historiker und Linguisten wie Radloff, Katanov, Malov, Gottwald, Vel'jaminov-Zernov und Ašmarin schätzten ihn sehr hoch und zitierten ihn in ihren Werken. Von allem mit Radloff, Katanov und Gottwald war Merjanī persönlich befreundet.

Wilhelm Radloff, der sich in den Jahren 1872–1883 als Inspektor der muslimischen Schulen in Qazan aufhielt, traf sich öfters mit Merjanī und diskutierte mit ihm verschiedene wissenschaftliche Fragen. So wurde Merjanī auch zum Mitglied der Archäologischen Gesellschaft der Qazaner Universität gewählt und nahm an deren Sitzungen teil. Auf dem IV. Archäologischen Kongreß dieser Gesellschaft (Qazan 31.7.–18.8.1877) hielt Radloff ein Referat über Merjanīs Abhandlung (Gilâlat az-zamân fî ta'rîhi Bulgâr: Schleier der Zeit über der bulgarischen Geschichte), das in den Mitteilungen („Izvestija“, 1877) und in den Abhandlungen („Trudy“, 1879) des Kongresses veröffentlicht wurde. Katanov hielt in einer Sitzung derselben Gesellschaft (2.1.1895) ein Referat über Merjanīs Werk *Mustafâd al-ahbâr fî ahwâl Qazân wa Bulgâr*, das in den Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft (Bd. IV, 1895, S. 470) gedruckt wurde.

Auf die Auseinandersetzungen über Merjanīs Werke werden wir hier nicht eingehen. Stattdessen begnügen wir uns mit dem Hinweis auf die große Festschrift, die 1915 anlässlich des 100. Geburtstages des Autors in Qazan veröffentlicht wurde. Bemerkenswert ist vor allem der Artikel von Zeki Velidi (Togan) mit dem Titel „Rus tarihî edebiyatında Mercanî“ (Merjanī in der russischen Geschichtsliteratur, S. 468–484).

Hüseyin Feyzhanī

Merjanīs Schüler Hüseyin Feyzhanī (Feyzhanof) war der erste, der die erhaltenen wolgabulgarischen Texte mit dem Tschuwachischen verglich, und zwar in seinem Artikel „Tri nadgrobnyx bulgarskix nadpisi“ (Drei bulgarische Grabsteininschriften; Izvestija Imperatorskago Arxeologičeskago Obščestva IV, Sankt-Peterburg 1863, S. 404). Die von ihm entdeckten Inschriften waren schon vorher von Berezin veröffentlicht worden (*Bolgar na Volge*, Sankt-Petersburg 1852). Über sie herrschten jedoch verschiedene kontroverse Ansichten, die erst durch Feyzhanīs Auslegung in eine richtige Bahn gelenkt wurden. Diese scharfsinnige Leistung Feyzhanīs wurde von den Turkologen allgemein akzeptiert (siehe N. Poppe, „Čuvašskij jazyk i ego otnošenie k mongol'skomu i tjurkskim jazykam“, Izvestija Russkogo Akademii Nauk 1924, S. 289–314).

Feyzhanī war 1821 im Dorf Sabačay (Gouvernement Simbirsk) geboren und starb 1866 ebendort. Seine Bildung erwarb er in Qazan, in Merjanīs Medrese und an der Qazaner Universität. 1853 wurde er Lektor für Türksprachen und Arabisch an der Petersburger Universität. Als Mitglied der kaiserlich-archäologischen Gesellschaft stand er in dauerndem Briefwechsel mit Merjanī und berichtete ihm u.a. über Neuerscheinungen in Rußland und in Westeuropa. Sowohl in Qazan als auch in Petersburg arbeitete Feyzhanī mit einigen Orientalisten zusammen. So wurde z.B. Kazem-Begs Werk *مفتاح كنوز القرآن* (Miftâh kunûz al-Quran: Schlüssel zu den Schätzen des Koran, 1863) unter seiner Mitwirkung herausgegeben. „Materialy po istorii Krymskago Xanstva“ (Materialien zur Geschichte des Chanats von Krim), das 1863 mit ei-

nem Vorwort von Vel'jiminov-Zernov herausgegeben wurde, stammt ebenfalls von Feyzhanī.

Ferner verfaßte Feyzhanī تورکی تل نک صرف و نحوی (Türkî tilniyî şarf û nahwî: Grammatik und Syntax der Türkî-Sprache) und eine Abhandlung über Reformpläne für muslimische Schulen, die Medresen. Seine Vorschläge zur Modernisierung der Schulen wurden jedoch erst lange Zeit nach seinem Tode, d.h. erst im 20. Jahrhundert, verwirklicht. So spielte er nicht nur im Geistesleben der Tataren, sondern auch in dem aller türkisch-muslimischen Stämme Rußlands eine große Rolle. Über seinen Lebenslauf finden sich Informationen in der Festschrift für Merjanî, Qazan 1915, S. 113–114, A. Sa'di, Tatar edebiyatî tarihi, Qazan 1926, S. 63–65, sowie Qazan utlari, Qazan 1971, Nr. 3–4.

Zarif Beşirî

Drittens soll ein von den Philologen unbeachtet gebliebener tatarischer Dichter und Publizist namens Zarif Beşirî erwähnt werden. Wer sich intensiver mit diesem Autor auseinandersetzt, erkennt, daß er unter den Forschern, die sich mit dem Tschuwaschen befaßt haben, eine besondere Stellung einnimmt. Seine Laufbahn als Lyriker begann im Jahre 1905, und seine ersten Gedichte erschienen in den Qazaner Zeitungen „Qazan Muhbiri“, „Ahber“ und „Yulduz“. Später publizierte er auch in anderen Zeitungen und Zeitschriften. So war er z.B. ständiger Mitarbeiter der größten tatarischen Zeitschrift „Şura“, die von 1908–1918 alle Tage in Orenburg erschien. Nach 1917 blieb er in Turkestan, wo er zuerst in Alma-Ata und dann in Taschkent als Lehrer tätig war. Nachher hielt er an der Taschkenter Universität Vorlesungen über usbekische und uigurische Literaturgeschichte. Im Jahre 1925 veranstaltete die usbekische Regierung ein Jubiläum anlässlich der zwanzigjährigen literarischen Tätigkeit Zarif Beşirîs.

Die Leistungen Beşirîs auf dem Gebiet der Tschuwaschen-Forschung sind folgende: Da sein Geburtsort Čuti von tschuwaschischen Siedlungen umgeben war, verbrachte er seine Kindheit unter den Tschuwaschen. So konnte er umfassende Kenntnisse über ihre Sprache und Gebräuche erwerben. Zwischen 1905 och 1917 veröffentlichte er in der Zeitschrift „Şura“ mehrere Artikel darüber. Die genaue Zahl der Artikel ist mir nicht bekannt, da ich keine vollständige Sammlung der Zeitschrift besitze. Als Beispiel sei eine Ausgabe erwähnt, die einen Artikel Beşirîs über die Tschuwaschen mit folgendem Titel enthält: „Čuvaşlar XI: Küyleri, muzika ve hissiyatları“ (Melodien, Musik und Gefühlsleben der Tschuwaschen, Şura 21, 1908, S. 654–656). Insgesamt hat Beşirî zahlreiche Themen aus dem Leben der Tschuwaschen behandelt. Ferner verfaßte er ein zweiteiliges Werk, das 1911 in Orenburg unter dem Titel Čuvaşlar erschien.

Ein anderes Buch Beşirîs über die Tschuwaschen ist ein Roman unter dem Titel „Čuvaş qızı Enise“ (1910), das von der unglücklichen Liebesgeschichte zwischen einem tatarischen Jüngling und dem Tschuwaschenmädchen Enise handelt. Hier soll nicht auf die Einzelheiten der Handlung eingegangen, sondern nur auf den Schluß des Romans hingewiesen werden: Nach langem Hin und Her begeht Enise Selbstmord und hinterläßt einen Brief, in dem sie die Gründe ihrer Tat zum Ausdruck bringt: sie, das tschuwaschische Mädchen, und er, der tatarische Jüngling, gehörten

unterschiedlichen Gemeinschaften an, und es sei daher unmöglich, auf ein glückliches Ende zu hoffen.

Mirfatih Zekiev

Zum Schluß sei ein zeitgenössischer tatarischer Philologe namens Mirfatih Zekioyu Zekiev erwähnt, der als Professor an der Qazaner Universität tätig ist. Wie mehrere andere tatarische Historiker aus Qazan, hat sich auch Zekiev der Forschung über die Abstammung der Qazan-Tataren bzw. der alten Wolga-Bulgaren und der Tschuwaschen gewidmet. Eines seiner in tatarischer Sprache verfaßten Bücher wurde 1977 in Qazan herausgegeben und trägt den Titel *Tatar xalqı tiliniñ barlıqqa kilüwi* (Die Herkunft der Sprache des tatarischen Volkes). Das Werk besteht aus vier Kapiteln, in denen nach einer ziemlich langen Einleitung folgende Themen behandelt werden: (1) Die alten Türkvölker und deren Sprachen („Burungi Türkiler hem alarnıñ tilleri“, S. 27–73); (2) Die Türkvölker an der mittleren Wolga und am Ural sowie deren Sprachen („Urta Idil hem Ural buylarında Türkiler hem alarnıñ tilleri“, S. 74–115); (3) Kritik an der bulgarisch-tschauschenischen Theorie („Bulgar-čuvaš teorisine tenqit“, S. 116–150); (4) Stämme und Völker, die in engerer Beziehung zu den Bulgaren und Tataren standen, sowie deren Sprachen („Bulgarlar hem Tatarlar bilen türüz münasebette bulyan qebileler hem xalıqlar, alarnıñ tilleri“, S. 151–186).

Im dritten Kapitel wird die bulgarisch-tschauschenische Theorie einer scharfen Kritik unterzogen. Der Verfasser lehnt die allgemein bekannte Theorie über die Abstammung der Tschuwaschen und des Tschauschenischen ab, indem er das Ergebnis seiner Untersuchungen in folgenden Punkten zusammenfaßt: (1) Die Sprache der alten Wolga-Bulgaren war keine Fortsetzung des Hunnischen. Ebenso ist auch das Tschausche keine Fortsetzung des Bulgarischen. (2) Das Bulgarische gehörte zur y-Gruppe der Türksprachen und war also ein Dialekt des Gemeintürkischen. Nur einige Mundarten des Bulgarischen trugen die Spuren der r-Sprache. (3) Das Tschausche ist eine Sondersprache, die unter dem Einfluß bestimmter Türk-Dialekte auf finnisch-ugrischem Boden entstanden ist. Dies ereignete sich schon vor dem Eindringen der Bulgaren ins Wolga-Kama-Oka-Gebiet, d.h. die Tschuwaschen befanden sich schon dort, als die Bulgaren in diese Gebiete eindrangen. Offen bleibt allerdings, wann das geschah und welche türkischen Stämme es waren, die beim Entstehen des Tschauscheniums eine Rolle spielten. Auch Zekiev ist noch nicht imstande, diese Fragen zu beantworten.

Die Verba primae *w* und *j* im Syrischen

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1. UMSCHRIFT DES SYRISCHEN

Meine Transkription des Syrischen, d.i. des Ostsyrischen, weicht in einigen Punkten von der bislang üblichen ab¹:

- a) Lang- und Kurzvokale werden, da die Vokallänge nicht phonemisch ist, in der Umschrift nicht unterschieden.
- b) Der Unterschied zwischen Zlāmå da-pšiq (ws. Rbåşå arrikå) und Zlāmå da-qšé (ws. Rbåşå karjå) liegt nicht in der Vokallänge (ě : ē), sondern in der Vokalqualität (e : e).
- c) Ptåhå und Zpåpå unterscheiden sich nicht durch die Vokallänge (a : ä), sondern in der Vokalqualität (a : å).
- d) Der untergesetzte Punkt bleibt den emphatischen Lauten vorbehalten, zu denen h̄et nicht gehört.
- e) Wir unterscheiden den offenen (Zlāmå da-qšé, ws. Rbåşå karjå) vom geschlossenen „ē“-Vokal (Jod massaqtå, ws. h̄båşå karjå)². Diese Differenzierung (e : e) ist insofern von Bedeutung, als nur das geschlossene e im Westsyrischen zu i wird. Obwohl dies schon verschiedentlich behandelt wurde³, setzt man sich gewöhnlich in der semitistischen Umschrift darüber hinweg⁴.
- f) Die automatische Spirantisierung in postvokalischer Position wird nicht wiedergegeben. Das Schwa (ə) wird nur geschrieben, wenn es phonologisch relevant ist.
- g) Die Halbvokale *w* und *j* werden konsonantisch geschrieben, weil sie – wie die anderen Konsonanten – die Spirantisierung einer folgenden Bgadkpat [bøğadkəpət] verhindern (z.B. *mawtå* ‘Tod’, *bajtå* ‘Haus’).

Mit diesen Umschriftänderungen ergibt sich folgendes regelmäßige (ostsyrische) Vokalsystem:

Vordervokale	Zentralvokale	Hintervokale
i	(ə)	u
ɛ	e	o
e (ä)	a	å

¹ Eine nähere Erläuterung muß einer anderen Darstellung vorbehalten bleiben.

² S. Barhebraeus: *Le livre des splendeurs* ..., éd. par A. Moberg, Lund (usw.) 1922, S. 5 (Barhebraeus: *Buch der Strahlen* ..., übers. v. A. Moberg, T.1, Leipzig 1913, S. 9).

³ Z.B. von Brockelmann, H. Birkeland (The Syriac phonematic vowel systems, *Festschrift til Olaf Broch* ..., Oslo 1947, S. 13–39) und J. Blau (The origins of open and closed e in Proto-Syriac, *BSOAS* 32 (1969), S. 1–9.).

⁴ Zu den wenigen, die die notwendige Konsequenz aus der Einsicht in diese vokalische Opposition gezogen haben, gehört Fr. Rundgren, der das offene „ē“ mit ä wiedergibt, z.B. *txät* ‘unter’, *xakkimä* ‘weise (pl.)’ (Some remarks on the Kətābā də-’al ida’tā da-šrārā, *OS* 34–37 (1987–1988) [1989], S. 77–83).

2. DIE PRIMAE INFIRMEN VERBALTYPEN

Außer den Verba primae *n* gibt es im Syrischen⁵ nur zwei primae infirme Verbaltypen, die der Verba I ' und I *j*. Im letzteren Typ sind die Verba I **j* und **w* zusammengeflossen, wie der Befund derjenigen semitischen Sprachen zeigt, welche ein *w* (oder *y*) im Wurzel- und Wortanlaut dulden:

syr.		arab.	
iret	'erben'	غاريضا	'id.'
iteb	'sitzen'	غافبا	'springen'
iqar	'schwer sein'	غاقورة	'id.'
ibeš	'vertrocknen'	جابيسا	'id.'

Seltene Verben der art pa. *wa^ced* 'bestellen'⁶ die dem zu widersprechen scheinen, sind denominiert, in diesem Falle von *wa^cdā* 'Treffen', dessen *w* dadurch allerdings nicht erklärt ist. Die primae infirme Verben zeigen verschiedene lautliche Besonderheiten, wie Vokalverstärkungen, Vokalkontraktionen, vokalische und konsonantische Assimilationen, die uns hier jedoch nicht weiter beschäftigen sollen. Wir wollen im folgenden vielmehr nur solche Veränderungen des ersten Radikals behandeln, die nicht lautlich, sondern morphologisch zu erklären sind.

3. VERBA I */j > I *w*

Als erstes Beispiel für eine morphologische Entwicklung gelte der Übergang des ersten Radikals der Verba I ' und *j* zu *w*. Diese größtenteils nicht lautlich bedingte Veränderung des Anlautradikals begegnet bekanntlich nur bei den Kausativstämmen, d.s. Ap^cel und Ettap^cal sowie Šap^cel und Eštap^cal:

P.		Ap.		
I ' > w	ebad	'vergehen'	åwbed	'vernichten'
	ekal	'essen'	åwkel	'zu Essen geben'
	eħad	'ergreifen'	åwħed	'ergreifen lassen'

⁵ S. die Standardgrammatiken von Th. Nöldeke (*Kurzgefaßte syrische Grammatik*, 3. Aufl. bearb. von A. Schall, Darmstadt 1966), C. Brockelmann (*Syrische Grammatik* ..., Leipzig 1962), R. Duval: *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, Paris 1881 (Nachdr. Amsterdam 1969), und Th. Arayathinal (*Aramaic grammar*, vol. 1–2, Mannanam 1957).

⁶ Ich folge hier nicht dem Vorbild des Somali, dessen *cayn* (pl. *cayman*) in der neuen Orthographie auf die Höhe der anderen Buchstaben gesenkt wurde, z.B. *wacad* 'Schwur' (s. Y.C. Keenadiid: *Qaamuuska af-soomaaliga*, Florenz 1976, s.v.). Das angeführte Wort ist übrigens – über das Arabische – mit der syrischen Wurzel verwandt. Wenn man noch die Umschrift des Altsüdarabischen von A.F.L. Beeston (z.B. in seiner *Sabaic grammar*, Manchester 1984) hinzunimmt, werden bereits zwei semitohamitische Sprachen mit einem dergestalt 'aufgewerteten' Konsonantenzeichen wiedergegeben. Ganz aus dem Rahmen fällt die Gewohnheit mancher Arabisten, das 'ain in lateinisch umschriebenen Wörtern stehen zu lassen. Dieses Verfahren ist ganz ungewöhnlich. In der sprachwissenschaftlichen Literatur sind keine Umschriften üblich, die sich aus lateinischen Umschriftzeichen und einzelnen originalschriftlichen Zeichen zusammensetzen. Es wäre auch eigenartig, wenn etwa in der Umschrift des Armenischen plötzlich ein armenisches Schriftzeichen auftauchte.

	<i>P.</i>		<i>Ap.</i>	
I <i>j</i> > <i>w</i>	ida ^c	‘wissen’	åwda ^c	‘wissen lassen’
	imå, imi	‘schwören’	eštåwda ^c	‘erkennen’
	iteb	‘sich setzen’	åwmi	‘schwören lassen’ ⁷
			åwteb	‘einsetzen’

Keine Veränderung des Anlautradikals zeigen die Verben, die sowohl primae als auch mediae infirm sind. Von dem im Peal nicht belegten Verb *ewå ‘einrächtig sein’ bildet man alle Stammformen mit starkem zweiten Radikal (z.B. pa. åwwi ‘versöhnen’), wobei im Ettap. et(’)åwwi⁸ ‘sich vereinen’ der erste Radikal wenigstens graphisch erhalten bleibt (s. *Thes.Syr.* s.v.). Nur wenige Wurzeln sind von dieser Regel ausgeschlossen, wie die folgenden:

	<i>P.</i>		<i>Ap.</i>	
	ineq	‘saugen’	ajneq	‘säugen’
	etå ⁹	‘kommen’	ajti	‘kommen lassen’

Eine Erklärung für die regelmäßige Entwicklung des Anlautradikals ’ zu *w* kann leicht gegeben werden. Ein nach dem starken Verb gebildetes Apel zu Verba primae hamzatae war morphologisch so schwach markiert, daß eine Verstärkung des ersten Wurzelradikals geraten erschien. So schlossen sich die Verben I ’ den Verben I *j* an, welche auf I **w* zurückgehen und ihren Anlautradikal in den Kausativstämmen (d.i. in der Position nach Vokal) erhalten haben, z.B.

	<i>P.</i>		<i>Ap.</i>	
	iled	‘gebären’	åwled / nåwled	‘(er)zeugen’

Auch die ursprünglichen Verben I *j* folgten dann diesem Muster. In den Kausativstämmen ist demnach – von einigen Fällen abgesehen – die Opposition zwischen den Verben I ’ und I *j* (**w*, **j*) aufgehoben.

4. VERBA I ’ > I *w*

„Auch sonst zeigt sich ein gewisses Streben der primae ’, in die Klasse primae *w* (j) überzutreten. So ist zu ’allep ‘lehren’ das Peal *ilep* ‘lernen’“ gebildet worden, schreibt Nöldeke (*Gramm.* S. 113), um auf einen weiteren Übergang zwischen diesen beiden primae infirmen Verbalklassen aufmerksam zu machen. Eine Begründung für diesen morphologischen Wandel wird von Nöldeke nicht gegeben – im Unterschied zu Brockelmann, der hier eine Analogiebildung nach dem Imperfekt annimmt. Imperfektformen des Typs *nemar* würden danach „in den Vokalen ganz zu

⁷ In historischer Hinsicht ist bei dieser Wurzel wegen der altsüdarabischen und arabischen Belege die Regel umzudrehen.

⁸ Ein morphologisch relevantes Hamz muß in bestimmten Fällen in der Umschrift angedeutet werden, auch wenn es nicht als Glottalverschluß realisiert wurde. Im Anlaut wurde es durchgängig vernachlässigt, weil der anlauftende Vokal seine Präsenz signalisiert.

⁹ Diese Form geht lautgesetzlich auf ’tå zurück.

denen von I j“ (z.B. *nəlad*) stimmen, so daß „einige I ‘ auch schon ihr Perf. P^cal nach deren Analogie“ gebildet hätten (nach meiner Umschrift wiedergegeben):

„nəlad : iled = nəlap :“ x
 ↑
 „ilep“ (*Gramm.* S. 91 f.)

Weshalb gilt diese Analogiegleichung aber nur für wenige Verben? Wir wollen im folgenden eine Lösung für diese Frage vorlegen, die auch einiges Licht auf die Strukturierung und Abgrenzung der verschiedenen primae infirme Verbalklassen werfen wird.

5. VERBA PRIMAE INFIRMAE

Eine Durchsicht der Standardwörterbücher des Syrischen¹⁰ bringt eine Vielzahl verschiedener Verbaltypen zu Tage, deren Klassifizierung die Berücksichtigung folgender Kennzeichen erforderlich macht:

- a) der erste Radikal der Wurzel: durchgängig ' bzw. *j* oder '/*j* mit komplementärer Distribution,
- b) der perfektische Charaktervokal: *a* oder *e* (selten *o*)
- c) der imperfektische Charaktervokal: *a*, *e* oder *o*,
- d) der letzte Radikal der Wurzel: stark oder schwach,
- e) das imperfektische Verbalpräfix: **ni-* oder **na-*.

Danach ergibt sich folgende Klassifizierung der primae infirme Verbalklassen (die Formen in Klammern geben die westsyrische Lautung an):

I. Verba I ‘

Nach der Darstellung von C. Brockelmann hatten im Grundstamm die Präfixe des Imperfekts ursprünglich „bei Transitiven den Vokal *a*, bei Intransitiven *i*, die jetzt in *e* zusammengefallen“ sind (*Gramm.* S. 85), s.

- | | | | |
|------------------|---|--------|-------------------|
| * <i>na-qtul</i> | > | neqtol | ‘er tötet’ |
| * <i>ni-srak</i> | > | nesrek | ‘er bleibt übrig’ |

Bei Verba primae hamzatae hat sich diese ursprüngliche Differenzierung jedoch erhalten. Altes *a* ergibt nämlich mit dem folgenden ersten Radikal der Wurzel ein *e* (nämlich *ɛ*), das offener als jenes *e* (nämlich *e*) ist, das aus altem *i* + ' entstanden ist. Von daher wird klar, daß nur letzteres im Westsyrischen zu dem ganz geschlossenen *i* werden kann:

- | | | | |
|------------------|---|-----------------------------|-----------|
| * <i>na-'kul</i> | > | nekol (nəkul) ¹¹ | ‘er ißt’ |
| * <i>ni-'mar</i> | > | nəmar (nimar) | ‘er sagt’ |

¹⁰ R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Tomus I, Oxonii 1879, mit *Supplement*, v. J.P. Margoliouth, Oxford 1927, C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Halle an der Saale² 1928), Hildesheim 1966, und T'omā Awdo: *Simṭā d-leššānā surjājā* (Mossul 1897), Dairā d-Mār Aprem Surjājā (b-Malkutā d-Hollandā) 1985.

¹¹ Das offene *ɛ* des Ostsyrischen wird im Westsyrischen zum geschlossenen *e*, welches dann nicht mehr in Opposition zu einem offenen *ɛ* steht.

a) Folgende Verben zeigen das Verbalpräfix *ni-:

a/a-Klasse

ebad / n̄ebad (nibad)	‘versehen’
ebal / n̄ebal (nibal)	‘betrauern’
ezal / n̄ezal (nizal)	‘gehen’
ekap ¹² / n̄ekap (nikap) ¹³	‘besorgt sein’
emar / n̄emar (nimar)	‘sagen’
enas / n̄enas (ninas)	‘zusammentreiben’

*Verba tertiae infirmae*¹⁴

etâ (eto) / n̄etê (nitê)	‘kommen’
--------------------------	----------

b) Folgende Verben haben das Verbalpräfix *na-:

a/o-Klasse

egar / n̄egor (n̄egur)	‘mieten’
eħad / n̄eħod (n̄eħud)	‘nehmen’
ekal / n̄ekol (n̄ekul)	‘essen’
alam (elam) / n̄elom (n̄elum)	‘zürnen’
alaş (elaş) / n̄eloş (n̄eluş)	‘bedrängen’
enaq / n̄enoq (ninuq)	‘klagen’
esan / n̄eson (n̄esun)	‘sammeln’
esar / n̄esor (n̄esur)	‘binden’
e‘ap / n̄e‘op (n̄e‘up)	‘verdoppeln’
ara ^c (era ^c) / n̄ero ^c (n̄eru ^c)	‘begegnen’
eraš / n̄eroš (n̄eruš)	‘stoßen’
ešad / n̄eshod (n̄eshud)	‘gießen’
ešap / n̄eshop (n̄eshup)	‘verzaubern’

*Verba tertiae infirmae*¹⁵

alâ (elo) / n̄elē (n̄elē)	‘jammern’
apâ (epo) / n̄epê (n̄epê)	‘backen’

II. Verba I '/j/

Alle Verben I', die ihren ursprünglichen ersten Radikal im Grundstamm zu *j* verändern, weisen das Verbalpräfix *ni- auf. Außerdem sind sie alle nach der e/a-Klasse vokalisiert:

¹² S. außerdem die 3.f.sg.-Form *akpat* bei Nöldeke: *Gramm.* S. 323.

¹³ Nach dem *Lex.Syr.* auch *ekap/n̄ekop* (*n̄ekup*).

¹⁴ Nach Nöldeke (*Gramm.* S. 113) gehören zu dieser Klasse auch die beiden Verben *alâ* (*elo*) und *apâ* (*epo*), s. die folgende Klasse.

¹⁵ S. Barhebraeus: *Le livre des splendeurs* ..., éd. par A. Moberg, Lund (usw.) 1922, S. 125 (Barhebraeus: *Buch der Strahlen* ..., übers. v. A. Moberg, T.1, Leipzig 1913, S. 264), wo für die Verben *etâ* und *apâ* ausdrücklich unterschiedliche Präfixvokale festgehalten werden. Die 1.sg. des Imperfekts dieser Verben lautet danach *et̄e* (mit ḥbāšā karjā) und *ep̄e* (mit Rbāšā karjā). Man möge sich nicht durch die westsyrischen Bezeichnungen der Vokale stören lassen, welche hier auch für das Ostsyrische gelten sollen.

Ij

- ikem / nékam (nikam) ‘schwarz sein, w.’ ekam ‘id.’
 ilep / nēlap (nilap) ‘lernen’
 irek / nērak (nirak) ‘lang sein’

I ’

- pa. akkem ‘schwärzen’,
 ukkåmå ‘schwarz’
 pa. allep ‘lehren’,
 m(’)allpånå ‘Lehrer’
 pa. arrek ‘verlängern’,
 arrik ‘lang’

III. Verba Ij

Alle Verba Ij vokalisieren ihr Verbalpräfix mit *i* (*ni'-> nē-).

e/a-Klasse

i'eb <j'b> / nē'ab <n'b> ¹⁶ (ni'ab)	‘begehren’
ibeš / nēbaš (nibaš)	‘vertrocknen’
izep / nēzap (nizap)	‘leihen’
iħeṭ / nēħaṭ (niħaṭ)	‘abortieren’
iled / nēlad (nilad)	‘gebären’
ineq / nēnaq (ninaq)	‘saugen’
isep / nēsap (nişap)	‘sorgen’
iqed / nēqad (niqad)	‘brennen’
iqar / nēqar (niqar)	‘schwer sein’
ireb / nērab (nirab)	‘groß sein’
ireq / nēreq (niraq)	‘blau sein’
iret / nērat (nirat)	‘erben’
itar / nētar (nitar)	‘Nutzen haben’

Mit Übergang zur Klasse I n

iteb / netteb	‘sitzen’
ida' / nedda'	‘wissen’
(jab (selten ihab) <jhb> / nettel (selten nehhab) ‘geben’)	

tertiae infirmae

imå (imo), imi / némę (nimę)	‘schwören’
i'å (i'o), i'i / nē'ę (ni'ę)	‘sprießen’

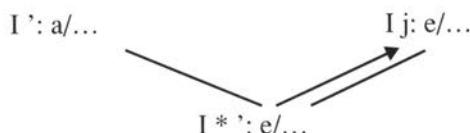
¹⁶ Anstelle von <n''b>.

Wenn wir die tertiae infirmen Verben sowie die vom Übergang in die Klasse der Verben I *n* betroffenen Typen ausklammern, gewinnen wir folgendes übersichtliche Bild:

	Perfektvokal/Imperfektvokal (-präfix)		
I'	a	/ o	(*na-)
	a	/ a	
I'j	e	/ a	(*ni-)
Ij	e	/ a	

5. VERBA Ij

Die Verba Ij (*'), die im Perfekt *e* als Charaktervokal haben, stehen zwischen den Verba I', die im Perfekt durchgängig *a* haben, und den Verba Ij (*j, *w) mit perfektischem Charaktervokal *e*:



Die Sprache erlaubt nun außer den beiden Grundtypen der Verba I' mit Perfektvokal *a* und der Verba Ij mit Perfektvokal *e* keinen weiteren Typ. Die Verba I' mit Perfektvokal *e* gleichen sich an den letzteren Typ an, da der mit den Verba Ij übereinstimmenden Vokalisierung des Perfekts ein stärkeres Gewicht zukommt als dem mit den Verba I' übereinstimmenden ersten Radikal. Die Verba I' mit perfektischem *e*-Vokal gehen also im Grundstamm in die Klasse der Verba Ij über (s. den Pfeil). Auf einen Blick:

I'			Ij	
ekal	ebad	*elep	ilep	
...	iled	
ne-		ne-		

6. ÜBERSICHT ÜBER DIE VERBALKLASSEN

Die einheitliche Behandlung der Verba I' und Ij in den Kausativstämmen sowie der soeben besprochene morphologische Übergang I' > j legen es nahe, diese beiden Verbalklassen mit ihren verschiedenen Unterklassen zu einem allgemeinen primae infirmen Typ zusammenzufassen. Es bietet sich ein Vergleich mit den Verben I n und den starken Verben an:

	<i>primaes firmae</i>	<i>primaes nun</i>	<i>primaes infirmae</i>
a/o	qṭal / neqṭol	npaq / neppoq	ekal / nękol
a/e	‘bad / ne ‘bed	npal / neppel	(iteb / netteb)
a/a	šlaṭ / nešlaṭ	nsab / nessab	ebad / nębad
e/a	šrek / nešrak	nqep / neqqap	{ ilep / nęlap iled / nęlad }
e/o	sged / nesgod	nhet / neħhot	- - -

Damit ergibt sich eine systematische Übersicht über die Verbalklassen des Syrischen. Es müßten nur noch die mediae und tertiae infirmen Klassen hinzugefügt werden.

7. I w/j > I n

Vielleicht liefert dieses Modell auch eine Erklärung für die Verben *ida^c* ‘wissen’ und *iteb* ‘sitzen’, die im Imperfekt wie die Verba I n flektiert werden, also *nedda^c* und *netteb*. Diese Verben sowie das suppletive *jab / nettel* ‘geben’ zeichnen sich nämlich durch zwei Besonderheiten aus. Zum einen haben sie den imperfektischen Charaktervokal *e*, der sonst in keiner Klasse der Verba I ‘ oder *j* vorkommt. Allein bei den Verba primae nun ist ein *e* als Imperfektvokal möglich, wie in *npal / neppel* ‘fallen’ und *ngad / negged* ‘ziehen’ (Nöldeke *Gramm.* S. 111). Zum anderen bilden sie ihren Imperativ ohne den ersten Radikal:

- da^c (vgl. hebr. da^c)
- hab (vgl. arab. hab)
- teb (vgl. hebr. šeb, arab. þib)

Wenn man von den beiden Imperativen *tå* ‘komm’ und *zel* ‘geh’ absieht, die von Verba primaes hamzatae gebildet sind, bieten nur die Verba I n eine systematisch zweiradikale Bildungsweise der Imperative¹⁷, wie von den beiden zitierten Verben: *pel, ged*.

Auch die Infinitive und bestimmte Nominalformen (hier die Nominalform *ma123å*) werden nach Art der Verba I n, d.i. mit geminiertem zweiten Radikal, gebildet:

- Inf. medda^c; madd^cå ‘Verstand’
- Inf. mettab
- Inf. mettal, (selten) mehhab; mahhbå, mattlå ‘Gabe’

Auch die regelmäßigen Formen des Imperfekts und Infinitivs des Verbs für ‘geben’ gehören hierher, obwohl in diesem Falle die Verdoppelung tatsächlich auf die Assimilation des ersten Radikals zurückgeht:

¹⁷ Daneben gibt es Verba I n, die ihren Imperativ dreiradikalig bilden.

nettel (< *nentel¹⁸, dem bekanntlich letzten Endes *li-jantin l- zugrunde liegt)

8. Es wäre reizvoll, die gegenseitige Abhängigkeit der primae infirmen Wurzeltypen und ihrer Vokalisierungsklassen in anderen aramäischen Idiomen zu untersuchen¹⁹.

¹⁸ S. Nöldeke: *Gramm.* S. 128.

¹⁹ S. C. Brockelmann; *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Bd I, Berlin 1908, S. 595 f.

The Frog Boy: An Example of Minhe Monguor¹

ZHU YONGZHONG, ÜJIYEDIIN CHULUU (CHAOLU WU), AND KEVIN STUART²

INTRODUCTION

The Monguor³ are one of China's officially recognized fifty-five minorities. In 1990 their population was nearly 200,000. Attention was called to certain Monguor by Schram (1954, 1957, 1961) and by Schröder (1952/53, 1959, 1980), based on research undertaken in the pre-Liberation (1949) era. More recently, Stuart and Limushiden (1994) presented an extensive bibliography of Monguor-related materials that includes a number of relevant Chinese-language materials.

Despite recent attention to Monguor linguistics on the part of certain Mongols and Han Chinese (Zhaonastu 1981; Xi 1983, 1986; Hasbatar *et al.* 1986; Li 1988; Sun 1990; Chenggeltei *et al.* 1988, 1991, Üjiyediin Chuluu 1994b)⁴ there has been little systematic analysis of the Minhe Monguor dialect. This paper presents, to our knowledge, the first example of a Minhe Monguor folktale written as orally recounted, then analyzed, and translated into English.

The system (*pinyin*) used to write Modern Standard Mandarin was adapted for a Monguor alphabet by Li Keyu and other Huzhu Monguor in the 1980s. Since that time there have been sporadic attempts to utilize the Monguor written system in Huzhu, but not elsewhere. These attempts have included teaching Monguor in certain primary schools and the publication of a mimeographed periodical entitled "Chileb", written in Monguor with interlinear Chinese translation. No efforts had been made to use *pinyin* to record other Monguor dialects until Zhu Yongzhong,⁵

¹ We are grateful to Mr. Keith Slater, Dr. Wang Xianzheng, Ms. Debbie Krinke, and Ms. Amy Schulz for reading this paper and for their numerous helpful suggestions.

² **Zhu Yongzhong** (b. 1970) is a graduate (1994) of Qinghai Education College, where he majored in English. He has been an English instructor since 1987 and has taught at Guanting, Xiakou, and Zhongchuan middle schools where nearly all students are Monguor. Fluent in Monguor, Chinese, and English he presently teaches at Zhongchuan Middle School while engaging in Monguor linguistic and folklore research. **Üjiyediin Chuluu**, BA (Inner Mongolia University), MA (Inner Mongolia University), MA (the University of Toronto) is a native of Khorchin, Inner Mongolia. He presently teaches Mongolian at the University of Toronto while pursuing a PhD in linguistics. **Kevin Stuart** has lived in China (the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and Qinghai Province) and Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar and Erdenet) since 1984. A folklorist, ethnographer, and teacher of English, his interests include north China minorities and the Qinghai Han Chinese.

³ The Monguor were classified as "Tu" by the Chinese government in the 1950s. According to Chenggeltei (1991:2) and Zhaonastu (1981:1), they prefer to call themselves 'Monggol' or 'Chagan Mongol' (White Mongols). However, Zhu disagrees, arguing that "Mongor" is a more apt rendition of what Minhe Monguor call themselves.

⁴ For a review of certain of these materials, see Hu and Stuart (1994).

⁵ See, for example, Zhu and Stuart (1997).

Wang Xianzheng,⁶ Hu Ping, and Hu Jun began using it in the early 1990s to record Minhe oral materials. Zhu and Wang were aided by Keith Slater, who visited Xining in the summer of 1994 to collect preliminary Monguor language materials for a doctoral dissertation in linguistics at the University of California-Santa Barbara. At this writing (1995) Zhu's, Wang's, and Slater's work continues in wide-ranging research on the Minhe dialect.

LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT

Qinghai Province (Koko Nor) is located in Northwest China. To the north lies the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. The Tibet Autonomous Region is situated to the south, and Gansu Province eastward. In Gansu Province dwell enclaves of Baoan, Dongxiang, and Jegün Yogur,⁷ who speak languages related to Monguor. Qinghai Monguor live in Huzhu Monguor Autonomous County, Minhe Hui and Monguor County, Datong Hui and Monguor Autonomous County, and Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Monguor also live in Tianzhu Tibetan Autonomous County in Gansu.

Minhe Hui and Monguor Autonomous County in Haibei Prefecture is located in a complex linguistic environment in Eastern Qinghai. Farming is the main mode of production. Monguor speakers live in the southern part of the county, near the border with Gansu, formed by the Yellow River. Within the county, Tibetans live in Xing'er Township and in northwest Gangou Township. Tibetans living in Xing'er Township strongly retain the Tibetan language, which is used in daily life. However, in Tibetan areas in Gangou Township, Tibetan is used mostly by people over seventy years old. Younger Tibetans generally are not able to speak Tibetan.

Most males in Minhe Hui and Monguor Autonomous County, regardless of nationality, speak local Mandarin-related dialects. Tibetan and Monguor females, particularly those over the age of thirty, may not speak Chinese. This is explained by a lack of formal education and considerably less contact with the Chinese-speaking world. Zhu, a lifelong resident of southern Minhe Hui and Monguor Autonomous County, estimates that approximately 98 percent of Minhe Monguor are able to speak Monguor, emphasizing the strength with which the Minhe Monguor dialect is retained. In Table One we present a detailed account of Minhe Hui and Monguor Autonomous County's population distribution by nationality.⁸ Table Two gives more specific information as to exactly where Monguor is spoken and an estimate of Monguor living in these areas who are able to speak Monguor. Furthermore, many Hui living in close proximity to Minhe Monguor have considerable competence in Monguor.

In the Guanting Region (*zhen*), Zhongchuan Township (*xiang*), and Xiakou Township, Monguor residents account for 71–89 percent of the total population, suggesting that Minhe Monguor will continue to be spoken for at least several more generations, although it is increasingly being influenced by the Chinese language.

⁶ See Wang and Stuart (1995) and Wang, Zhu, and Stuart (1995).

⁷ See Üjiyediin Chuluu (1994a) for recent relevant language materials.

⁸ Materials for this table were collected from county records.

This is related to education in Chinese, improved transportation permitting greater access to the outside world, increased availability of printed materials in the Chinese language, and the greater availability of electricity, which has brought Chinese radio and television broadcasts into many Minhe Monguer homes.

Table One. Minhe Hui and Monguer Autonomous County: population by nationality (1993)

Area ⁹ Name	Total		Han		Hui		Monguer		Tibetan		Others ¹⁰
	Popu- lation	% ¹¹	Popu- lation	%	Popu- lation	%	Popu- lation	%	Popu- lation	%	Popu- lation
	344273	100	159709	46	133367	39	38872	11	11601	3	724
Chuankou Reg.	50782	15	27352	17/54 ¹²	21825	16/43	979	3/2	255	2/1	371
Machangyan	16932	5	9277	6/55	7633	6/45	10	—/—	12	—/—	—
Beishan	5460	2	5402	3/99	—	—/—	21	—/—	31	—/1	6
Bazhou	12425	4	5808	4/47	6606	5/53	7	—/—	4	—/—	—
Xigou	10168	3	2256	1/22	7065	5/69	—	—/—	847	7/8	—
Donggou	8482	2	6121	4/72	1961	1/23	6	—/—	336	3/4	—
Lianhe	8130	2	3294	2/41	4385	3/54	3	—/—	448	4/6	—
Chaigou	7366	2	5501	3/75	1847	1/25	15	—/—	3	—/—	—
Gushan Reg.	13106	4	11243	7/86	1676	1/13	162	—/1	24	—/—	1
Zongbu	11143	3	10757	7/97	256	—/2	2	—/—	128	1/1	—
Longzhi	8956	3	8900	6/99	7	—/—	21	—/—	28	—/—	—
Dazhuang	12599	4	27	—/—	12571	9/100	1	—/—	—	—/—	—
Maying Reg.	21959	6	7281	5/33	14091	11/64	182	—/1	358	3/2	47
Zhuandao	9234	3	3812	2/41	5321	4/58	80	—/1	21	—/—	—
Tachen	7489	2	2714	2/36	4711	4/63	61	—/1	12	—/—	—
Manpin	14649	4	7851	5/54	6398	5/44	269	1/2	128	1/1	3
Qianhe	11602	3	3739	2/32	4106	3/35	3746	10/32	11	—/—	—
Gangou	13238	4	4582	3/35	4703	4/36	2581	7/19	1372	12/10	—
Guanting Reg.	14882	4	198	—/1	1276	1/9	13266	34/89	16	—/—	236
Zhongchuan	17188	5	60	—/—	4288	3/25	12790	33/74	18	—/—	32
Xing'er	3605	1	388	—/11	—	—/—	781	2/22	2436	21/68	—
Xiakou	5386	2	267	—/5	328	—/6	3847	10/71	944	8/18	—
Haitaozhuang	10641	3	2454	2/23	8157	6/77	4	—/—	—	—/—	26
Li'erbu	8764	3	3829	2/44	4693	4/54	4	—/—	238	2/3	—
Tang'eryuan	8784	3	1607	1/18	6844	5/78	—	—/—	331	3/4	2
Xiamen	10741	3	8976	6/84	425	—/4	3	—/—	1337	12/12	—
Xingmin	7059	2	5432	3/77	419	—/6	—	—/—	1208	10/17	—
Lucaogou	5991	2	4993	3/83	1	—/—	—	—/—	997	9/17	—
Songshu	7451	2	5588	3/75	1774	1/24	31	—/—	58	—/1	—

⁹ Unless otherwise indicated, areas are townships.

¹⁰ This includes 34 Salar, 50 Mongolians, 420 Dongxiang, 14 Koreans, 179 Manchu, 7 Zhuang, 3 Xibe, 8 Bai, 1 Miao, 6 Jiang, 1 Tuja, and 1 Baoan.

¹¹ All percentages were generated by the authors. Their sums may not equal 100, owing to rounding to the nearest whole number. A “—” indicates either a value of “0” or a value less than 1 percent.

¹² The first number indicates percentage of total county population. In this case, 17 percent of the total Minhe Han population lives in Chuankou Town. The second, bold number denotes percentage of the relevant nationality in the particular area. In this particular case, 50 percent of Chuankou Town's population is Han.

Table Two. Percent of Monguor who speak Monguor and where Monguor is spoken in Minhe Hui and Monguor Autonomous County

Area	% of Monguor Who Speak Monguor ¹³	Villages Where Monguor Is Spoken
Gangou Township	95	Paijiaping, Hanjia Yinshan, Hanjia Yangshan, Shangzhuangkuo, Zhongchuanbu, Longjia.
Xing'er Township	99	Chenjiao Wula, Kuersawa, Xiera, Kuernang, Shanzhuang, Caijitan.
Xiakou Township	99	Minzhu, Mei'er, Xiakou, Zhangjiaping, Miancaogou, Badashan, Weijiashan (includes Han residents), Panger (includes Hui residents), and Tuanjie (where nearly all residents are classified as "Tibetan." Only some residents over the age of fifty have linguistic competence in Tibetan. Monguor is most residents' first language).
Zhongchuan Township	100	Meiyi, Jintian, Qingyi, Qing'er, Guangming, Qianjin, Hongnai (includes Hui residents), Nongchang (includes Hui residents), Xiangyang (includes Hui residents), Hexi (approximately 50% of residents are Hui), Hulangcheng (Hui outnumber Monguor), Zhujiaola (approximately 9% of residents are Hui).
Guanting Region	100	Lajia, Baojia, Guanting (approximately 9% of residents are Hui and Dongxiang), Zhaomuchuan, Heyan, Qianjin, Xianfen.
Qianhe Township	95	Niejie, Wangjiaping, Lajia, Zhujia. Paijia, Wangjia, Ha Wangjia, Guandi, Gaojashan.
Gansu Province	30	Across the Yellow River Monguor dwell in such villages as San'erjia and Ghadang Doro in Shiyuan Township. They speak Monguor and have distinctive Monguor customs. The residents of the first small village of San'erjia are all Monguor. Their language is very similar to Minhe Monguor. Family names are chiefly Song and Wang. Informants indicated that their forebears crossed the Yellow River from Sanchuan. In Dahejia Township, Monguor residents number roughly 250 of which about 5% speak Monguor. Monguor females from Sanchuan have married and moved here. Most live in the two small subsidiary villages of Changli and Guojia of Kangdiao Village in Dahejia Township. Several Monguor families dwell in other villages in Gansu.

VARIATIONS BETWEEN HUZHU AND MINHE DIALECTS

Huzhu and Minhe dialects differ in numerous ways. Some major differences may be extracted from Zhaonastu (1981) and Chenggeltei (1991). Phonologically, the long vowel in the Huzhu dialect is often pronounced as a short vowel in the Minhe dialect. Also, the word initial sound *f* and the syllable final *l* in the Huzhu dialect are, respectively, pronounced as *h* and *r* consonants in the Minhe dialect. Consider the following examples from Chenggeltei (1991:369–96):

Huzhu	Minhe	Gloss
a. aaba	aba	'father'
imaa	yima	'goat'
xuraa	khura	'rain'

¹³ Zhu has provided the information in this table. They are based on his personal estimates. Of Chuankou Monguor, 90 percent speak Monguor.

	Huzhu	Minhe	Gloss
b.	fon	huang	'year'
	fune	huni	'smoke'
	fulaan	hulang	'red'
c.	xaldan	ertang	'gold'
	köl	khuer	'foot'
	gal	ghar	'fire'
	deel	dier	'clothing'

As shown in the following list, certain morphological suffixes differ in these two dialects.¹⁴

	Huzhu	Minhe
PL	-sge, nggula	-si
GEN-ACC	-ño	-ni
DAT	-dö	-du
COM	-dii	-tai
REF	-naa	-nang
CAU	-lga	-gha
PST	-va	-ba
NPT	-m	-ni

In comparison with the materials presented by Zhaonastu (1981) and Chenggeltei (1991), a number of arresting grammatical phenomena may be found in the following text. For instance, *-ni* is used as a genitive case suffix and accusative case suffix, while *-du* is used as both a dative case suffix and an accusative case suffix. *-ni* and *-kunang* for NPT, *-lang*, *-ser*, and *-jiang* for HAB, PER, and PRO aspects, *-nang* for genitive case, and *-di* for DAT do not appear in the above two cited works. This suggests that, as Stuart and his colleagues have argued in a number of papers on various aspects of Monguor culture, there is considerable divergence between Monguor groups. Increasingly, the necessity of specifying the particular Monguor group under consideration becomes obvious. Further research would also be helpful in delineating the differences between the various Monguor dialects.

THE FROG BOY: AN INTRODUCTION

"The Frog Boy" was collected by Zhu Yongzhong on cassette tape in early September 1994 from Ms. Lü Jinliang.¹⁵ The content of the material embodies the mythical

¹⁴ See the relevant sections of Chenggeltei (1991) and Zhaonastu (1981: 90–92). A list of the abbreviations utilized are found at the end of this article.

¹⁵ Ms. Lü Jinliang was born in 1920 in Nongchang Village. She married at the age of sixteen and went to live with her husband in Badashan Village. She learned to read some Chinese characters when in her thirties she was attending a "night school" for about one month during the Land Reform Movement. Her first

“frog boy,” born to a woman, who appears in a number of folklore accounts widely dispersed throughout Northwest and Southwest China. For example, in Stuart (1991: 86–96) there appears a Tibetan version entitled “The Frog God.” Stuart and Limushiden (1994:90–98) present a much longer and more complex “frog boy” account emanating from Huzhu Monguor Autonomous County.¹⁶ Furthermore, Whalen Lai (1994:56–61) has discussed the importance of the frog as a fertility symbol for the Zhuang,¹⁷ China’s most numerous minority, living in Southwest China, many hundreds of kilometers from where the Monguor presently dwell.¹⁸

I: THE MINHE COUNTY MONGUOR TEXT

¹Tiedun-du, ninger yige¹⁹ bang. ²Gan-du kao guang. ³Gan-ni khuru-ni ma sannian khabudu-jiang. ⁴Sannian ber-ku, gan-ni khuru-sa laihama-ge²⁰ ghar-jiang.

⁵Yitian-ni-ge, Laohan-ni ghazher hulu-la yao-jiang. ⁶Ni ninger jiang²¹ shangwu-ni²² china ber-gha-sa, ni-laihama²³ gan diaoli-ser keli-kuni shi, “Ana, Ana, Aba-du bi yama kuerge-a!”

⁷“Qi ge laihama kuerge-ji ala-ni,” Ninger keli.

⁸“Qi muni wuber-di tiao-ke-gha!” Laihama keli. ⁹Gan-ni ti-diger geda-di tiao-ke-gha-ku, gan diaoli diaoli kuerge-lang. ¹⁰Dasiku a kuerge-lang ge-lang.

¹¹Ghazher-du xi-ku, gan keli, “Aba, Aba, bi ghazher hulu-a.”

¹²“Qi, yige laihama, ghazher hulu-ji tou-la-ni!” Laohan shini-ser keli-lang.

¹³“Ei, qi dasigu-ni wu, bi hulu-a.” ¹⁴Laihama gan zhasi-ni qige²⁴-di ghar, yigua²⁵ hulu-lang ge-lang.

¹⁵“Aiya, ni gan laihama han, yigua han...” ¹⁶Laohan gaihara-da ting-ge-jiang. ¹⁷Ting-sa khono, ni laihama gan Laohan dai Ningge-ni weilie-ni yigua ti-la ge-jiang ge-lang.

¹⁸Ting-gu, ni-laohan laihama bulai-du-nang bieri ghuda-la-ji hu-lang ma, gan-si kan hu-ni, yige laihama-du? ¹⁹Kan a lai-hu-lang bai. ²⁰Ting-sa laihama keli, “Eng, qi shuder-ji yao ma, dangda lai-hu-ku banhua²⁶ bi. ²¹“Laohan

language is Monguor. She has considerable competency in the local Chinese dialect, which she uses when meeting people who are unable to speak Monguor.

¹⁶ See also Dagur (Stuart, Li, and Shelear 1994:111–112) and Oroqen (Stuart and Li 1994: 50–52) versions of a story entitled “Thumb Boy”. In both accounts, the birth of the much longed for son comes from the mother chopping off her thumb, as is the case for the Monguor “frog boy”.

¹⁷ The Zhuang population exceeded 13 million in 1990 (Zhang and Zeng 1993:282).

¹⁸ A frog also looms large in at least one Mongol creation account (Nassen-Bayer 1992:327–328) as well as in a closely related Minhe Monguor creation account (Ma 1994).

¹⁹ In the Monguor text, the Chinese loanwords are underlined.

²⁰ *Ge* in MSM is *yige* (one). In Minhe Monguor it can be used as a noun suffix to express emphasis.

²¹ MSM: *gang* (just).

²² *Shangwu* in QD signifies “lunch”.

²³ MSM: *laihama*. In Minhe Monguor “frog” is *mandughai* Ms Lü, however, used *laihama*.

²⁴ *Qige* literally means “ear,” but here it refers to the plow handles.

²⁵ QD: completely.

²⁶ MSM: *banfa* (method).

shuder-ji yige noyan-ni ger-du xi-ku, aguer-nang lai-hu-lang. ²²“Lai-hu-sa,” ya-ge-jiang, “Hai, Lai-hu-sa bi shini-ni a!”

²³“Qi shini-sa yigua²⁷!” ²⁴Gan-si kan a sai-guanli-jiang. ²⁵Shini-ku yigua guri bosi-jiang ge-lang bai. ²⁶“Aya! ²⁷Bao-shini ma, bi hu-a,” ge-jiang. ²⁸Ting-ku²⁸ gan hangbura-ku gan lai-hu-jiang bai. ²⁹“A, bi yila-ni a.” ³⁰Yila bosi-ku shuizai ger-ni tao-yao-kunang. ³¹“Bao-yila ya!” gan zou ning-ge-ji. ³²Ting-ku gan aguer-nang hu-jiang ge-lang.

³³Hu-ku laihama ger-du-nang xi-ku, gan-ni ti zou²⁹ laihama tongtuer-nang ma-ke ge-jiang. ³⁴Gan shu mushi-da gezai jianao sao-ku, du zou noyan sao-jiang, gezai-da duer nuqi-jiang.

II. LITERAL TRANSLATION

¹Old_time-in, old_lady one there_is. ²She-DAT son hasn't. ³She-GEN finger-ACC but³⁰ 3-year swell-PER. ⁴Three-year get_to-SUC, she-GEN finger-ALC frog-a come_out-PER.

⁵One-day-in-EMP, old_man-REF field plow-FIN go-PER. ⁶This old_lady just lunch-ACC cook done-CAU³¹-when, the-frog he hop-PRO say-FUN is, “Mom, Mom, Dad-DAT I meal deliver-NPT!”

⁷“You one frog deliver-IMP kill-NPT,” Old_Lady say.

⁸“You my horn-DAT hang-FUN-CAU!” Frog say. ⁹He-GEN that-little lump-DAT hang-FUN-CAU-SUC, he hop hop deliver-HAB. ¹⁰Drink also deliver-HAB do-HAB.

¹¹Field-DAT go-SUC, he say, “Dad, Dad, I field plow-NPT.”

¹²“You, one frog, field plow-IMP complete-FUN-NPT!” Old_Man laugh-PRO say-HAB.

¹³“Ei, you drink-ACC drink, I plow-NPT.” ¹⁴Frog he plow-GEN ear-DAT get_up_to, completely plow-HAB do-HAB.³²

¹⁵“Aiya,³³ this he frog but, completely but...” ¹⁶Old_Man surprise-TER³⁴ that-FUN-PER. ¹⁷That-from after, this frog he Old_Man and Old_Lady-GEN work-ACC completely replace-FUN do-PER do-HAB.

¹⁸That-SUC, the-old_man frog son-DAT-REF wife engage-FIN-IMP give-HAB but, he-PL who give-NPT, one frog-DAT? ¹⁹Who either not-give-HAB EMP. ²⁰That-when Frog say, “Eng,³⁵ you lead-IMP go and, I_DAT not-give-if measure have.” ²¹Old_Man lead-IMP one official-GEN home-DAT go-after, daughter-REF not-give-HAB. ²²“Not-give-if,” what-do-PER, “Hai,³⁶ Not-give-if I laugh-NPT EMP!”

²⁷ In this case *yigua* means “all.”

²⁸ The same as *tinggu*.

²⁹ MSM: *jiu*.

³⁰ *Ma* adds emphasis and, also, at times, it signals a short pause or break.

³¹ *Gha*, as used here, functions as “let.”

³² *Gelang* adds emphasis, for example, to what was just said.

³³ Suggesting surprise over a previous lack of belief in something that now has been confirmed as true.

³⁴ *Da* is similar in meaning to *danang*. In this case, the latter more vividly depicts the action.

³⁵ Sound made by frogs.

³⁶ Said when trying to get someone's attention.

²³“You laugh-CON, all!” ²⁴He-PL who either not-care-PER. ²⁵Lahg-SUC all burn begin-PER do-HAB EMP. ²⁶“Aya!³⁷ ²⁷Not-laugh and, I give-NPT,” do-PER. ²⁸That-after he stop-SUC he not-give-PER EMP. ²⁹“A, I weep-NPT EMP.” ³⁰Weep begin-SUC flood house-ACC water³⁸-go-NPT. ³¹“Not-weep EMP!³⁹ “he EMP such-FUN-CON. ³²That-do_after he daughter-REF give-PER do-HAB.

³³Give-after, Frog home-DAT-REF go-after, he-GEN that EMP frog clothes-REF remove-FUN put-PER. ³⁴He book read-TER good official become-after, now EMP official become-PER, good-TER day pass-PER.

II: ENGLISH TRANSLATION

¹In the olden days there was an old lady. ²She had no son. ³Her finger had been swollen for three years. ⁴After the three years a frog came out from her finger.

⁵One day her husband went to plow the fields. ⁶When the old lady had lunch well cooked, the frog said while hopping, “Mother, Mother, I’ll take the meal to Father!”

⁷“As a frog, you cannot do it,” the old lady said.

⁸“You hang it on my horn!” the frog said. ⁹After it was hung on a small knob on his head he hopped and hopped with the lunch. ¹⁰It was true that he was able to do it and he also took drink.

¹¹When he got to the field he said, “Father, Father, I’ll plow the fields.”

¹²“You, a frog, you can’t plow at all!” the old man said while laughing.

¹³“Eh, you drink while I plow,” the frog said. ¹⁴The frog climbed to a plow handle, and he really did plow.

¹⁵“Aiya, but he, a frog... but he really...” ¹⁶The old man was very surprised.

¹⁷From then on, the frog did all the work for the old couple.

¹⁸Later the old man decided to engage a girl to his frog son, but who would give their daughter to a frog? ¹⁹No one did. ²⁰Then the frog said, “Eng, you take me with you and, if they refuse, I have a way.” ²¹When the old man took him to an official’s, the official didn’t agree. ²²“If you don’t,” then (he said), “Hai, If you don’t, I shall laugh!”

²³“You do just as you like!” the official said. ²⁴Not one of the official’s family paid any attention to him. ²⁵After the frog began laughing, everything began burning. ²⁶“Aya! ²⁷Please stop, I agree to the marriage,” the official said.

²⁸But, when the frog stopped laughing, the official didn’t keep his promise.

²⁹“Then, I’ll cry,” said the frog. ³⁰As he began crying, flood waters came to the home. ³¹“Don’t cry!” the official said. ³²Then he had his daughter marry the frog.

³³After marriage, as the frog reached his home, he took off his frog clothes. ³⁴He studied until he became an official, and led a contented life.

³⁷ A word suggesting surprise or exaggeration.

³⁸ *Tao* is action created by the flood, similar to “carry away” or “sweep off.”

³⁹ *Ya* denotes a request.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Accusative case	FUN	Functional word	PL	Plural suffix
ABL	Ablative case	HAB	Habitual aspect	PRO	Progressive
CAU	Causative	GEN	Genitive case	QD	Qinghai dialect ⁴⁰
CON	Concessive converb	IMP	Imperfective converb	REF	Reflexive suffix
COM	Comitative case	NPT	Non-past	SUC	Successive converb
DAT	Dative case	MSM	Modern Standard Mandarin	T	Tibetan
EMP	Emphatic word	PST	Past tense	TER	Terminal converb
FIN	Final converb	PER	Perfective		

APPENDIX: PLACE NAMES⁴¹

BADASHAN	Eight Big Mountains
BAOJIA	Bao Family
CAIJIATAN	Cai Family Beach
CHANGLI	One-Li Long
CHENJIAOLA	Chen Family Mountain
DAHEJIA	Big River Town
GAOJIASHAN	Gao Family Mountain
GHADANG DORO	Under the Cliff
GUANDI	Guan God
GUANGMING	Light and Bright
GUANTING	Welcoming Official Hall
GUOJIA	Guo Family
HA WANGJIA	Lower Wang Family
HANJIA YINSHAN	Han Family Shady Mountain
HANJIA YANGSHAN	Han Family Sunny Mountain
HEXI	West of the River
HEYAN	River Side
HONGNAI	Red Cliff
HULANGCHENG	Red Flat Place
JINTIAN	Gold Field
KANGDIAO	Kang-Diao Village
KUERNANG	Inner Castle (T)
KUERSAWA	Earth Castle (T)
LAJIA	La Family
LONGJIA	Long Family
MEI'ER	Beautiful (Field) Second (Small Village)
MEIYI	Beautiful (Field) First (Small Village)
MIANCAOGOU	Cotton and Grass Valley
MINZHU	Democracy ⁴²
NIEJIE ⁴³	Nie Family
NONGCHANG	Farm
PAIJIA	Pai ⁴⁴ Family
PAIJIAPING	Pai ⁴⁵ Family Level-Ground

⁴⁰ We use “Qinghai Dialect” to designate dialects spoken by peoples of various ethnicities in Qinghai Province primarily comprising Chinese lexical items.

⁴¹ There was disagreement among our informants as to what, exactly, these names signify. We have presented the possibility that was judged as most credible.

⁴² Monguor: Dazizhuang, that is, Dazi Village. “Dazi” is a derogatory term for Mongols.

⁴³ MSM: *jia*.

⁴⁴ MSM: *bai*.

⁴⁵ MSM: *bai*.

PANGER	Buddha's House
QIANJIN	Going Forward
QING'ER	Clear (Spring) Second (Group)
QINGYI	Clear (Spring) First (Group)
SAN'ERJIA	Family Three and Family Two
SHANGZHUANGKUO	Upper Family
SHANZHUANG	Mountain Village
SHIYAN	Stone Flat Land
TUANJIE	Unity
WANGJIA	Wang Family
WANGJIAPING	Wang Family Level Ground
WEIJIASHAN	Wei Family Mountain
XIAOKOU	Valley Entrance
XIANFEN	Vanguard
XIANGYANG	Facing the Sun
XIERA	Hail (T)
ZHANGJIAPING	Zhang Family Level Ground
ZHAOMUCHUAN	Zhao (Family) Wood Plain
ZHONGCHUANBU	Mid-Plain Castle
ZHUIJIA	Zhu Family
ZHUIJIAOLA	Zhu Family Mountain

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Book Reviews

Igor M. Diakonoff, *Archaic Myths of the Orient and the Occident*. (Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.) Göteborg 1995. 216 pp.

Der Philologe und Historiker Diakonoff nimmt sich der Frage nach dem Ursprung des Mythos in archaischen Gesellschaften an. Davon überzeugt, daß die Möglichkeiten der eigenen Disziplin nicht genügen, sucht der Autor im Bereich der Sozialpsychologie nach der Antwort. Die drei Kapitel des Buches tragen dementsprechend die Überschriften „Mythological mentality, The socio-psychological background of mythological pantheons“ und „A Survey of Archaic Myths of the Settled Peoples of the Orient and Occident“. Anstatt eines Resümeees schließt das Werk mit einem Gespräch zwischen einem Kritiker und dem Autor.

Diakonoff betont daß er mit seiner unkonventionellen Perspektive die Hand, in der Hoffnung daß sie von der Sozialpsychologie ergriffen wird, ausstrecken möchte. Das methodologische Kapitel weckt viele Fragen. Dies gilt nicht nur für die Behandlung seiner eigentlichen These sondern auch für die Definitionen der archaischen Gesellschaft, des Mythos und des Glaubens. Letzteren definiert der selbst in der materialistischen und evolutionistischen Tradition verankerte Autor mit „Confidence in authority we shall define as belief, or faith“ (Diakonoff 1995, s. 37). Für Mythos werden mehrere Definitionen angeboten ohne daß sich der Autor auf eine klare Umreißung des Begriffs als Ausgangspunkt für seine Untersuchung festlegen kann, welches sicherlich für den Leser hilfreich gewesen wäre.

Diakonoffs Ausgangspunkt ist die Unfähigkeit des Menschen zu generalisieren und zu abstrahieren, die diesen in schriftlosen Gesellschaften zur Mythenbildung anregt. Der Mythos ist das Mittel die gesehene und gedeutete Welt einer Gemeinschaft „... who had not yet developed an apparatus for abstract generalizing concepts“ (ibid. s. 11) auszudrücken. In seiner Argumentation stützt sich Diakonoff auf verschiedene Theorien wie Impulse beantwortet werden. Eine Auswahl dieser Impulse dient im weiteren Verlauf der Untersuchung dazu aus den Mythen der Skandinavier, der Ägypter, der Mesopotamier und der Inder archaische Erzählungen herauszustellen. Dabei gelangt er zu semantischen Serien die den Gedanken beim Leser direkt zu Mircea Eliades Symbolkomplexen führen.

Ebenso wird man bei Diakonoffs Umgang mit dem zu Gebote stehenden Textmaterial an Eliade erinnert, da beide Autoren die Freiheit, mit der sie auf der Suche nach praktischen Beispielen über Mythen verfügen, auszeichnen. In einer Fußnote macht Diakonoff den Leser darauf aufmerksam daß seine semantischen Serien nicht wortgetreu aufzufassen seien (ibid. s. 142), was diese zu recht freistehenden Assoziationsketten macht. Mit dem Anspruch auf Universalität, denn als Produkte der Sozialpsychologie können die unterschiedlichsten Pantheons ja dem Impulsvorrat des primitiven Menschen zugeordnet werden, verträgt sich schlecht der zweite Mythen determinierende Faktor, nämlich die ökonomischen und ökologischen Bedingungen. Im dritten Kapitel, in dem die praktische Zuordnung der Impulse zu Mythenkreisen erfolgt, wird dann auch nicht auf die ökonomischen Bedingungen eingegangen, während die Erwähnung von Umweltbedingungen sich auf Beobachtungen, wie beispielsweise daß in Trockengebieten der Donnergott eine geringe Rolle spielt, beschränkt.

Trotz seines Ausflugs in die Sozialpsychologie kann Diakonoff den Philologen nicht verleugnen. Dies beginnt bei den sprachlichen Belegen um seine Auffassung über das Denken in archaischen Gesellschaften zu stützen. Und hier wird es interessant und läßt den Leser die Unzufriedenheit über die klischeehafte Darstellung der Gesellschaft von heute und damals, die Komplizierung durch Aufwerfung der Wahrheitsfrage beim Mythos und Unklarheiten in der Behandlung des Stoffes vergessen. „We shall regard the myth or its structural nucleus, the mythologeme, as a statement which contains basic material for mental and emotional generalization“ (ibid. s. 33). Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt betrachtet Diakonoff den Mythos von allen Seiten, das heißt als wissenschaftliche Erkenntnis, als Reizbeantwortung auf einem Vorgang in der äußeren und inneren Welt, als Erklärung der Welt. Dies alles macht er unter dem Vorzeichen, daß der Mythos die einzige Möglichkeit, das ausschließliche Mittel der damaligen Menschen war, Gesagtes und Gedachtes zu formulieren, wobei sie sich Bilder („tropes“) bedienten. Als Erklärung einer Kette von Ereignissen führt die bildliche Aussage unweigerlich zu einem Mythos, schließt Diakonoff, da bildlicher Ausdruck und Mythos die einzige zur Verfügung stehenden Mittel sind.

Es kommt dann zur generalisierenden Funktion des Mythos aufgrund der Zugehörigkeit der benützten bildlichen Ausdrücke zu semantischen Serien, wobei das Einzelne für das Ganze steht. Der Mythos als allgemein menschliches Phänomen läßt den Autor variable semantische Ketten über alle Sprach- und Kulturgrenzen hinweg annehmen. Um Mißverständnissen vorzubeugen wird immer wieder der Mythos als sprachlicher und damit auch gedanklicher Erkenntnisträger („a form of cognition“) und nicht als Wissenschaftsersatz hervorgehoben. Weckt jedoch nicht gerade der Mythos als Erkenntnisträger die Frage nach seiner kulturellen Prägung? Dient nicht eine Untersuchung, die ökologische und ökonomische Gesichtspunkte im Wirkungsbereich des Mythos miteinbezieht, letztlich auch eher unserem Wissen über den Mythos? Diakonoff entscheidet sich zur globalen Betrachtung in der Hoffnung, diese würde eher Entscheidendes unserer Kenntnis des Phänomens Mythos hinzufügen und behandelt sie quasi als Archetypen, doch ohne daß dieser Begriff noch C.G. Jung irgendwo im Buch erscheinen. Leider behandelt er teilweise relativ späte Texte in Schriftkulturen aus denen er die archaischen Bilder in Form von semantischen Folgen zusammenstellt. Doch selbst bei einer philologisch gründlichen Untersuchung bleibt die Frage offen, ob mit Diakonoff's Methode unserem Wissen vom Mythos als allgemeines Phänomen Entscheidendes hinzugefügt werden kann.

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Shimon Gibson & Joan E. Taylor, *Beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre Jerusalem. The Archaeology and Early History of Traditional Golgotha* (Palestine Exploration Fund Monograph: Series Maior I). London 1994. Pp. i–xx + 102 + 46 illustrations.

Jerusalem is a place of very great ideological dignity. Its history is known in tradition from at least the Bronze Age. The topography and the water sources created the possibilities of a spectacular evolution through centuries. Although Jerusalem was not situated on one of the main roads in Palestine, it often became the scene of history-making happenings. Especially two areas in Jerusalem are outstanding in history, namely the Temple Mount and the Holy Sepulchre. Religious thinkers place here the beginning and the end of humanity, from the Garden of Eden to the Last Judgement. This makes Jerusalem the navel of the world. Any visitor to these sites is aware of their general history and wants to know the reality behind all the traditions. The initiative taken by the Palestine Exploration Fund in offering us knowledge in detail is therefore to be welcomed. This Series Maior opens with the archaeology and early history of traditional Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre and the next forthcoming volume by L. Ritmeyer will be devoted to "The Architectural Development of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem".

Jerusalem is built on longish hills running north-south and its history started to the south on the south-eastern hill, 689 m above sea-level. The highest point of the Temple Mount is 753 m, and the area around the Holy Sepulchre 758 m, and Bezetha 777 m above sea-level (cf. M. Ottosson, Topography and City Planning with Special Reference to Jerusalem, *Tidsskrift for Teologi og Kirke* 60 (1989), 263–270). Thus it is understandable for practical reasons that the higher areas to the north were used as quarries. Chapter I, "The Excavations in the Chapel of St. Vartan", Gibson and Taylor prove that the area of the Holy Sepulchre was used as a quarry for extracting blocks of *meleke* limestone at least from the Late Iron Age. This activity transformed the natural topography of the area into large cavities more than 10 m deep. Visitors to the Holy Sepulchre can get an idea of the depth of the actual quarry in passing the steep flight of steps down to the Chapels of St. Vartan and of St. Helena. During times when the church was being restored, excavations have been carried out over the last century. The authors analyse and judge the different results. They have succeeded in creating a chronological system for the walls and the debris. The first building activities took place in the time of Hadrian, when the cavities of the quarry were filled in with soil and the debris was held in position by a network of consolidation walls to his temple of Venus. The Emperor Constantine ordered the area to be cleared down to bedrock for ideological reasons and inserted here massive foundation walls, especially walls 4 and 6, in order to obtain strong support for his basilica,

dedicated in 335. During the 11th century, the Cave of the Invention of the Cross was converted into the chapel which can be seen today. Very clear pictures and drawings of the section accompany the text.

The building material in the walls was naturally re-used, as there have been so many disturbances in the area. The pottery was naturally mixed several times and could also have been brought into the place when the quarry was filled up. Interesting are the mason's marks inscribed on the bases of column drums which represent the architecture of the Roman period. But the most spectacular find is a smooth-faced stone, decorated with a drawing of a ship and an inscription. The stone had been built into wall 1, dated to Hadrianic times. A whole chapter, Chapter II, is devoted to "The Jerusalem Ship Drawing" and the history of the research, the drawing and the inscription are discussed. The drawing represents a merchant vessel in harbour. The nautical details show that the artist was well acquainted with the sea. Several proposals for the reading of the short inscription are given, but the precise meaning remains a mystery. Chapter III treats "The Area of the Church from the Iron Age to the Early Roman Period". Here is given a detailed plan of the ancient quarrying, caves, cisterns and rock-hewn tombs in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its vicinity. The irregularities of the topography are clearly shown and we get a good idea of what the area looked like when the Emperor Hadrian started to build the forum with its temple of Venus. The quarry continued to be used down to the late 1st century B.C. Then the area had a number of different uses, both as a burial ground and as a plot of cultivated land. Around A.D. 33 this area became the navel of the world for the Christians under the Aramaic name Golgotha, meaning "the skull". All the four Evangelists assign the crucifixion of Jesus to this place and later tradition identifies it with the "Rock of Calvary". The surface of this still-standing rock measures only 1.7 m x 3.5 m and it is too narrow to give space for three crosses. The sides of the rock are steep and it is also quite high, 5 m to the west and 12.75 m to the east. The authors give reasonable explanations for the popular traditions of the Christian pilgrims, who in the reddish rock saw the traces of Christ's blood and in the cave below Golgotha the "Tomb of Adam". But the deep crack in the Chapel of Adam is a natural and genuine breach. The pious tradition is very edifying but was already dismissed by Jerome. Visitors to the Holy Sepulchre may be shown the hole in the rock of Golgotha where the cross of Christ was fixed. But there is no mention of any hole in early pilgrim texts. The Evangelists do not write that Golgotha was a hill. The rocky protrusion, now named Golgotha, was left by the early quarrymen because it was greatly flawed. In the time of Christ the abandoned quarry covered a large area (200 m x 150 m) and certainly it was very convenient for the Romans to use it as a general place of execution. The Garden of Golgotha fits the area quite well. In the quarry were pools for irrigation and Cyril of Jerusalem mentions a garden, which could have been the "Adonis grove" which had been planted next to the *temenos* of the temple of Venus. "The Tomb of Jesus" was largely destroyed by Caliph Hakim in 1009. The burial cave was originally cut into the side of a rock scarp. Three steps led up to the entrance of the tomb and the blocking stone of the real tomb of Jesus was most likely rectangular or square in shape. Circular blocking stones were used during late Roman and Byzantine times. We learn many interesting details of and suggestions about the area in the time of Christ. Chapter IV, "The Area of the Church during the Late Roman Period", is short, but the authors discuss what is known about the Hadrianic structure and the layout of Aelia Capitolina. The Roman colony had two civic centres, one in the area of the present Muristan and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the other north of the Temple Mount. In the area of Golgotha was the northern part of the Hadrianic forum, with the temple of Venus and the Cardo Maximus, the main street to the east. Very few and fragmentary Hadrianic walls are preserved, but Eusebius, Jerome and the Bordeaux Pilgrim give some interesting descriptions. In order to defile the site for the Christians, Hadrian set up a likeness of Jupiter at the place of the Resurrection and a marble statue of Venus on the rock of the Cross or Golgotha, 758.32 m above sea-level, roughly on a level with the main Hadrianic *temenos*. Hadrian also erected two statues on the Temple Mount, where he built a temple to Jupiter, Minerva and Juno, and the preserved floor above the twin pools in the convent of the White Sisters (*Ecce Homo*) is a part of the eastern civic centre. Another temple dedicated to the god of healing, Serapis, was located at Bethesda.

Chapter V describes "The Byzantine Church Complex and its Vicinity". In the month of September 335, the Constantinian basilica was dedicated and Eusebius has given a sometimes panegyrical description of the church but with few details. The authors open the chapter with this description, but the archaeological results give a better account of the architectural history. The 6th-century Madaba mosaic map of Jerusalem gives the orientation of the church, 58.5 m long and 40.5 m wide, and shows that there was a propylaea entrance with a huge flight of steps to the east. This led up from the colonnaded street, the Cardo Maximus. People looked up when entering the basilica, the floor of which may have been a

level with the top of the Rock of Calvary. The basilica faced the Tomb of Christ, around which was a courtyard open to the sky and laid more than 2,5 m lower than the floor of the church. Constantinian quarrying took place in this area, so the Tomb of Christ was left isolated. The Bordeaux Pilgrim, Egeria and Cyril of Jerusalem mention that there were cisterns and beside them a bath in which children were baptized. It was certainly on the south side of the church. On entering the basilica from the east, the visitor could see a chamber of relics to the left. There especially the cross of Christ had been housed. Soon it was transferred to Constantinople. The Rock of Calvary was hollow and this cave was called the Cave of Adam. The first man was buried here, according to a tradition not older than Adomnan (around 675) and a drop of blood from Jesus' body had run into the crack in the rock and brought atonement for the original sin. The basilica was constructed to honour the saving sign of the cross and there are early traditions from the first pilgrims that the cross of Christ was found in the quarry where the church was built. The exact place is hard to localize. Only after the destruction of the church by the Caliph Hakim was the find spot localized to the cave of the Invention of the Cross. Certainly it was Constantine Monomachus who created the cave of the Invention in 1048 (cf. S. Borgehammar, *How the Holy Cross Was Found. From Event to Medieval Legend.*. Diss. Uppsala 1991). For a surveyable but detailed presentation of archaeological enterprises in Jerusalem, see also most recently K. Bieberstein and H. Bloedhorn, Jerusalem. *Grundzüge der Baugeschichte vom Chalkolithicum bis zur Frühzeit der osmanischen Herrschaft.* Bd 1–3. Wiesbaden 1994.

S. Gibson and J. E. Taylor have written a wonderful book about Golgotha and the building activities in its immediate vicinity. All Christian visitors to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre will know the history of the place where it was built. The rocks of the quarry once witnessed the martyrdom of Christ. Maybe much in the early traditions is legendary, but with their unique pictures and clear drawings of the walls and their thorough reconstructions, the authors have succeeded in giving the reader a very trustworthy history. The initiative taken in writing and publishing this kind of book cannot be too highly praised. The authors have been very successful.

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Nurettin Demir, *Postverbien im Türkeitürkischen. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung eines südanatolischen Dorfdialekts.* (Turcologica 17.) Wiesbaden; Harrassowitz, 1993. 9, 175 S.

Ausgehend von Dialektaufzeichnungen aus seinem südanatolischen Heimatdorf unternimmt der Verfasser eine differenzierte Beschreibung der Postverbien und der aus Postverbien gebildeten präsensitischen Einheiten eines türkischen Dialekts. Damit wird zum ersten Mal eine methodisch fundierte funktionale Analyse dieses bisher vernachlässigten Bereichs der türkischen Verbalsyntax vorgelegt. Die Entscheidung des Verfassers, sich nicht nur auf den untersuchten Dialekt zu beschränken, sondern auch noch vergleichbare Konstruktionen der türkischen Standardsprache einer genauen Betrachtung zu unterziehen, erhöht den Gebrauchswert der Untersuchung erheblich. Wer immer den Versuch einer modernen Grammatik der türkischen Standardsprache unternehmen sollte, wird an Demirs Untersuchung nicht vorbeikommen.

Zunächst werden unter „Grundlagen“ (– S.25) Angaben zum untersuchten Dialekt, zur Durchführung der Feldforschung und zu den theoretischen Grundlagen der Analyse gemacht. Was letztere betrifft, so orientiert sich Demir (fast) ausschließlich an dem von Johanson und seinen Schülern in einer Reihe von Publikationen seit 1971 dargelegten leistungsfähigen Modell zur funktionalen Beschreibung finiter und infiniter türksprachiger Prädikationen. Für den Leser außerhalb des engeren Kreises turkologischer Sprachwissenschaftler wird allerdings der Zugang zur Untersuchung dadurch erschwert, daß der Verfasser keine Standortbestimmung des gewählten Ansatzes innerhalb der verschiedenen Modelle zur Beschreibung von Aspekt und Aktionsart unternimmt. Auch dürfte die Skizze des Modells etwas zu knapp für den mit der Materie weniger vertrauten Leser ausgefallen sein. So vermißt man z.B. eine Abgrenzung zwischen Aspekt, Aktionsart und Phasenspezifikation sowie die Definition einiger theorieabhängiger

Termini wie „initialtransformativ“ und „Prägnanz“. Dem interessierten Leser sei zum besseren Verständnis die ergänzende parallele Lektüre von L. Johanson, *Aspekt im Türkischen*, Uppsala 1971, und einiger anderer Aufsätze dieses Autors, hier besonders die zusammenfassende Darstellung *On Turcic converb clauses* in M. Haspelmath und E. König (Hgg.) *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective*, Berlin 1995, empfohlen. Auch C. Schönigs *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen*, Wiesbaden 1984, ist zum Verständnis vieler Aspekte der Untersuchung geeigneter, als es die wenigen Verweise vermuten lassen.

Mit methodischer Klarheit erläutert der Verfasser in den beiden zentralen Kapiteln der Untersuchung formale (– S.52) und funktionale (– S.115) Aspekte der Postverbien. Besonders beachtenswert unter den formalen Aspekten sind die Beobachtungen zu den finiten Postverbverbindungen. Hier weist Demir überzeugend Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede ihrer Distribution im Verhältnis zu den entsprechenden gerundialen Konstruktionen in Dialekt und Standardsprache nach. Die Tatsache, daß die finiten Formen wie *sustum kaldım* als „parataktisch“, die infiniten wie *susup kaldım* hingegen als „hypotaktisch“ bezeichnet werden, scheint aber auf eine in der Tendenz morphologistische Auffassung von Syntax zurückzuführen zu sein, die hier eine weniger adäquate Beschreibung zur Folge hat. Ist es tatsächlich sinnvoll, den Begriff der Parataxe oder Hypotaxe innerhalb von Postverbalverbindungen anzuwenden? Zeigen doch Beispiele wie *Bän unutдум getдim onnarı* (S.47), daß im Fall von Inversion der Prädikatskomplex als Einheit betrachtet wird. Mag die gewählte Distinktion auch beim Türkeitürkischen und seinen Dialekten nicht in allzu große Schwierigkeiten führen, so bringt sie doch bei der Anwendung auf das Chakassische, wo diachron betrachtet das p-Gerundium einer postverbalen Konstruktion bei konsonantisch auslautendem ersten Glied ausfällt, keine sinnvolle Lösung. Günstiger erscheint es, in den oben besprochenen Fällen nur von Verbverbindungen mit finiter bzw. nonfiniter erster Prädikation zu sprechen und den Begriff Parataxe bzw. Hypotaxe auf die Ebene komplexer Sätze zu beschränken.

Wer immer beim Erlernen der türkischen Sprache mit einem der traditionellen Lehrwerke oder bei fortgeschrittenener Analyse auf die unterschiedlichsten Angaben in den Grammatiken zur Funktion türkischer Postverbverbindungen gestoßen ist, wird die Ausführungen Demirs zu den „Funktionen der Postverbien“ (S. 53 ff.) mit großer Neugierde lesen. Im voraus sei gesagt, daß der Verfasser in den meisten Fällen empirisch solide untermauerte Lösungsvorschläge präsentiert. Sowohl am Dialektmaterial als auch an schriftsprachlichem Material gelingt es ihm, Bedeutungsunterschiede festzustellen und nachvollziehbare Regeln aufzustellen. Er arbeitet die bisher übersehene distinktive Rolle des Akzents heraus und macht deutlich, welche Rolle die Wahl des Gerundiums bei gleichbleibendem Postverb für die Bedeutung der Verbindung hat. Die ausführliche Präsentation des Materials erlaubt die Überprüfung der aufgestellten Regeln. Einige in diesem Zusammenhang auftauchenden Fragen sollen anhand des Postverbiums *ver-* kurz angesprochen werden:

Demir unterscheidet nicht nur im Dialekt, sondern auch in der Standardsprache u.a. zwei Postverbalverbindungen mit vokalischem Gerundium und *ver-*, die durch ihre Betonungsmuster voneinander geschieden sind: *-i ver-* weise auf eine schnelle, rasche, unvermutete Ausführung der Tätigkeit hin, *-i' ver-* hingegen darauf, daß eine Tätigkeit „zugunsten oder zuungunsten einer Entität“ durchgeführt werde. Eine weitere Funktion beziehe sich auf die unerwartete, unübliche, ungewohnte Durchführung einer Tätigkeit (S. 53 ff.). Unter den Beispielen aus der Standardsprache für letztergenannte Funktion sind allerdings auch solche, bei denen das vokalische Gerundium fehlt: z.B. *koyverirdi* (S.61). Wie hier der Ausfall des vokalischen Gerundiums mit dessen betonter Stellung zu vereinbaren ist, bleibt unklar. Leider macht der Verfasser auch keine Angaben darüber, nach welchen Kriterien die beiden inhaltlich recht unterschiedlichen Teilfunktionen von *-i' ver-* zustande kommen. Auf inhaltlicher Ebene kommen sich nun Funktion 2 von *-i' ver-* und die Funktion von *-i ver-* recht nahe. Die von Demir durch die Übersetzung unterstützte Interpretation der Beispiele zu Funktion 2 von *-i' ver-* sind häufig nicht zwingend. So kann ein *Yüzümü gözümü yalar, öpü' veri şapur şupur* (S. 60) auch im Sinne einer schnellen, unvermuteten Ausführung der Tätigkeit interpretiert werden. Es wäre schließlich eine interessante Frage, ob die Distinktion der Betonungsmuster für beide Bedeutungen von *-i ver-* ikonisch zu begründen ist. Hat der Ausdruck eines schnellen Vollzugs der Handlung die unbetonte, flüchtige Realisation von *ver-* zur Folge oder kommt umgekehrt bei der betonten Realisation die Vollverbbedeutung von *ver-* zum Tragen, wodurch sekundär die Interpretation „zugunsten“ nahegelegt wird?

Das vierte Kapitel der Untersuchung (S.117–136) befaßt sich mit „Präsentischen Einheiten“, die aus Postverbien entstanden sind. Der untersuchte Dialekt weist hier im Unterschied zur Standardsprache, die mit dem *yor*-Präsens nur über eine einzige diachron solchermaßen zu analysierende Form verfügt, ein großes Inventar von Postverbien zur Bildung formal komplexer präsenter Einheiten auf. Sie werden

vom Verfasser alle im Sinne von Johanson (1971) als „prägnant“ aufgefaßt. Demir beschreibt nun in seiner Untersuchung (S.122) ein Präsens auf *-i' veri*, das allerdings auf die Verben *gäl-* und *var-* beschränkt sei (und offensichtlich nur in der 3. Person belegt ist). Es unterscheide sich von der üblichen Präsensform des Dialekts auf *-ayörür* darin, daß es keine wiederholten oder habituellen Bewegungen darstellen könne. Das Präsens auf *-i' veri* unterscheide sich ferner „von der Schnelligkeit bezeichnenden Aktionsartform dadurch, daß die erste Silbe des Lexemsegments nicht betont wird“ (S.123). Wie aber unterscheidet es sich, außer durch das fehlende *i*, von der Postverbverbindung *-i' ver?* Das Fehlen eines größeren Kontexts sowie der beschriebenen Form in den Texten des Anhangs erschwert weiterhin die kritische Beurteilung eines eventuellen prägnanten Präsens auf *-i' veri*. Ein Beispiel wie *Bobañgildän bi adam gäli' veridi, bän gašdim* „Vom Hause deines Vaters her kam jemand, ich lief weg“ (S.122), welches prägnantes Präsens (auf der Stufe der Vergangenheit) illustrieren soll, und ein weiterer Satz wie *Dalyan ämmi de'y veridi* „Onkel Dalyan erzählte uns“ (S.58) zur Veranschaulichung einer postverbialen Verbindung zum Ausdruck einer Aktionsart lassen Zweifel an der Klassifizierung aufkommen. Bei den postverbialen Konstruktionen mit *ver-* scheint jedenfalls ein recht komplexes System vorzuliegen, das einen feinen Analyseapparat erfordert. Der in der Untersuchung zur Anwendung gebrachte Apparat vermag diese Analyse sicherlich zu leisten; Grenzen werden aber vermutlich auch durch die Ohrenphonetik gesetzt.

Das von Demir vorgelegte Material und die von ihm aufgestellten Distinktionen zeigen deutlich, wie anregend türkische Dialektologie sein kann, wenn man sie nicht auf exotische Lexeme und Lautkorrespondenzen zur Standardsprache einschränkt. Die besprochene Untersuchung bringt neue Ideen und neues dialektologisches Material zu einer Frage, die nicht nur für die türkeitürkische Grammatikschreibung, sondern auch für die Gesamtturkologie von großer Bedeutung ist.

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Sigrid Kleinmichel, *Aufbruch aus orientalischen Dichtungstraditionen: Studien zur usbekischen Dramatik und Prosa zwischen 1910 und 1934*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993. 279 S.

Die in dieser literarhistorischen Arbeit behandelte Periode erstreckt sich über zweieinhalb Jahrzehnte, die im usbekischen Kulturleben — ja, in der turkestanischen Gesellschaft überhaupt — eine bewegte Übergangszeit waren. Den Ausgangspunkt dieser Periode bildet die Erscheinung der ersten modernen Theater- und Prosawerke auf jenem Gebiet, das jetzt den Staat Usbekistan ausmacht. Als Endpunkt gilt das Organisieren der usbekischen Schriftsteller nach sowjetsozialistischen Richtlinien. Danach, um die Mitte der dreißiger Jahre, wurde das politische und kulturelle Klima beträchtlich strenger, was die vorherige Periode als eine von großer Freiheit geprägte Entwicklungsphase erscheinen läßt. Dieser Umstand wird im vorliegenden Buch doch nicht besonders klar dargelegt, da die Verfasserin nicht deutlich genug die damals herrschende literarische Atmosphäre den immer härteren politischen Bedingungen gegenüberstellt. Manche im Westen veröffentlichten, hier aber nicht angeführten Arbeiten, wie „Uzbek Literary Politics“ (1964) vom amerikanischen Wissenschaftler Edward Allworth, geben in dieser Hinsicht bessere Auskunft. Die dem Buch zugrundeliegende Forschung wurde in der ehemaligen DDR ausgeführt und stützt sich vorzugsweise auf sowjetische, darunter auch usbekische, Quellen, die natürlicherweise andere Gesichtspunkte anlegen als die westlichen.

Die Entfaltung der neuen usbekischen Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts wird trotzdem sehr gut behandelt, besonders da sie fortlaufend im Verhältnis zur älteren Literatur und deren Stilformen betrachtet wird. Mehr als 70 Werke werden kommentiert und in vielen Fällen eingehend analysiert. Es gibt außerdem interessante Berichte über Theateraufführungen und deren Rezeption, ebenso wie Leser- und Kritikerreaktionen zu der schriftlichen Literatur während der untersuchten Periode.

Jahrhundertelang war die turkestanische Literatur sowohl der Form wie auch dem Inhalt nach ununterbrochen stereotyp verblieben, ohne Ansätze, sich in Diskussionen von gesellschaftsumwandelnden Prozessen zu engagieren. Das intellektuelle Erwachen im 19. Jahrhundert infolge von Kontakten mit pro-

gressiven Ideen im Ausland brachte Veränderungen mit sich, zuerst im Bildungswesen und später in anderen Sphären des Kulturlebens. Der Literatur kam eine neue Funktion zu. Sie wurde ein Instrument in den Anstrengungen, soziale Mißverhältnisse klarzulegen und zu bekämpfen.

In der vorrevolutionären mittelasiatischen Gesellschaft, wo das Analphabetentum immer noch sehr hoch war, bot das Theater einen besonders geeigneten Weg, der Bevölkerung die neuen Konzepte im großen Stil vorzuführen. Die Turkestane waren übrigens von jeher daran gewöhnt, sich Rezitationen anzuhören und sich Volksschauspiele (*qiziqčilik*, s. unten) anzusehen.

Die Themen der von Kleinmichel im ersten Kapitel ihres Buches besprochenen, als „Tragödien“ aufzufassenden Dramen spiegeln verschiedene Lebensbedingungen, die irgendwie Zwang und Unterdrückung von Individuen mit sich bringen (Eheschließung, Päderastie, veraltete kostspielige Traditionen wie Beschneidungsfeste usw.). Eines der frühesten Werke dieses Genres war *Padarkuš* ‘Der Vatermörder’ von Mahmudchüžā Behbudij (etwa 1912, danach 1913 in Samarkand veröffentlicht), ein in vielen Orten gespieltes Stück, das von mangelnder Erziehung, Sittenverfall, Trunksucht und Unfähigkeit, neue Begriffe zu verstehen und sich anzueignen handelt.

Der Kontrast zwischen einerseits Beschränktheit und Stagnation und andererseits Neudenken und Fortschritt ist ebenfalls das Grundthema in den satirischen Theaterstücken und Erzählungen, die in Kapitel II behandelt werden. Allmählich bekam die usbekische Literatur einen deutlicheren politischen Inhalt. Ökonomische Umgestaltungen, die Emanzipation der Frauen und antireligiöse Gedanken waren z. B. zeitgemäße Motive, die in den zwanziger Jahren auftraten. Eine hervorragende Persönlichkeit in diesem Zusammenhang war Hamza Hakimzoda Nijozi, der sog. Gründer des sozialistischen Theaters in Usbekistan.

Zugleich erschienen auch Dramen, die auf historische Ereignisse anspielten und verschlüsselte Kommentare zu der eigenen Gegenwart lieferten (Kap. III und IV). Dort waren spezifische soziale und nationale Angelegenheiten der Turkestane von größerem Interesse als der sozialistische Realismus, was bald Verdacht erregte und entsprechende Maßnahmen verursachen konnte. Wie im übrigen ist Kleinmichel sehr zurückhaltend in ihrer eigenen Beurteilung von dem diesbezüglichen Vorgang und dem Schicksal von Schriftstellern wie Fitrat und Čulpon, die zuweilen derartige Motive wählten und die beide zum Schweigen gebracht wurden.

Abdulla Qodirij, dem Autor des ersten usbekischen Romans — *Ütgan kunlar* ‘Vergangene Tage’ (1922–1926) — ist ein eigenes Kapitel (das letzte Kap. V) gewidmet. Dieser Schriftsteller gehört einer älteren Generation von usbekischen Intellektuellen an, die nach der Oktoberrevolution zwar an der Diskussion von soziopolitischen Fragen beteiligt waren, die aber von der Sowjetmacht nicht völlig anerkannt wurden. Qodirij wurde 1938 hingerichtet, was jetzt auch in Usbekistan öffentlich zugegeben wird (Kleinmichel gibt an einer Stelle einen anderen Zeitpunkt an, der offenbar beim Schreiben des Buches noch offizielles Todesdatum war). Jetzt sieht man Qodirij als einen großen usbekischen Verfasser an. Er hat auch sprachlichen Einfluß gehabt. Er schrieb in seinem eigenen Taschkenter Dialekt, der künftig den Grund der neuen usbekischen Literatursprache bildete. Das obenerwähnte Werk, *Ütgan kunlar*, ist ein Klassiker geworden und wird noch heute gelesen. Es ist ein historischer Roman. Sehr wahrscheinlich ist es vor allem die Anknüpfung an das traditionelle turkestani sche Leben, was dieses Werk so beliebt gemacht hat.

Sowohl *Ütgan kunlar* als auch der zweite Roman Qodirij, *Mehrobdan čajon* ‘Der Skorpion aus der Gebetsnische’ (1929), werden von Kleinmichel ausführlich besprochen, wobei die Verfasserin zu zeigen wünscht, wie Qodirij eine neue Art historischer Erzählform befestigte. Zwar werden weiterhin für die Turkestane traditionelle Themen, wie Brautwerbung und Hochzeit, behandelt und alte literarische Muster (Epen- und Märchenstrukturen) hie und da benutzt. Was aber außer der literarischen Form neu ist und seine Romane von sowohl älterer Literatur als auch früherer Geschichtsschreibung trennt, ist, daß die Handlung in einen sozialen und alltäglichen Kontext eingegliedert ist. Die Hauptfiguren sind außerdem psychologisch prägnanter gestaltet. Sie durchlaufen einen „Lernprozeß“ und werden sich in einem gewissen Grad dessen bewußt, wieviel die patriarchalische Struktur die Rechte und das Leben des Individuums einschränkt.

Abschließend kann folgendes festgehalten werden: Obgleich der Titel das Wort „Aufbruch“ enthält, wird in der vorliegenden Arbeit besonders betont, wie die usbekische Theater- und Prosakunst in ihrer ersten Entwicklungsphase immer wieder auf eigene Dichtungstraditionen zurückgriff, wenn auch europäische Genres die großen Vorbilder waren. Der unverkennbare Einfluß von den auf türksprachigem Boden weitverbreiteten Nasreddin-Anekdoten in vielen von den behandelten satirischen und spaßigen Werken wird klargelegt. Noch mehr wird die in sowohl Drama als auch Prosa gebrauchte *qiziqčilik*-Technik her-

vorgehoben, ursprünglich eine nach gegebenen Mustern improvisierende Lustspielkunst mit u.a. Verwechlungs- und Verwandlungskomik. Diese und andere einheimische Bühnentraditionen wurden weiter ausgebildet, nicht zuletzt bei dem schon erwähnten sozialistischen Schriftsteller und Regisseur Hamza Hakimzoda Nijozi.

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Laut- und Wortgeschichte der Türksprachen. Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums Berlin, 7. bis 10. Juli 1992. Hrsg. von Barbara Kellner-Heinkele und Marek Stachowski. Wiesbaden 1995.

Der vorliegende Band mit Tagungsbeiträgen ist Nummer 26 in der üppig sprießenden Reihe „Turcologica“ und aufgrund seiner Vielfältigkeit mit den meisten der vorangegangenen Bände auch thematisch verbunden. Die 14 Referate des Berliner Symposiums sind ebenso sehr methodologisch breitgestreut wie hinsichtlich der behandelten Sprachen und Fachgebiete.

Einen deutlichen Schwerpunkt bilden die lexikalischen Wechselbeziehungen zwischen türkischen und anderen Sprachen. Drei Artikel weisen schon im Titel auf diese Fragestellung hin.

In „Osmanisch-türkische und tatarische Lehnwörter im Polnischen und ihre Bedeutung für die türkische Wortgeschichte“ unterzieht STANISŁAW STACHOWSKI seinen Untersuchungsgegenstand einer Klassifikation erstens hinsichtlich der letztendlichen Herkunft der Lexeme, zweitens nach semantischen Gruppen und drittens nach der Morphologie, welche sie im Polnischen aufweisen. Anschließend an diesen theoretischen Überblick schenkt uns STACHOWSKI eine Liste der von ihm untersuchten polnischen Turzismen und Tatarismen, wobei diese mit ihrer Etymologie und dem Jahr bzw. Zeitraum der Entlehnung ins Polnische aufgeführt werden. Der Vorteil, daß die von STACHOWSKI benutzten Quellen datiert sind, ist nicht zu unterschätzen. Bei der Auswertung der Liste durch zukünftige Forscher können daraus mit Sicherheit wichtige (sprach)historische Anhaltspunkte gewonnen werden. Als Beispiel sei die interessante Form *bisurmanin* (S. 162) genannt. Vergleichbare mit dem Graphem im Anlaut geschriebene Varianten des Wortes für „Muslim“ (das letztlich auf arabisch *muslim* zurückgeht) sind laut STACHOWSKI schon seit 1558 im Polnischen belegt, die letzte von ihm aufgeführte Variante ist mit 1608 datiert. Dies scheint darauf hinzudeuten, daß es sich bei den --Formen um Archaismen handelt. Ein weiterer interessanter Fall ist, daß das Wort für „Jantschare“ in STACHOWSKIS Material *janczar* heißt (belegt bis 1678). Dies deutet auf eine hintere Aussprache des ersten Vokals der Kopiervorlage hin, wie er auch aus osmanischen Texten in nichtarabischen Schriften in dieser Zeit bekannt ist (wenngleich STACHOWSKI als etymologische Angabe in seinem Index die osmanische (bzw. türkeitürkische) Standard-Transkription *yeni çeri* anzuführen vorzieht). Hintergrund könnte der Einfluß des velaren Nasals /ŋ/ sein. Die Frage ist jedoch, inwieweit die zitierte polnische Form möglicherweise nicht auf eine osmanische, sondern vielmehr tatarische Quelle zurückgeht. Ein weiterer interessanter Eintrag ist polnisch *ogier* „Hengst“, das STACHOWSKI auf das entsprechende osmanische Lexem zurückführt (S.167), welches in der Standard-Transkription *a-* hat. Das <o>- in *ogier* könnte jedoch auch ein Reflex der für das Wolgatatarische so charakteristischen Anlautlabialisierung sein, zumal das Lexem als solches auch im Tatarischen existiert. Wie man sieht, eignet sich STACHOWSKIS Material vorzüglich als Fundstellen-Steinbruch für derartige und vergleichbare Fragestellungen. Die einzige Merkwürdigkeit des hervorragenden Beitrages scheint bei der Vorstellung der „Balkan-Turzismen“ des polnischen Schriftstellers T. T. Jeż unterlaufen zu sein (S. 156). Denn einerseits heißt es, diese kämen nur in den Werken dieses Literaten vor, während einige Zeilen später festgestellt wird: „Ein Teil der „Balkan-Turzismen“ von T. T. Jeż liegt auch im altpolnischen Schrifttum gut belegt vor.“ Ansonsten bleibt nur, mit STACHOWSKI zu hoffen, daß eines nicht allzufernen Tages ein historisches Wörterbuch der polnischen Turzimen und Tatarismen erscheinen wird.

ALEKSANDR A. ANIKIN behandelt die lexikalischen Wechselwirkungen des Russischen mit dem Jakutischen und den tungusischen Sprachen. ANIKINS Beitrag ist ein Auszug aus seiner umfassenderen Monographie zu diesem Thema aus dem Jahre 1990. Der Verfasser bezieht sich auf die russischen Dialekte, wodurch ein viel breiterer Lehngutschatz aus dem Jakutischen und den tungusischen Sprachen zutage-

tritt, als dies bei einer Beschränkung auf die Literatursprache der Fall wäre. ANIKINS Wortuntersuchungen eröffnen abgesehen von ihrem sprachwissenschaftlichen Wert auch wichtige Einblicke in die durch sie reflektierte Lebenswelt. Wie nicht anders zu erwarten, beziehen sich viele kopierte Wörter auf Jagd und Fischfang. Im Einzelfall bedarf es sicher noch eingehenderer ethnographischer Untersuchungen, etwa um den Realienhintergrund der von ANIKIN vertretenen semantischen Nähe von „Schnupftabak“ und „Kinderpenis“ in russisch *proška*, jakutisch *syččyr* völlig zu verstehen.

Auch in der Arbeit EUGENE HELIMSKIS geht es um Lehnwortbeziehungen der Türksprachen, diesmal mit den samojedischen Sprachen. Des Verfassers Checkliste türkisch-samojedischer und samojedisch-türkischer Lehnwörter greift einige der Fälle auf, denen laut HELIMSKI nicht schon von vorneherein Unzulässigkeit zu unterstellen ist, wie dies z. B. die Zusammenstellung von tuvinisch *xāy* „Nase“ mit der rekonstruierten protosamojedischen Form **pija* sei (S. 90). Die von HELIMSKI untersuchten Entlehnungen werden im Hinblick auf ihre phonetische wie auch semantische Plausibilität untersucht. Mit wenigen Ausnahmen (z.B. in Nr. 19 und 21) wird der geographische und zeitliche Rahmen, in dem die angenommenen Entlehnungen stattgefunden haben sollen, nicht beschrieben. Es liegt sicher außerhalb der Reichweite eines einzelnen Konferenzbeitrages wie HELIMSKIS *check-list*, diese Themenkreise zu behandeln. Doch könnte man die Frage stellen, ob die mehr oder weniger disparate Aufzählung von Lexemen anhand einer Liste nicht erst dann aussagekräftig wird, wenn die bei den einzelnen Lexemen vorgestellten Lautentwicklungen einer systematischen Synopse unterzogen werden. Diese würde dann sowohl eine Stellungnahme zu den lautlichen als auch zu den zeitlich-räumlichen Übergängen enthalten. Unter anderem könnte dies dazu dienen, beispielsweise die nostratische Vermutung HELIMSKIS auf S. 58 zu konkretisieren.

Abgesehen von den drei bisher behandelten Beiträgen, welche ihre Beschäftigung mit türkisch-anderssprachigen Wortschatzwanderungen schon im Titel verraten, berührt sich auch der Artikel ANNA DYBOS über „Die Namen des Zeigefingers in den Türk- und den altaischen Sprachen“ mit diesem Themenkreis. Sie verfolgt die Bezeichnungen des Zeigefingers durch die türkischen, mongolischen, mandschu-tungusischen Sprachen, zieht aber auch ein beachtliches Spektrum an nicht-altaischen Sprachen heran. Es geht ihr dabei im wesentlichen um die Darlegung der semantischen Konzepte, die den einsprachlichen Bezeichnungen für den Zeigefinger zugrundeliegen, sowie um Beziehungen zwischen diesen Konzepten. Einen wichtigen Platz nehmen dabei die „Spielnamen“ ein, welche die Finger erhalten können, wenn sie in volkstümlichen Erzählungen gewissermaßen personifiziert werden, z.B. „Schneeballente“ (S. 25). Mitunter dürfte schwer zu entscheiden sein, ob ein betreffendes semantisches Konzept auf Sprachkontakte (welcher Art auch immer) oder auf der schlichten Universalität des betreffenden Konzeptes in der außersprachlichen Realität zurückzuführen ist (als Beispiel kann das semantische Konzept „zeigen“ dienen („Zeigefinger“), welches in zahlreichen geographisch und historisch nicht miteinander verbundenen Sprachen wie dem Chinesischen und dem Lateinischen vorkommt). Um diese Frage zu beantworten, wird wohl erst noch in einem umfassenderen Rahmen geklärt werden müssen, inwieweit sprachliche Phänomene der sichtbaren und unsichtbaren Geschichte auf gemeinsame Ursprünge zurückgehen oder getrennt voneinander entstehen, ob alle noch so divergenten Sprachsysteme aus einem einzigen Ursystem weiterentwickelt wurden, oder ob die menschliche Spezies immer wieder *ad hoc* neue Sprachsysteme und -subsysteme quasi aus dem sprachlichen Nichts, d.h. allein anhand einer außersprachlichen Realität, hervorbringt. Betrachtet man die unterschiedlichen semantischen Konzepte für den Zeigefinger bei DYBO, erscheint ein differenziertes Bild, in dem beide Arten der Wort- und Bedeutungsschöpfung vorkommen. – Die Ausführungen DYBOS geben abgesehen von ihrem eigentlichen Thema gewissermaßen als Gratisgabe wichtige Einblicke in die Entstehung von Wörtern in Türksprachen (vgl. den weiter unten behandelten Beitrag von JOHANSON im vorliegenden Band). Insbesondere scheint die Volksetymologie dabei eine beträchtliche Rolle zu spielen. Die Richtung der Bedeutungsübertragung ist dabei anscheinend manchmal unklar. Könnte man das von DYBO angeführte türkeitürkische Dialektwort *başarat parmak* für Zeigefinger (S. 23) nicht mindestens ebensogut zur Ausgangsstufe einer Volksetymologisierung wie zu deren Ergebnis machen, also *başarat* „glücklich“ > *başara parmak* / *başala parmak* und nicht umgekehrt? Auf diese Weise fänden auch die ansonsten vielleicht ein wenig ungewöhnlich, nämlich wie Verben mit Ø-Morphem, aussehenden Formen *başara* und *başala* eine Erklärung. Ebenso könnte man im Zusammenhang mit der Quelle des türkeitürkischen *şehadet parmağı* „Zeigefinger“ (eigentlich „Glaubensbekenntnis-Finger“) fragen, ob der Ausdruck „Lehnübersetzung“ (S. 22) nur das arabische Element *şahāda* „Glaubensbekenntnis“ oder auch das kombinatorische Element „Finger des Glaubensbekenntnisses = Zeigefinger“ abdeckt. In gängigen arabischen Wörterbüchern (z.B. KAZIMIRSKI, LANE, WEHR) fin-

det sich unter der Wurzel *š-h-d* und der Wurzel *š-b-*, von der das gängigste Wort für „Finger“ gebildet wird, diese Kombination jedenfalls nicht. Hier bedürfte es näherer Recherche über das erste Auftreten der Wortzusammensetzung *şehadet parmağı* im Türkisch-Osmanischen und sich geographisch an das Verbreitungsgebiet dieser Idiome anschließenden Sprachen. Derartige sprachhistorische Feinheiten könnten das von DYBO projizierte Bild von den Namen des Zeigefingers auf dem eurasischen Kontinent noch weiter abrunden, wenngleich sie zugegebenermaßen über den Rahmen dieses Tagungsbeitrages hinausgehen. Eine weitere Kleinigkeit, die beim Lesen auffällt, ist folgendes. Die von DYBO wiederholt (S. 22, 30) zitierte Form *āṣba'* für „Finger“ ist in den oben erwähnten arabischen Wörterbüchern inmitten der zahlreichen Bildungen von der Wurzel *š-b-*, welche „Finger“ bedeuten, nicht zu finden. Handelt es sich bei der von DYBO zitierten Lautung um eine seltene Form oder vielleicht gar um ein Phantomwort? Zum Schluß der Besprechung sei gestattet, den dankenswerten Lesern noch mit einer kleinen formalistischen Lappalie die Zeit zu vertreiben. Der Artikel DYBOS ist zwar explizit für Spezialisten in der altaischen Frage geschrieben. Und aus diesem Grund verzichtet die Autorin auch darauf, die „in der altaischen etymologischen Literatur traditionell gewordenen“ (S. 35) Werke aufzulisten. Mit den Intima der Altaistik nicht Vertraute sind daher gehalten, Abkürzungen wie „SSTMJ“ und „VEWT“ gegebenenfalls auf eigene Faust zu dechiffrieren. Ein komplettes Literaturverzeichnis könnte hier viel Sucherei ersparen.

Einer der zentralen Artikel in dem vorliegenden Band ist der von LARS JOHANSON. Obwohl sein Titel „Wie entsteht ein türkisches Wort?“ lautet, beschäftigt er sich zu einem guten Teil mit dem aktuellen Stand der altaischen Frage. Nachdem auf die Zeit der pro-altaistischen Urväter wie RAMSTEDT und POPPE eine lange Phase intensiver Kritik an ihren Methoden und Ergebnissen gefolgt ist, stehen viele Forscher den verschiedenen Varianten der altaischen Urverwandtschafts-Hypothese mittlerweile reserviert bis ablehnend gegenüber. JOHANSON nimmt unter ihnen eine mäßigende Position ein. Er weist darauf hin, daß bei aller Kritik an umstrittenen Rekonstruktionen und Wortgleichungen der Pro-Altaisten gewisse Ergebnisse von deren Forschung nach wie vor Bestand hätten. Dem ist vollauf zuzustimmen – auch wenn sich die Hypothese von einer ursprünglichen altaischen Verwandtschaft nicht erhärten lassen sollte, bliebe das bisher von den Altaisten Geleistete ein unverzichtbarer Fundus für die typologische und universalistische Forschung. JOHANSON sieht die altaische Frage darüber hinaus nicht als eine ja/nein-Alternative von Urverwandtschaft oder nicht, sondern diagnostiziert durchaus eine gewisse Gemeinsamkeit zwischen diesen beiden Polen der klassischen Altaistik. Diese bestehe darin, daß namhafte Gegner und Befürworter den traditionellen radikalen Begriff der Urverwandtschaft zurückstellten und die Gemeinsamkeiten der altaischen Sprachen als Zeichen einer weiteren, andersgearteten Beziehung sähen. JOHANSON geht es zunächst um einige einfache methodische Klarstellungen, durch die er der altaistischen Diskussion neuen Boden unter den Füßen gewinnen will. So weist er darauf hin, daß das Fehlen eines Beweises für eine Elementgleichung nicht mit einem Beweis *dagegen* verwechselt werden darf. Überhaupt dürften Hinweise nicht mit Beweisen verwechselt werden. Bei der eher fragmentarischen Quellenlage in den potentiell altaischen Sprachen ist dies eine unabdingbare methodologische Voraussetzung. – Weiterhin lenkt JOHANSON die Aufmerksamkeit auf Kriterien, die bei der Aufstellung von Wortgleichungen erfüllt sein müssen: lautliche und semantische Übereinstimmung, Einfügen in die historisch-kulturellen und geographischen Umstände sowie die genaue Identifikation der grammatischen Funktion, welche die verglichenen Elemente jeweils in ihrer Sprache einnehmen. Die Anwendung dieser Kriterien demonstriert JOHANSON dann *en détail* am Beispiel der Entstehung (und dem Verschwinden) türkischer Wörter und grammatischer Elemente. Dabei wird deutlich, welche Faktoren der Anwendung von simplen Stammbaummodellen dabei im Wege stehen. Die Abwesenheit von lautlichen, morphologischen und morphotaktischen Gemeinsamkeiten kann beispielsweise mit der ursprünglichen Identität zweier Sprachstufen durchaus vereinbar sein, wie JOHANSON anhand von Beispielen zeigt. Hinzu kommen die von ihm vorgestellten möglichen Unregelmäßigkeiten in der internen („organischen“) und fremdbeeinflußten Entwicklung des Wortschatzes (z.B. areale, dialektale und kontaktlinguistische Faktoren). All diese Faktoren muß man laut JOHANSON sorgfältig beachten, bevor man die zu vergleichenden Einheiten postuliert. Analoges fordert er für den Bereich der Suffixe. Nach JOHANSON sind beispielsweise stammnahe Suffixe in der Regel älter und somit für die historische Analyse geeigneter. Die zahlreichen scharfsinnigen und konstruktiven Bemerkungen JOHANSONS können in diesem Rahmen unmöglich in ihrer Gesamtheit referiert werden, es sei mit dem Hinweis geendet, daß dieser Artikel ein absolutes Muß für jeden Altaisten ist.

„Relics of Altaic Stem-Final Vowels in Turkic“ von TALAT TEKİN deutet schon im Titel an, daß der

Autor ein Verteidiger einer altaischen Hypothese ist. Es geht um die mongolischen Entsprechungen türkischer Aoristvokale. Parallelen wie alttürkisch *sigar* „er drückt“ zu mongolisch *siga-* „drücken“ veranlaßten RAMSTEDT seinerzeit zu der Annahme, daß das *a* in beiden Fällen ein Überbleibsel eines nach dem Zerfall der altaischen Einheit untergegangenen proto-altaischen Stammauslautvokales sei. Dagegen wandte sich GERHARD DOERFER, der auf alttürkische Verben mit *a*-Aorist hinwies, denen im Mongolischen kein *a*-Verb entspreche (z.B. alttürkisch *ürk-är* „er schreckt zurück“ gegenüber dem mongolischen Verbalexem *ürgü-* „zurückschrecken“). TEKIN weist die Kritik DOERFERS mit der Begründung zurück, bei diesen Fällen von Nichtübereinstimmung habe sich der alttürkische *a*-Aorist erst später aus einem ursprünglichen anderen Aoristvokal entwickelt, welcher mit dem Stammauslaut des betreffenden mongolischen Verbes übereinstimme. Nach TEKIN ist also alttürkisch *ürk-är* < **ürk-ür*. Weitere Argumente TEKINS gegen DOERFERS Vorbehalte ergeben sich daraus, daß er andere Lexeme des Alttürkischen bzw. Mongolischen miteinander vergleicht als dieser. Auch wenn die Belege TEKINS für seine Meinung aus der Zeit vor dem Mongolensturm stammen, ist damit nicht zweifelsfrei erwiesen, daß es sich nicht – zumindest teilweise – um Entlehnungen handelt. Das gleiche gilt für die von TEKIN vorgestellten Verbmorphe. Trotz des beachtlichen Umfanges der von TEKIN aufgelisteten Entsprechungen bleiben außerdem Probleme des zeitlichen, historisch-kulturellen und arealen Hintergrundes offen. Es stellt sich außerdem die Frage nach einer lückenlosen Kette von Rekonstruktionen/Belegen vom Mongolischen bis zum Alttürkischen.

In dem Beitrag JOHANSONS klingt bereits ein Problem an, das CLAUS SCHÖNIG zum Thema seines *tour d'horizon* durch die Pronomen, Zahlwörter und Morpheme der Türksprachen macht: die Analogie als Faktor der Sprachentwicklung. Laut SCHÖNIG können die Unterschiede zwischen den Pronominal- und Personalsuffixsystemen der einzelnen Türksprachen als Folge von analogischen Bildungen betrachtet werden. So sei z.B. im System der Possessivsuffixe der Übergang von älterem (*I)mIz zu (*I*)bIz in gewissen Türksprachen als Analogie zum /b/-haltigen Personalpronomen der 1. Person Pl. zu erklären. Die Vielfalt von SCHÖNIGS Belegen ist eindrucksvoll und läßt kaum einen Zweifel daran, daß analoge Entwicklungen eine wichtige Rolle bei der Sprachentwicklung spielen. Am deutlichsten wird dies wohl bei den in Analogie zu den Einerzahlen gebildeten Zehnerzahlen. Doch SCHÖNIG geht es hier nicht um die theoretische Behandlung des Phänomens „Analogie“, sondern er liefert ein praktisches Kompendium analogiebedingter Phänomene aus den Türksprachen. Sein instruktiver Beitrag kann daher auch als *brush up* für Leser dienen, die ihr Wissen über gesamturkologische Zusammenhänge unter kompetenter Anleitung einmal auffrischen wollen. Die von SCHÖNIG vorgestellte Übersicht kann schließlich noch Anlaß zu weiteren Meditationen über die schon antike Frage der Analogie und deren Motivation bieten: Unter welchen Umständen kommt es zur Erneuerung sprachlicher Systeme durch Analogie? Wann ist Analogie Folge und wann die Voraussetzung sprachlicher Diversifikation? – In diesem Zusammenhang könnte auch auf die Normproblematik und die Rolle von Standardsprachen zu sprechen gekommen werden.*

Die Frage der Analogie kommt auch in dem anschließenden kurzen Beitrag von ALEKSANDR M. SHCHERBAK zur Sprache. In der Analogie sieht der Verfasser zumindest eine mögliche Erklärung für das Anfügen von Kasussuffixen an Adverbien und andere nichtflektierbare Wörter, wie es in vielen Türksprachen zu beobachten ist. Merkwürdig ist allerdings, daß SHCHERBAK dann auch Wörter wie gagauzisch *anni* ‘forehead’, *annisi* ‘his forehead’ (S. 152) anführt, die doch wohl kaum zu den Adverbien oder unflektierbaren Wörtern zu rechnen sind. In diesem Zusammenhang zählt SHCHERBAK eine ganze Reihe von Substantiven auf, die alle gemeinsam haben, daß es sich um inalienable Körperteile handelt. In der Inalienabilität dürfte auch die Erklärung für das nicht-referentielle Possessivsuffix liegen, welches diese Wörter aufweisen können. Die Motivation dieses Sonderfalles possessiver Suffixe geht somit auf eine semantische Besonderheit der suffigierten Wörter zurück, die sie markant von den indeklinablen Wörtern abhebt, welche der Autor im weiteren Verlauf seiner Darstellung behandelt. Bei vielen der letzteren handelt es sich um erstarnte Kasusformen, die zum Teil durchaus durch die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Kasussuffixes motiviert sein dürften. Nicht alles sind analoge Bildungen, wie baschkirisch *kenetten* zu mongolisch *keneten* (beides „plötzlich“), wobei die baschkirische Form sehr wahrscheinlich eine Analogiebildung zu anderen baschkirischen Adverbien auf den Ablativ *TAn* ist (z.B. *qabattan* „erneut“).

Ein Beitrag zur Konjugationsgeschichte des Osmanischen sowie zu dessen Periodisierung ist BARBARA FLEMMINGs Untersuchung zum altanatolisch-türkischen *IsAr*-Futur. Sie kommt zu dem interessanten Ergebnis, daß diese Form ungärt in der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts außer Gebrauch kam, dann im sechzehnten Jahrhundert neu belebt wurde, um danach schließlich abermals außer Gebrauch zu kommen. Eine weitere Frage, der FLEMMING ihre Aufmerksamkeit zuwendet, ist der nach dem semantischen Gehalt

von *IsAr*. Ihr Ergebnis lautet, daß dieses Morphem in allen belegten Phasen der osmanischen Sprachgeschichte sowohl temporale als auch verschiedene modale Bedeutungen haben kann, wobei beim gegenwärtigen Stand der Forschung noch nicht zu sagen sei, welche Faktoren die eine oder andere semantische Kategorie bestimmten (S. 57). Dieser Problemstellung wäre die Frage hinzuzufügen, ob es so etwas wie eine archetypische Bedeutung von *IsAr* überhaupt jemals gegeben hat. Dazu bedarf es sicherlich noch der von FLEMMING erhofften Steigerung bei der Edition altanatolisch-türkischer Manuskripte und Texte. Eine weitere Aufgabenstellung, die aber schon über den Bereich des Osmanischen hinausgeht, wäre, inwieviel im Sprachenvergleich temporale und modale Bedeutung bei „Futur“morphemen ineinander übergehen bzw. unter welchen Bedingungen man beides nicht mehr voneinander trennen kann.

Einer der wegweisendsten Artikel in dem vorliegenden Band ist zweifelsohne derjenige von JOST GIPPERT. Er stellt das Vorhaben eines Thesaurus des Türkeitürkischen vor, welches zur Zeit an der Universität Bamberg betrieben wird. Ohne Zweifel ist der Bereich der computergestützten linguistischen Analyse einer der zukunftsträchtigsten in der Linguistik überhaupt, und es ist nur zu hoffen, daß sich deren Fortschritte mindestens ebenso schnell in die turkologischen und sprachwissenschaftlichen Institute ausbreiten wie das Internet. Eine entscheidende Innovation des Bamberger Projektes besteht darin, die beim Arbeiten mit Scannern notorisch hohe Fehlerquote durch vorherige Einspeicherung sämtlicher grammatischer Varianten des betreffenden Lexems zu kompensieren. Anstatt die Fehllesungen des Scanners zu übernehmen, soll die Maschine das Eingelesene mit den eingespeicherten Flexionsformen vergleichen. Im Falle der Übereinstimmung soll dann ein fehlerfreies Einlesen ohne weitere Frageschleife möglich sein. Türkisch eignet sich aufgrund seiner bekannten agglutinierenden Struktur besonders gut für ein derartiges Vorhaben. Dennoch sind die Schwierigkeiten nicht gering. Zum Beispiel ist an die sich von Zeit zu Zeit ändernden Schreibnormen in der Türkei zu denken. Weiterhin sind zu den von GIPPERT aufgezählten möglichen Varianten konsonantisch auslautender Nominalstämme noch diejenigen (arabischen) zu ergänzen, die zwar der hinteren Vokalreihe angehören, bei Suffixantritt jedoch Suffixe der vorderen Reihe erhalten, wie z.B. *hal* „Zustand“, aber *hali* „sein Zustand“. Es gibt auch derartige der Vokalharmonie zuwiderlaufende arabische Wörter, bei denen ein ursprünglicher geminerter Konsonant wieder zutritt, wie z. B. *mahal* „Ort“, Genitiv *mahallin*. Die von GIPPERT aufgezählten Probleme scheinen jedoch überwindbar. So stellt wohl auch die eingeschränkte Kombinierbarkeit türkischer Suffixe kein Problem dar, da solche Formen in der Regel in Texten nicht auftreten (zu den unmöglichen verbalen Morphemkombinationen zählt *-dir-mış* übrigens nicht (S. 73), vgl. *verdirmış* „er ließ geben“). Insgesamt klingt GIPPERTS Projektbeschreibung sehr vielversprechend, und man kann dem Fach nur weitere derartige Projekte wünschen, damit die Ära, in der per Hand in erbsenzählerischer Manier Textkorpora nach einfachen Suffixen abgegrast werden müssen, bald ende. Da der vorliegende Band sich mit der Gesamtturkologie beschäftigt, sei es erlaubt, ins Publikum zu fragen, wie lange es bis zur Erstellung eines funktionsfähigen Scannersystems für in cyrillischen Buchstaben geschriebene Türksprachen dauert.

Die thematische Spannweite des Berliner Sammelbandes ist aber mit dem breiten Spektrum der bisher besprochenen Beiträge noch keineswegs erschöpft. Es folgen noch vier Untersuchungen, die von der Sprachbetrachtung mehr in die Untersuchung der (Kultur-)Geschichte der alten Türken übergehen.

ÁRPÁD BERTA versucht mit seiner Studie etwas mehr Licht in die überaus verworrenen sprachlichen und historischen Verhältnisse der alttürkischen (Sprach)geschichte zu bringen, indem er sich die beiden militärischen Termini *yälma* und *biňa* vornimmt. Im Gegensatz zu einer verbreiteten Etymologie faßt BERTA das Wort *biňa* nicht als mit dem türkischen bzw. mongolischen Wort für „1000“ zusammengehörig auf, sondern betrachtet es als Ableitung von alttürkisch *bin-* „aufsteigen“. BERTA ist aufgrund der doch recht spärlichen Textlage darauf angewiesen, aus seinen Quellen auch die mindesten Details in mühevoller Kleinanalyse herauszumeißeln. Er vertritt hinsichtlich der Heeresordnung der Alttürken die Ansicht, daß sie über die Einteilung in Späher und einer amorphen Kriegermasse noch weitere Strukturen aufwies. Diese wahrscheinliche Hypothese zu untermauern, bedarf allerdings noch weiterer sprachhistorischer Knochenarbeit. Es könnte sich dabei auch herausstellen, daß die Heeresordnung der Türken durchaus variierte, je nachdem wo, wann und gegen wen sie kämpften.

Zu den kürzeren, aber nichtsdestoweniger faszinierendsten Untersuchungen im vorliegenden Band gehört EDWARD TRYJARSKIS kritische Diskussion jüngster Entzifferungsvorschläge für die eurasischen Runenschriftdenkmäler. Diese verteilen sich über ein riesiges Gebiet zwischen Zentralasien und Ungarn. Bedenkt man, daß die Ungarn vor ihrer Landnahme lange Zeit mit türkischen Völkern zusammenlebten und sich das Herrschaftsgebiet türkischer Stämme in der Spätantike über ganz Zentralasien erstreckte, ist die Hypothese naheliegend, es handele sich insgesamt um Varianten der bekannten alttürkischen Orchon-

und Jenisseimonumente. Für viele dieser Denkmäler wird Verwandtschaft mit den alttürkischen Runendenkmälern denn auch vorgeschlagen, was jedoch oft nicht beweisbar ist. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmet TRYJARSKI einer 1989 auf russisch erschienen Arbeit von S. J. BAJČOROV, in der dieser eine kohärente Interpretation einer Reihe bereits bekannter sowie einiger bisher noch unediterter Inschriften gebe. BAJČOROV sieht in gewissen Felsinschriften im Nordkaukasus Monamente uigurischen Schrifttums. TRYJARSKI meldet jedoch erhebliche Zweifel sowohl an der Methodik als auch an den Editionen BAJČOROVS an. TRYJARSKI hebt zu Recht hervor, wie fragwürdig BAJČOROVs Datierung dieser „uigurischen“ Denkmäler auf die Zeit nach der Entstehung der ersten hunnischen Föderation (375 n. Chr. folgende) ist – zu dieser Zeit ist nichts von einer uigurischen Präsenz im Nordkaukasus, geschweige denn von einer uigurischen Schriftlichkeit bekannt. Die ersten Steininschriften in uigurischer Schrift stammen erst aus dem 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr. BAJČOROVs Editionen seien teilweise unsauber, enthielten Abschreibefehler und manche photographischen Reproduktionen erweckten sogar den Anschein, retuschiert zu sein (S. 193), bemängelt TRYJARSKI. Die am Ende seines Artikels von TRYJARSKI wiedergegebenen Schriftproben, z. T. handschriftliche Kopien von BAJČOROV, weisen beträchtliche Unterschiede auf und legen Zeugnis ab für die Notwendigkeit zusätzlicher autoptischer und photographischer Inaugenscheinnahme dieser Monamente durch weitere Forscher. Erst dann wird man vielleicht einer der möglichen Deutungsmöglichkeiten dieser Schriftfragmente das Übergewicht geben können, sie datieren und somit auch die Wahrscheinlichkeit von Fälschungen verneinen können, die aufgrund des steinernen Materials und der Kürze der Inschriften m. E. prinzipiell weitaus schwerer auszuschließen ist als etwa bei längeren Dokumenten aus organischem Material wie Stiftungsurkunden. TRYJARSKIS Bericht über das spannende Forschungsbereich der eurasischen Runenschriften sollte auch als ein Aufruf zu einer vergleichenden Neuausgabe aller relevanten Monamente mit Faksimilia unter Darstellung der verschiedenen Deutungsvorschläge gelesen werden.

Eine Neuedition einer zuvor bereits mehrfach edierten alttürkischen Inschrift aus der Mongolei liefert ALEKSANDR SHCHERBAK in seinem zweiten Beitrag für den besprochenen Band. Der Verfasser datiert die Inschrift spätestens auf die Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts, was er mit dem archaischen Charakter von Schrift und Sprache der Inschrift sowie mit dem Vorkommen des Volksnamens „Türgeš“ recht plausibel begründet. Man mag sich der Meinung SHCHERBAKS, bei in der Inschrift vorkommenden Formen wie *Tatarta süledim*, „I went against the Tatar“ (S. 148) handele es sich um Kurzformen von Ausdrücken mit der Postposition *tapa*, „nach“, anschließen oder auch nicht – Tatsache bleibt, daß Formen wie das zitierte *Tatarta* mit dem (Ablativ-)Lokativ zusammenfallen. Auch wenn es zutreffen mag, daß *tapa* in alttürkischen Inschriften überwiegend bei Ethnonymen verwendet wird, so gilt diese Einschränkung jedoch kaum für das direktive *-da*, wie Beispiele nach dem Muster von uigurisch *qınlıqta kir-*, „ins Gefängnis kommen“ (siehe ŞINASI TEKİN: Kuansi İm Pusar. Ankara 1993. S. 42) zeigen. Die modernen Türkischen sind bei der Klärung solcher Fragen der alttürkischen Grammatik selbstverständlich nicht beweiskräftig, doch sei auf vergleichbare Phänomene beispielsweise im Baschkirischen hingewiesen, wo man für „Komm her!“ *binda kil* sagt. Baschkirisch *binda* wird sonst auch in der Bedeutung eines ortsfesten „hier“ verwendet. Um die überwiegend bei Pronomen auftretenden baschkirischen Konstruktionen dieses Typs zu verstehen, wird man auf Material wie das von SHCHERBAK präsentierte zurückgreifen müssen.

Den Abschluß dieses gelungenen Sammelbandes bildet eine Betrachtung PETER ZIEMES über „Die Alttürkischen Planetennamen“. Der Verfasser geht auf Einzelheiten der Planetenbezeichnungen ein, welche die alten Türken aus dem indischen Kulturkreis, aus dem Chinesischen und Sogdischen übernommen haben. Die unterschiedliche Herkunft der Planetennamen liefert zum einen Hinweise zur Einordnung von Texten, zum anderen können, wie ZIEME zusammenfaßt, die entlehnten alttürkischen Planetennamen selbst dann noch Übersetzungsschwierigkeiten bereiten, wenn man die unmittelbare Textquelle kennt, aus der sie entlehnt wurden.

Zum Schluß muß noch ein großer Dank der Initiative und dem Fleiß des Herausgeberduos gelten, unter deren Leitung die Berliner Tagung stattfinden und dieser gelungene Sammelband überhaupt erst entstehen konnte.

Michael Hess
Mainz

Edward Tryjarski, *Kultura ludów tureckich w świetle przekazu Małmūda z Kaszgaru* (XI w.). Warszawa 1993. (Polska Akademia Nauk. Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii. Komitet nauk orientalistycznych). 364 pp. + 2 maps.

The revelation in 1917 in Istanbul of the existence of a manuscript in Arabic depicting the culture of the Turks of Central Asia in the Middle Ages was something of a sensation. Since then there have appeared several editions of the text of this manuscript, numerous erudite articles on its contents and a few translations. The title of this priceless work is *Divan Lughat at-turk*, written by Mahmud al-Kashghari, a learned Islamic scholar of the Karakhanid epoch, who completed his *Divan* in 1077 A.D. His name would indicate Kashghar as his origin and birthplace. He was however born in a place called Barsghan on the southern shores of Lake Issik-Kul, in the present-day republic of Kirgizia. He may have taken the name al-Kashghari as the basic element in his *divan* as the language spoken in Kashghar. He considered it to be his mother tongue. The *Divan Lughat at-turk* can be described as an explanatory encyclopaedic dictionary containing records of the languages of the Turk peoples, including the Oghuz and Qipchaq tribes, of the Karakhanid epoch and area. The author's main purpose is linguistic. However, the explanatory character of his *divan* gives us rich material related to the history, tribal names, folklore, and especially poetry and proverbs, of the Turkic peoples of the area. Mahmud al-Kashghari's encyclopaedic work is thus both linguistic, ethnological and historical.

Edward Tryjarski, the well-known Polish Orientalist and Turcologist, has taken the arduous task of extracting and analyzing the explanatory material in al-Kashghari's *divan* in order to show its value and importance for research in different branches of the humanities. The result is an impressive volume in Polish, published by the Polish Academy of Sciences, with the title "The Culture of the Turk Peoples in the Light of Evidence from Mahmud al-Kashghari". 'Culture' is interpreted in a wide sense, to include inanimate nature and the animal and plant kingdoms. Then follow chapters connected to man: land, populations, economy, social ties, family, tradition; political and juridical systems; army and the art of war; intellectual culture; beliefs; artistic production, entertainment. In conclusion there are chapters on peoples and languages. All the items referred to here are dealt with in detail, so as to show what information Mahmud al-Kashghari has to offer on the Turk peoples in Central Asia in the 11th century. Included are the pertinent linguistic terms occurring in the *divan*. Of special value is the introductory chapter on Mahmud al-Kashghari, his times and life, which includes a list of selected literature, dealing with the *divan* and its author. Tryjarski has furthermore supplied all the different chapters of his book with references to the existing literature in the respective fields. This will be of immense help to the student doing research in this area.

Tryjarski's book is published in Polish, which will make it inaccessible to many, or even most turcologists, and other scholars in the humanities. My hope is that there will be an English translation of this outstanding treatise which should have every chance of becoming a standard work of lasting value.

Gunnar Jarring
Viken

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