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Contents

Al-ghazâl shaqqa l-harîq and a Strange Poem by Abraham ibn Ezra

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Among the strophic poems by the Hispano-Jewish polymath and poet Abraham ibn Ezra (1087–1164), the poem *Minnĕdôd âmûn* stands out because of its singular structure. Like any *muwashshaha*, it closes with a colloquial *kharja*, but not only this: the second line of the *asmât* is wholly or in part in Arabic. The poem has five strophes, deploring the absence of a certain Isaac, who is eulogized in the third and fourth strophes: [1]

For the absence of the one reared on the lap of lordship, misfortunes pursue me, *and they win the race.*

He left me, and sleep left my eye; my eye is extinguished from bewailing the absence of his brilliant daylight: he is the sun for those that behold him, the sun for those that seek his door. The fibres of my heart, which he left in the pangs of separation, are torn, and the heart *flutters like the wings of a bird.*

I have suffered enough from the armies of rebellious Time, which spread out and looted my glory, and rendered an unjust judgement against me. Do not believe in Time, for its upheavals never cease: one day it speaks to you with a smooth tongue and utters sweet words, while *the next day it shoots its sharp arrows at you.*

Isaac is the lord of his people and a miracle of his times. He is the peg on which wisdom is safely hung. Through him the bitterness which fills me turns into the sweetness of Manna. When the river-bed of justice deceives and its water dries up, *through him it again flows richly.*

Standard of graces! You unite all the camps of wisdom, intellect and understanding. These dwell in you, for it was they who nursed you since the days of your youth. Princes, give up your vain efforts! *It is through him that the world of greatness receives its splendour.*

My soul be the ransom of the graceful gazelle, who was distressed on the day when her maid came back with empty hands from her errand, not having found the quarry which she hoped for:

The gazelle ran through the burning field, with the hounds hot on its trail. O how sorry I am that the noble quarry could not be overtaken!

The *kharja*, beginning with the words *al-ghazâl shaqqa l-harîq*, belongs to the best-known *kharajât*, found also in five more or less contemporary poems in Arabic:

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[1] The text of the poem is given below from Abraham ibn Ezra, 1886:84–85 (poem 191; = *Text 1*). It is also found with a German translation in Abraham ibn Ezra, 1885–1894:111–113 (poem 69). Quoted here is the translation in Abraham ibn Ezra, 1959:374. The Arabic words are in italics. It should be noted that the third part of the *matla'* is obviously defective, a word of preferably two syllables missing. It is, of course, impossible to know whether the missing word was in Arabic or in Hebrew. The matter is commented upon in Abraham ibn Ezra, 1885–1894:111.

one by Ibn Sharaf (second half of the 12th century),[2] one by Ibn Baqî (dead 1145 or 1150),[3] two by Ibn Quzmân (dead 1160),[4] and one by Ibn al-Ṣayrafî (dead 1174).[5] In the following pages, the origin of this *kharja* is discussed, as well as the strange structure of the Hebrew poem.[6]

Al-ghazâl shaqqa l-ḥarîq: A lost poem?

In the last strophe of his poem 16, Ibn Quzmân states that he has borrowed the *kharja* of the poem from Ibn Baqî:

> ... *márkazu min márkazattawšíḥ / labán baqí:*
> "*'algazál [šaqq]alḥaríq / wassaláliq tarhaqu ...*[7]

... its *markaz* is from the *markaz* of Ibn Baqî's poem:
'The gazelle ran through the burning field, with the hounds hot on its trail ...'

The fame of this poem spread to the Orient, as the Egyptian *littérateur* Ibn Sanâ' al-Mulk (dead 1211) included it as a model in his collection. Likewise the Yemenite collector of Abraham ibn Ezra's *diwân* added the following heading for the poem discussed here: *Wa-qâla ayḍan z(ikrônô) l(ivrâkâ) 'amalahu 'alâ wazn bi abî aḥwâ rashîq / fi l-hawâ lâ [yushfiqu]* ('And he furthermore said: he (of blessed memory) composed this in the metre of "I would give my father in ransom for the slender one who does not pity when it comes to love"'), once again referring to Ibn Baqî's poem.[8]

In his poem 56, however, Ibn Quzmân adds an even more interesting note:

> ... *'ay zujáyyal qúltu fík / wamalíḥ ja,* warraśúl!
> *wa'amaltu fi 'arúḍ / "algazál šaqqaalḥaríq"*[9]

... what a nice little *zajal* I have made for you, and, by the Prophet, it ends nicely!
And I have made it *fi 'arúḍ* 'The gazelle ran through the burning field'.

There is reason to believe that *'arûḍ* should rather be translated 'melody' here[10] and that what follows is the *incipit* of a well-known poem. This is corroborated from the heading of a still unpublished (?) Hebrew religious poem from the Cairo Genizah by a certain Joseph: *aḥar laḥn al-ghazâl shaqqa l-ḥarîq* ('After the melody of "The gazelle ran through the burning field"').[11]

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[2] Ibn al-Khaṭîb, 1997:115–117 (poem 1).The date here is given from Hartmann, 1897:58.

[3] Ibn Sanâ' al-Mulk, 1949:58–59 (poem 14).

[4] Ibn Quzmân, 1980:118–121 (poem 16), 370–375 (poem 56).

[5] Ibn al-Khaṭîb, 1997:147–149 (poem 2).

[6] The *kharja* is not transcribed here, owing to the textual problems that still remain. The reader is so far referred to Corriente, 1987:228 (no. 68), and Corriente & Sáenz-Badillos, 1996:289 (footnote 48).

[7] Quoted from Ibn Quzmân, 1980:121. *Markaz* is, in this context, synonymous with *kharja*.

[8] Quoted from Abraham ibn Ezra, 1959: 385. I have, however, corrected the note after Ibn Baqî's poem. In the original, strangely enough, *yulḥalqu* from the *kharja*.

[9] Quoted from Ibn Quzmân, 1980:375.

[10] For this, see Dozy, *s.v.*, and Wulstan, 1994:150–153, where the same conclusion is reached from another point of view.

[11] Schirmann, 1965:259. The Hebrew poem begins *lî yĕdîdî wa-'ănî lô*, 'Mine is my beloved, and I am

By now, enough evidence has been collected indicating that poets quite fre-
quently picked the *maṭla‘* of an earlier poem, whether it was a *qaṣîda* or a strophic
poem, and used it as *kharja*. But the choice of the *maṭla‘* of a *qaṣîda* or a *muwash-
shaḥa* meant, by definition, that the *kharja* of the new poem was to be in Classical
Arabic, *i‘râb* (or in Hebrew, in poems by Jewish poets). The *kharja* would be in
laḥn only when lines from such a poem in *laḥn* were chosen. Owing to the preju-
dices against such poetry, however, barely any poems of this kind before Ibn Quz-
mân have survived. To this should be added the obvious sense of inferiority in rela-
tion to Oriental poetry that Andalusian *literati* apparently had, and that even created
a specific literary genre, *faḍl al-Andalus*. The very title of the work in which *mu-
washshaḥ*-poetry is mentioned for the first time mirrors this sense of inferiority:
Al-dhakhîra fî maḥâsin ahl al-jazîra, "The treasury of excellent qualities of the peo-
ple of the Peninsula" by Ibn Bassâm. This does not mean that there was no earlier
laḥn-poetry. Nor does it mean that all such poetry was "popular" in the sense that it
was created by and circulated among unlettered people. Ibn Quzmân's *azjâl* are lit-
erary exercises, and there is every reason to believe that at least part of the now lost
laḥn-poetry also was literary exercises. The absence of this kind of poetry in the an-
thologies is rather due to the taste of the anthologists than to the skill of the poets.
Here, as well as in other respects, the notes concerning *wazn, laḥn,* and *‘arûḍ* pre-
ceding poems would provide valuable information in spotting this poetry. Such
notes, however, are more often than not deleted even in scholarly editions.[12]

Minnĕdôd âmûn: A "*glosa*"?

It is thus more or less clear that the lines on the poor hunted gazelle that eventually
escaped her persecutors are the introduction of a now lost poem. But what about the
lines in Arabic in the *asmâṭ* in Abraham ibn Ezra's poem? It is here tempting to put
the poem into the context of the technique of glossing a pre-existing text, whether it
was a poem or not.

Glossing pre-existing texts was popular in medieval European literary tradition as
well as in Arabic literature. The tropes in Latin literature in Europe provide a good
example. By inserting lines into the basic liturgical texts of Holy Mass, these texts
were commented upon and re-interpreted. Thus in a trope on the antiphon for Epiph-
any, *Ecce advenit dominator Dominus et regnum in manu eius et potestas et imper-
ium*, "Behold, the Lord and the Ruler has come, the kingdom is in His hand, and the
power and the empire":

> *Hodie regi magno magi munera obtulerunt.*
> *Hodie filius Dei ab Iohanne in Iordane baptizari voluit.*
> *Hodie Iesus Christus aquam mutavit vinum.*
> *Omnes una voce cantemus dicentes:*
> *ECCE ADVENIT DOMINATOR DOMINUS.*
> *Hodie mystica munera trinam declararunt personam.*
> *ET REGNUM IN MANU EIUS.*

His'. A list of the melodies mentioned in the poems from the Genizah appears in Schirmann, 1965:500–
501.

[12] The whole matter is discussed in Monroe, 1986, and see also Almbladh, 1998.

Hodie caelesti sponso iuguntur ecclesia
quia Christus in Iordane lavit eius crimina.
Ipsi gloria
ET POTESTAS ET IMPERIUM.

Today the Magi brought gifts to the great King.
Today the Son of God wanted to be baptized by John in the Jordan.
Today Jesus made water into wine.
Let all of us sing unanimously:
BEHOLD THE LORD AND THE RULER HAS COME.

Today the mysterious gifts proclaimed His Trinity
AND THE KINGDOM IS IN HIS HAND

Today the Church is united with her celestial spouse
for Christ has washed away her sins in the Jordan.
To Him be the glory
AND THE POWER AND THE EMPIRE.[13]

Turning to Iberian soil, a similar secular genre in Castilian, *glosa*, arose in the 14th century. In Arabic literature, the *takhmîs* should be mentioned here. It is usually said to be attested from the 14th century as well. The poems in which the Oriental theoretician Ṣafi al-Dīn al-Ḥillî (dead 1351) glosses the famous *nûniyya* by Ibn Zaydun are usually cited here. There is also at least one Andalusian poem glossing the *nûniyya* by the 14th-century poet Ibn Wakîl.[14] Andalusian poems glossing compositions by Ibn al-Khaṭîb (dead 1374) have also been adduced.[15] When such poems appeared in *al-Andalus* is obviously not known. To the point here is, however, a poem by Ibn Abdûn, who served as secretary at the court of al-Mutawakkil in Badajoz and who died in 1129 or 1134.[16] Ibn Saʿîd al-Maghribî quotes a short poem of his in which he inserted hemistichs from the *muʿallaqa* by Imruʾ al-Qays:

O thou exalted mightily
On either line of ancestry,
As in a bowl the bubbles rise
Successively to kiss the skies:

The lodge wherein thy servant dwells
In no particular excels
Loved Salma's lodgings at Dhul Khal
Where desolation covers all.

When he beheld them, tumble-down,
He hailed his lodgings with a frown:
'Good morrow to you, and good day,
Poor ruins crumbling to decay!'

[13] For the tropes, see the standard reference works on Medieval Latin literature. The trope here is quoted from Iversen, 1986:120. The translation into English is mine.
[14] For his dates, see Hartmann, 1897:58–59. The first and last strophes of the poem are quoted in Nykl. 1946:121.
[15] *Takhmîs* is a kind of *musammaṭ*, see *EI2, s.v.* For the poems glossing Ibn al-Khaṭîb, see García Gómez, 1941.
[16] On him, see Nykl, 1946:175–179.

> The ruins, knowing well to speak,
> Responded with a plaintive squeak:
> *'What glad good morrow can there be*
> *for veterans as worn as we?'*
>
> Command the churl who billets you
> to be a bit more generous;
> *The fellow is a raving fool,*
> *And cannot even work to rule.*[17]

This is not the first example of this type of *taḍmîn* or poetical quotation. On the contrary it was in vogue among Oriental poets in the 9th century, and among them precisely the *muʻallaqa* by Imru' al-Qays was a favoured source.[18] Here, as well as in other matters, the Andalusian poets emulated their Oriental teachers.

With this in mind, it is, of course, tempting to suggest that the lines in Arabic in Abraham ibn Ezra's poem are also quoted from the poem on the gazelle. Although nothing can be said of the order of the lines, a transcript of the fragments from the printed text is shown below (= Text 3). Two emendations have been made, *viz.* *ghazâl* instead of *ghzl* in the printed text (line 1), and *janâḥ* instead of *j'nḥ* (line 3).[19]

Minnĕdôd âmûn: A *muzannam*?

One final observation can be made concerning this poem. There are a few *muwashshahât* that "break the norm" in so far as not only the *kharja* is in colloquial language but also other *asmâṭ* as well. Thus, in a poem by the poet and king of Seville, al-Muʻtamid (dead in captivity in North Africa in 1095), also the last but one *simṭ* is in *laḥn*, while the *kharja* has Romance elements.[20] This small group of poems has been connected with the discussion by al-Ḥillî in his work on the *zajal*, *Al-'Âṭil al-ḥâlî*. There he mentions a hybrid between *muwashshaḥ*, i.e. poetry in *i'râb* except for the *kharja* that should be in *laḥn*, and *zajal* that is wholly in *laḥn*, calling this hybrid *muzannam*.[21] This, of course, created difficulties for a Jewish poet who wanted to compose such a poem: while the Biblicizing language of the Hebrew poetry was the language of prestige and fulfilled the *function* of *i'râb*, there was no Hebrew *laḥn*. One solution would be to insert Arabic lines into the body of the poem. This would reflect the special Jewish *diglossia* in the Arab-speaking Islamic world, where by this time Hebrew as the language of prestige was used in poetry with Arabic, whether *i'râb* or *laḥn*, fulfilling the function of *laḥn*.

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[17] Quoted from Ibn Saʻîd al-Maghribî, 1953:44–45, with the lines from the *muʻallaqa* in italics. For the Arabic text, see below *Text 2* (from Ibn Saʻîd al-Maghribî, 1978:32). The poem is dedicated to al-Mutawakkil.

[18] Sanni, 1998:10.

[19] It should be remembered that Abraham ibn Ezra's secular poems still await a proper edition.

[20] Ibn Bishrî, 1992:519–521 (= poem 347).

[21] Zwartjes, 1997:36–38, 51–53.

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משרה יאבקו　　　מנדוד אמון בחיק
ולכנהם אלסבק　　　עמי תלאות
　　　נרד ושבעה נדודים עיני אחריו
　　　נם בכתה מבכות מפקד ימי זהריו
　　　שמש לרואיו וכן שמש למשחריו
פירוד ינתקו　　　הה לבב עזב בצוק
אלסיד ינפק　　　תומיו ומהל נאנח
　　　די לי בצבאות זמן ממד אשר פשטו
　　　בזו כבודי ודין עול בי שפטו
　　　אל תאמן בו. ותהמוכיו ולא שקטו

15　אך לך יום יחליק　　　לשון ואם מתקו
　　　מליו נרא סינר　　　סהמא בה תרשק
　　　אכן יצחק נביר עמו ואות הזמן
　　　יתד לחכמות תקועות מקום נאמן
　　　שבו מרורים אשר אשבע מתוקים כמן
20　יום אשר כזב אפיק　　　צדק ואם נעתקו
　　　מימי ויבשו פקד　　　אצחי בה יפהק
　　　דגל חסדים מאסף את לכל מחנות
　　　חכמה ושכל ובין ובקרבך שוכנות
　　　כי מנעורים לך נושאות כמו אומנות
25　אל תהיו יונעים לריק　　　שרים והתאספקו
　　　הדא אלדי עאלם　　　אלעלא בה ישרק
　　　אפדה בנפשי צבית הן אשר אזרה
　　　יום שוב דלתים אשר היא שלחה נערה
　　　ריקם ולא מצאה ציד אשר שברה
30　אלגזל שק אלחריק　　　ואלסלאלק תרהק
　　　מא חזני אלא חריר　　　אדא לם ילחק.

Text 1. Abraham ibn Ezra, 1886 (poem 191).

[68] أيا ساميًا مد جانبيْهِ كليهما
«سُمُوَّ حَباب الماء حالَّ على حال۔
لعبدك دار حلّ فيها كانّها¹
«ديارُ لِسُلْمَى عافيات بذى آلخال۔
يقول لـها لـمّا رأى مد دثـورها
«الا اَنْعَمْ صباحًا ايّها الـطـلـل البالى۔
فقالت وما عيّت جوابًا بردّها
«وهل يَنْعَمْ مَنْ كان فى العُصُر الـحالى۔
فُمُرْ صاحب الإنزال فيها بـفاضل
«فإنّ الفـتـى يُهْدِى وليس بـفـعّـال۔

1　Ms.: كأنّه.

Text 2. Ibn Abdûn *apud* Ibn Saʿîd al-Maghribî, 1978.

אלגזאל שק אלחריק ואלסלאלק תרהק　מא חזני אלא חריר אדא לם ילחק
ולכנהם אלסבק
ומתל גנאה אלטיר יכפק
גדא פיגר סהמא בה תרשק
פקד אצחי בה יפהק
הדא אלדי עאלם אלעלא בה ישרק

Text 3. Transcript of the lines in Arabic in the poem by Abraham ibn Ezra (Abraham ibn Ezra, 1886).

Prepositions with verbal functions in Arabic

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The purpose of this paper is to give an account of the dual function that ʕənd fulfils in Arabic. ʕənd is traditionally defined as a preposition[1] in its nature, but its function far exceeds this limitation. On this account, both semantic and syntactic aspects are considered in this paper, which is intended to highlight the distinction between the two functions and to demonstrate that, while ʕənd remains a closed-class item for the role of a preposition, by contrast the function of the verb[2] *have*, which is non-existent in Arabic, it is leveraged by Agreement (AGR). AGR, undoubtedly a feature carried by verbs, is also shown to be crucial to the selection of arguments. Furthermore, it will take on board Ouhalla's assumption (1988, 91, 94), which explains the agreement facts within a model in which the ordering of functional categories, such as TNS and AGR, follows the Mirror Principle.[3] This posits that TNS occurs higher than AGR in Arabic. In this paper, I shall argue that the deletion process under present/timeless reference provides an account of the precedence of AGR[4] over TNS within the INFL framework. For this purpose, the following string of examples will be used to illustrate my point.

(1) *əl-bənt*   *ʕənd*   *əl-baħr*
     the-girl   at   the-sea
     The girl is by the sea.

(2) *əl-wəld*   *ʕənd*   *əʃ-ʃaʒra*
     the-boy   at   the-tree
     The boy is by the tree.

(3) *əl-bənt*   *ʕənd-ha*   *kitɛb*
     the -girl   to-her   book
     The girl has a book.

(4) *hija*   *ʕənd-ha*   *kitɛb*
     she   to-her   book
     She has a book.

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[1] See H. Wise 1975: 193.

[2] "The word ʕind 'in the possession of', in the sense of English have, combines with pronoun endings to produce the following forms … ʕindi: in my possession, I have …" (Rice and Sa'id 1960: 74–75). ʕənd remains a preposition in nature and a verb only in function. It is worth noting that this feature is not peculiar to Arabic. Languages like Russian (Lyons 1971: 392–95) and Hebrew (Rapoport 1987) and various other languages exhibit similar patterns.

[3] See Baker (1988).

[4] A similar view is expressed in Rizzi (1990: 34).

(5)   ʕənd-ha   kitɛb
      to-her   book
      She has a book.

(6)   əl-wəld   ʕənd-əh   qaləm
      the -boy   to -him   a-pen
      The boy has a pen.

(7)   huwa   ʕənd-əh   qaləm
      he   to -him   pen
      He has a pen.

(8)   ʕənd-əh   qaləm
      to -him   pen
      He has a pen.

The acceptability of the above clauses derives from the assumption that they derive from underlying verbal[5] structures. Given the absence of verbs in (1)–(8), the temporal context does not play a major role and is marked [-TNS]. The INFL feature is licensed somehow by the AGR feature, which plays a salient role in the contrast of the constructions under consideration. Like all other heads, INFL can take any phrasal category as a complement, as illustrated in (9).

(9)   IP
                        _____
                   Spec   I'
                                         _____
                              I   XP
                                                 _____
                                           [+AGR]   [−TNS]
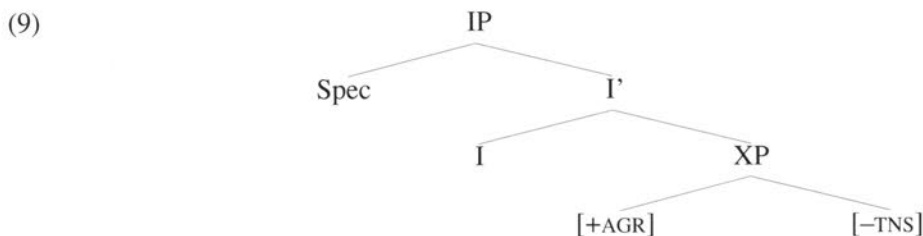
I claimed earlier that AGR is higher than TNS. This proposal stems from the fact that I is assigned XP (VP, NP, PP ...) as a sister node. This linear order suggests that there are instances in which I is not followed by VP, which by default means tense. While tense may be missing, AGR cannot, as suggested by the examples above. This line of reasoning supports the claim that AGR is higher than TNS in Arabic.

ʕənd with a prepostional function

Contextually speaking, (1) and (2) above show ʕənd in the role of a space builder establishing a temporal relation between the entity əl bənt and əl bahr, with the latter seen as the landmark. This is demonstrated by the fact that it plays the role of nucleus, to which the other elements are attached and on which the meaning of the sentence depends, as its absence below demonstrates.

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[5] From the traditional literature on parsing, all the constructions above are regarded as "verbless clauses". This term serves to indicate that we have a construction with a meaning, that is to say, the same sort of meaning as a full clausal structure has, but it lacks any verb forms in the full sense on the surface.

(1') **əl-bənt   əl-baħr*
the-girl   the-sea
*The girl the sea.

(2') **əl-wəld   əʃ-ʃaʒra*
the-boy   the-tree
*The boy the tree.

Syntactically speaking, *ʕənd* does not inflect for agreement; rather it is a closed class of items connecting two constituents, thus falling within the category of prepositions. This pattern can be paraphrased with clauses such as:

(10) The man in the house.

(11) A bungalow by the sea.

The surface structure of (1) can be diagrammed in the following manner, in which AGR, TNS and V are shown to be empty categories represented by the symbol *e*:

(12)
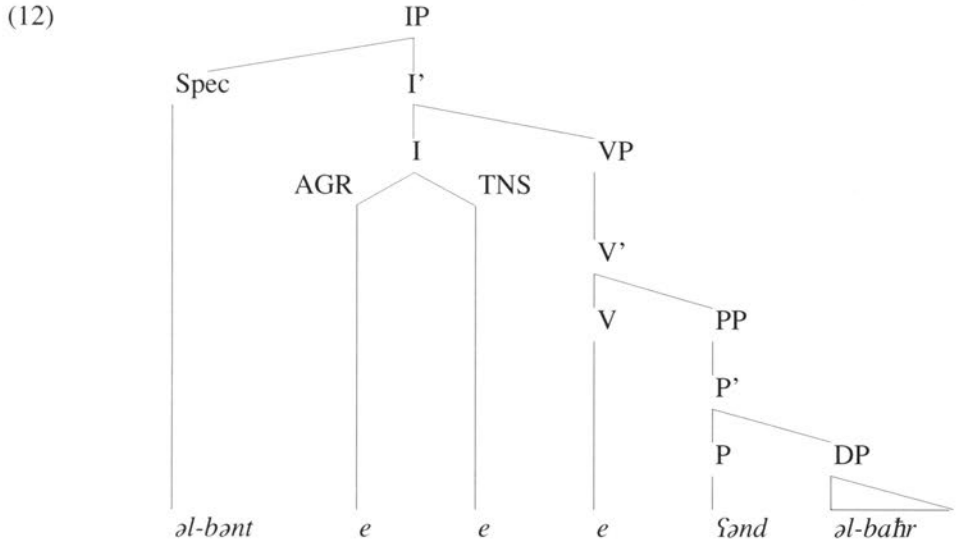
The role of connector attributed to *ʕənd* can be explained by the fact that moving it to sentence-initial position is not meaning-preserving and has the bizarre result of *əl-bənt* (the girl) becoming a landmark to *əl-baħr* (the sea), which is logically inconceivable. The same interpretation applies to *əl-wəld* (the boy) in (2) *vis-à-vis* *əʃ-ʃaʒra* (the tree). It can therefore be said that the meaning in (1) and (2) above is contextually delimited.

(13) **ʕənd   əl-bənt   əl-baħr*
to   the-girl   the-sea
*There is the sea by the girl.

(14)   *ʕənd   əl-wəld   əʃ-ʃaʒra
      at   the-boy   the-tree
     *There is the tree by the boy.

ʕənd *with a verbal function*

The verb, which traditionally forms the head of the predicate, has among its proper-
ties that of assigning a *theta* role to its arguments. From the point of view of sen-
tence comprehension, pragmatic and contextual factors signal that we have two ar-
guments, which are intuitively felt to stand in different semantic relationships: ʕənd,
for example, is seen in (3) to accept two arguments to which it assigns a *theta* role.
In this instance, əl-bənt fulfils the role of beneficiary, whereas *kitɛb* fulfils that of
theme.

The notion of predicate can be seen through the same contextual factors which
contribute to the assignment of syntactic functions to the various components of the
sentence. Thus, from the structural point of view, it can be observed that ʕənd,
which forms the head of the predicate in the above sentences, bears the inflections
-ha and -əh. The latter relate to əl-bənt and əl-wəld, which are their respective sub-
ject-head nouns.

Comparing the two patterns, it can be said that the scope of the two types is
straightforward: being analogous in structure, the decisive factor in differentiating
between them is morphological. In (1) and (2) ʕənd showed no inflection. This,
coupled with semantic considerations, has led to it being treated as a preposition. In
the rest of the sentences, on the other hand, ʕənd bears the endings -ha (3, 4, 5) and
-əh (6, 7, 8). INFL, in Pro-drop languages, plays one major role in the syntactic
structure of the sentence and that is to mark the subject through number concord or,
as Baker (1988) put it, the incorporation of the HN of the NP into the verb is another
way in which a given NP can satisfy the Case Requirement. The above examples al-
low us to advance the argument that the expression attached to the verb refers back
to its antecedent. This is evidenced by:

(*a*) the overtly encoded -ha (3f:s) in (3), which refers back to and agrees with
əl-bənt in gender and number, plus əl-bənt, which occupies the Spec position of IP
and is in the Spec-Head Agreement relation with (the AGR category of) I on the sur-
face and

(*b*) the Pro-drop of subject pronouns, which is allowed only in situations in which
the feature content of the dropped pronoun is recoverable from an overt AGR ele-
ment (Ouhalla, 1994: 275). The fact that (5) and (8) are headless is further evidence
that their content can be recovered from the subject AGR morpheme on ʕənd.

Properties of the inflected ʕənd

We have seen earlier that ʕənd remained invariable in (1) and (2) and on the grounds
of function I draw the conclusion that it was a prepostion. Now, consider the follow-
ing examples from Ouhalla (1994: 292):

(15) *l-ʔawladu*   *raʔa-w*   *ʒaydan*
      the-boys   saw-3mp   Zayd
      The boys saw Zayd.

(16) *raʔa-a*   *l- ʔawlaadu*   *ʒaydan*
      saw-3ms   the-boys   Zayd
      The boys saw Zayd.

In (15), the verb *raʔaw* has two arguments: a beneficiary realised as a subject and a theme realised as an object. A distinctive property is seen in the fact that, although they are synonymous, the two sentences differ in one important respect: the inflection of the verb. It is observed that, when the subject precedes its verb, it is assigned a nominative case under government by I. The subject is said to be in Spec-Head agreement with I. On the other hand, when the subject follows its verb (16), there is no agreement in number between them. The subject does not agree in number with (the AGR category of) the verbal complex: in this case, the subject is plural, whereas (the AGR category of) the verbal complex is singular. Capitalising on this difference in agreement between post-verbal and pre-verbal subjects, it can be observed that the same applies to *ʕənd*. The verbal behaviour of *ʕənd* can be observed in the two instances of CA below:

(17) *ʕinda*   *əl-binti*   *kiteb*
      to   the -girl   book
      The girl has a book.

(18) *əl-bintu*   *ʕinda-ha*   *kiteb*
      the -girl   to - her   book
      The girl has a book.

Unlike the prepositional *ʕənd*, which does not allow movement, the verbal *ʕənd* does. When preceded by the subject, *ʕənd* bears an encoded overt agreement referring back to its subject (18), but when followed by the subject, it contains no expression referring forward to it and so remains invariable (17).

    Within the theta criterion, lexical heads directly theta-mark their direct objects and indirectly theta-mark their subjects. This projection of the head can be seen in *ʕənd*, which assigns its external theta role to *əl-bənt* in (3) and to *əl-wəld* in (6) above. The encoding or trace related to *ʕənd* is an A'-position, which stipulates that the subject argument is not base-generated. By analogy, I assume that the same is true of the occurrence of *ʕənd -ha kiteb*, where no subject is overtly expressed, but, on the basis of the EPP, I postulate that there is a subject position, [Spec, IP], in (5). The projected subject position of *ʕənd-ha* in (5) and *ʕənd-əh* in (8) is an NP-position which is not phonetically realised but which is perceived through the external theta role of the verb. This variation reinforces the Pro-drop feature that generally marks the Arabic language.

    The empty element in (5, 8) has a definite reference: its interpretation is like that of an overt pronoun and it seems reasonable to posit that the finite inflection will govern *e*. The features of the null subject can be recovered from those of INFL,

specifically AGR under head government, as proposed by the following representation:

(19)
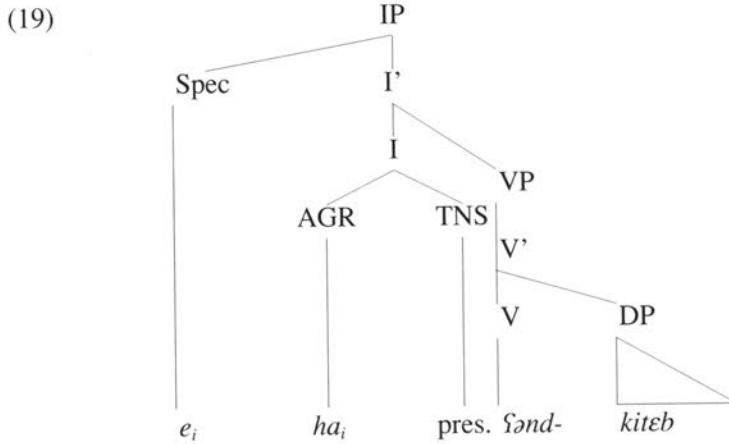
Having examined the contrast between the prepositional and the verbal functions of ʕənd, I now proceed to cases in which it would be possible to further investigate the temporal side of ʕənd. Generally speaking, there is in Arabic no element which formally corresponds to *be* in denoting progress, as shown below:

(20)   He is reading.

(21)   She is cooking.

This type of construction is, for instance, contextually delimited in Algerian Arabic and expressed by reference to *ra*, which I assume derives from Classical *ʔara* (to see).

(22)   *əl-bənt*   *rah*   *ʕənd-ha*   *kitɛb*
        the -girl   see   to-her   book
        The girl has a book.

(23)   *əl-wəld*   *rah*   *ʕənd-əh*   *qaləm*
        the-boy   see   to-him   pen
        The boy has a pen.

(24)   *əl-bənt*   *ra ha*   *ʕənd*   *əl-baħr*
        the-girl   see her   by   the-sea
        The girl is by the sea.

(25)   *əl-wəld*   *ra-h*   *ʕənd*   *əʃ-ʃaʒra*
        the-boy   see-him   by   the-tree
        The boy is near the tree.

(26)   *ən-nsa*   *ra- hum*   *ʕənd*   *əl-beit*
        the-women   see- them   by   the-house
        The women are by the house.

Here we observe another variation. Examples (22 and 23) exhibit AGR inflection with *ʕənd* and TNS with *ra*, whereas examples (24), (25) and (26) exhibit both TNS and AGR with *ra*. It can be concluded from the above that *ʕənd* fulfils the function of preposition in locations, as it remains invariable, whereas in possessives it fulfils the function of a verb, because within the Government and Binding theory INFL is a characteristic of verbs.

The past, on the other hand, is expressed through *ka:n*, which is a "simple verbal component whose function is mainly to express more precisely the time-sphere of the accompanying verb" (Cantarino: 71). Its incorporation in my sentences brings the following result:

(27) *əl-bənt*   *ka:n*   *ʕənd-ha* *kitɛb*
      the-girl   was   to-her   book
      The girl had a book.

(28) *əl-wəld*   *ka:n*   *ʕənd-əh* *əl-qaləm*
      the-boy   was   to -him   the-pen
      The boy had the pen.

(29) *əl-bənt*   *ka:net*   *ʕənd*   *əl-baħr*
      the-girl   was (3 f.s) by   the-sea
      The girl was by the sea.

(30) *əl-wəld*   *ka:n*   *ʕənd*   *əʃ-ʃaʒra*
      the boy   was (3 m.s) by   the-tree
      The boy was near the tree.

(31) *ən-nsa*   *ka:nu*   *ʕənd*   *əl-beit*
      The-women   were (3 c.p) by   the-house
      The women were by the house.

Here again, when *ʕənd* is carrying a verbal function (denoting possession: (27) and (28)), it bears INFL, whereas, when it is fulfilling a prepositional function (denoting location: (29), (30) and (31)), it remains invariable and *ka:n*, which is the verb, bears the inflection. This reinforces the view expressed earlier, that *ʕənd* has two functions: a verbal function and a prepositional one.

Conclusion

This study shows that, because of the non-existence of *have* and the partial existence of *be* in Arabic, the basic factors determining possessive and locative interpretations are the result of word order and pragmatic knowledge. Locatives, generally introduced by a closed-class category *ʕənd*, maintain a rigid order, thus imposing a certain hierarchy, whereby the "landmark" follows the specified entity. Possessives, structurally analogous to locatives, differ from them on pragmatic and morphological grounds. The latter is evidenced by the co-indexed, overt inflection that *ʕənd* bears and which gives it a verbal function, hence its agreement in gender and number with the subject.

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The Verb *sbb* as a Marker of Inception in Biblical Hebrew

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In his article "Ingressive *qwm* in Biblical Hebrew" (*Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 8/1 1995), F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp draws attention to the use of the verb *qwm* to focus on the inception of an action, a usage met with in for example, Gen. 27:19 *qūm-nā' šᵉbā*. This is, in fact, an example *par excellence* since a *verbatim* translation is completely ruled out. The article even ventures on a theoretical explanation of the phenomenon of ingressive verbs at large.

The author thus points out that phasal verbs (i.e. verbs of inception, continuation and termination) are usually considered as a group on their own, as regards the objective characterization of the verbal content, and he stresses that *phasal aspect* should be apprehended on a par with *viewpoint aspect* and *situation aspect*.[1] What is aimed at, he says, is an explanation of the use of *qwm* as a "grammaticalized marker of aspect".

From the viewpoint of standard grammar, one might say that the discussion is to some extent about asyndetically coordinated clauses, in which especially imperative *qūm* occasionally weakens to an empty word (*Flickwort*) void of its lexical meaning,[2] and to some extent about a group of verbs, which, independent of lexical meaning, solely stresses the beginning of an action.[3] However, what is focused upon in the article is the verb *qwm* in a two-verb construction, in which the second verb features the action proper, while the first verb signals beginning only.[4]

First, it is shown that not only the verbal root *qwm* in several Semitic languages, but also other similar verbs, such as *tebūm* 'stand up' and *izuzzum* 'stand' in Akkadian, are used in hendiadys-like constructions to express the inception of an action;[5] and that the same applies to *'āmad* in later Hebrew in the sense of 'be about to', thus demonstrating that *qwm* in its ingressive use fits the profile of a group of verbs with the basic meaning of 'to stand up'. The stages of grammaticization are outlined as follows: a given form acquires in certain contexts an additional meaning, which often entails an ambiguity between lexical and newly acquired meaning. By being

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[1] The term *situation aspect* corresponds to *Aktionsart*. For recent discussions of this and related subjects, see the articles "Predicates: Aspectual Types" by C. Lehmann, and "Aspect" by Ö. Dahl in *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, ed. R.E. Asher, Oxford, New-York, etc., 1994.

[2] See Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, II, pp. 475f.

[3] By the Arabs they are called "verbs of beginning" (*'af'ālu-š-šurū'i*, Wright, Ar. Gr. II, p. 108), i.e. precisely *qāma* 'rise', *'aḫada* 'take' and *ǧa'ala* 'make', among others, which, when followed by a verb in the imperfect, simply mean 'to begin'.

[4] The term ingressive *qwm*, thus used, is consequently not on a par with inherently ingressive verbs such as Russian *zapet'* = start to sing vs. *pet'* = sing.

[5] Reference is here made to F.R. Kraus, *Sonderformen akkadischer Parataxe*, Amsterdam 1987, p. 39.

more and more used in new contexts—compatible with the new meaning, but not with the original lexical one—the new meaning becomes conventionalized.

Next, in a section on sentential complementation, the following three reduced complements[6] are advanced:

(*a*) *wayyāqåm Yōnā librōaḥ*—infinitive construct
(*b*) *qūm-nā' šᵉbā*—serial verb construction
(*c*) *wayyāqåm Yōnā wayyēlæk*—verbal hendiadys

As is remarked, the *infinitive construct* has long been recognized as a shortened subordinate clause and needs little comment.

About the term *serial verbal construction*, we learn that it has certain characteristics,[7] namely, a single subject is followed by a series of asyndetically added verbs, fully and identically inflected and the whole construction forms a single assertion. Now it should be noticed that several passages of the asyndetical (serial) type, as for instance, *hō'īl hālak* 'he dared to walk', Hos. 5:11; *lō' 'ōsīf 'ōd 'ᵃraḥem* 'I will no more pity', Hos. 1:6, and *'ōsīf 'ᵃbaqqᵉšænnū 'ōd* 'I will again search for him', Prov. 23:35, indicate that this type is used irrespective of whether the verb is phasal or not. Iterative verbs as *ysp* 'add' cannot possibly be regarded as phasal. Furthermore, instances like *lek wa'ᵃbor*, 2 Sam. 15:22, *lᵉkī ūbō'ī*, 1 Kings 1:13, and *qūmī ūlᵉkī*, 2 Kings 8:1, show that asyndetic coordination is not at all universally prevalent in this type of construction.[8]

Verbal hendiadys presents certain problems to the author, since it does not show the stipulated criteria of sentential complementation; but, insofar as the three types allow a certain semantic overlap, and verbal hendiadys indeed contains two identically inflected verbs with only a single overt subject, it is concluded that this construction, too, represents a kind of sentential complementation "semantically, grammatically, and functionally equivalent to infinitive and serial complements", all the more so, as it strongly reminds us of the English "fake-and construction": they sat and talked (= they sat talking).

The second part of the article contains a contextual analysis of a large number of passages. Of these, some, at least, show a clear-cut use of *qwm* as a mere marker of inception. However, the discussion lacks a substitution test, i.e. a putting of other words in the same slot in place of *qwm*, a test that would have made it possible to decide the matter without having resort to a sweeping discussion.

sbb AS A MARKER OF INCEPTION

With reference to other typical verbs in two-verb constructions, Dobbs-Allsopp mentions *hālak*, *hēḥel*, *šūb*, *hōsīf* and *killā*. One verb not mentioned, however, is

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[6] The term *reduced complement* is used to denote a clause that is subordinate, inasmuch as it shows a reduced number of syntactic and inflectional possibilities as compared with a main clause. The verb in the thus subordinate clause is said to be aspectually dependent on the ingressive verb.

[7] Here the author takes his point of departure in M. Noonan's article "Complementation" in *Language Typology and Linguistic Description*, vol II, ed. T. Shopen, Cambridge 1985.

[8] See König, *Lehrgebäude*, III, §357 *i-n*.

sābab.[9] In the following cases I shall first adduce the passages in which *sbb* conveys the mere function of marking the beginning of an action, and then I shall discuss whether the forms of *sbb* in these two-verb passages may be substituted by other verbs that likewise focus on the inception of the action, and, finally, I shall examine some two-verb constructions with other verbs than *sbb*.

Cases in which *sbb* is merely ingressive are as follows:

(*a*) *sobbū wᵉhāmītū kōhᵃnē Yhwh*
   "Stab the priests of the Lord!", 1 Sam 22:17,

(*b*) *sob 'attā ūfᵉgaʻ bakkōhᵃnīm wayyissob Dwyg hā'ᴬdōmī wayyifgaʻ bakkōhᵃnīm*
   "You, stab the priests!", and Doeg the Edomite stabbed the priests, 1 Sam 22:18,

(*c*) *sob hityaṣṣeb kō wayyityaṣṣeb wayyaʻᵃmod*
   "Step aside!", and he stood aside, 2 Sam 18:30,

(*d*) *wayyissob wayyaʻᵃbor wayyēræd hagGilgāl*
   he went away down to Gilgal, 1 Sam 15:12,

(*e*) *wayyissob Šᵉmū'ēl lālækæt wgw*
   Samuel set about leaving etc., 1 Sam 15:27,

and perhaps

sob dᵉmē lᵉkā dōdī liṣbī Do (or turn) my beloved, be like a gazelle, Songs 2:17 and *tissob tᵉnaḥᵃmēnī* Comfort me again, Ps. 71:21.[10]

In all the cases the subject of the two verbs is co-referential, and in (*d*) and (*e*) the imperative is mirrored in the following narrative forms.[11] It should also be noticed that the quoted *imperfect consecutive* forms are all of the intransitive *yissob* pattern.[12]

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[9] Even *nś'* is on the verge of being incipient in Gen. 29:1 *wayyiśśā' Yaʻᵃqōb raglāw wayyelæk*. I owe this remark to Prof. J. Retsö, of Gothenburg.

[10] The last instance shows a peculiar semantic connection between *swb* and *sbb*, as is demonstrated in Gen. 42:44 *wayyissob mēʻᵃlēhæm wayyebk wayyāšâb ᵃlēhæm* 'He turned from them and wept and (then) turned to them', and 2 Sam. 6:20 *wayyāšâb Dāwīd lᵉbārek 'æt-bētō*, vs. 1 Chr. 16:43 *wayyissob Dāwīd lᵉbārek 'æt-bētō*. On the whole, the root *sbb* seems to be unstable in the Semitic languages. In Mandaic it has turned into *swb*, and in the Samaritan Pentateuch *sbb* alternates with *swb*, without change of meaning. In Aramaic, *sbb* is strongly suppressed by *sḥr*, and in the Qumran literature the root *sbb* occurs a couple of times only.

[11] In a case like 1 Sam. 5:8 *Gat yissob 'ᵃrōn 'ᵉlōhē Yiśrā'ēl wayyassebbū'æt-'ᵃrōn 'ᵉlōhē Yiśrā'ēl* ' "Let the ark of Israels's God return to Gat" and they returned it', the volitive verb is truly mirrored in the following, but there is no co-referential subject.

[12] Cf. E. Kautzsch, "Die sogenannten aramaisierenden Formen der Verba *'ain-'ain* im Hebräischen" in FS Th. Nöldeke, Giezen 1906, and Joüon-Muraoka, *A Grammar of Bibl Hebr.*, § 82h. Consider *wayyissob mēʻᵃlēhæm* (Gen. 42:24) as opposed to *wayyāsob 'æt-'æræṣ 'ᴱdōm* (Judg. 11:18).

A SUBSTITUTION TEST

Now, let us look at situations similar to those above; in some of these, even the same "main verb" is used.

As regards the case with *hēmīt* 'kill' (1 Sam 22:17), we have a semantically similar counterpart with *hikkā* 'smite' and the urging imperative *bō'* 'come!' in 2 Kings 10:25: *bō'ū hakkūm 'īš 'al-yēṣe'* 'Slay them, let no one escape'. In the same slot, we may also find *lek* 'go!' as in *lek wᵉhakkītā 'æt-'ᴬmāléq.* 'Kill Amaleq', 1 Sam. 15: 3.[13]

As regards the case with *pāga'* 'encounter, fall upon' (2 Sam 22:18), instances like *gaš pᵉga'-bbō* 'Stab him', 2 Sam. 1:15, and *qūm 'attā ū pᵉga'-bbānū* 'Stab us, you', Judg. 8: 21, indicate that *gaš* (< *ngš* 'approach') and *qūm* may serve the same function as *sob*.[14]

A counterpart to the expression with *hityṣṣeb* 'station oneself' in 2 Sam. 18:30, namely *sob hityaṣṣeb*, may be found in a construction with the urging *'attā* 'now' in the first slot, as we have it in 1 Sam 12:7: *we'attā hityaṣṣᵉbū* 'So, take your stand'; cf. Gen 20:7, 21:23.

Consequently, it would seem that the introductory imperative in these cases has been weakened to a semi-auxiliary marker of inception with the force of an urging interjection. See the following scheme:

sobbū	*wᵉhāmītū*	(1 Sam. 22:17)	may be interchanged for
bō'ū	*hakkūm*	(2 Kings 10:25),	
sob	*'attā ūfᵉga'*	(1 Sam. 22:18)	may be interchanged for
qūm	*'attā ūfᵉga'*	(Judg. 8:21)	or even
gaš	*pᵉga'*	(2 Sam. 1:15),	
sob hityaṣṣeb		(2 Sam. 18:30)	may be interchanged for
(we)'attā hityaṣṣᵉbū		(1 Sam. 12:7).	

So far, the passages are in direct speech. In the narrative passages under discussion, *qwm* and *sbb* seem to be occasionally interchangeable. Accordingly, 1 Sam. 15:12, 27:

wayyissob wayya'ᵃbor wayyēræd hagGilgāl	'he went away down to Gilgal', and
wayyissob Šᵉmū'ēl lālækæt	'Samuel prepared to leave'

have their counterparts in:

wayyāqåm wayya'ᵃbor 'æt-hannāhār	'he went over the river', Gen. 31:21, and
wayyāqåm hā'īš lālækæt	'the man prepared to leave', Judg. 19:7,9.

Consequently, in the same way as in direct speech imperative *qūm/qūmū* are often inceptive, the same is true for *sob/sobbū*[15]—and some other words as well—in simi-

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[13] Cf. 1 Sam 9:10 *lᵉkā nēlᵉkā* 'Let's go', where the imperative is even formally disconnected from the following verb.

[14] Cf. Brockelmann, *Hebr. Syntax*, §133a.

[15] It is tempting to discern a Hebrew root *nsb* in the discussed forms *sob/sobbū* and *(way)yissob* in view

lar contexts, a fact which is shown by their mutual interchangeability. In narrative parts, the ingressive character of both *sbb* and *qwm* is similarly underlined by the way they alternate, although it is admittedly harder to pin-point the ingressive use in these parts than is the case in direct speech, owing to the Hebrew way of letting every action, however trifling, be featured by its own inflected verb. This so-called *enumerative Redeweise* clearly promotes hendiadys-like constructions.[16]

OTHER TWO-VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

As corroboration of his hypothesis that *qwm* has been grammaticized as an ingressive verb, Dobbs-Allsopp shows that the phasal *hēḥel* can serve in all three constructions, viz. with infinitive and in both asyndetic and syndetic complementation.

However, the faculty of taking reduced complements may be demonstrated with a number of verbs, *phasal* as well *non-phasal*, i.e. iterative, quantitative and qualitative, in view of their inherent semantic properties. So, for instance, *šūb* 'do again', *hirbā* 'do a lot', and *mihar* 'hasten' serve in two-verb constructions, and even then in all the three types under discussion:

(1) *šūb*: *lō' 'āšūb lešaḥet* 'I will not destroy again', Hos. 11:9; *šūb šᵉkab* 'lie down again', 1 Sam. 3:5; and *wayyāšåb wayyiškāb (ib.)* 'so he went back and lay down',

(2) *hirbā*: *hirbā la'ᵃśōt hāra'* 'he did much evil', 2 Kings 21:6;' *al-tarbū tᵉdabbᵉrū* 'don't go on talking', 1 Sam. 2:3,

(3) *mihar* 'hasten': *maddūa' mihartæm bō'* 'why have you come so speedily' Ex. 2: 18; *maher himmālet* 'escape quickly!', Gen. 19:22; and *wattᵉmaher wattōræd kaddāh* 'quickly she let her jug down, Gen. 24:18.

It seems, moreover, that some verbs combine an inceptive sense with other semantic properties, as is the case with *hō'īl* 'set about to do', but also 'dare to do, 'do willingly' 'persist in doing'; and *hiškīm* 'do early', but also 'do eagerly'.[17]

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of Aramaic *nsb* 'take'. Such an analysis may be supported by the existence of forms like *gošī/gošū* (Ru. 2:14 & Jos. 3:9) and the Mishnaic *tol (ntl)*. In fact, the intransitive form *yissob* has probably at some stage been understood as a *nif'al*, and this in turn gave rise to a corresponding *nāsab*, as found in the phrase *wᵉnāsab haggᵉbūl* 'the border will run' (Nu. 34:4,5; Jos. 15:10, 16:6). But even though we thus have evidence of a *qal* verb *nāsab* as a variety of intransitive *sābab* 'turn', 'become', there are no cases where this formation assumes the sense 'take', 'lift' and thence 'begin'—a development that would seem possible in view of Ar. *'aḫaḏa* 'take' and Latin *incipere < capere*. In Old Aramaic, *nsb* is met with in the sense of 'lift', 'take' and in Jewish Aramaic the sense is 'take', 'remove', 'receive', 'marry' (cf. Jean-Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* and Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*). In Syriac, only, *nᵉsab* assumes an inceptive sense in a number of idioms, for instance, *nᵉsab šūrāyā* 'begin' *nᵉsab qᵉrābā*, 'wage war', *nᵉsab ḥemtā* 'become angry'. However, Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 337, does not mention *nᵉsab* among those verbs that may form a semantic unit with another verb; in fact, in 1 Sam. 22:18 and 2 Sam. 18:30 the *Pešīṭtā* renders *sob* by '*etkᵉrek and qūm*, respectively.

[16] Also, there is a difference between *wayyāqåm wayyēlæk* and *wayyāqåm lālækæt*, viz. 'he prepared and left' *vs.* 'he prepared to leave'.

[17] In fact, in adduced passages, the sense 'do early' (cf. Ar. *'aṣbaḥa*, Wright, *Ar. Gr.*, II, p. 102) is redun-

(3) *hō'īl: wayyō'æl lālækæt* 'he began to walk', 1 Sam. 17:39; *hō'altī l*ᵉ*dabber* 'I have dared to talk', Gen. 18:27; *wayyō'æl hā'*ᴬᵉ*mōrī lāšæbæt* 'the Amorites persisted in dwelling', Judg. 1:35; *hō'el qaḥ* 'please, take', 2 Kings 5:23; and *lū hō'alnū wannēšæb* 'If only we had been willing and had stayed, Jos. 7:7.

(4) *hiškīm: wayyaškæm babboqær...lālækæt* 'he set about to leave early in the morning', Judg. 19:8; *haškem babboqær w*ᵉ*hityaṣṣeb lifnē Par'ō* 'step early in the morning into the presence of Pharaoh, Ex. 8:16, 9:13; *hiškīmū hišḥītū* 'they were eager to sin', Zeph. 3:7; and *wayyaškæm'Abrāhām babboqær wayyiqqaḥ wgw* 'early in the morning Abraham took etc., Gen. 21:14.

CONCLUSION

Some verbs in the Semitic languages, by merely stressing the inception of an action, show a weakened lexical meaning to such a degree that they are actually at times transformed into lexicalized markers. However, there does not seem to be a common semantic property that promotes this development, even though verbs meaning 'stand up' are common in this usage. Thus, Biblical Hebrew *sbb* 'turn' alternates with *qwm* in its ingressive sense in a number of passages. It thus seems that one should not overestimate the connection between ingressive function with a verb and its lexical meaning.

There seem to be some factors that facilitate for some verbs the assumption of the sense of a semi-auxiliary inceptive marker. In direct speech, first, we often find an urging imperative with a weakened lexical sense, more or less equal to an interjection.

Moreover, the Hebrew narrative manner of letting every action, however trifling, be featured by its own inflected verb, certainly promotes the use of inceptive markers.[18]

Finally, phasal verbs are, without doubt, highly semi-auxiliary, as we have seen in the examples given, but "reduced complements" are also selected by verbs meaning 'do again','do a lot', 'do quickly', 'do early', that is, verbs that are *not* connected with a part of an action. Thus, the preference for "reduced complements" found with *qwm* seems to be a property that is of minor importance as to its ingressive sense. A promoting factor for the development of an ingressive meaning seems, instead, to be the Hebrew preference for an *enumerative Redeweise* and its predilection for using a finite verb adverbially to qualify the meaning of a following verb.

In a two-verb construction, where the lexical meaning is not ruled out by the context, a substitution text may show whether there is a grammaticized ingressive function in the first verb.

dantly matched by *babboqær*, which gives the impression that this verb has actually been completely reduced to a marker of inception—not very different from introductory *wayhī* in, for instance, *wayhī babboqær wayyiktob Dāwīd sefær* 'In the morning David wrote a letter' (2 Sam. 11:14).

[18] The Hebrew phrase is discernible in the Greek of the NT, e.g. in Lk 6:8 *égeire kai stēthi...kai anastàs éstē*, and Rel 11:1 *égeire kai métrēson*, where the sense of *égeire* (= *qūm*) definitively seems to be a marker of inception.

A Note on an overlooked Heraclea and the DINGIR.KASKAL.KUR. "underground watercourse"

OVE HANSEN, Athens

The authors of Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Band viiii, 1. 423–439, s.v. Herakleia, list in total 29 locations with that name, but at least one has been excluded, viz. modern Ereğli in the southern part of central Anatolia c. 150 km to the E. of Konya towards the Cilician Gates.[1] In Late Bronze age, Hittite times, this location was called Hubisna[2] for unknown reasons, but concerning the Greek and Roman name Heraclea there is, I think, a good possibility of explaining how the site got that name.

About 25 km to the W. of Ereğli, there are the famous Ereğli Marshes,[3] which extend from the S. to the N. of the road between the modern Turkish villages of Böğecik and Ambar. To the S. of the road, there is a small pond with a maximum depth of 7,5 m.,[4] which in Turkish is called *düden*, probably derived from Hittite *tuwaduna* with the meaning of "swallow hole", because the water of the pond disappears underground. This natural phenomenon was called in Sumerian DINGIR.KASKAL.KUR., which means both the swallow-hole itself and its subterranean course, as well as the place where the water re-appears.[5] The best-known example of the phenomenon in Anatolia is probably the subterranean drainage of Lake Beyşehir, which re-appears c. 150 km to the S. at modern Manavgat c. 70 km to the E. of Antalya on the Mediterranean.

As is well known, one of the Twelve Labours of the Greek hero Herakles was to take the dog Cerberus up from the netherworld, and the Greek historical writer Xenophon[6] offers a description of it as having been done at Heraclea Pontica on the Black Sea, but usually Herakles' descent is regarded as having taken place at Tainaron in the Southern Peloponnese in Greece and his re-appearance with Cerberus at Troezen or Hermione to the NE. of the peninsula. I think that Xenophon's account

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[1] I wish to thank N. P. Skøtt Jørgensen, of the University of Aarhus, for having urged me to write this note in his letter dated August 12, 1996.

[2] See F. Cornelius, *Geschichte der Hethiter* (Darmstadt, 1976), 24, 35, 100, 240.

[3] A full description of the topography is offered by A. and M. Kasparek, *Reiseführer Natur Türkei*, 99–103.

[4] See Erinç, 'On the Karst Features in Turkey', *Review of the Geographical Institute of the University of Istanbul* (Internat. Ed.), 6 (1960), 12.

[5] First described by E. I. Gordon, 'The Meaning of the Ideogram ᵈKASKAL.KUR (– "Underground Water-Course") and its Significance for Bronze Age Historical Geography', *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 21 (1967), 70–88.

[6] *Anabasis* 6, 2, 2, with a description of the cave there.

fits well with the swallow-hole mentioned above in the Ereğli Marshes, and as a possible location for Herakles' re-appearance, I would like to suggest the spring at Ivriz/Halkapinar c. 12 km to the SE. of Ereğli, very close to the Taurus Mountains.[7]

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[7] A full description of the topography is offered by A. D. Ramsay, *Everyday Life in Turkey* (London, 1897), 157–161.

Krimtatarische Tierbezeichnungen

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QUELLENHINWEISE

Das Glossar basiert auf Publikationen zur krimtatarischen Lexik, die in den Taschkenter Zeitungen *Lenin Bayraγï* und *Yaŋï Dünya* erschienen sind. Von 1978 bis 1986 veröffentlichte *Lenin Bayraγï* in regelmäßigen Abständen ein krimtatarisch-russisches *Luγat* (Wörterverzeichnis), das zunächst den Grundwortschatz und in einem neuen Ansatz den gesamten Wortbestand zu erfassen versucht hat. In *Yaŋï Dünya* wurde im Laufe des Jahres 1991 eine russisch-krimtatarische Liste zoologischer Termini abgedruckt, die einen Teil der im *Luγat* angeführten Tierbezeichnungen sowie eine Vielzahl von bisher nicht dokumentierten Benennungen – speziell Vogel-, Fisch- und Insektennamen – enthält.

Zur Ergänzung dieses Materials wurden V. Ch. Kondaraki, *Universal' noe opisanie Kryma* (1875), W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte* (1893–1911), O. Zaatov, *Polnyj russko-tatarskij slovar' (krymsko-tatarskago narečija)* (1906) und Š. A. Asanov & al., *Krymskotatarsko-russkij slovar'* (1968) herangezogen. An frühen Quellen sind N. Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartarye* (1692, 1705[2]) und P. S. Pallas, *Zoographia Rosso-Asiatica* (1811) ausgewertet worden.

Nicolas Witsen (1641–1717) hat in seine Beschreibung der tatarischen Territorien eine nach Sachbegriffen geordnete, in der zweiten Auflage erheblich erweiterte krimtatarische Wörterliste eingefügt, die zu den ältesten Zeugnissen der krimtatarischen Sprache zählt. In der vorliegenden Arbeit werden die Witsen-Belege nach der von Imre Baski (1986) besorgten Edition der Liste zitiert.

Peter Simon Pallas (1741–1811), der im Auftrag von Katharina II. langjährige Expeditionen durch die Provinzen des Zarenreiches unternahm, hat die sprachwissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse seiner Reisen auch in die dreibändige *Zoographia* eingebracht. In diesem Werk sind der zoologischen Deskription die Benennungen vorangestellt, die bei den verschiedenen Völkerschaften Rußlands für das behandelte Tier gebräuchlich sind. Die relativ große Anzahl krimtatarischer Tiernamen ist wohl darauf zurückzuführen, daß Pallas seit 1795 auf der Krim gelebt und sich intensiv mit der taurischen Fauna beschäftigt hat.

Die bei Witsen und Pallas verzeichneten Zitate sind unter dem Sigel W bzw. P hinter dem jeweiligen Lemma in eckigen Klammern vermerkt. Belege, die sich nur in diesen beiden Quellen nachweisen ließen, wurden in die für das Glossar verbindliche Umschrift gebracht und mit einem * markiert.

GLOSSAR

Alphabetische Reihenfolge:

a b c c̆ d e f g γ ğ χ i ï k q l m n ŋ o ö p r s š t u ü v y z ž

aq baba qušu Hühnerhabicht, *Accipiter gentilis*. Cf. ttü. Stw 20 *akbaba* 'Geier', kkar. RKS 133 *aq baba qušu* 'koršun' (Milan). – Die ttü. Benennung *ak baba* assoziiert das spärlich behaarte Haupt eines Greises mit dem von einem weißen Flaum bedeckten Kopf des Geiers. Bei krt. und kkar. *aq baba qušu* scheint es sich um eine Übertragung der Geier-Bezeichnung auf geierähnliche Vögel zu handeln, denn Habicht und Milan haben nur weiße Federstreifen am Kopf; s. **čaylaq qušu** und **qarčïγa**

aqbalïq Döbel, *Leuciscus cephalus*. Cf. gag. GRMS 35 *aq balïq* 'dass.' – Der Döbel gehört zu den karpfenartigen Weißfischen; cf. ttü. Stw 20 *akbalık* 'Weißfisch, Leuciscus'.

aqbayquš Schleiereule, *Tyto alba*. Cf. ttü. Stw 19 *ak baykuş* 'Sumpfohreule, *Asio flammeus*'. – Typisch für die Schleiereule ist der weiße herzförmige Schleier, der das gesamte Gesicht bedeckt. Bei der ähnlichen Sumpfohreule ist nur die mittlere Gesichtspartie weiß gefärbt.

aqqu Singschwan, *Cygnus cygnus*. Cf. kkar. KRPS 58, nog. NRS 33, kkp. KkRS 32 *aqquw*, kirg. KiRS 38 *aqquu*, kas. KaRS 58, nuig. URL 41 *aqqu* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'weißer Schwan'; zu *quγu* cf. TMEN III: 1543, EDPT 609; s. **aqquš**

aqquš Singschwan, *Cygnus cygnus*. Cf. tat. TaRS 28, ba. BRS 29 *aqqoš*, usb. UzRS 313 *åqquš*, nuig. URL 42 *aqquš* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'weißer Vogel'; s. **aqqu**

aqrep Skorpion, *Buthus occitanus* (< ar. *'aqrab*). Cf. ttü. Stw 24 *akrep*, as. ARS 148 *äğräb*, kkar. RKS 191 *aqrep* (s.v. *skorpion*) 'dass.'; s. **čayan**

aq tilki Eisfuchs, *Alopex lagopus*. Cf. tat. TaRS 28 *aq tölke*, ba. RBS 556 *aq tölkö* (s.v. *pesec*), nuig. RUS 853 *aq tülkä* (s.v. *pesec*), alt. RAS 484 *aq tülkü* (s.v. *pesec*), chak. XRS 36 *aχtülgü* 'dass.'. – Der Eisfuchs trägt im Winter einen schneeweißen Pelz; s. **beyaz tilki**

aq töš Schwarzmeersteinbutt, *Scophthalmus maeoticus*. – Wörtlich 'Weißbrust'; der Fisch ist wie alle Schollen dem Leben am Meeresgrund mit einem seitlich abgeplatteten Körper angepaßt, dessen 'blinde' Unterseite im Gegensatz zur Augenseite hell oder farblos ist; s. **elek balïγï** und **qalqanbalïq**

ala balïq I Flußbarsch, *Perca fluviatilis*. – Mit *ala* wird die streifenförmige Zeichnung des Barsches erfaßt; s. **alabuγa**

ala balïq II [ala-balyk P III: 349] Forelle, *Salmo trutta*. Cf. ttü. Stw 26 *alabalık*, tat. RTaS IV: 305 *ala balïq* (s.v. *forel'*) 'dass.'. – Bei der Forelle verweist *ala* auf die bunten Sprenkel der Haut; s. **beŋli balïq** und **čubar balïq**

alabuγa [olâbuga P III: 248] Flußbarsch, *Perca fluviatilis*. Cf. tat. TaRS 31, ba. BRS 33, kkp. KkRS 35, kas. KaRS 25, nuig. URL 45, alt. ORS 16, tuv. TuvRS 53 *alabuγa*, usb. UzRS 300 *ålabuγa*, chak. XRS 22 *alapuγa* 'dass.'; CC 34 *alaboγa* 'irgend ein großes Seetier, cetus'. – Wörtlich 'bunter bzw. gestreifter Stier'; möglicherweise eine Assoziation der Stierhörner mit den hochgestellten Stachelflossen des Fisches, cf. auch Laude-Cirtautas (1961: 76, Fußnote 2); s. **ala balïq I**

ala kiyik   Damhirsch, *Cervus dama.* Cf. ttü. Stw 27 *alageyik* 'dass.'. – Mit *ala* wird der Damhirsch als geflecktes Wild definiert; s. **sïyïn**

ala qarɣa I   Blauracke, *Coracias garrulus.* Cf. ttü. Stw 28 *alakarga* 'Eichelhäher, *Garrulus glandarius*', as. ARS 29 *alaġarɣa* 'sojka' (Eichelhäher). – Die Blaurakke ist ein blau, grün und braun gemusterter Vogel mit krächzendem Ruf.

ala qarɣa II   Elster, *Pica pica.* Cf. SK 62 *elakarɣa* sowie ttü. DS I: 177 *ala karga* 'dass.'. – Die Benennung der Elster mit *ala qarɣa* kennzeichnet sie als einen schwarzweiß gefiederten Rabenvogel, cf. Laude-Cirtautas (1961: 76, Fußnote 1); s. **savusqan**

alaša [ala∫cia W 129]   Wallach. – Zu *alaša* cf. ESTJa I: 136, TMEN IV: 165.

arï   Biene, *Apis melifica.* – Zu *arï* cf. ESTJa I: 186–187, TMEN II: 467, EDPT 196–197; s. **balqurt**

arïš tïr-tïr   Goldregenpfeifer, *Pluvialis apricaria.* – Wörtlich 'Roggen-*tïr-tïr*'; mit *tïr-tïr* wird der Ruf der Regenpfeifer umschrieben, cf. ba. BRS 567 *täteldäwes*, wörtlich 'Laller'. Vermutlich ist *tïr-tïr* nicht mit dem onomatopoetischen Terminus *tartar* identisch, der nach EDPT 536 heute nur noch die Wiesenralle bezeichnet, früher aber auch für andere Vögel gebräuchlich war. Der Goldregenpfeifer wird *arïš tïr-tïr* genannt, weil er im Gegensatz zu seinen Verwandten im Winter auf den Getreidefeldern nach Nahrung sucht. Er heißt deshalb as. RAL III: 92 *čovdarči* (s.v. *ržanka*), wörtlich 'Roggenliebhaber', und tat. RTaS III: 455 *uǧïm čïpčïɣï* (s.v. *ržanka*), wörtlich 'Wintersaatsperling'.

arslan   Löwe, *Panthera leo.* – Zu *arslan* cf. ESTJa I: 177–179, TMEN II: 453, EDPT 238.

as [as W 131]*   Hermelin, *Mustela erminea.* – Zu *as* cf. ESTJa I: 191–192 TMEN II: 477, EDPT 240; s. **qaqum**

at [ath ~ at W 132]   Pferd, *Equus caballus.* – Zu *at* cf. ESTJa I: 197–198, TMEN II: 413, EDPT 33; s. **alaša**

at čibini   Pferdebremse, *Hippobosca equina.* Cf. ttü. Stw 69 *atsineǧi*, kkar. RKS 191 *at čïbïn* (s.v. *slepen′*) 'dass.'; s. **qatalaq čibin** und **sïyïr sinegi**

atğalman [adshaman P I: 181]*   Großer Pferdespringer, *Allactaga jaculus.* Cf. kum. KuRS 52 *atyalman* 'belka' (Eichhörnchen), kas. RKaS 230 *atžalman* 'zemlerojka' (Spitzmaus). – Das Attribut *at* unterscheidet den Großen Pferdespringer von der ähnlichen, jedoch wesentlich kleineren Wüstenspringmaus, *Dipus sagitta*, die u.a. mit tat. TaRS 707 *yalmak*, ba. BRS 720 *yalman* benannt wird. Pallas führt als kasantatarische Benennung für den Großen Pferdespringer 'jallman vel dshjalman' an. Zu *yalman* cf. EDPT 936.

ateš böğegi   Glühwürmchen, *Lampyris noctiluca.* Cf. ttü. Stw 67 *ateşböceği* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Feuerkäfer'; s. **yïldïzböğegi**

atlï qazaq   Gottesanbeterin, *Mantis religiosa.* – Die Gottesanbeterin ist eine grüne oder goldbraune Heuschrecke, die mit bajonettartig bewehrten Fangbeinen ihre Beute erlegt. In Lauerstellung sind diese Extremitäten wie zum Gebet vor der Brust gefaltet, worauf der dt. Name, aber auch ttü. Stw 621 *melâike atï*, wörtlich 'Engelspferd', anspielt. Die räuberische Absicht, die sich hinter der scheinbar frommen Geste verbirgt, wird mit *atlï qazaq*, wörtlich 'berittener Kosak', pejorativ umschrieben. Die personifizierende Metapher erklärt sich vermutlich aus einer

historisch bedingten Aversion, die bei dem Synonym *šaytan atï* zu einer Gleich-
setzung des Reiters mit dem Teufel geführt hat. Auf die todbringenden Attacken
der Gottesanbeterin weist gleichfalls kirg. KiRS 208 *ğaačï*, wörtlich 'Bogenschüt-
ze', in ironischer Formulierung as. ARS 124 *dävädälläyi*, wörtlich 'Kamelbar-
bier', hin; s. **šaytan atï**

atmaǧa qušu Sperber, *Accipiter nisus*. Cf. ttü. Stw 68 *atmaca* 'dass.' sowie SK 17
atmaǰa 'doɣana mušabih bir nevi šikjar kušu'; s. **beliŋ** und **qïrɣïy**

ayɣïr Hengst. – Zu *ayɣïr* cf. ESTJa I: 107–108, TMEN II: 648, EDPT 47.

ayɣïrčïq Seepferdchen, *Hippocampus brevirostris*. – Wörtlich 'Hengstlein'; Kopf
und Vorderkörper des Fisches sind pferdeähnlich geformt. Cf. ttü. Stw 66 *atbalïɣï*,
wörtlich 'Pferdefisch', womit das Seepferdchen, aber auch der riesige Wels be-
zeichnet werden; s. **deŋiz ayɣïri**

aytu Adler, *Aquila sp.* (< gr. αἰετός); s. **qara quš I** und **qartal I**

ayuv [ain – statt aiu – W 132][1] Bär, *Ursus arctos*. – Zu *ayï* cf. ESTJa I: 112–113,
EDPT 45–46.

ayuvbalïɣï Seehund, *Phoca sp.* Cf. ttü. Stw 75 *ayïbalïɣï*, gag. GRMS 33 *ayï balïɣï*
'dass.'.

ažderχa yïlanï Königsschlange, *Boa constrictor*; s. **baqa yïlanï**

baɣča sïčavulï Siebenschläfer, *Glis glis*

baɣdat turna [Bagdat-turná P II: 108]* Jungfernkranich, *Anthropoides virgo*

baqa Frosch, *Rana sp.* – Zu *baqa* cf. ESTJa II: 40–41, EDPT 311–312; s. **qurbaɣa**

baqabaš Kaulquappe. – Der Ausdruck bezieht sich auf die Gestalt der Kaulquappe,
die nur aus einem geschwänzten Kopf zu bestehen scheint.

baqa yïlanï Königsschlange, *Boa constrictor*. – Wörtlich 'Froschschlange'; ver-
mutlich eine Anspielung auf den dreieckigen, an der Schnauze abgestumpften
Kopf dieser Schlange; s. **ažderχa yïlanï**

balaban Würgfalke, *Falco cherrug* (< p. *bālābān*). Cf. ttü. DS I: 496 *balaban*
'dass.', Stw 87 *balaban* 'Hühnerhabicht, *Accipiter gentilis*'. – Zu *balaban* cf. auch
ESTJa II: 50; s. **torbala**

balina balïɣï Grönlandwal, *Balaena mysticetus* (< it. *balena*). Cf. ttü. Stw 88, as.
ARS 50 *balina* 'dass.'.

balïq Fisch. – Zu *balïq* cf. ESTJa II: 59–60, TMEN II: 518, EDPT 335.

balïqčil Fischreiher, *Ardea cinerea*. – Zu *balïqčil* cf. EDPT 337–338; s. **yïlanqïtï**

balqurt Biene, *Apis melifica*. Cf. kkar. KRPS 100 *balqurt*, tat. TaRS 41 *bal qortï*,
ba. BRS 72 *bal qorto* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Honigwurm'; die Bezeichnung ist wie
k.b. KBRS 115 *bal čibin*, kum. KuRS 61 *balǧibin*, nog. NRS 69 *balšïbïn*, wörtlich
'Honigfliege', und tat. TaRS 588 *umarta qortï*, ba. BRS 574 *umarta qorto*, wört-
lich 'Bienenkorbwurm', ein Ersatzwort für *arï*; s. **arï**

baraq Hund, *Canis domesticus*. – Zu *baraq* cf. TMEN II: 728, EDPT 360; s. **it** und
köpek

baštanqara Kohlmeise, *Parus major*. Cf. ttü. Stw 98 *baštankara* 'dass.'. – Cf. auch
ba. RBS 777 *qarabaš turɣay* (s.v. *sinica*), wörtlich 'Schwarzkopfsperling'.

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[1] Die Verschreibung 'ain' statt 'aiu' resultiert vermutlich aus einer Vorlage in arabischer Schrift (Baski
1986: 110), bei deren Transliteration *wāw* für *nūn* gelesen wurde.

bayquš　Eule. – Zu *bayquš* cf. ESTJa II: 32–33, TMEN II: 715; s. **geğe quš** und **miyav quš**

baytal　Stute. – Zu *baytal* cf. ESTJa II: 36–37, TMEN II: 827; s. **biye** und **qïsraq**

beliŋ　Sperber, *Accipiter nisus*. Cf. SK 23 *behlem* 'doɣan, mešhur šikjar kušlardan bir nevi dir'; s. **atmağa qušu** und **qïrɣïy**

beŋli balïq　Forelle, *Salmo trutta*. – Wörtlich 'Fisch mit Muttermalen'; s. **ala balïq II** und **čubar balïq**

beyaz ayuv　Eisbär, *Thalarctos maritimus*. Cf. ttü. Stw 111 *beyaz ayı*, ba. RBS 363 *aq ayï* (s.v. *medved'*), kas. KaRS 54 *aq ayu*, usb. UzRS 26 *åq ayïq*, nuig. URL 156 *aq eyik* 'dass.'.

beyaz qarïnğa　Termite, *Termes sp.* Cf. ttü. Stw 111 *beyaz karınca* 'dass.'.

beyaz tilki　Eisfuchs, *Alopex lagopus*; s. **aq tilki**

bit　Laus, *Pediculus sp.* – Zu *bit* cf. ESTJa II: 151–152, EDPT 296.

biy　Spinne. – Mit *biy* werden speziell Jagdspinnen, die ihre Beute im Laufen erlegen, bezeichnet, so z.B. Wolfsspinnen und Walzenspinnen. Zu *biy* cf. EDPT 323; s. **örümček**

biye　Stute. – Zu *biye* cf. ESTJa II: 133–134, EDPT 291; s. **baytal** und **qïsraq**

bizgelek [bisgelaek P II: 100]*　Zwergtrappe, *Otis tetrax*. Cf. ttü. Stw 636 *mezgerdek*, as. ARS 60 *bäzgäk*, tkm. TuRS 83 *bezbeltek*, ba. BRS 97 *bizgäläk*, kas. KaRS 84, kkp. KkRS 96 *bezgeldek*, kirg. KiRS 123 *bezbeldek*, usb. UzRS 62 *bezgäldäk* 'dass.'. – Der Ausdruck könnte die Zwergtrappe wegen ihres weinerlichen Rufes als eine Klageliedsängerin bezeichnen, cf. ba. BRS 97 *bizgeldäw* 'plakat', pet' pesni unylo, žalobno'.

bildïrčin　Wachtel. – Zu *bïldïrčïn* cf. ESTJa II: 305–306, TMEN II: 764, EDPT 309; s. **bödene**

borsuq　Dachs, *Meles meles*. – Zu *borsuq* cf. TMEN II: 733, EDPT 369, Erdal 1991: 101.

bostanğï qurt　Maulwurfsgrille, *Gryllotalpa gryllotalpa*. Cf. ttü. DS II: 742 *bostan böceği* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Gärtnerwurm'; die unterirdisch lebende Maulwurfsgrille richtet im Gartenbau großen Schaden an, da sie beim Wühlen die Wurzeln durchbeißt und damit die oberirdischen Teile zum Absterben bringt; s. **qabaq qurtu** und **tana burun**

bota　Kamelfüllen. – Zu *bota* cf. ESTJa II: 198–200, TMEN II: 777, EDPT 299.

botaɣan　Kamelfüllen (bis zu einem Jahr). – Zu *botaɣan* cf. ESTJa II: 200, TMEN II: 777.

boynuzlu qoŋuz　Hirschkäfer, *Lucanus cervus*. Cf. tkm. RTuS 334 *šaχlï tomzaq* (s.v. *rogač*), tat. TaRS 389 *mögezle qoŋïz*, ba. RBS 743 *mögözlö quŋïz* (s.v. *rogač*), kas. RKaS 701 *müyizdi qoŋïz* (s.v. *rogač*), kirg. RKiS 739 *müyüzdüü qoŋuz* (s.v. *rogač*), usb. RUzS 359 *šåχlï qonɣïz* (s.v. *rogač*) 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'gehörnter Käfer'; die Bezeichnung bezieht sich auf die geweihähnlichen Kiefer des Käfers.

boztuɣan　Baumfalke, *Falco subbuteo*. Cf. ttü. Stw 132 *bozdoğan* 'Merlinfalke, *Falco regulus*'. – Baum- und Merlinfalke sind auf dem Rücken grau gefiedert; zu *toɣan* cf. TMEN III: 1351, EDPT 470–471.

bödene   Wachtel, *Coturnix coturnix*. – Zu *bedene* cf. ESTJa II: 101–102, TMEN I: 98; s. **bildirčin**

böğek   Käfer, Insekt. Cf. ttü. Stw 133 *böcek*, as. ARS 73, tat. TaRS 94, nog. NRS 86 *böğäk* 'dass.'.

börü [born – statt boru – W 134][2]   Wolf, *Canis lupus*. – Zu *böri* cf. ESTJa II: 219–221, TMEN II: 784, EDPT 356; s. **düšman, qašqïr** und **qurt I**

buγa   Stier. – Zu *buγa* cf. ESTJa II: 230–232, TMEN II: 752, EDPT 312; s. **ögüz**

buγabaš balïq   Kaulkopf, *Cottus gobio*. Cf. ba. RBS 71 *ügeẓbalïq* (s.v. *byčok*) 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Stierkopffisch'; der Name assoziiert den niedergedrückten, breiten Kopf des Fisches mit einem Stierschädel.

buzav   Milchkalb. – Zu *buzaγï* cf. ESTJa II: 239–242, EDPT 391; s. **tana**

bülbül [bulbul W 135, bylbyli P I: 485]   Nachtigall, *Luscinia sp.* (< p. *bulbul*). Cf. CC 70, ttü. Stw 142 *bülbül*, tat. TaRS 88 *bïlbïl*, tkm. TuRS 95, nog. RNS 585 (s.v. *solovej*) *bilbil* , as. ARS 76, kum. KuRS 89, usb. UzRS 89 *bülbül*, k.b. KBRS 168, kas. KaRS 113, kirg. KiRS 158, nuig. URL 222 *bulbul*, kkp. KkRS 127 *bülbil* 'dass.'. – In DLT 264 wird die Nachtigall mit *sanduvāč* angeführt, cf. kkar. KRPS 465, tat. TaRS 468 *sanduγač*, ba. BRS 621 *handuγas*, kirg. KiRS 633 *sandïγač*.

bürče   Floh, *Pulex irritans*. – Zu *bürče* cf. ESTJa II: 299, EDPT 362; s. **pire**

čaγala [tschagalà P II: 324]   Möwe, *Larus sp.* Cf. kkp. KkRS 717, kas. KaRS 393 *šaγala* 'dass.'; SK 37 *čaγla* 'bir kuš ismi dir'.

čalï qušu   Wintergoldhähnchen, *Regulus regulus*. Cf. ttü. Stw 165 *çalıkuşu*, as. ARS 388 *čalïğušu*, gag. GRMS 527 *čalï qušu*, kkar. RKS 133 *čalγï quš* (s.v. *korolek*) 'dass.'. – Das Wintergoldhähnchen ist so winzig wie der Zaunkönig und bevorzugt gleichfalls Büsche als Aufenthaltsort; ttü. *çalıkuşu* benennt sowohl Zaunkönig wie Wintergoldhähnchen.

čapaq I   Brachsen, *Abramis brama*. Cf. ttü. Stw 168 *çapak balığı*, as. ARS 389 *čapağ*, kkar. RKS 136 *čobaq* (s.v. *lešč*), tsch. ČRS 369 *šupah* 'dass.'.

čapaq II   Plötze, *Rutilus rutilus*. Cf. tkm. TuRS 722 *čapaq*, tat. TaRS 626 *čabaq*, ba. BRS 456 *sabaq*, usb. UzRS 526 *čåwåq balïq* 'dass.'. – Zu *čapaq* cf. TMEN III: 1061, EDPT 395.

čar-čar tavuq   Perlhuhn, *Numida meleagris*. – Die Lautmalerei *čar-čar* ahmt den Ruf der Perlhühner nach, die für ihr lautes und anhaltendes Geschrei bekannt sind.

čatal quyruq   Ohrwurm, *Forficula auricularis*. – Wörtlich 'Gabelschwanz'; die Benennung beschreibt die Hinterleibszangen des Ohrwurms. Cf. tat. TaRS 686 *eskäkqoyrïq* 'Pinzettenschwanz'.

čavke   Dohle, *Coloeus monedula*. Cf. kkar. RKS 107 (s.v. *galka*), k.b. RKBS 115 (s.v. *galka*), tsch. ČRS 521 *čavka*, nog. RNS 125 *šavke* (s.v. *galka*), tat. RTaS I: 181 *čävkä* (s.v. *galka*), ba. RBS 135 *sävkä* (s.v. *galka*) 'dass.', ttü. DS III: 1094 *çavke* 'bir çeşit karga'. – Mit *čavke* wird der Lockruf der Dohle – 'jäck' oder 'jäkke' – wiedergegeben. Cf. auch as. ARS 160 *zaγğa*, tkm. TuRS 334 *zaqïğa*, kum. KuRS 137 *ğaγa*, usb. UzRS 169 *zåγča*.

čayan   Skorpion, *Buthus occitanus*. – Zu *čayan* cf. EDPT 403. In der Bedeutung

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[2] S. Fußnote 1.

'Krebs' (r. *rak*) sind belegt ba. BRS 465 *sayan*, kum. RKuS 849 *čayan*, nog. NRS 408 *šayan*; s. **aqrep**

čaylaq   Schwarzer Milan, *Milvus migrans*. Cf. ttü. Stw 172 *çaylak*, kkp. RKkS 365 *šay* (s.v. *koršun*) 'dass.'. – Cf. auch TMEN III: 1058; s. **quzγun II**

čaylaq qušu   Hühnerhabicht, *Accipiter gentilis*; s. **aq baba qušu** und **qarčïγa**

čegertki I   Heuschrecke. – Zu *čegertki* cf. EDPT 416–417; s. **čïrčïr mazin** und **čïrčïrna**

čegertki II   Libelle. Cf. kkar. KRPS 639 *čegirtkä*, tat. TaRS 635 *čikertkä* 'dass.'

čibin   Fliege. – Zu *čibin* cf. TMEN III: 1066; s. **sinek**

čil I   Rebhuhn, *Perdix perdix*. Cf. gag. GRMS 543, kkar. KRPS 628, kirg. KiRS 862 *čil* 'dass.' sowie nog. NRS 412 *šil* 'strepet' (Zwergtrappe); s. **keklik**

čil II   Haselhuhn, *Tetrastes bonasia*. Cf. ttü. Stw 185 *çil*, as. ARS 394, nuig. URL 413 *čil*, ba. BRS 466 *sel*, kas. RKaS 709 *šil* (s.v. *rjabčik*) 'dass.'. – Zu *čil* cf. auch EDPT 417; s. **daγ tavuγï**

čipče   Küken. Cf. ttü. DS III: 1231 *çipçe*, kkar. KRPS 628 *čipče* 'dass.'. – Lautmalerei, die das Piepsen der Küken wiedergibt. Cf. as. ARS 409, nuig. URL 369 *ğüğä*, tkm. TuRS 328 *ğüyğe*, k.b. KBRS 270, kum. KuRS 142 *ğüğek*, kkp. KkRS 740 *šöğe*, kirg. KiRS 870 *čöğö*, usb. UzRS 160 *ğöğä* sowie tat. TaRS 633 *čebi*, ba. RBS 935 *sepey* (s.v. *cyplënok*), nog. NRS 413 *šipey ~ šipiy* 'dass.'.

čirkiy   Mücke, Stechmücke. Cf. kkar. KRPS 629 *čirki*, nog. NRS 413 *širkey*, kirg. KiRS 863 *čirkey* 'dass.'. – Cf. auch tat. TaRS 634 *čerki*, kkp. KkRS 737, kas. KaRS 402 *širkey* 'moška' (Kriebelmücke); s. **qarïnǧa II**

čïqčïqbalaban   Schnecke, *Helix sp.* Cf. ttü. DS III: 905 *cıkcık* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'heraus, heraus, Riese' (< *čïq*- 'herauskommen, hinaufgehen'), ein imperativischer Satzname, der die Schnecke aus ihrem Haus locken soll. Cf. aber den Scheuchruf İd 30 *çıq* 'köpeği kovarken kullanılan kelime'.

čïŋγïravuq yïlan   Klapperschlange, *Crotalus horridus*. Cf. ttü. Stw 182 *çıngıraklıyılan* 'dass'. – Vermutlich eine Lehnübersetzung, die auch in anderen Türksprachen nachweisbar ist.

čïrčïr   Feldgrille, *Gryllus campestris*. Cf. ttü. Stw 156 *cırcırböceği* 'dass.' sowie İdH 41 *sırsır* 'cırcır böceği, ağustos böceği', SK 52 *jerjerek* 'orak böjeji'. – Bei *čïrčïr* handelt es sich um eine Lautmalerei, die das Zirpen der Grille nachahmt; s. **čïrlaq**

čïr-čïr böğegi   Baumgrille, *Cicada plebeja*. Cf. ttü. DS III: 1186 *cırcır* 'dass.'.

čïrčïr mazin   Heuschrecke; s. **čegertki I** und **čïrčïrna**

čïrčïrna   Heuschrecke. Cf. as. ARS 407 *ğïrğïrama* 'dass.', ttü. DS III: 1186 *çırçıra* 'ağustos böceği'; s. **čegertki I** und **čïrčïr mazin**

čïrlaq   Feldgrille, *Gryllus campestris*. Cf. ttü. Stw 156 *cırlak*, usb. UzRS 522 *čïrïldåq* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Zirper'; s. **čïrčïr**

čočamiy torγay   Haubenlerche, *Galerida cristata*. – Wörtlich 'Schopflerche'; cf. ttü. Stw 926 *tepeli toygar*, k.b. KBRS 744 *töppeli čipčïq* (s.v. *čipčïq*), kkp. KkRS 536 *poššatorγay* 'Haubensperling', balk. KBRS 744 *čoqaybaš čipčïq* (s.v. *čipčïq*) 'Schopfkopfsperling'. Usb. UzRS 394 *sofitorγay* 'Sufi-Lerche' vergleicht den Schopf des Vogels mit der hohen Filzmütze eines Sufis.

čočqa Schwein, *Sus scrofa domesticus.* – Zu *čočqa* cf. EDPT 400; s. **domuz** und **donuz**

čubar balïq [tschubar-balyk P III: 349] Forelle, *Salmo trutta.* – Wörtlich 'pockennarbiger Fisch'; s. **ala balïq II** und **beŋli balïq**

daɣ sičanï Alpenmurmeltier, *Marmota marmota.* Cf. ttü. Stw 196 *dağ sıçanı* 'dass.'.

daɣ tavuɣï Haselhuhn, *Tetrastes bonasia.* Cf. ttü. Stw 196 *dağ tavuğu* 'dass.'; s. **čil II**

dambay [dambai W 137]* Wasserbüffel, *Bubalus bubalus.*[3] Cf. ttü. Stw 239 *dombay*, DS IV: 1551–1552 *dombay ~ dombey ~ donbay ~ donbey* 'dass.', kkar. KRPS 179 *dombay* 'bujvolica, molodoj bujvol' (Büffelkuh, junger Büffel); s. **manda** und **suvsïɣïr**

deŋiz arslanï Seelöwe, *Eumetopias jubatus.* Cf. ttü. Stw 213 *deniz aslanı*, kas. RKaS 311 *teŋiz arïstanï* (s.v. *lev*), kirg. RKiS 321 *deŋiz arstanï* (s.v. *lev*) 'dass.'.

deŋiz ayɣïrï Seepferdchen, *Hippocampus brevirostris.* Cf. ttü. Stw 215 *denizaygırı* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Seehengst'; cf. auch usb. RUzS I: 459 *deŋiz tåyčasï* (s.v. *konek*), wörtlich 'Seefohlen'; s. **ayɣïrčïq**

deŋizχïyarï Seegurke, *Holothuria tubulosa.* Cf. ttü. Stw 215 *denizhıyarı* 'dass.'. – Vermutlich eine Lehnübersetzung, cf. z.B. r. *morskoj ogurec*; die Bezeichnung bezieht sich auf die gurkenähnliche Gestalt dieses Meertieres.

deŋiz kestanesi Seeigel, *Echinus sphaerea.* Cf. ttü. Stw 215 *denizkestanesi* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Seekastanie'; der Name assoziiert den bestachelten, kugeligen Körper des Seeigels mit der Fruchthülle der Eßkastanie.

deŋiz qaplïbaqasï Seeschildkröte, *Caretta caretta*

deŋizqïzï Seekuh, *Halicore sp.* Cf. ttü. Stw 215 *denizkızı* 'dass.'. – Möglicherweise eine Lehnübersetzung, denn die Meerkühe werden auch Sirenen genannt.

deŋizmaymunu I Katzenhai, *Scyliorhinus sp.* Cf. ttü. Stw 215 *denizmaymunu* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Meeraffe'. Die Metapher verknüpft die kurze, quermäulige Schnauze des Katzenhais mit der Physiognomie eines Affen, cf. das Synonym *pisiybalïq*, wörtlich 'Katzenfisch'; s. **pisiybalïq**

deŋizmaymunu II Fuchshai, *Alopias vulpinus*

deve [dewae P I: 193] Kamel, *Camelus sp.* – Zu *dävä* cf. TMEN II: 1015, EDPT 447–448; s. **tüye**

deve qušu Strauß, *Struthio camelus.* Cf. DLT 166 *tewe quš*, Bul 19, İd 34 *dävä quš*, Tuh 256 *teve kuş* sowie ttü. Stw 220 *devekuşu*, as. ARS 124 *dävägušu*, tkm. TuRS 289 *düyeğuš*, kkar. KRPS 553 *tüye qušu*, tat. TaRS 566 *tävä qošï*, ba. RBS 831 *döyä ɣoš* (s.v. *straus*), kum. RKuS 984 *tüyequš* (s.v. *straus*), kkp. KkRS 660 *tüye qus* (s.v. *straus*), kas. RKaS 792 *tüye qus* (s.v. *straus*), kirg. KiRS 758 *töö quš*, usb. UzRS 461 *tüyäquš*, nuig. URL 319 *tögä quš* 'dass.'. – Der Strauß wird wegen seiner Größe und Gestalt 'Kamelvogel' genannt.

domuz [domous W 139] Schwein, *Sus scrofa domesticus*; s. **donuz**

domuzbalïɣï Kleiner Tümmler, *Phocaena phocaena.* Cf. ttü. Stw 239 *domuz-*

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[3] Bei Witsen in der Bedeutung 'dieren' (Tiere) belegt.

balığı, gag. GRMS 155 *domuz balïï* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Schweinefisch'; die Benennung bezieht sich auf die dicke Speckschwarte des Tieres.

donuz [dönous – statt donous – W 139] Schwein, *Sus scrofa domesticus.* – Zu *doŋuz* cf. ESTJa III: 267–268, TMEN II: 945, EDPT 527; s. **domuz**

duduquš Papagei (< p. *totī*). Cf. ttü. CC 250 *totu*, İdH 48 *tuti* sowie Stw 245 *dudu kuşu*, as. ARS 345 *tutuġušu*, tkm. TuRS 641 *totuġuš*, tat. TaRS 559 *tutïy qoš*, ba. BRS 555 *tutïyγoš*, kkp. KkRS 650, kas. KaRS 351, usb. UzRS 467 *totï*, kirg. KiRS 755 *totu*, nuig. URL 311 *toti quš*, tuv. TuvRS 155 *doydu* 'dass.'. – In der Bedeutung 'Pfau' (r. *pavlin*) ist kum. KuRS 320 *totuquš* belegt; s. **papaγan**

düšman Wolf, *Canis lupus.* – Wörtlich 'Feind'; der Ausdruck ist vermutlich ein Tabuwort; s. **börü, qašqïr** und **qurt I**

ebabil Felsenschwalbe, *Ptyonoprogne rupestris* (< p. *abābīl*). Cf. ttü. Stw 254 *ebabil kuşu* 'Sturmtaucher, *Puffinus puffinus*'.

ečki Ziege, *Capra sp.* – Zu *ečki* cf. ESTJa III: 34–36, EDPT 24; s. **keči** und **serke**

elek balïyï Schwarzmeersteinbutt, *Scophthalmus maeoticus.* – Wörtlich 'Siebfisch'; auf Augen- und Blindseite des Fisches sind zahlreiche Knochenkegel verteilt, die das Bild eines Siebes vermitteln; s. **aq töš** und **qalqanbalïq**

erkek Hammel, Widder. – Zu *erkek* cf. ESTJa I: 297–299, EDPT 220–221, Erdal 1991: 41; s. **qoč** und **qočqar**

ešek Esel, *Equus asinus.* – Zu *ešek* cf. ESTJa I: 317–318, TMEN II: 486, EDPT 260.

ferik junges Huhn (< p. *farūk*). Cf. SK 68 *ferik* 'fere' sowie ttü. Stw 297 *ferik* 'einjähriger Hahn'.

fil Elefant, *Elephas sp.*(< p. *pīl* bzw. ar. *fīl*). Cf. CC 97 sowie ttü. Stw 302, as. ARS 361, kkar. KRPS 594, ba. BRS 596 *fil*, tkm. TuRS 527, tat. TaRS 603, kum. KuRS 260, nog. NRS 268, kkp. KkRS 531, usb. UzRS 490, nuig. URL 267 *pil*, kirg. KiRS 134 *bil* 'dass.'.

furtuna qušu Sturmtaucher, *Puffinus sp.* Cf. as. ARS 326 *fïrtïna ġušu* 'dass.', ttü. *fïrtïnakuşu* Stw 301 'Sturmschwalbe, *Hydrobates pelagicus*'.

furun böğegi Mehlkäfer, *Tenebrio molitor.* – Wörtlich 'Backofenkäfer'; der schwarze Mehlkäfer, dessen Larven sich vorwiegend von Mehl ernähren, kommt in Bäckereien und Mühlen vor.

geğe quš Eule. Cf. ttü. Stw 317 *gece kuşu*, gag. GRMS 108 *geğä qušu* 'dass.'. – Der Terminus benennt außerdem die nachtaktive Fledermaus – ttü. Stw 317 *gece kuşu*, as. ARS 219 *geğäġušu*, kum. KuRS 99 *gečequš*. Auf die vogelhafte Erscheinung der Fledermaus verweist auch tsch. ČRS 349 *śara śerśi*, wörtlich 'nackter Sperling'; s. **bayquš** und **miyav quš**

gögerğin Taube, *Columba sp.* – Zu *gögerčin* cf. ESTJa III: 57–59, EDPT 713.

gugu qušu Kuckuck, *Cuculus canorus.* Cf. ttü. Stw 344 *guguk kuşu*, DS VI: 2189 *guggu*, as. ARS 111 *ġuġġu ~ ġuγu*, gag. GRMS 293 *ququ*, kar. KBRS 190 *guguk*, tsch. ČRS 176 *kukkuk* 'dass.'. – Lautmalerei des Kuckucksrufes, die vornehmlich im europäischen Teil der Turcia belegt ist; s. **kükükquš**

güčen   Waldiltis, *Mustela putorius*. Cf. kkar. RKS 135 *güğän* 'kunica' (Marder),
ttü. Stw 333 *göçen* 'Hermelin (im Sommerpelz), *Mustela erminea*'. – Mit ttü. DS
VI: 2119–2120 *göcen* wird primär ein junger Hase bezeichnet, ebenso mit kas.
RKaS 200 *köğek* (s.v. *zajčonok*), kkp. KkRS 139 *göğek*, kirg. KiRS 150 *böğök*; s.
gelinček II und **küzen**

ğarɣana   Fledermaus, *Vespertilo murinus* (und andere Gattungen). – Wahrschein-
lich eine Abwandlung von *yarqanat*, wörtlich 'Häutchenflügel'. Zu *yarqanat* bzw.
yarasa cf. ESTJa IV: 140–141, TMEN IV: 1836, EDPT 972; s. **yelqanat**

ğeyran   Gazelle, *Gazella subgutturosa*. – Zu *ğeyran* cf. ESTJa IV: 24–25, TMEN
I: 171.

ğumran   Ziesel, *Citellus sp*. – Zu *yumran* cf. ESTJa IV: 247–248, TMEN IV: 1917.

χačir   Maultier, Maulesel. – Zu *χačir* cf. TMEN III: 1395; s. **qatyr**

χačli qoŋuz   Kreuzspinne, *Arenea diademata*

χamsi [chamssi P III: 212]   Sardelle, *Engraulis encrasicholus* (< gr. χαμψί). Cf. ttü.
Stw 362 *hamsi (balığı)*, kkar. RKS 88 *χamsä* (s.v. *ančous*), nog. NRS 396, usb.
UzRS 497 *χamsa*, tsch. ČRS 481 *hamsa* 'dass.'.

χanbalïq [chan-balyk P III: 259]*   eine Trommlerfisch-Art, *Coracinus boops*. –
Die Assoziation mit einem Fürstentitel deutet auf den vorzüglichen Geschmack
des Fisches hin.[4]

χinzïr   Wildschwein, *Sus scrofa* (< p. *ḫinzīr*). Cf. ttü. Stw 387 *hınzır* 'dass.'; s.
kiyik domuz und **qïr domuzu**

χoraz   Hahn (< p. *ḫuros*). Cf. CC 103 *χoroz*, Hou 73 *choros*, Bul 21 *ḫoroz*, Tuh 173
xoraz sowie ttü. Stw 395 *horoz*, as. ARS 370 *χoruz*, gag. GRMS 520, kkar. KRPS
604 *χoroz*, tkm. TuRS 702, kum. KuRS 347, nuig. URL 425 *χoraz*, usb. UzRS 511
χoråz, nog. NRS 173, kas. KaRS 449, kkp. KkRS 401 *qoraz*, kirg. KiRS 407 *qoroz*
'dass.'.

inğir qušu   Misteldrossel, *Turdus viscivorus*. Cf. ttü. Stw 433 *incirkuşu* 'Pieper,
Anthus sp.'.

ipilčik   Zeisig, *Spinus spinus*. Cf. ttü. DS VII: 2545 *iplecek* 'ince, küçük'.

iskupisiy [skupisi P III: 240]*   Meersau, *Scorpaena scrofa* (< gr. σκορπίδι). Cf. ttü.
Stw 444 *iskorpit* 'dass.'; s. **tikenbalïq**

it [it W 145]*   Hund, *Canis domesticus*. – Zu *it* cf. ESTJa I: 385, TMEN II: 633,
EDPT 34; s. **baraq** und **köpek**

kanarya   Kanarienvogel, *Serinus canaria*. Cf. ttü. Stw 480, as. ARS 202 *kanarya*
'dass.'.

kapïsta köbelegi   Kohlweißling, *Pieris brassicae*. Cf. as. RAL I: 515 *käläm
käpänäyi* (s.v. *kapustnica*), usb. UzRS 202 *käräm qurtï*, nuig. RUS 466 *kapusta
kepiligi* (s.v. *kapustnica*), chak. XRS 136 *kapusta örbekeyi*, XRS 71 *kapusta χurtï*,
tsch. ČRS 179 *kupåsta lĕpĕšĕ* 'dass.'.

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[4] Im Krimtatarischen sind ähnliche Benennungen auch für besonders große und wohlschmeckende
Obstsorten nachweisbar, s. Hauenschild (1993, passim).

keči   Ziege, *Capra sp.* – Zu *keči* cf. ESTJa III: 34–36; s. **ečki** und **serke**

kedi [kjedi W 145]*   Katze, *Felis domesticus*. Cf. İdH 28 sowie ttü. Stw 510, gag. GRMS 261 *kedi* 'dass.'; s. **mači**, **mišïq** und **pisiy**

kefal [kephàl P III: 222]*   Meeräsche, *Mugil cephalus* (< gr. κέφαλος). Cf. ttü. Stw 511 *kefal balığı* 'dass.'.

keklik   Rebhuhn, *Perdix perdix*. – Zu *keklik* cf. ESTJa V: 62–63, TMEN III: 1639, EDPT 710–711; s. **čil I**

kelinček I   Mauswiesel, *Mustela nivalis*. – Wörtlich 'Bräutchen'; der Name wird als Euphemismus gebraucht. Zu *kelinček* cf. ESTJa III: 18.

kelinček II [keneltschik – statt kelentschik – P I: 88]*   Waldiltis, *Mustela putorius*; s. **güčen** und **küzen**

kerkedan   Nashorn, *Rhinoceros indicus* (< p. *kargadan*). Cf. ttü. Stw 325 *gergedan*, as. RAL II: 232 *kärgädan* (s.v. *nosorog*), tat. TaRS 320 *kärkädan*, usb. UzRS 202 *kärkidån* 'dass.'.

kesertki [kessertkoe P III: 29]   Eidechse, speziell *Lacerta sp.* – Zu *kesertki* cf. ESTJa V: 57–58 sowie Hauenschild 1998: 139–140.

keten qušu   Birkenzeisig, *Acanthis flammea*. Cf. ttü. Stw 521 *ketenkušu* 'Hänfling, *Acanthis cannabina*'. – Wörtlich 'Leinvogel'; der Name ist offensichtlich vom Hänfling auf den Birkenzeisig übertragen worden, und zwar wegen der Ähnlichkeit der Männchen, die bei beiden Arten an Brust und Scheitel rot gefärbt sind.

kirpi [kjerpe W 146]   Igel, *Erinaceus sp.* – Zu *kirpi* cf. ESTJa V: 72–74, TMEN III: 1622, EDPT 737.

kis [cis W 147]*   Zobel, *Martes zibellina*. Cf. nog. NRS 167 *kis* 'dass'. – Zu *kiš* cf. ESTJa V: 77–78, TMEN III: 1698, EDPT 752; s. **samïr**

kiyik I [kjeik W 146]*   Rothirsch, *Cervus elaphus*. Cf. ttü. Stw 326 *geyik* 'dass.'; s. **qarağa II**

kiyik II   Wildziege, *Capra hircus*. – Zu *kiyik* cf. ESTJa V: 21–23, EDPT 755.

kiyik balqurt   Wespe, *Vespa sp.* Cf. kkar. KRPS 318 *kiyik bal qurt* 'šeršen'' (Hornisse); s. **kiyik qurt**

kiyik domuz   Wildschwein, *Sus scrofa*. Cf. CC 136 *kejik toŋuz* 'wildes Schwein'; s. χ**ïnzïr** und **qïr domuzu**

kiyik ečki   Gemse, *Rupicapra rupicapra*. Cf. kkar. KRPS 672 (s.v. *ečki*), k.b. KBRS 346 *kiyik ečki* 'dass.'; cf. aber kkar. KRPS 318 *kiyik keči* 'gazel'' (Gazelle).

kiyik gögerğin   Ringeltaube, *Columba palumbus*. Cf. tat. TaRS 310 *qïr kügärčene* 'dass.'; s. **ügäyik**

kiyik qaz   Rothalsgans, *Branta ruficollis*

kiyik qurt   Wespe, *Vespa sp.*; s. **kiyik balqurt**

kiyik tavuq   Birkhuhn, *Lyrurus tetrix*. Cf. tat. TaRS 310 *qïr tavïyï* 'dass.'.

köbelek   Schmetterling. – Zu *kebelek* cf. ESTJa V: 13–14, EDPT 689; s. **pervane**

kök qartal   Kaiseradler, *Aquila heliaca*. – Der Kaiseradler hat ein graubraunes Gefieder mit bläulichem Glanz.

kök sïčavul   Wanderratte, *Rattus norvegicus*. – Bei der Wanderratte verweist *kök* auf die grau- bis rötlichbraun gefärbte Oberseite.

köküš   Truthahn, *Meleagris gallopavo*. Cf. kkar. RKS 127 *köküč* (s.v. *indjuk*) 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'der Bläuliche'; der Name bezieht sich offensichtlich auf den

Hahn, der sich von der Henne u.a. dadurch unterscheidet, daß die Fleischwülste
am Kopf nicht nur rot, sondern auch blau gefärbt sind. Mit ttü. DS VIII: 2953 *kö-
küş*, k.b. KBRS 187 *goguš*, nog. NRS 178 *kökis* werden sowohl Hahn wie Henne
bezeichnet; s. **körel** und **misïr**

köpek [kjopek W 147]   Hund, *Canis domesticus. –* Zu *köpek* cf. ESTJa V: 111–112,
TMEN III: 1655; s. **baraq** und **it**

kör čibin   Kriebelmücke, *Simulium hirtipes.* Cf. kum. RKuS 416 *soqurğibin* (s.v.
moška) 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'blinde Fliege'; diese Insekten scheinen blind zu sein,
weil sie bei einer Annäherung nicht hochfliegen, sondern sich mit der Hand weg-
nehmen lassen. Cf. auch gag. GRMS 286 *köör sinek*, k.b. KBRS 564 *soqur čibin*,
nog. NRS 302 *soqïr šïbïn* 'slepen'' (Pferdebremse); s. **yaqï böğegi II**

körel   Truthenne, *Meleagris gallopavo.* Cf. kkar. RKS 127 *köräl* (s.v. *indejka*)
'dass.', ttü. DS VIII: 2925 *korel* 'hindi' (Truthahn, Truthenne); s. **köküš** und **misïr**

kör sičan   Maulwurf, *Talpa europaea.* Cf. ttü. Stw 557 *kör sıçan*, as. RAL I: 592
(s.v. *krot*) *kor sičan*, tkm. TuRS 416 *körsičan*, kas. KaRS 226 *körtïšqan*, kkp.
KkRS 671 *gör tïšqan* (s.v. *tïšqan*), kirg. KiRS 427 *kör čïčqan*, usb. UzRS 235 *kör-
sičqan* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'blinde Maus'. Cf. auch ba. BRS 492 *huqïr sïsqan* (s.v.
sïsqan), tat. TaRS 490 *suqïr tïčqan*, kum. RKuS 363 *soqur čïčqan* (s.v. *krot*) sowie
nuig. URL 382 *qarγu čašqan* (s.v. *čašqan*). Zum Blindheitsmotiv in Maulwurfs-
namen cf. Hauenschild 1996–1997: 64–67; s. **yerğimran** und **yersičanï**

közlüklü yïlan   Brillenschlange, *Naja tripudians.* Cf. ttü. Stw 342 *gözlüklüyïlan*,
gag. GRMS 117 *gözlüklü yïlan*, tat. TaRS 334 *küzlekle yïlan*, ba. RBS 522 *küẕlekle
yïlan* (s.v. *očkovaja zmeja*) 'dass.'.

kükükquš   Kuckuck, *Cuculus canorus.* Cf. tat. TaRS 319 *käkkük*, ba. RBS 332 *kä-
kük* (s.v. *kukuška*), nog. NRS 177, kas. KaRS 224 *kökek*, kirg. KiRS 462 *kükük*,
usb. UzRS 197 *käkkü*, nuig. URL 635 *kakkuk*, alt. ORS 101 *küük*, chak. XRS 73
keküük, XRS 90 *köök*, tuv. TuvRS 455 *χäk*, jak. JaRS 217 *käγä* 'dass.'. – Diese
phonetische Variante des Kuckucksrufes ist fast ausschließlich bei den asiatischen
Türkvölkern gebräuchlich. Cf. DLT 409 *käkük*, von Kāšγarī mit 'zummağ' über-
setzt, einer Bezeichnung für den falkenähnlichen Habichtsadler, *Hieraaëtus fasci-
atus* (Eisenstein 1990: 174, 210). Der Habichtsadler ist wesentlich kleiner und
schlanker als die eigentlichen Adler; er gleicht in der Färbung des Gefieders Sper-
ber und Merlin, aber auch dem mit diesen beiden Greifvögeln häufig verwechsel-
ten Kuckuck; s. **gugu qušu**

kündüz köbelegi   Tagfalter, *Rhopalocera sp.* Cf. ttü. Stw 348 *gündüz kelebeği*
'dass.'.

kürpe   neugeborenes Lamm. Cf. ttü. DS VIII: 2967 *körpe*, as. ARS 215 *körpä*
'dass.'. – Zu *körpä* cf. TMEN III: 1673, EDPT 737; s. **qoğanay**, **qozu** und **toqlu**

küzen   Waldiltis, *Mustela putorius.* – Mit *küzen* können auch Steppeniltis, *Mustela
eversmanni* und Tigeriltis, *Vormela peregusna* bezeichnet werden; beide Arten
sind im Steppengürtel der Turcia beheimatet. Zu *küzen* cf. ESTJa V: 86–87, EDPT
761; s. **güčen** und **kelinček II**

qabaq qurtu   Maulwurfsgrille, *Gryllotalpa gryllotalpa.* – Wörtlich 'Kürbiswurm';
die Aktivitäten der Maulwurfsgrille zeigen besonders beim Kürbis gravierende

Folgen, da eine Verletzung des Wurzelwerks die Wasserversorgung der meterlangen Stengel und damit das Ausreifen der Früchte gefährdet; s. **bostanğï qurt** und **tana burun**

qaburčaq   Muschel. – Zu *qaburčaq* cf. EDPT 586–587.

qaqum [kakoun – statt kakoum – W 147]*   Hermelin, *Mustela erminea* (< p. *qāqum*). Cf. ttü. Stw 471 *kakım*, as. ARS 83 *ğaġum* 'dass.'sowie SK 115 *kakïm* 'sanksar, samura mušabih kara kujruklu bir hajvan ismi dir'; s. **as**

qalqanbalïq [kalkan-balyk P III: 419]   Schwarzmeersteinbutt, *Scophthalmus maeoticus*. Cf. ttü. Stw 475 *kalkan balığı* 'Steinbutt, *Rhombus maximus*', as. ARS 87 *ğalχanbalïγï*, gag. GRMS 235 *qalqan balïq*, kkar. RKS 129 *qalqan*, usb. RUzS I: 416 *qalqånbalïq* 'kambala' (Scholle). – Wörtlich 'Brettfisch'; der Name bezieht sich auf die ungewöhnliche Körperform des Fisches; s. **aq töš** und **elek balïγï**

qamïš qïrγïyï   Rohrweihe, *Circus aeruginosus*

qandalay   (Bett-)Wanze, *Cimex lectularius*. – Zu *qandala* cf. ESTJa V: 253–254; s. **taχtabit**

qaplan   Tiger, *Panthera tigris*.[5] – Zu *qaplan* cf. ESTJa V: 269–270, TMEN IV: 2073, EDPT 584.

qaplïbaqa   Sumpfschildkröte, *Emys orbicularis*. Cf. ttü. Stw 486 *kaplumbağa*, gag. GRMS 246 *qaplun bua*, kkar. KRPS 362 *qaplï-baqa*, kum. KuRS 188 *qapqačlï baqa* 'dass.'. Cf. auch SK 118 *kaplubaγa* 'taš baγa, tus baγa, baγa' sowie Hou 87 *kabarčyklu boga*, Bul 37 *qabynčaqly baγa*, İd 67 *qaburçaqlı bağa*, Tuh 181 *kabarçaklı baga*.

qaraböğek   Totengräber, *Necrophorus sp.* – Die Totengräber sind schwarze Käfer mit roter Querbänderung, die sich scharenweise um Aas versammeln, es allmählich in den Boden eingraben und dann als Brutstätte nutzen; s. **leš böğegi**

qarağa I [karadshà P I: 220]*   Reh, *Capreolus capreolus*.[6] Cf. ttü. Stw 488 *karaca* 'dass.'. – Mit *qarağa* wird die rotbraune Färbung von Reh und Rothirsch erfaßt, die gegen das weißgefleckte, lichte Braun des Damhirsches dunkel wirkt.

qarağa II   Rothirsch, *Cervus elaphus*. Cf. gag. *qarağa* GRMS 248 'olen', los'' (Hirsch, Elch); s. **kiyik**

qara qarγa   Saatkrähe, *Corvus frugilegus*. Cf. tat. TaRS 228, ba. RBS 151 (s.v. *grač*), kum. KuRS 189, nog. NRS 147 *qara qarγa*, nuig. RUS 219 (s.v. *grač*) *qara qaγa*, tsch. ČRS 508 *hura kurak* 'dass.' – Die Saatkrähe hat im Gegensatz zur grauschwarz gefiederten Nebelkrähe ein tiefschwarzes Federkleid. Cf. ttü. *kara karga* Stw 487 'Kolkrabe, *Corvus corax*'.

qara quš I   Adler, speziell Steinadler, *Aquila chrysaëtos*. – Zu *qara quš* cf. TMEN III: 1440 (8); s. **aytu** und **qartal I**

qara quš II   Lämmergeier, *Gypaëtus barbatus*. Cf. ba. BRS 324 *qaraqoš*, kas. KaRS 435 *qara qus* 'stervjatnik' (Schmutzgeier). – Der Ausdruck *qara quš* ist vermutlich im Sinne von 'großer Vogel' zu deuten (Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 36, Fußnote 6), denn er benennt vornehmlich Adler und Geier, die mit ihrer ungeheuren

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[5] Bei Kondaraki (1875: 17) mit r. *levica* (Löwin) übersetzt.

[6] Kondaraki (1875: 17) erklärt *qarağa* mit r. *dikaja koza*. Gemeint ist damit aber vermutlich das Reh, das häufig als eine wilde Ziege betrachtet wird; cf. z.B. tat. TaRS 310 *qïr käğäse* 'kosulja' (Reh).

Flügelspannweite auch im Flugbild als die größten Raubvögel erkennbar sind. Zudem sind Geier kaum als 'schwarze Vögel' zu bezeichnen, da ihr Gefieder von sehr hellen Farben dominiert wird.

qara leylek Heiliger Ibis, *Threskiornis aethiopica*. Cf. ttü. Stw 487 *kara leylek*, as. RAL I: 447 *ġaraleyläk* (s.v. *ibis*) 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'schwarzer Storch'; beim Ibis, der dem Storch in Gestalt und Gefieder ähnelt, sind Kopf und Schnabel schwarz gefärbt.

qara papiy Samtente, *Melanitta fusca*. Cf. tat. RTaS IV: 219 *qara ürdäk* (s.v. *turpan*), ba. RBS 872 *qara öyräk* (s.v. *turpan*) 'dass.'. – Die Samtente hat ein kohlschwarzes Federkleid.

qara tavuq Amsel, *Turdus merula*. Cf. ttü. Stw 491 *karatavuk*, as. ARS 91 *ġaratoyuġ*, kum. KuRS 191 *qaratawuq* 'dass.' sowie SK 120 *kara tauk* 'märuf ve mešhur kumruja benzer bir nevi kuš ismi dir'. – Wörtlich 'schwarzes Huhn'; die Assoziation mit einem Huhn ergibt sich vermutlich aus dem bei der Amsel stark ausgeprägten Scharrverhalten.

qara yïlan Ringelnatter, *Natrix natrix*. Cf. ttü. Stw 491 *karayılan* 'Natter, *Coluber*'. – Die Ringelnatter hat eine graue Haut mit schwarzen Sprenkeln. Zur Bedeutung von *qara yïlan* in anderen Türksprachen cf. ESTJa IV: 277 (s.v. *yïlan*); s. **ze'ersiz yïlan**

qarčïya Hühnerhabicht, *Accipiter gentilis*. – Zu *qarčïya* cf. ESTJa V: 317–319, TMEN I: 278; s. **ak baba qušu** und **čaylaq qušu**

qarγa [karga W 148] Krähe, *Corvus sp.* – Zu *qarγa* cf. ESTJa V: 303–304, TMEN III: 1386, EDPT 653.

qarïlγač Schwalbe, *Hirundo sp.* – Zu *qarïlγač* cf. ESTJa V: 307–309, TMEN III: 1513, EDPT 657.

qarïnğa I [karingia W 148] Ameise, *Formica sp.* – Zu *qarïnğa* cf. ESTJa V: 323, TMEN III: 1384, EDPT 662; s. **qïrmïšqa**

qarïnğa II Mücke, Stechmücke;[7] s. **čirkiy**

qartal I Adler, *Aquila sp.* – Zu *qartal* cf. ESTJa V: 316–317, TMEN III: 1454, EDPT 648–649; s. **aytu** und **qara quš I**

qartal II [kartàll P I: 376]* Schmutzgeier, *Neophron percnopterus*; s. **leš qartalï**

qasartqi Zecke, speziell Holzbock, *Ixodes ricinus*. Cf. kkar. RKS 131 (s.v. *klešč*), kum. KuRS 194, nog. NRS 153 *qasartqï* 'dass.'. – Zu *qasïrtqa ~ saqïrtγa* cf. EDPT 816.

qašqïr Wolf, *Canis lupus*. – Zu *qašqïr* cf. ESTJa V: 352–353; s. **börü**, **düšman** und **qurt I**

qatalaq čibin Bremse. Cf. kum. KuRS 195 *qatalan*, nog. NRS 154 *qatala* 'dass.'. – Mit *qatalaq* könnte zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, daß die Bremse Mensch und Tier blindwütig verfolgt, cf. k.b. KBRS 399 *qatala* 'razjarënnyj'; s. **at čibini** und **sïγïr sinegi**

qatïr [katir W 149] Maultier, Maulesel. – Zu *qatïr* cf. ESTJa V: 339–340, TMEN III: 1395, EDPT 604; s. **χačïr**

qaya balïyï I Gründling, *Gobio gobio*. Cf. ttü. Stw 505 *kayabalığı* 'Meergrundel,

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[7] Nur bei Kondaraki (1875:17) in dieser Bedeutung belegt.

Gobius sp.'. – Der Gründling wird 'Felsenfisch' genannt, weil er sich vorwiegend auf steinigem Grund aufhält; s. **taštešer balïyï I**

qaya balïyï II   Meerkaulkopf, *Pomatoschistus sp.*

qaya biyi   Tarantel, *Lycosa tarentula*. Cf. as. ARS 84 *ġayahörümčäyi* 'dass.'.

qaya χorazï   Felsenhahn, *Rupicola rupicola*. Cf. ttü. Stw 505 *kayahorozu* 'dass.'.

qaz [kas W]   Gans, *Anser sp.* – Zu *qaz* cf. ESTJa V: 184–185, TMEN III: 1389, EDPT 679.

qïličbalïyï I   Schwertfisch, *Xiphias gladius*. Cf. ttü. Stw 524 *kılıçbalığı*, as. RAL II: 77 *ġilinğ-balïğ* (s.v. *meč-ryba*), tat. TaRS 310 *qïlič balïq*, ba. RBS 370 *qïlïs balïq* (s.v. *meč-ryba*), kkp. RKkS 426 *qïlïš balïq* (s.v. *meč-ryba*), kas. KaRS 342 *semser-balïq* (s.v. *meč-ryba*), kirg. RKiS 355 *qïlič tumšuq balïq* (s.v. *meč-ryba*) 'dass.'. – Beim Schwertfisch, der in fast allen Sprachen gleich benannt wird, läuft die obere Kinnlade in einem langen, an den Seitenrändern schneidenden, zahnlosen 'Schwert' aus. Die meisten türksprachigen Benennungen sind vermutlich als eine Lehnübersetzung aus dem Russischen anzusehen; cf. aber usb. RUzS I: 556 *nayzabalïq* (s.v. *meč-ryba*), wörtlich 'Lanzenfisch'.

qïličbalïyï II   Sägerochen, *Pristis sp.* – Der krt. Name ist wahrscheinlich vom Schwertfisch auf den Sägerochen übertragen worden, denn dieser hat gleichfalls eine zu einem langen 'Schwert' ausgezogene Schnauze, die aber seitlich wie eine Säge mit spitzen Dolchzähnen besetzt ist. In den übrigen Türksprachen wird der Sägerochen, zum Teil wohl in Lehnübersetzung, als 'Sägefisch' bezeichnet. Cf. ttü. Stw 932 *testerebalığı*, as. ARS 251 *mišar balïyï* sowie (jeweils s.v. *pila-ryba*) tkm. RTuS 489 *pičği balïq*, tat. RTaS III: 83 *pičqï balïq*, ba. RBS 558 *bïsqï balïq*, kkp. RKkS 667 *pišqï balïq*, usb. RUzS II: 58 *ärräbalïq*, tsch. RČS 508 *păčkă-pulă*. Eine eigenständige Wortbildung ist ttü. Stw 608 *marangozbalığı*, wörtlich 'Schreinerfisch'.

qïl quyruq   Spießente, *Anas acuta*. Cf. ttü. Stw 524 *kılkuyruk*, as. RAL III: 512 *ġïlğuyruğ* (s.v. *šiloxvostka*), tat. TaRS 309 *qïlqoyrïq*, ba. BRS 356 *qïlγoyroq* 'dass.', tkm. TuRS 230 *ġïlğuyruq* 'rjabok' (Spießflughuhn). – Wörtlich 'Haarschwanz'; der Name bezieht sich auf den langen, dünnen Schwanz der Spießente.

qïr baqasï   Erdkröte, *Bufo sp.* Cf. kum. RKuS 207, nog. RNS 174 *qïr baqa* (s.v. *žaba*) 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Frosch der Einöde'; sinnverwandte Benennungen sind as. ARS 114 *ġuruġurbaγasï* 'Frosch des Trockenen', tat. RTaS I: 277 *ğir baqasï* (s.v. *žaba*), k.b. RKBS 160 *ğer maqa* (s.v. *žaba*), tsch. ČRS 359 *śěr šapi* 'Erdfrosch', usb. UzRS 530 *čölbaqa*, nuig. URL 396 *čölpaqa* 'Wüstenfrosch'.

qïr domuzu [cydsmuzy – statt cyrdomuzy – W 150]*   Wildschwein, *Sus scrofa*. Cf. ba. BRS 485 *qïr susqahï*, nog. RNS 240 *qïr šošqasï* (s.v. *kaban*), tsch. ČRS 501 *hir sïsni* 'dass.'; s. **χinzïr** und **kiyik domuz**

qïryïy   Sperber, *Accipiter nisus*. – Zu *qïryïy* cf. TMEN III: 1461, EDPT 654–655. Mit nog. NRS 201 *qïryïy* wird im Dialekt der Kranich benannt; s. **atmaġa qušu** und **belin**

qïrqayaq   Tausendfüßler, *Julus terrestris*. Cf. ttü. Stw 526 *kırkayak*, as. ARS 106 *ġirχayaġ*, gag. GRMS 309, kkar. KRPS 381, kum. KuRS 214, nog. NRS 201, kkp. KkRS 429, kirg. RKiS 809 (s.v. *sorokonožka*) *qïrq ayaq*, tat. RTaS IV: 101 *qïrïγayaq* (s.v. *sorokonožka*), ba. RBS 809 *qïrγayaq* (s.v. *sorokonožka*), kas.

KaRS 465 *qïrïq ayaq*, usb. UzRS 615 *qïrq åyåq*, nuig. URL 624 *qïrqayaq* 'dass.'.
– Wörtlich 'Vierzigfuß', eine Anspielung auf die zahllosen Beinpaare dieses Glie-
dertieres.

qïrmïšqa   Ameise, *Formica sp.* – Zu *qïrmïšqa* cf. EDPT 628, Erdal 1991: 84; s.
qarïnǧa I

qïrmïzï böǧek   Koschenille, *Bluta polonica*. – Die Koschenille ist eine Schildlaus,
aus der ein roter Farbstoff, das Karmin, gewonnen wird. Mit ttü. Stw 527
kïrmïzböceǧi wird die Kermesschildlaus, *Kermes ilicis* bezeichnet, die gleichfalls
Karmin liefert, aber nicht wie die Koschenille an den Wurzeln bestimmter Kräu-
ter, sondern auf der Kermeseiche lebt; cf. auch Laude-Cirtautas (1961: 58, Fußno-
te 8).

qïsqač   Krebs, *Cancer sp.* (und andere Gattungen). Cf. kkar. KRPS 382 *qïsqač*, kas.
RKaS 672 *qïsqïš* (s.v. *rak*), usb. UzRS 617 *qïsqïčbaqa*, nuig. URL 628 *qïsquč*
paqa 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Scheren (des Krebses)'; usb. *qïsqïčbaqa* und nuig. *qïs-*
quč paqa 'Scherenfrosch'. Zu *qïsqač* cf. EDPT 667, Erdal 1991: 85. Cf. auch ttü.
DS VIII: 2842 *kïskaç* 'kulağa kaçan bir böcek', womit offensichtlich der Ohr-
wurm gemeint ist, der im Krt. *čatal quyruq* heißt.

qïsraq   Stute, die noch nicht gefohlt hat. – Zu *qïsraq* cf. EDPT 668–669; s. **baytal**
und **biye**

qïzïl qanat   Flamingo, *Phoenicopterus ruber*. – Wörtlich 'roter Flügel'; der Name
bezieht sich auf das lachsrote Gefieder dieser Flamingo-Art.

qoč [kods W 151]   Widder. – Zu *qoč* cf. TMEN III: 1550, EDPT 592; s. **erkek** und
qočqar

qočqar   Widder. – Zu *qočqar* cf. TMEN III: 1550, 1551; EDPT 592; s. **erkek** und
qoč

qoǧanay   Lamm. Cf. nog. NRS 175 *qošanay* 'dass.'; s. **kürpe**, **qozu** und **toqlu**

qoŋuz   Käfer, speziell Mistkäfer, *Geotrupes sp.* – Zu *qoŋuz* cf. TMEN III: 1538,
EDPT 641.

qorsaq   Steppenfuchs, *Vulpes korsac*. – Der Steppenfuchs ist kleiner als der Rot-
fuchs und hat einen ockergelben oder sandfarbenen Pelz. Zu *qarsaq* cf. TMEN III:
1459, EDPT 663.

qoy [coi W 151]   Schaf, *Ovis sp.* – Zu *qoy* cf. TMEN III: 1590, EDPT 631; s. **qoyun**

qoyan [cojan W 151]   Kaninchen, *Oryctolagus cuniculus*.[8] Cf. kkp. KkRS 406
qoyan 'dass.'. – Zu *qoyan* cf. EDPT 678.

qoyun [koin ~ kojun W 151]   Schaf, *Ovis sp.* – Zu *qoyun* cf. TMEN III: 1590, EDPT
631; s. **qoy**

qozu [kouɟou W 152]   Lamm. – Zu *qozï* cf. TMEN III: 1559, EDPT 681; s. **kürpe**,
qoǧanay und **toqlu**

qulun   Fohlen. – Zu *qulun* cf. TMEN III: 1523, EDPT 622; s. **qunan** und **tay**

qunan   zwei bis drei Jahre altes Fohlen. Cf. Hou 93 *kunan*, SK 134 *konan* sowie
tkm. TuRS 210 *ġunan*, ba. BRS 338 *qonan*, nog. NRS 187, kas. KaRS 473, kirg.
KiRS 445, tuv. TuvRS 251 *qunan* 'dass.'; s. **qulun** und **tay**

qunanǧïn   Färse. Cf. ba. BRS 338 *qonaǧïn*, kas. KaRS 473, nog. NRS 187 *qunaǧïn*,

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[8]   Bei Witsen 'een haes' (ein Hase).

usb. UzRS 645 *γunaǧïn*, nuig. URL 566 *γunuǧun* 'dass.' sowie SK 134 *konaǰïn*
'iki jašar kïsrak ve inek, urgaǰï inek'.

qunduz [kondous W 151]   Biber, *Castor fiber*. – Zu *qunduz* cf. TMEN III: 1534,
EDPT 635.

quroy [cuvoi – statt curoi – W 152]*   Steppenantilope, *Saiga tatarica*.[9] Cf. ba. BRS
338 *qoralay*, kas. KaRS 474, kkp. KkRS 411 *quralay* 'dass.', usb. UzRS 630
quralay 'detënyš lani ile olenja' (Damhirsch- oder Rothirschkitz), jak. JaRS 501
χoroy 'olenënok-dvuxletka' (zweijähriges Hirschkalb). – Cf. auch SSTMJa 414
tung. *kōraj*, burj. *xuuraj* 'koza (dikaja, samka)'. Mit 'dikaja koza' wird vor allem
das Weibchen der Saiga bezeichnet, das Männchen heißt SSTMJa 173 tung.
gūran, burj. *gura(n)*. Cf. aber alt. ORS 95 *quran* 'kosulja (samec)' (Rehbock).

qurbaγa [kourbaga W 152]*   Frosch, *Rana sp.*[10] – Zu *qurbaγa* cf. TMEN III: 1449,
EDPT 646–647; s. **baqa**

qurt I [kourt W 152]   Wolf, *Canis lupus*. – Zu *qurt* 'Wolf' cf. EDPT 648; s. **börü**,
düšman und **qašqïr**

qurt II   Wurm. – Zu *qurt* 'Wurm' cf. EDPT 648; s. **suvalčan**

quš [kous W 152]   Vogel. – Zu *quš* cf. TMEN III: 1561, EDPT 670.

quzγun I   Kolkrabe, *Corvus corax*. – Zu *quzγun* cf. TMEN III: 1480, EDPT 682.

quzγun II   Schwarzer Milan, *Milvus migrans*. Cf. as. ARS 112 *ǧuzγun* 'jagnjatnik,
jastreb' (Lämmergeier, Habicht); s. **čaylaq**

leš böǧegi   Totengräber, *Necrophorus sp.* – Wörtlich 'Aaskäfer'; s. **qaraböǧek**

leš qartalï   Schmutzgeier, *Neophron percnopterus*; s. **qartal II**

leylek [lelek W 153]   Storch, *Ciconia ciconia* (< ar. *laqlāq*). Cf. Id 57 *läkläk* sowie
ttü. Stw 586 *leylek*, as. ARS 293 *leyläk*, gag. GRMS 317 *lelek*, tkm. TuRS 431
leglek, tat. TaRS 355 *läkläk*, kum. KuRS 218 *laqlaq*, kkp. KkRS 437, kas. RKaS
19 (s.v. *aist*) *läylek*, kirg. KiRS 299 *ilegilek*, usb. UzRS 238, nuig. URL 690 *lägläk*
'dass.'.

lori   Fischadler, *Pandion haliaëtus* (< p. *lorī*). Cf. ttü. DS IX: 3088 *loru* 'hayvan
leşleriyle geçinen kara renkli kuş'.

mačï [matzi W 153]   Katze, *Felis domesticus*.[11] Cf. ttü. DS IX: 3100 *maçi*, kkar.
KRPS 405 *mačï*, tat. TaRS 387 *mäče* 'dass.'. – Zu *mačï* cf. EDPT 765; s. **kedi**,
mïšïq und **pisiy**

manda   Wasserbüffel, *Bubalus bubalus*. Cf. ttü. Stw 605, gag. GRMS 325 *manda*
'dass.'; s. **dambay** und **suvsïγïr**

maymun [maimoen W 153]   Affe (< p. *maimūn*). Cf. CC 162, Tuh 217 sowie ttü.
Stw 614, gag. GRMS 323, kkar. KRPS 401, kum. KuRS 222, usb. UzRS 247,

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[9] Bei Baski ist der Ausdruck 'cuvoi', den Witsen in der Bedeutung 'een wilde geit' anführt, mit einem
Fragezeichen versehen. Falls der Terminus nach einer Vorlage in arabischer Schrift transliteriert wurde,
könnte 'cuvoi' eine Verschreibung von 'curoi' (*wāw* statt *rā*) sein.

[10] Bei Witsen unzutreffend mit 'havik' (Habicht) übersetzt; der Lapsus dürfte zu Lasten des Informanten
bzw. Übersetzers gehen, da Witsen offensichtlich keine Krimtatarisch-Kenntnisse hatte.

[11] Bei Witsen in der Bedeutung 'kat' (Kater) belegt.

nuig. URL 700 *maymun*, as. ARS 240 *meymun*, tkm. TuRS 439 *maymïn*, ba. BRS
375, tat. TaRS 358, nog. NRS 211, kas. KaRS 233, kkp. KkRS 442, kirg. KiRS
511 *maymïl* 'dass.'.

mersin balïyï Sternstör, *Acipenser stellatus*. Cf. ttü. Stw 628 *mersin balığı*, tat.
RTaS II: 395 *märsin balïγï* (s.v. *osëtr*) 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Myrtenfisch; der
schwarzblaue Sternstör ist in fünf Längsreihen mit zierlichen weißen Knochen-
schilden besetzt, deren Sternform offenbar mit den weißen Blütensternen der
Myrte (*mersin*) verknüpft werden.

miyav quš Eule. – Wörtlich 'Vogel Miau'; die Benennung assoziiert den Eulenruf
mit dem Miauen einer Katze; s. **bayquš** und **geğequš**

mïsïr Truthahn, Truthenne *Meleagris gallopavo*. Cf. ttü. Stw 638 *mısır tavuğu*, DS
IX: 3189 *mısır* 'dass.'. – Mit *mïsïr* wird, ebenso wie mit ttü. Stw 391 *hindi*, auf die
exotische Herkunft des Vogels hingewiesen. Cf. auch gag. GRMS 337 *mïsïr*
'cesarka' (Perlhuhn); s. **köküš** und **körel**

mïsïr sïčanï Manguste, *Herpestes ichneumon*. Cf. ttü. Stw 638 *mısır sansarı*
'dass.'. – Die Manguste wird häufig 'Ratte der Pharaonen' genannt, da sie vor al-
lem in Ägypten vorkommt, cf. z.B. ttü. Stw 304 *firavunfaresi*.

mïšïq Katze, *Felis domesticus*. – Zu *mïšïq* cf. EDPT 765; s. **kedi**, **mači** und **pisiy**

mïyïqlï balïq Wels, *Silurus glanis*. Cf. ttü. DS II: 673 *bıyıklı* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich
'Fisch mit Schnurrbart'; die Bezeichnung bezieht sich auf die langen Barteln des
Welses. Cf. auch as. ARS 69 *bïγlï balïγ* 'usač' (Barbe).

obur qoŋuz Totenkäfer, *Blaps mortisaga*. – Wörtlich 'Hexenkäfer'; der Name um-
schreibt die unheimliche Erscheinung dieses völlig schwarzen Käfers, der sich
nachts häufig in Häusern zeigt.

oqlu kirpi Stachelschwein, *Hystrix cristata*. Cf. DLT 209 *oqluγ kirpi*, Tuh 221 *oklı
kirpi* sowie ttü. Stw 707 *oklukirpi*, as. ARS 275 *oχlukirpi*, tkm. TuRS 487 *oqlu-
kirpi* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Igel mit Pfeilen'; das altweltliche Stachelschwein ist mit
der Art *Hystrix cristata* von Nordafrika bis Vorderasien verbreitet. Bei Kāšγarī be-
zieht sich *oqluγ kirpi* wahrscheinlich auf die weißgeschwänzte Art *Hystrix leucu-
rus*.

oqyïlan [ok-dshilàn P III: 43]* eine Zornnatter-Art, *Coluber acontistes*. – Zu
oqyïlan cf. ESTJa IV: 277 (s.v. *yïlan*).

ögüz Ochse, Stier. – Zu *öküz* cf. ESTJa I: 521–523, TMEN I: 397, EDPT 120; s.
buγa

öpöpö [oepoepoe P I: 433]* Wiedehopf, *Upupa epops*. Cf. ttü. Stw 398 *huphup
kuşu*, as. ARS 385 *hop-hop*, tkm. TuRS 708 *χüypüypik*, nog. NRS 271 *pöpep*, kkp.
KkRS 512 *öpepek*, kirg. KiRS 823 *üpüp*, nuig. URL 762 *höppüp* 'dass.'. – Laut-
malerei, die den Wiedehopf-Ruf nachahmt. Der Wiedehopf wird nach seinem Ruf
auch mit ttü. Stw 403 *hüthüt kuşu*, as. ARS 387 *hüd-hüd*, tat. TaRS 783 *hödhöd*,
ba. BRS 631 *höẕhöt*, usb. UzRS 662 *hüdhüd* (< ar. *hudhud*) benannt. Zu *üpgük* cf.
auch EDPT 9, Erdal 1991: 159.

örümček Spinne. – Mit *örümček* werden speziell Webspinnen bezeichnet, die ihre

Beute im Netz fangen, wie z.B. die Hausspinne, *Tegenaria domestica*. Zu
örümček cf. ESTJa I: 545 (s.v. *ör- II*), TMEN IV: 1953, EDPT 231; s. **biy I**

papaɣan   Papagei (< ar. *babbaɣā*). Cf. ttü. Stw 734 *papağan*, gag. GRMS 360,
kum. KuRS 256 *papaɣan* 'dass.'; s. **duduquš**

papiy   Ente, *Anas sp.* Cf. ttü. DS IX: 3393, kkar. RKS 207 (s.v. *utka*) *papi*, nog.
NRS 75 *bapiy* 'dass.'.

papiyburun   Schnabeltier, *Ornithorhynchus anatinus*. – Vermutlich eine Lehn-
übersetzung von r. *utkonos*; cf. as. ARS 279 *ördäkburun*, tat. TaRS 751 *ürdäk-*
borïn, ba. BRS 424 *öyräktomšoq*, kas. RKaS 856, kkp. RKkS 1059 *üyrek tumsïq*,
kirg. RKiS 905 *ördök tumšuq*, usb. RUzS II: 652 *ördäkburun*, chak. RXS 899 *ör-*
tek tumzuχ, tsch. RČS 826 *kăvakal sămsa*. Eine originäre Wortbildung, die das
Schnabeltier als einen Säuger mit vogelartigen Merkmalen beschreibt, ist ttü. Stw.
312 *gagalı memeli*, wörtlich 'mit Schnabel und Euter'.

pava [pawa P II: 93]*   Pfau, *Pavo cristatus* (< it. *pavone*); s. **tavus qušu**

pervane   Nachtfalter, Schmetterling (< p. *parwāna*). Cf. ttü. Stw 747 *pervane*, as.
ARS 284, nuig. URL 249 *pärvanä*, usb. UzRS 319 *pärwånä* 'dass.'; s. **köbelek**

pire   Floh, *Pulex irritans*. – Zu *büre* cf. ESTJa II: 298–299, EDPT 362; s. **bürče**

pisiy   Katze, *Felis domesticus*. Cf. ttü. Stw 752 *pisi*, tat. TaRS 425 *pesi*, ba. RBS
323 *besäy* (s.v. *koška*) 'dass.'; s. **kedi**, **mači** und **mïšïq**

pisiybalïq   Katzenhai, *Scyliorhinus sp.* Cf. ba. BRS 95 *besäy balïq* 'dass.'; s.
deŋizmaymunu I

puɣu   Uhu, *Bubo bubo*. Cf. ttü. Stw 762 *puhu* 'dass.', DS IX: 3482 *puğu* 'baykuş'.
– Lautmalerei, die den Uhu-Ruf 'puhu' wiedergibt. Weitere Uhu-Benennungen
sind tkm. TuRS 707 *χüvi*, kkar. KRPS 573 *uɣïy*, kkp. KkRS 691, kas. KaRS 482
üki, kirg. KiRS 820 *ükü*, usb. UzRS 474 *ükki*, chak. XRS 254, tuv. TuvRS 427
ügü, tsch. ČRS 468 *ühĕ*.

saqa qušu I   Stieglitz, *Carduelis carduelis*. Cf. CC 213 *saqa* sowie ttü. Stw 789
saka kuşu, tat. TaRS 463 *saqa* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Wasserträgervogel'; cf. die ar.
Bezeichnung *suqaiqiya*, wörtlich 'Wasserträgerlein'. Ein Stieglitz, der in den Kä-
fig gesperrt wird, lernt sehr schnell, den vorgesetzten Trinknapf mit Schnabel und
Zehen zu sich heranzuziehen.

saqa qušu II   Rotdrossel, *Turdus iliacus*

samïr [samour W 157, sámur P I: 83]   Zobel, *Martes zibellina*. – Zu *samur* cf.
TMEN III: 1265; s. **kiš**

samsar   Eichhörnchen, *Sciurus vulgaris*; s. **sansar II**

sansar I [sanssàr P I: 87]*   Steinmarder, *Martes foina*. – Zu *sansar* cf. TMEN III:
1294; s. **susar**

sansar II   Eichhörnchen, *Sciurus vulgaris*. Cf. SK 175 *süsar* 'sinjab'; s. **samsar**

sarï asma quš   Pirol, *Oriolus oriolus*. Cf. ttü. Stw 799 *sarıasma* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich
'gelber Hängevogel'; bei der Suche nach Raupen hält sich der Pirol durch Flatter-
bewegungen so in der Schwebe, daß er an den Blättern zu hängen scheint. Cf. sp.
oropéndolo und it. *repéndol*, die den Vogel als ein Goldpendel beschreiben.

savusqan   Elster, *Pica pica*. – Lautmalerei, die das Schickern der Elster wiedergibt.
  Zu *savusqan* cf. EDPT 818; s. **ala qarγa II**

sazan balïyï   Karpfen, *Cyprinus carpio*. Cf. ttü. Stw 804 *sazan balığı*, gag. GRMS
  390 *sazan balïï*, nuig. RUS 1138 *sazan beliq* (s.v. *sazan*), as. ARS 296, tat. TaRS
  462, ba. BRS 458, k.b. KBRS 533, kum. KuRS 274, nog. RNS 549 (s.v. *sazan*),
  kas. KaRS 283, kirg. KiRS 621, kkp. KkRS 555, usb. UzRS 350, alt. RAS 673
  (s.v. *sazan*), tuv. TuvRS 348, jak. JaRS 309 *sazan* 'dass.'.

serke   Ziege, *Capra sp.* – Zu *serke* cf. TMEN I: 213; s. **ečki** und **keči**

sevlük   Fasan, *Phasianus colchicus*. Cf. ttü. Stw 856 *sülün*, tkm. TuRS 598 *sülgün*
  'dass.'. – Zu *sevlük* cf. EDPT 820–821.

sinek   Fliege. – Zu *sinek* cf. EDPT 838; s. **čibin**

sičan   Maus. – Zu *sičγan* cf. TMEN III: 1310, EDPT 796.

sičavul   Hausratte, *Rattus rattus*. Cf. ttü. DS X: 3600 *sıcavul*, as. ARS 311 *sičovul*,
  kkar. KRPS 495 *sičavul* 'dass.'.

sïyïn   Damhirsch, *Cervus dama*. Cf. ttü. Stw 821 *sığın*, kkar. KRPS 487 *sïyïn*
  'dass.'. – Zu *sïyïn* cf. EDPT 811–812; s. **ala kiyik**

sïyïr [sigir ~ s⌠ighir W 158]   Kuh, Ochse. – Zu *sïyïr* cf. EDPT 814–815.

sïyïrčïq   Star, *Sturnus vulgaris*. – Zu *sïyïrčïq* cf. EDPT 816.

sïyïr sinegi   Rinderbremse, *Hypoderma bovis*; s. **at čibini** und **qatalaq čibin**

sïlavčan   Regenwurm, *Lumbricus terrestris*. Cf. ttü. Stw 1022 *solucan* 'dass.'; s.
  sïvalčan und **yaγmur suvalčanï**

sïrlï böğek   Marienkäfer, *Coccinella septempunctata*. – Wörtlich 'emaillierter Kä-
  fer'; die Benennung bezieht sich auf die glänzendroten, mit schwarzen Punkten
  verzierten Flügeldecken.

sïrtlan   Hyäne, *Hyaena sp.* Cf. Hou 76 *sirtlän*, Bul 48 ṣyrṭlan, İd 91, Tuh 237 sowie
  ttü. Stw 826 *sırtlan*, tkm. TuRS 608, tat. TaRS 497 *sïrtlan*, ba. BRS 647 *hïrtlan*,
  usb. UzRS 372 *sïrtlån* 'dass.'.

sïvalčan   Regenwurm, *Lumbricus terrestris*; s. **sïlavčan** und **yaγmur suvalčanï**

sultan balïq [soltan balyk P III: 225]*   Rotbart, *Mullus barbatus*. – Der Fisch soll
  wegen seiner prachtvollen roten Färbung und seines exquisiten Geschmacks nach
  dem Sultan benannt sein.

susar [cu⌠ar W 159]   Steinmarder, *Martes foina*. – Zu *susar* cf. TMEN III: 1294; s.
  sansar I

suvalčan   Wurm. Cf. Bul 46 ṣovlačan, İdH 42 soğulcan, Tuh 234 *savulçak*, 240 *so-
  gulçan* sowie tat. RTaS IV: 355 (s.v. *červ′*), kkar. KRPS 482 *suvalčan* 'dass.', ttü.
  DS X: 3702 *suvalçan* 'solucan', as. ARS 316 *soχulğan*, nog. NRS 310 *suvalšan*
  'doždevoj červ′' (Regenwurm); s. **qurt II**

suv ayγïri   Nilpferd, *Hippopotamus amphibius*. Cf. ttü. Stw 850 *suaygırı* 'dass.'.
  Cf. auch usb. RUzS I: 52 *suw åtï* (s.v. *begemot*), nuig. RUS 39 *su eti* (s.v. *bege-
  mot*).

suvsïyïr   Wasserbüffel, *Bubalus bubalus*. Cf. DLT 308–309 *süw siγiri*, CC 226
  su-syγyr, Hou 81 *susager*, Bul 47 ṣu ṣyγyry, Tuh 243 *su sıgır ~ su sıyır* sowie ttü.
  Stw 854 *susığırı*, kkar. RKS 95 *suv sïyïr* (s.v. *bujvol*), nog. NRS 310, kkp. KkRS
  601 (s.v. *sïyïr*) *suw sïyïr* 'dass.'; s. **dambay** und **manda**

suvtavuγï　Bläßhuhn, *Fulica atra*. Cf. ttü. Stw 849 *su tavuğu*, tat. TaRS 498 *su tawïγï* 'dass.'.

sülük　Blutegel, *Hirudo medicinalis*. Cf. CC 226, Hou 78, İd 94, Tuh 243 sowie ttü. Stw 856, kkar. KRPS 486, kum. KuRS 296, kirg. KiRS 672 *sülük*, tat. TaRS 501 *sölek*, ba. BRS 633 *hölök*, nog. NRS 315, kkp. KkRS 596, kas. KaRS 320 *sülik*, usb. UzRS 169, nuig. URL 476 *zülük*, alt. ORS 186 *šülük*, tsch. ČRS 325 *sělěh* 'dass.'.

süme　Motte. Cf. kkar. KRPS 486 *süme*, nog. NRS 315 *sümme*, RNS *üsme* (s.v. *mol'*) 'dass.'. In allen anderen Türksprachen wird die Motte mit *güye* benannt, cf. ESTJa III: 94, EDPT 754.

süyrü sičan　Spitzmaus, *Sorex sp.*

šaχïn qušu　Falke, speziell Wanderfalke, *Falco peregrinus* (< p. *šāhīn*). Cf. ttü. Stw 862 *şahin*, as. ARS 410 *šahin* 'dass.'.

šamek　Meerkatze, *Cercopithecus sp.* Cf. kkar. RKS 138 *šamek* (s.v. *martyška*) 'dass.', ttü. Stw 868 *şebek* 'Bärenpavian, *Pavio porcarius*'.

šaytan atï　Gottesanbeterin, *Mantis religiosa*. – Wörtlich 'Teufelspferd'; s. **atlï qazaq**

taχta bit　(Bett-)Wanze, *Cimex lectularius*. Cf. ttü. Stw 887 *tahtabiti*, as. ARS 327 *taχtabiti*, usb. RUzS I: 440 *taχtakänä* (s.v. *klop*), nuig. RUS 483 *taχta pit* (s.v. *klop*) 'dass.'; s. **qandalay**

taχta qušu　Buntspecht, *Dendrocopos major*; s. **taqtaqquš**

taqtaqquš　Buntspecht, *Dendrocopos major*. Cf. ttü. DS X: 3811 *taktakı*, kum. KuRS 320 *tonqtonq*, tsch. RČS 179 *ulatakka* (s.v. *djatel*) 'dass.'. – Mit *taqtaq* wird das Klopfen des Spechtes wiedergegeben. Sinnverwandte Benennungen sind balk. KBRS 19 *aγač qaqγïč*, wörtlich 'Baumklopfer', nog. RNS 171 *toqïldaq qus* (s.v. *djatel*) 'Klopfvogel', kas. KaRS 352, kkp. KkRS 645 *toqïldaq*, kirg. KiRS 749 *toŋquldaq* 'Klopfer'; ttü. Stw 501 *ağaçkakan* 'Baumhacker', as. ARS 16 *aγağdälän* 'Baumbohrer', tkm. TuRS 249 *dašdešen* 'Steinbohrer', ba. BRS 551 *tumïrtqa*, alt. ORS 152 *tomurtqa* 'Hacker', tat. TaRS 554, nuig. URL 336 *tuqran* 'Aushöhler'; s. **taχta qušu**

tana　ein- bis zweijähriges Kalb. Cf. Hou 85, Bul 50, İd 97, Tuh 251 *tana* sowie ttü. Stw 201, gag. GRMS 132, as. ARS 120 *dana*, tkm. TuRS 617, kkar. KRPS 510, k.b. KBRS 602, kum. KuRS 303 *tana* 'dass.'. – Mit *tana* können Färsen und Jungbullen bezeichnet werden. Bei vielen Türkvölkern ist der Ausdruck jedoch ausschließlich für Färsen bis zum zweiten Lebensjahr gebräuchlich: tat. TaRS 514, nog. NRS 333, kkp. KkRS 618, kirg. KiRS 701, usb. UzRS 404, nuig. URL 285 *tana*, tsch. ČRS 450 *tïna*; s. **buzav**

tana burun　Maulwurfsgrille, *Gryllotalpa gryllotalpa*. Cf. ttü. Stw 201 *danaburnu*, nog. NRS 89 *buzawburïn* 'dass.' sowie SK 56 *dan burnu* 'böjek, dana burunu'. – Wörtlich 'Kalbsnase'; die Maulwurfsgrille hat einen kugelförmigen Kopf mit einem Augenpaar an Seite und Stirn. Die Stirnaugen werden offensichtlich mit den Nüstern einer Kalbsnase assoziiert. Cf. auch tkm. TuRS 117 *buzaw* – wörtlich 'Kalb' – sowie tat. RTaS II: 183 *bozawbaš* (s.v. *medvedka*), nog. NRS 89, kkp.

KkRS 120 *buzawbas*, kirg. KiRS 536 *muzoobas* – wörtlich 'Kalbskopf' – als Benennung für die Maulwurfsgrille; s. **bostanği qurt** und **qabaq qurt**

taranbalïyï   Zährte, *Abramis vimba*. Cf. tat. TaRS 517 *taran balïq* 'dass.', ttü. Stw 898 *taranga* 'Brachsen, *Abramis brama*'. – Vermutlich von r. *taran* 'Zährte' entlehnt.

tarla sičanï   Wühlmaus, *Microtus sp*. Cf. usb. RUzS II: 122 *dalasïčqän* (s.v. *polëvka*) 'dass.', ttü. Stw 899 *tarla sıçanı* 'Feldmaus, *Microtus arvalis*'.

taštešer balïyï I   Gründling, *Gobio gobio*. Cf. tat. TaRS 523, ba. BRS 514 *tašbaš*, kas. RKaS 522 *tasbas* (s.v. *peskar´*), usb. UzRS 446 *tåšbåš* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Steinbohrerfisch'; der Gründling ernährt sich u.a. von Algen, die er mit den Hornplatten seiner Kiefer von den Steinen abschabt; s. **qaya balïyï I**

taštešer balïyï II   Barbe, *Barbus sp*.

tavšan I [tauȷcian W 161]   Hase, *Lepus sp*. – Zu *tavšan* cf. TMEN II: 966, EDPT 447, Erdal 1991: 88.

tavšan II   Kaninchen, *Oryctolagus cuniculus*. Cf. kkar. KRPS 505 *tavšan* 'dass.'; s. **qoyan**

tavuq [thäouk W 161]   Huhn, *Gallus domesticus*. – Zu *tavuq* cf. TMEN II: 861, EDPT 468.

tavus qušu   Pfau, *Pavo cristatus*. – Zu *tavus* cf. TMEN II: 945, wo der Name unter 'toŋuz' behandelt wird; s. **pava**

tay [tai ~ thai W 161]   Fohlen. Cf. tkm. TuRS 612, kkar. KRPS 505, k.b. KBRS 597, nog. NRS 326, nuig. URL 287 *tay* 'dass.'. – Zu *tay* cf. TMEN II: 863, EDPT 566. Mit *tay* wird sowohl das männliche wie das weibliche Füllen bezeichnet; s. **qulan** und **qunan**

tazï köpegi   Barsoi, Windhund. Cf. Hou 44 *tazy it* sowie ttü. Stw 908 *tazı*, as. ARS 324, gag. GRMS 456, tkm. TuRS 612, nog. NRS 326, kas. KaRS 327, kkp. KkRS 610 *tazï*, usb. UzRS 440 *tåzï*, nuig. URL 275 *tazi* 'dass.'.

teke   Ziegenbock. – Zu *teke* cf. TMEN II: 917, EDPT 477.

terek baqasï   Laubfrosch, *Hyla aborea*. Cf. ttü. Stw 12 *ağaç kurbağası*, as. ARS 16 *aγaĝ ĝurbaγasï* 'dass.'.

tikenbalïq [teken-balyk P III: 240]*   Meersau, *Scorpaena scrofa*. – Wörtlich 'Stachelfisch'; die Meersau ist an Kopf und Rücken mit giftigen Stachelflossen besetzt; s. **iskupisiy**

tilki [tilkje ~ ulci – statt tulci – W 162]   Rotfuchs, *Vulpes vulpes*. – Zu *tilkü* cf. EDPT 498–499.

timsaχ   Krokodil, *Crocodilus sp*. (< ar. *timsāḥ*). Cf. ttü. Stw 941, as. ARS 340 *timsah*, usb. UzRS 432 *timsåχ* 'dass.'.

tïrtïr   Raupe. Cf. ttü. *tırtıl* Stw 940, as. ARS 341, gag. GRMS 483 *tïrtïl*, kkar. KRPS 559 *tïrtïr* 'dass.' sowie İdH 47 *tırtıl* 'küçük kurt'.

tïrtïr čibin   Schlupfwespe, *Rhyssa persuasoria*. Cf. ttü. DS X: 3925 *tırtır* 'bir çeşit ağaç böceği'.

toqlu   einjähriges Lamm. – Zu *toqlu* cf. TMEN II: 909, EDPT 469; s. **kürpe**, **qoğanay** und **qozu**

topraq piresi   Erdfloh, *Haltica oleracea*

torbala [torbala P I: 331]*   Würgfalke, *Falco cherrug.* Cf. nog. P I: 331 *torbala* 'dass.'. – Cf. alt. ORS 143 *tarbalğïn* 'berkut' (Steinadler); s. **balaban**

torγay I   Sperling, *Passer sp.* – Zu *torγay* cf. TMEN II: 887, EDPT 541.

torγay II   Feldlerche, *Alauda arvensis*

tosun   junger Stier. Cf. ttü. Stw 948 *tosun* 'junger Ochse', gag. GRMS 475 *tosun* 'trëxgodovalyj byčok' (dreijähriger Stier), chak. XRS 213 *tazïn* 'kastrirovannyj byk, vol' (kastrierter Stier, Ochse). – Zu *tosun* cf. auch EDPT 555–556.

turna [thourna ~ thorna W 162]   Kranich, *Grus grus.* – Zu *turna* cf. TMEN III: 1181, EDPT 551.

turna balïyï   Hecht, *Esox lucius.* Cf. ttü. Stw 953 *turnabalığı*, as. ARS 140 *durnabalïγï* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Kranichfisch'; die Assoziation mit dem Kranich bezieht sich vermutlich auf den schnabelförmigen Kopf des Hechtes.

tuvadaq   Große Trappe, *Otis tarda.* – Zu *tuvadaq* cf. TMEN II: 906.

tüye [tiue W 162]   Kamel, *Camelus sp.*; s. **deve**

ufaq savusqan   Raubwürger, *Lanius excubitor.* Cf. ba. BRS 546 *vaq hayïşqan* 'dass.'. – Der Raubwürger ist wie die Elster schwarzweiß gefiedert, aber von wesentlich kleinerer Gestalt.

ulaq   Zicklein. – Zu *oγlaq* cf. ESTJa I: 404–405, TMEN IV: 1971, EDPT 84–85.

ügeyik   Ringeltaube, *Columba palumbus.* Cf. ttü. Stw 977 *üveyik* 'dass.' sowie HOLL 51 *ögäjik* 'Turtel'. – Onomatopoetische Bezeichnung, die das Rucksen der Ringeltaube wiedergibt, cf. ttü. Stw 977 *üvey-* 'gurren (Tauben)'; s. **kiyik gögerğin**

vašaq   Luchs, *Felis lynx.* – Zu *vašaq* cf. TMEN IV: 1765.

yaγmur quşu   Regenpfeifer, *Charadrius sp.* Cf. ttü. Stw 999 *yağmurkuşu*, tat. RTaS I: 356 *yaŋγïr qošï* (s.v. *zuëk*) 'dass.'. – Cf. auch as. RAL I: 446 *yaγïšğüllütü* (s.v. *zuëk*), wörtlich 'Regenschnepfe', nuig. URL 780 *yamγurči*, wörtlich 'Regenmacher'. Angeblich soll der Regenpfeifer mit seinem Ruf den Regen ankündigen.

yaγmur suvalčan   Regenwurm, *Lumbricus terrestris*; s. **sïlavčan** und **sïvalčan**

yaqa böğegi   Goldrosenkäfer, *Cetonia aurata.* – Wörtlich 'Kragenkäfer'; der Goldrosenkäfer fliegt im Gegensatz zu allen anderen Käfern mit geschlossenen Flügeldecken, so daß er einen Kragen zu tragen scheint.

yaqï böğegi I   Blasenkäfer, *Cantharis vesicatoria.* Cf. ttü. Stw 1000 *yakı sineği* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Brennkäfer'; die Benennung bezieht sich, ebenso wie bei der Kriebelmücke, auf die Hautreizungen, die von den Stichen dieser Insekten verursacht werden.

yaqï böğegi II   Kriebelmücke, *Simulium hirtipes*; s. **kör čibin**

yayla χorazï   Waldkauz, *Strix aluco.* Cf. ttü. Stw 1016 *yaylakkuşu* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Yaylahahn'; der Ruf des Waldkauzes ersetzt auf der Yayla den frühen Hahnenschrei im Dorf.

yelqanat   Fledermaus. – Wörtlich 'Windflügel', vermutlich eine volksetymologische Abwandlung von *yarqanat*; s. **ğarγana**

yerbučïq Hamster, *Cricetus cricetus*. – Möglicherweise im Sinne von 'Erd-schwein' zu deuten, cf. ttü. Stw 125 *bocuk* 'Schwein'.

yerğimran Maulwurf, *Talpa europaea*. – Wörtlich 'Erdziesel'. Zur Benennung des Maulwurfs nach dem Ziesel cf. Hauenschild 1996–1997: 69; s. **kör sïčan** und **yersïčanï**

yersïčanï Maulwurf, *Talpa europaea*. Cf. ttü. Stw 1025 *yersıçanı* 'dass.'; s. **kör sïčan** und **yerğimran**

yipek qurtu Seidenraupe, *Bombyx mori*. Cf. ttü. Stw 440 *ipekböceği*, as. ARS 174 *ipäkğurdu* 'dass.'.

yïlan Schlange. – Zu *yïlan* cf. ESTJa IV: 277, TMEN IV: 1943, EDPT 930.

yïlan balïyï Flußaal, *Anguilla anguilla*. Cf. ttü. Stw 1028 *yılanbalığı*, as. ARS 170 *ilanbalïyï*, gag. GRMS 221 *yïlan balïï*, tat. TaRS 145, ba. BRS 234, kum. KuRS 159, nog. NRS 128 *yïlan balïq*, kkp. RKkS 1037 (s.v. *ugor´*), kas. RKaS 837 (s.v. *ugor´*) *žïlan balïq*, usb. UzRS 176 *ilånbalïq*, nuig. RUS 1307 *žïlan beliq* (s.v. *ugor´*), k.b. KRBS 718 *ğïlan čabaq* (s.v. *čabaq*), tsch. ČRS 357 *śělen pulă* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Schlangenfisch'; mit der Benennung wird auf die schlangenartige Gestalt des Aals verwiesen.

yïlanqïtï [gilan-gyttu P III: 117]* Fischreiher, *Ardea cinerea*. – Wörtlich 'Schlangenstab'; der Ausdruck scheint sich auf den mit langen schwarzen Federn gezierten Kopf des Fischreihers zu beziehen; s. **balïqčil**

yïldïzböğegi Glühwürmchen, *Lampyris noctiluca*. Cf. ttü. Stw 1028 *yıldızböceği* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Sternkäfer'; die Bezeichnung vergleicht das Leuchten des Glühwürmchens mit dem Funkeln eines Sternes. Als leuchtender oder funkelnder Käfer wird das Insekt mit kas. RKaS 721 *žarïq qoŋïz*, kirg. RKiS 760 *žarqïraq qoŋuz*, usb. RUzS II: 392 *yaltïråq qoŋïz* (s.v. *svetljak*) und tsch. ČRS 371 *śută hurt* umschrieben. Cf. auch as. RAL III: 134 *išïldağuš* (s.v. *svetljak*), wörtlich 'Leuchtvogel'; s. **ateš böğegi**

yunus balïyï Delphin, *Delphinus delphis*. Cf. ttü. Stw 1036 *yunusbalığı* 'dass.'. – Wörtlich 'Jonasfisch'; der Name verknüpft den Delphin mit dem Fisch, der den Propheten Jonas verschlungen hat.

ze'ersiz yïlan Ringelnatter, *Natrix natrix*; s. **qara yïlan**

zerdava [serdàwa P I: 86]* Baummarder, *Martes martes* (< p. *serd* 'gelb'). Cf. ttü. Stw 1049 *zerdeva* 'dass.'.

zirafe Giraffe, *Giraffa camelopardalis* (< ar. *zarāfa*). Cf. ttü. Stw 1057 *zürafa*, as. ARS 165 *zürafä* 'dass.'.

ABKÜRZUNGEN

alt.	altaitürkisch	kkp.	karakalpakisch
ar.	arabisch	kkat.	krimkataimisch
as.	aserbaidschanisch	krt.	krimtatarisch
ba.	baschkirisch	kum.	kumükisch
balk.	balkarisch	nog.	nogaisch
burj.	burjatisch	nuig.	neuuigurisch
chak.	chakassisch	p.	persisch
dt.	deutsch	r.	russisch
gag.	gagausisch	sp.	spanisch
gr.	griechisch	tat.	tatarisch
it.	italienisch	tkm.	türkmenisch
jak.	jakutisch	tsch.	tschuwaschisch
kar.	karatschaisch	ttü.	türkeitürkisch
kas.	kasachisch	tung.	tungusisch
k.b.	karatschai-balkarisch	tuv.	tuvinisch
kirg.	kirgisisch	usb.	usbekisch

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A Glance at the Wilder Side of Turkey: *Ağır Roman*

MICHAEL HESS, Mainz

Ever since the release of the movie *Ağır Roman* in autumn 1997, it has been acclaimed by Turkish critics as one of the best domestic movies of the last few years. The homonymous novel by Metin Kaçan, on which the film is based, has equally attracted great attention since its publication in 1990, for its literary qualities, because of its relevance for the self-understanding of modern Turkish society and, last but not least, because of some scandals that its author has been involved in. The following short article is aimed at giving the crucial facts about the novel, the film and the author. It also develops the thesis that the reality lying behind *Ağır Roman* and the novel forms a kind of unity between fiction and autobiography.

The plot

Ağır Roman tells the story of a young hero, Gıli Gıli Salih, who starts out as apprentice in his father's barber shop in *Kolera* ("Cholera"), a quarter of the City, which can readily guessed to be Istanbul. After the quarter's bully, Arap Sado, has been knifed down and killed by upstart gangsters called "Crayfish" (*yengeççler, yengeç herifler*), Salih takes up Arap Sado's heritage as protector of *Kolera*. Although he succeeds in tracking down a serial murderer who is terrorizing *Kolera*, he finally commits suicide rather than face a dim future in the quarter after having discovered that Tina, a prostitute to whom he has given his heart, is deceiving him carnally. But this plot is only the frame of an extremely dense, highly inventive novel, including a panopticon of life in Istanbul as it might have been thirty years ago. The various social groupings that constitute *Kolera* are vividly depicted. For instance, there is the faction of the bigots (*softa*), who laugh at every blow dealt at *Kolera*'s Christian minorities, among which we see the Romaic, Armenians and Syrians. Besides the petty craftsmen (*esnaf*), *Kolera*'s occupations include card-sharpers, stylish youths (*bitirimler*), various Romany groupings, who are partly musicians and partly gangsters (*kara şoparlar, şopdikler*), light women of any age (*kevaşeler, ağır ablalar*), and more. The novel's spectacular scenes include theft with the help of cats, a Jacques Cousteau documentary dubbed with the Muslim call to prayer and police chasing naked female delinquents through the streets. Although the message of *Ağır Roman* is fairly universal—the failure of individual revolt against unjust conditions, frictions between variegated layers of society, love drama etc.—many of the details that form the bulk of the book are peculiar to Turkey, more precisely, to Istanbul and its notorious *Dolapdere* quarter, the real-life location of *Kolera*. Therefore, in the following pages I shall constantly try to compare a reality lying behind the novel with its fictional processing. This will first be done by mentioning some concrete parallels. Then, after an intermezzo about the breathtaking biography of the author, I

shall reformulate the question about the relation between reality and fiction on a more abstract level.

Where Ağır Roman comes from

The title of the novel is a superb pun which leads us directly into the heart of events: it plays on the meaning of the Turkish word *ağır*, which can mean both "heavy" and "slow", but also on the multiple semantics of *Roman/roman*. As in many other languages including French and German, *roman* is the word for "novel" in Turkish. But *Roman* is also a self-designation of the Turkish Gypsies,[1] probably lacking any of the pejorative connotations of the most frequent Turkish word for Gypsy, *Çingene*.[2] Besides this and besides being the title of Metin Kaçan's first novel, *Ağır Roman* is also the *terminus technicus* for a type of Gypsy music which plays an important role in the book.[3] In general, both Gypsies and their music are a vital part of the novel. Thus, for those in the know, *Ağır Roman* conjures up associations with one of the most important minorities that figure in the book and their music, and also indicates the novel's typical atmosphere of "heavy" fighting, cursing, drinking and drug addiction.

Kolera

The identification of *Kolera* with the *Dolapdere* quarter in Istanbul is placed beyond any doubt by the mention made in the novel of the museum of the Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz.[4] The real museum is in the house where Adam Mickiewicz died in 1855, on the corner between what are today Serdar Ömer Paşa Sokak and Tatlı Badem Sokağı.[5] Although there is no positive proof, it might have been that, in choosing the name *Kolera* for the novel's setting, Metin Kaçan had in mind the fact that Adam Mickiewicz lost his life in cholera.[6]

The period of time which the novel covers is the late sixties and the first few years of the seventies. Although there is no absolute indication of time throughout the

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[1] It is derived from the Gypsy word for "man", *rom* (see Webster's *New Collegiate Dictionary*, ninth edition, Springfield 1987, p. 1022, s.v. *Romany*).

[2] For an instance of the pejorative use of the word *Çingene*, take Orhan Kemal's novel *Suçlu* (see bibliography), in which on p. 21 a Gypsy girl is insulted by some local ruffians with the words: *Kalk ulan buradan, pis Çingene!* ("Scram, Gypsy filth!"); cf. also the same work, p. 23.

[3] There are three instances of the use of the words *ağır roman* in *Ağır Roman*. Two of them come right at the beginning of the novel (p. 9 and p. 10). They are mentioned once on p. 70. Furthermore, on p. 23 there is a word game in which *ağır roman* is transformed into *metalik roman* "metallic *Roman*". Moreover, the soundtrack of the film *Ağır Roman* contains a piece called *ağır roman*, too. – All quotations from *Ağır Roman* are taken from the seventh edition 1995 (see bibliography).

[4] For instance, *Ağır Roman*, p. 13 and 42.

[5] On the museum, see the guide entitled Muzeum Adama Miczkiewicza w Stambule/Adam Mickiewicz Museum in Stamboul (in Polish and English); İstanbul Adam Mickiewicz Müzesi/Musée d'Adam Mickiewicz d'Istanbul (in Turkish and French). Both editions [Istanbul] 1984. See also Hür, Ayşe, Adam Mickiewicz Müzesi, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Vol 1, Istanbul 1993. Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı, p. 77f.

[6] At least so has it the Meydan-Larousse Büyük Lûgat ve Ansiklopedi. Vol. 8. Istanbul 1986, p. 753.

novel, one of its final sections[7] features blackout measures and military jets roaring above the city in anticipation of a possible war (which, in the end, does not take place). It may be conjectured with some degree of certainty that this was the imminent armed conflict with Greece in 1973 (over the island of Cyprus), which would then be a *terminus ante quem* for the novel's fictional plot. Other hints at the period of time are more vague. Although it may be debatable when "the time when the long-hair fashion ended in the West"[8] was exactly, the mention of this phenomenon of Western culture seems clearly to allude to the post-Beatles era, that is, from the middle of the sixties onwards. Further hints at that era include the introduction of television,[9] which reached Turkey in 1952, and the mention of Jacques Cousteau's underwater movies[10] and of 1958 model Chevrolets.[11]

The cosmos of Kolera: ethnic groups and social classes

The microcosmic society described in *Ağır Roman* is highly diversified. Its groups are distinguished from each other by origin, language, religion, success, wealth and occupation. Since there are so many different criteria, some of them overlap, with certain persons belonging to more than one grouping. For instance, the *softa*, usually recognizable by their religious bigotry, are sometimes named together with the wealthy.[12] And among the linguistically and ethnically defined Romany (Gypsy) *şopar* (see the following paragraph), there are musicians[13] as well as carpet thieves.[14] Let us now glance at the more important social groups mentioned in the book.

The *Roman* (Romany in English), the ethnic group which in part gives the novel its title, are still a prominent minority in today's Turkey. For instance, they can be seen on almost any major square or street in Istanbul selling flowers, collecting garbage in giant nylon bags[15] or just begging. Interestingly, in the novel they are called neither *Roman* nor *Çingene*, which is, as was stated above, the Turkish word for "Gypsy", but rather by some generic Romany loan-word in Turkish, which nevertheless reveals their origin. The most important of these words is *şopar*, followed by the rarer *şopdik*. Both words mean "boy" in Romany.[16] That *şopar* denotes Romany boys is made clear from one paragraph in *Ağır Roman*[17] in which these boys speak Romany. The *şopar* are also often called *kara şopar*, where *kara* ("black, dark") refers to the colour of their skin.[18] Romany in Istanbul often do have a complexion slightly darker than the average. Perhaps their most important contri-

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[7] Pp. 137f.
[8] *Ağır Roman*, p. 37: *Batı'da uzun saç modası bittiğinde...*
[9] Among other instances, *Ağır Roman*, p. 58.
[10] *Ağır Roman*, p. 59.
[11] *Ağır Roman*, p. 53.
[12] *Ağır Roman*, p. 15: *zengin ve softa takımı* "the rich and bigotted".
[13] E.g., *Ağır Roman* pp. 9f.
[14] *Ağır Roman*, p. 19.
[15] This occupation appears also in *Ağır Roman* on p. 109.
[16] Aktunç, Hulki, Büyük Argo Sözlüğü, İstanbul 1990, p. 254.
[17] Pp. 33f.
[18] Personal communication by Metin Kaçan.

bution to the novel's coloration is music, for instance, in the opening scene of the novel.[19]

Besides the Romany, there are Romaic-speaking Greeks (*Rum*), Syrians (*Süryani*), Armenians (*Ermeni*) and Jews (*Yahudi*) in the novel. In contrast to the Romany, they are identified explicitly by their ethnic names.[20] While Jews occur only once and in passing,[21] the three other groups mentioned play an important role throughout the whole book. One of their most important characteristics is their Christian faith. Again, among the three Christian groups the *Rum* are probably the most important. This results from many details. Firstly, one vital figure in the novel is a *Rum* woman, Madam Eleni, with whom the barber Ali is unfaithful to his naive wife İmine. Secondly, the Romaic language is, besides Romany (Gypsy), the only language, except Turkish, which is spoken in whole sentences in *Ağır Roman*.[22] Even barber Ali, a Turk, knows how to flirt with his mistress Eleni[23] in her mother tongue, and his betrayed wife İmine starts to mumble Romaic after she has lost her mind.[24]

Another vital element of the Christians' presence is their antagonism to the bigotted *softa*. The *softa* are openly hostile to the Christians. For example, they incite their children to shoot at them, while they are peacefully on their way into the church, with dangerously sharpened toy arrows, resulting in one innocent victim's losing an eye.[25] And "they could never be at ease without playing some dirty trick on the Romaic".[26] The antagonism between the *softa* and the Christians is further concretized in a football match in which the conservative-minded *softa* have to face a team with the telling name of *Feylesof Spor* (which might be translated into English as "FC Philosophia"), composed entirely of non-Turk *covino*s (on whom, see below), with the sole exception of one single Turk, who is taken in as an excuse against racist discrimination.[27] The *softa* are also opponents of technical progress, trying by all means to keep "devilish" television out of *Kolera* for as long as possible.[28] They rejoice in calamities which happen to persons whom they consider as amoral, for instance, *Kolera*'s most renowned prostitute Puma Zehra. Their perversity surfaces when, on this occasion, they even enter churches to celebrate Puma's misfortune.[29] When the *covino*s are finally driven out of the quarter in a pogrom-like movement and their remaining possessions are being divided up by greedy inhabitants, the *softa* actively participate in the pogrom and approve what happens to the

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[19] *Ağır Roman*, pp. 9f.

[20] E.g., *Ağır Roman*, pp. 13 and 63.

[21] *Ağır Roman*, p. 63.

[22] The passages in *Ağır Roman* are on pp. 21, 28 and 93. – Examples of Romany are on pp. 31, 33, 34, 50 and 135.

[23] *Ağır Roman*, p. 21 .

[24] *Ağır Roman*, p. 93.

[25] *Ağır Roman*, pp. 15f.

[26] *Ve her seferinde Rumlar' a bir pislik yapmadan rahat edemiyorlardı. Ağır Roman*, p.15.

[27] *Ağır Roman*, pp. 62–64.

[28] *Ağır Roman*, pp. 57–59. They call TV "the devil's box" (*Şeytan Kutusu*) (*Ağır Roman*, p. 57).

[29] *Ağır Roman*, p. 80.

*covino*s.[30] The word *softa* is a pejorative term in Turkish, originally denoting the fanatical pupils of Muslim religious schools (*medrese*s). For instance, the Muslim fanatics who staged a counter-revolution against the Young Turks in 1909 were called *softa*s.[31] Today, *softa* is a word for religious (Islamic) fanatics in general. Besides the *softa*, there are only two more social groupings that are continually labelled with derogatory denominations in *Ağır Roman*: the "coppers" (*zarbolar*) and the "boors from the country", and their wives (*köylü*, and *köylü kadınlar* respectively).

Apart from the above-mentioned, most of the other groups that play a role in *Ağır Roman* are characterized by their occupations or by how they spend their time. Among them, one can distinguish those who have a true occupation. These are the *esnaf* ("small tradesmen and artisans"), including barber Ali as well as garage owners, apprentices and helpers. There are also the workers of the shipyard, the chocolate factory and the fan factory. The social class of the *esnaf* is important because some of the novel's central heroes, Gıli Gıli Salih, his brother Reco and their father Ali, belong to it. Furthermore, there are the prostitutes, either young (*kevaşe*) or the mama-like and experienced (*ağır abla*, lit. "heavy sister"), and the tramps (*sokak insanları*, lit. "street people"). In a class of their own are the "poets" (*şairler*), also a kind of tramp, but with explicit poetic ambitions.

Apart from the division into various languages, religions and occupations, there are some institutions in *Kolera* that are primarily defined by other characteristics, although they are again in part dominated by one or the other linguistic etc. class. These are the *kabadayılar*, *bitirimler*, *covinolar*, *imparatorlar* and the *âlemci kadınlar*.

Before being killed by the "Crayfish", the fatherly Arap Sado is *Kolera*'s protector or *kabadayı*. A *kabadayı*, literally "rough uncle", is a gangster, but bound to a code of honour,[32] who protects his home quarter.

Bitirimler are young men who take much care of their clothing and "gear".[33] The word *bitirim*, literally meaning "someone who is done for, washed up", comes from the verb *bitir-* "to finish". In general, it is used in Turkish for cheeky schoolchildren or young people. The *bitirimler* are particularly important because Gıli Gıli Salih decides to become one of them after Arap Sado's death. Together with the fact that Arap Sado made Salih his heir when he died, one can surmise from this that *bitirim* is also the preparatory level before the rank of *kabadayı*.

Covino is another tribute to *Dolapdere*'s (and Istanbul's) multinational appeal. The term comes from the Italian word for "young".[34] Most of the *covino* are members of a Christian minority, because it is the *covino* who found the predominantly Christian football team *Feylesof Spor*.[35]

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[30] *Ağır Roman*, p. 138.

[31] See Zürcher, Erik J., *Turkey. A Modern History*. London & New York 1993, pp. 100f.

[32] This code is explained to some detail in *Ağır Roman*, p. 24.

[33] Personal communication by Metin Kaçan.

[34] In modern standard Italian there is a word *giovine*; see Macchi, Vladimiro (ed.), Großwörterbuch Italienisch, Langenscheidt. Berlin etc. 1975, Part 1, 307. This word may be the source of *covino*, the final *-o* being explainable either by an Italian dialectal variety (*Dolapdere* lies close to the old Genoese colony of Galata, now Karaköy) or by the suffix *-o*, productive in Turkish slang, which was originally the Kurdish male vocative suffix.

[35] *Ağır Roman*, p. 62. See also the following pp. 63f.

The *imparatorlar* and the *âlemci kadınlar* are hard to define. *İmparator* (from the Latin imperator "emperor") are members of various occupations, who have reached the peak of success in their field.[36] The *âlemci kadınlar* are equally a self-reliant class of women who are not specified any further in the book, although their social position can be measured by their often being in the company of the *imparatorlar*. The word *âlemci* comes from an Arabic word meaning "world" (Arabic *'ālam*) but which can also have the meaning of "party" in Turkish; *kadın* is a not too polite Turkish word for "woman". Thus, *âlemci kadınlar* are a kind of "mundane women". An important point, however, is that the term *âlemci kadın* is not demeaning.

The breakdown of multinational harmony

With the exception of the *softa*, all the different social groupings in *Ağır Roman* live together in relative harmony and tolerance. Given the different religions, languages and occupations, plus the crime rate, this is quite an extraordinary state. But when the *covino* are finally chased out of *Kolera* at the end of the book,[37] this multi-cultural idyll is torn to pieces. One is strongly reminded of post-Iron Curtain Yugoslavia because of the unexpectedness of the outbreak of inter-ethnic hatred. There is another parallel between *Kolera*'s multi-ethnic disaster and that of Sarajevo. In both these cases, the discrimination erupts in connection with war, albeit in the case of Kaçan's *Kolera* it is only a test for war. It is difficult to assess whether Kaçan really establishes a direct link between the war and the *softa*s', small tradesmen's and artisans' dirty trick on the *covino*s. At least, there seems to have been some latent greed and hate in relation to the *covino*s just before the sounding of the war drums. The crucial sentences in *Ağır Roman* concerning this topic are as follows:

"The bigots, who had an eye on the trade of petty filching right from the time of their childhood, were encouraged by the blackout measures and came rapping on the *covino*s' doors. And the small tradesmen and artisans, who took in the smell of war, were making mean schemes by the light of candles and interlaced in their nightly gossip how they could kill the *covino*s." [38]

That is, the *softa* were just posing as tolerant and peaceful, owing to the absence of good opportunities to loot their neighbours. The war-like atmosphere, which has sunken in, makes it easier for them to live according to their true, brigand nature.

Language

One of *Ağır Roman*s most striking characteristics is its language. It is written in a kind of Turkish slang (*argo*), that is, the slang peculiar to the neighbourhood of *Dolapdere* in Istanbul.

Argo is considered by most Turks as very vulgar. Although probably every Turk

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[36] Personal communication by Metin Kaçan.

[37] *Ağır Roman*, pp. 137f., from which all the quotations in the following paragraph are taken.

[38] *Gafticilik mesleğinde çocuklularından beri gözü olan softalar, karartmadan cesaret olarak covinoların kapısını tıkırdattılar. Savaş kokusu alan esnaflar da, mum ışığının altında sinsice planlar hazırlayıp covinoları nasıl öldüreceklerinin muhabbetine işlediler. Ağır Roman, p. 137.*

knows some *argo* words and phrases, their use is considered shameful (*ayip*). Teachers strongly discourage their pupils from speaking *argo* or in some cases even from watching films containing lots of *argo*. There are, of course, different sorts of *argo*, divided according to vocations (drivers', pupils', card-sharpers' *argo*, etc.) and local *argo*s. In *Ağır Roman*, *argo* is, contrary to its general use in real-life Turkey, not so much a stigma, but rather a privilege. The ability to speak *argo* lifts the people of Cholera above, for instance, the boorish women of the quarter, as becomes apparent from the following passage:

"As soon as barber Ali and Tıibı had posted themselves before the Crayfish's den, the poets, who were able to strike their matches in all kinds of storms without letting them go out, silenced the numb boors that had mingled with the crowd and were trying desperately to speak slang with meaningful smoke signs from their cigarettes".[39]

Although it contains no direct reference to *argo*, the following quotation may serve as a proof of the pride that the *Kolera* people take in their linguistic performance. And their pride in being able to speak eight languages can in any case be understood as pride in being able to speak *argo*, because *Dolapdere/Kolera argo* is made up of elements from at least as many languages.

"The mundane people of Cholera, who spoke eight languages, did not understand a single word of the speech that the young terrorists held and dozed gently away".[40]

Thus, *argo* in *Ağır Roman* has not same function as it has in normal Turkish life. It is true that the *argo* speakers of *Ağır Roman* are outcasts of society (in the end, they live in *Kolera*), and practically all of them are marred by some perversion, have socially despised jobs (like being prostitutes or picking up things from garbage cans) or run some dirty little business. That is, in this respect they do not differ from what a Turk might normally consider *argo* users to be (and what they sometimes indeed may be). But this point of view is discarded in *Ağır Roman*: since it is not society as a whole that is at the focus of the novel but only *Kolera*, where *argo* is the main language, this idiom looses much of its mysterious air of crime and degradation. *Argo* in *Ağır Roman* is not a language only spoken by criminals or at least "shameless" people, but by "ordinary" Kholera people, too.

In general, the *argo* of *Ağır Roman* and *Kolera*, compared to standard Turkish, is characterized by a disproportionately high percentage of words with a Romany or other minority background, like *kanka* "pal", *şopar/şopdik* "little boy" (*passim*), which are Romany words, *alızla-* (p. 113) "to take" (from Turkish *al-* and a Greek formation element), and scores of words formed with the Kurdish vocative suffix *-o*, like *haso* "special, cool, great", *pezo* "bully", (*Arap*) *Sado* (proper name).

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[39] *Berber Ali ve Tıbı, yengeç heriflerin mekânının önünde durunca, her türlü fırtınada kibritlerini söndürmeden çakan şairler, sigaralarından çıkardıkları anlamlı duman işaretleriyle, kalabalığın arasına karışmış, argo konuşmaya çalışan köylüleri susturdular. Ağır Roman, p. 42.*

[40] *Kolera'nın sekiz dil bilen âlemci insanları, militan gençlerin çektiği nutuktan bir şey anlamayıp uzaklara, dipsiz kuyulara daldılar. Ağır Roman, p. 61.*

Comparison between the novel and the film

Like most films based on novels, the movie *Ağır Roman* (directed by Mustafa
Altıoklar, Turkey 1997) loses much in comparison with the book, without changing
much of its contents. There is one respect, in which the movie does, however, devi-
ate significantly from the original. As has been said above, *Ağır Roman* depicts a
kind of social utopia, with groups of different religions, languages and ethnoi living
without essential bias in the same quarter—with the noteworthy exception of the
softa. Now, in the film, the *softa* are absolutely marginal. The only noteworthy scene
in which the word *softa* is used in the film is at the funeral ceremony for Arap Sado.
Even though there may be some latent criticism in the mention of the *softa*, there is
not a trace of pillorying of the *softa* in the rest of the film, although they are both a
vital element of the novel's universalist, pro-tolerance message and although some
of the *softa* passages in the book would have given some excellent movie material,
for instance, the scene in which the fanatics are put into a trance by Jacques Coust-
eau's submarine documentaries dubbed with the Muslim call to prayer. There may
be several reasons for the disproportionate underrepresentation of the *softa* in the
movie, about which one can only speculate until there is positive proof. First, Metin
Kaçan, who took part in the writing of the scenario, has a brother, Hasan Kaçan, a
former magazine editor (see below) known for his distinctly Islamist attitude. Sec-
ondly, part of the film's realisation, although the whole project had been planned
since since the early 1990s,[41] took place in the time of the Islamist Erbakan-Çiller
coalition government, which was in power from 1996 to 1997. However that may
be, the absence of the *softa* is a striking difference between the film and the novel.

The author

Metin Kaçan was born in 1961 in Kayseri,[42] Anatolia. The same year, his family
came to *Dolapdere*.[43] So Metin Kaçan can be said to be as good as a native of this
quarter. His Anatolian provenience is important for *Ağır Roman*, because it is part of
a series of features of the novel which may be autobiographical. Since the biograph-
ical data on Metin Kaçan are relatively scarce, they will in the following pages be
directly confronted with their supposed parallels in his literary work. In the novel,
there are people from Anatolia like İmine, the wife of barber Ali, who speaks an
Anatolian dialect.[44] Moreover, İmine knows Anatolian folk poetry[45] and also some
unorthodox religious ceremonies from Anatolia,[46] all of which she uses for the edu-
cation of their children. Metin Kaçan's professional experience is said to have in-
cluded car repair, tinning and carpentry.[47] He is also said to have been the founder of

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[41] Aksu, Nurale, Ağır Roman. *MegaMovie*. Nov.–Dec.1997, p. 10.

[42] *Hürriyet*, 5.2.1995. *Ağır Roman*, p. 1 (introductory text).

[43] *Hürriyet*, 5.2.1995. *Ağır Roman*, p. 1 (introductory text).

[44] *Ağır Roman*, p. 92.

[45] *Ağır Roman*, p. 31.

[46] *Ağır Roman*, p. 32.

[47] *Ağır Roman*, p. 1 (introductory text).

a gang called "The White Gloves" at the age of 16.[48] After all the other members of the gang had been killed, we are told, Metin Kaçan begin his career as a writer. *Ağır Roman* is his first novel, his second, *Fındık Sekiz* (literally "Hazelnut Eight"), appearing in 1997.[49] All these details seem to make it clear that *Ağır Roman* is at least partly the reflection of autobiographical experience. Most of the occupations Metin Kaçan is said to have worked in appear *expressis verbis* in the novel: there, we find Mimi Usta the carpenter, there are the car repairers with their apprentices,[50] and maybe Kaçan's work as a tin-plate worker (*musluk tamirciliği*[51]) has left its trace in the creation of *metal sokaklar*[52] ("metal streets"). Of course the most important parallel between Kaçan's life and the book is the identity between *Dolapdere* and *Kolera*.[53] Furthermore, some of the *personae* of *Ağır Roman* show resemblances to Kaçan and his family. Although not much is known about the later, Kaçan's brother Hasan Kaçan is a public figure in Turkey. He was editor of the satirical magazine *Ustura* (Razor), until it was shut down in February 1998. And again we find here a parallel between *Ağır Roman* and the writer's real life: two of the novel's main figures are brothers, namely Gıli Gıli Salih and Reco. While Gıli Gıli Salih's destiny is bound up with *Kolera*, Reco leaves his home one night after having been terrorized by his father because of his creative exercises in comic drawing.[54] If the biographical interpretation is valid, Gıli Gıli Salih could be Metin and Reco Hasan Kaçan. Another parallel is, of course, that the two brothers in the novel, like Metin and Hasan Kaçan, have an Anatolian mother. We may in this connection take a side-glance at Kaçan's second novel. This novel's hero is called *Meto*, a hypocoristic form of *Metin*, and he is closely attached to his mother. Though there is probably no connection between the plots of *Ağır Roman* and *Fındık Sekiz*, it is obvious that Metin Kaçan put some autobiographical material into both books, and the parallel may well extend to the presence of a mother figure. Finally, there is another parallel between Metin Kaçan and his novel hero Gıli Gıli Salih. While Gıli Gıli commits suicide by slashing his arteries,[55] Metin Kaçan is said to have made two suicide attempts, one of them involving slashing his arteries.[56] However, these may be coincidences.

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[48] *Ağır Roman*, p. 1 (introductory text).

[49] On p. 1 (introductory text) of *Fındık Sekiz*, we learn, among the bibliographical data on Kaçan, that his first literal attempts were short stories that he had written for satirical magazines in 1988. There is another book (?) by Metin Kaçan mentioned on the same page, called *İstedikleri Yere Gidenler* (literally "Those who go where they want"), but all my efforts to obtain copies of these books from local bookshops in Istanbul have been fruitless so far.

[50] *Ağır Roman*, p. 23 *et passim*.

[51] *Ağır Roman*, p. 1 (introductory text).

[52] For instance, *Ağır Roman*, pp. 22 and 25.

[53] For resemblances between *Dolapdere* and *Kolera*, see above.

[54] *Ağır Roman*, p. 65.

[55] *Ağır Roman*, p. 140.

[56] *Aktüel* 188/1995, pp. 16–19.

The Kaçan scandal

Besides being the author of *Ağır Roman* and the scenario of the film, Metin Kaçan is famous (or rather infamous) for another publicity-attracting event. At the end of the first week of February 1995 the Turkish press began reporting a crime that had taken place on 29 January at No. 12 Oba Sokak, flat 7, in the Cihangir quarter of Istanbul.[57] The victim, Güneş Kurtulan, was picked up around three o'clock in the morning and taken to hospital with serious injuries, including burning marks caused by cigarettes and a swollen face.[58] That night, Metin Kaçan and Kurtulan had been together with the newscaster and writer Alp Buğdaycı, who was the owner of the flat in Oba Sokak. Although Kaçan later claimed that he was not guilty,[59] he was sentenced to a prison term for the crime.[60] Buğdaycı was also sentenced but managed to be freed on bail. The background of the events of that night is not fully clear. Güneş Kurtulan's male relative Oktay Kurtulan reportedly gave jealousy on Kaçan's part as the reason for the later's violent behaviour. After having lived for five years with him as a close friend or even lover,[61] she had abandoned him roughlt one year before the night of violence.[62] To discuss the events of the night of 30 January 1995 or even assess the guilt or innocence of Metin Kaçan and Alp Buğdaycı is far beyond my ability. Let us, on the other hand, have a look at some striking parallels between the events surrounding Güneş Kurtulan's night of torture and *Ağır Roman*. These parallels raise the question if the connections between Metin Kaçan's real life world and his fictional world can be termed incidental or not.

The mingling of fiction and reality in Ağır Roman and its author

The newspaper *Sabah* reported the following statement of Metin Kaçan:

"Güneş had been my lover for years, and we had a somewhat stormy relationship. That night we argued, too. I dealt her a slap on the face. It was a soft slap on the face, just like we see it in films. It was to mean 'go away'. Like a slap on the face accompanied by a stiff word. And that was when I saw Güneş for the last time."[63]

This is not only an example of the view generally accepted by Turks (males, at least) that beating one's wife from time to time and in moderate doses is not altogether too bad a thing. The same attitude is also presented by one of the most notorious womanizers in *Ağır Roman*, Gaftici Fethi, although it is veiled in quite different words:

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[57] *Yeni Yüzyıl* 4.10.1995 *Milliyet*, 6.2.1995 and *Sabah*, 6.2.1995 have 30 January, which may refer to the fact that the event took place at 0300 am.

[58] For details of the crime, see the newspapers cited below, especially the editions of 6–15 February 1995.

[59] *Yeni Yüzyıl* 14.10.1995.

[60] *Yeni Yüzyıl* 4.10.1995.

[61] *Sabah*, 12.10.1995.

[62] *Yeni Yüzyıl* 14.10.1995

[63] *Güneş bundan 5 yıldır sevgilimdi ve biraz fırtınalı bir ilişkimiz vardı. O gece de tartıştık. Ben buna bir tokat attım. Böyle filmler de gördüğümüz gibi yumuşak bir tokattı. Git anlamında. Sert bir sözcükle söylenmiş bir tokat gibiydi. Ve ben Güneş'i en son işte o zaman gördüm. Sabah,* 12.10.1995. Kaçan uttered these words after his release from prison.

"Lay her down in the bed slowly and start undressing her fast. If the chick is still weeping, you can give her two slaps on the face, that is only fair."[64]

Although these words may be ironical, they without doubt expose an attitude towards women that is easily comparable to what we can read from Kaçan's alleged words as cited above. But even if the above quotation is ironical, Gaftici Fethi shows macho attitudes towards the female sex at other scenes of *Ağır Roman*, too.[65] And there is another prominent instance of women-beating in *Ağır Roman*. Barber Ali beats his wife İmine in order to silence her:

"One of the slaps that Ali was dealing out hapazardly hit İmine and split her lips. When İmine started to wail 'People [help], let me eat your shit...That man is going to kill us!' Ali silenced her with two more slaps on the face."[66]

Again, this kind of "normal" beating may be compared with the above-mentioned beating habits. Beating the wife (or girl-friend, for that matter) is not shown as an animal-like, uncontrolled outbreak of masculine wrath, but as a controlled dose that serves to make women stick to the males' rules.

The parallels that can be drawn between *Ağır Roman* and aspects of reality do not end with beating women. Immediately after the night of the alleged crime, Metin Kaçan and Alp Buğdaycı were kidnapped by Oktay Kurtulan and some friends of his and reputedly subjected to torture and rape.[67] Among the punishments Oktay Kurtulan and his comrades inflicted on Kaçan was the slicing of his ear. The parallel to the ear-cutting custom in *Ağır Roman* has been noted already by Turkish journalists.[68] In the novel, Gılı Gılı Salih cuts off the ears of the serial murderer Taner after catching him.[69] His motive for doing so, however, is not revenge, but the thirst for fame. On two other occasions in the novel, cutting off the ears is used as a threat (both times from the mouth of the barber Ali), on one occasion against thieves[70] and on the other against a drunkard.[71]

Finally, while imprisoned in Istanbul's Bayrampaşa prison, a fanatical fellow inmate and convicted murderer attacked Metin Kaçan with needles (*şiş*).[72] *Şiş* are also the instruments used by the serial murderer Taner in the novel. It may be hard to draw parallels between the motives of the Taner of the novel and the young madman who attacked Kaçan. Taner complains that his victims had not bought his wonderful sweets, so he killed them.[73] But there is again the possibility of a comparison if one

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[64] *Yavaşça yatağa yatırıp hızla soymaya başlayın. Manita hâlâ ağlıyorsa iki tokat atabilirsiniz, bu sizin hakkınız. Ağır Roman,* p. 49.

[65] See *Ağır Roman,* pp. 11 and 17.

[66] *Ali'nin rasgele vurduğu tokatlardan biri, İmine'ye çarpıp dudağını patlattı. İmine, Abam, bokunuzu yiyim, bu adam bizi öldürecek" diye feryat etmeye başlayınca, Ali iki tokat daha çekerek İmine'yi susturdu. Ağır Roman,* p. 45.

[67] *Meydan,* 6.2.1995.

[68] *Meydan,* 6.2.1995.

[69] *Ağır Roman,* pp. 117–119.

[70] *Ağır Roman,* p. 19.

[71] *Ağır Roman,* p. 47.

[72] *Yeni Yüzyıl* 4.10.1995.

[73] *Ağır Roman,* p. 116.

considers that in the film *Ağır Roman* Taner kills because his victims were "all sin-ners" (*hepsi günahkar*, his final words before being lynched) and Kaçan in prison was considered an offender against the sexual code of honour (*namus*) because of the crime he had been sentenced for.[74]

Apart from these details, there is definitely a more comprehensive interaction be-tween reality and fiction in *Ağır Roman*, its author and the quarter it takes place in. Many of the figures mentioned in the novel are still alive, for instance, "Orso" the café-owner or "Balık" ("Fish") Ayhan the drummer.[75] The name of the *Kolera kaba-dayı* (semi-legal protector of the quarter, Arap Sado, bears a resemblance to histori-cal *kabadayıs* like Arap Aptullah and Arap Dilaver.[76] Many of the events in the novel seem to have their parallels in reality. As we have seen, however, Metin Kaçan shrouds most events in *Ağır Roman* in fiction and leaves out dates and names, for instance, about the final dirty trick played by the *softa* and others on the *covino*. The interest that both novel and film continue to have for the Turkish public may re-sult exactly from this domination of fictionality. Since there is no bean-counting on historical reponsibilities, the book stands at least to a certain degree above the mer-ciless and often murderous infighting of Turkish politics. And maybe the reason why the *softa* are as good as unrepresented in the film,[77] is that the makers of the movie did not want to add oil to the political fires already burning in Turkish inter-nal politics at the time of the making and the release of the film, the time of the 1996–1997 Çiller-Erbakan coalition government and an increasing Islamist resur-gence.

Conclusion

Ağır Roman can certainly not be seen as an objective description of life in *Dolap-dere* in the sixties. It may not even accurately reflect the views of its inhabitants. Rather, it is the poetic transformation of reality into a kind of literary work which, albeit written mostly in prose, is closer to poetic language than to descriptive dic-tion. There are numerous allusions to the poetical nature of the work in *Ağır Roman*. Most strikingly, perhaps, that nature is symbolized by the "poets" (*şairler*), tramps who use any opportunity to turn any event in *Kolera* into material for their verses[78] and do not hesitate to recite the results before the public.[79] To them, life, although bitter and cruel, is only the background for their creative activities. *Ağır Roman* is a further step away from traditional Turkish realism, as represented by writers such as Yaşar Kemal or Fakir Baykret, towards a freer literary treatment of reality. And the special feature of *Ağır Roman* is that the novel seems to go back to reality: life and work form a unity again.

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[74] *Yeni Yüzyıl* 26.11.1995.
[75] Balık Ayhan plays himself in the film *Ağır Roman* and appears under that name on the list of actors and on the soundtrack recording. Orso had a different name in reality, but after the film he gave interviews.
[76] See Uğur Göktaş, article *Kabadayılar* in *Dünden bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 4, Istanbul 1994, p. 323.
[77] As far as I remember, the only instance in the film in which the word is mentioned is during Arap Sado's funeral.
[78] *Ağır Roman*, p. 42.
[79] For instance, *Ağır Roman*, pp. 44 and 135.

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Kapila: Founder of Sāṃkhya and Avatāra of Viṣṇu

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Sāṃkhya ideas and terms are omnipresent in the Hindu mythological and theological texts, the philosophy of which often represents a synthesis of the views of the Sāṃkhya and the Vedānta schools. The Sāṃkhya categories (*tattva*s) are especially used in these texts in the systematic presentations of the manifestation of the world and of the person, the relationship between God and the world and the realization of liberation. According to the Sāṃkhya tradition, these categories can be traced back to their discovery by Kapila, the mythical founder of the Sāṃkhya system of religious thought, who taught the categories to his student Āsuri, who again taught them to Pañcaśikha, etc.[1] A lineage of teachers (*paramparā*) connects Kapila with Īśvarakṛṣṇa, the famous author of the *Sāṃkhyakārikā*. This Kapila was a seer and a yogin who discovered a method of ending all suffering and out of compassion taught it to Āsuri.

According to another tradition, however, Kapila was an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, born of Kardama Prajāpati and Devahūti, the daughter of Manu. This Kapila taught the Sāṃkhya categories, but also the worship of God, to a devotee, his own mother. Devahūti thereafter practised non-attachment to the sense-objects and single-minded yogic devotion to God and attained final liberation. This is the Kapila of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The teaching of Kapila in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* agrees generally with the teaching of the *Purāṇa*s of the Vaiṣṇava tradition and the Pañcarātra *Āgama*s.[2] In these texts, Kapila is seen as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu and the teaching of Sāṃkhya is thus given a divine origin and its dominating place in many Hindu schools and texts is legitimized.

The Hindu tradition has accepted the identity of Kapila and Viṣṇu. This is nowhere better illustrated, perhaps, than in the following story in the *Varāha Purāṇa*. King Aśvaśiras was visited by the sages Kapila and Jaigīṣavya.[3] The king asked how he should worship Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa. The sages replied that they were Nārāyaṇas. The king said that Viṣṇu has in his hands the conch, disc and mace, is dressed in a yellow garment and sits on Garuḍa. Who can be like him in this world? The two sages laughed and said: "See Viṣṇu in us." Kapila then transformed himself into Viṣṇu and Jaigīṣavya became Garuḍa. But then the king said that Viṣṇu was not like that, he was a great god, from whose navel Brahmā arose. Then Kapila became Pad-

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[1] *Sāṃkhyakārikā* (69 and 70) states that the Sāṃkhya system was expounded by the supreme sage (Kapila) who, out of compassion (*anukampayā*), gave the teaching to Āsuri, who again gave it to Pañcaśikha.

[2] Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, 5 vols. (1922–55; repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988), vol. 4, p. 36.

[3] *Varāha Purāṇa* trans. by S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology Series, vols. 31–32 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985), pp. 12–15. Jaigīṣavya is mentioned in a list of old Sāṃkhya and Yoga teachers in *Mahābhārata* (12.306.57).

manābha and Jaigīṣavya became Brahmā. Then the king said: "The lord of the world cannot be seen. This is an illusion created by you sages. Viṣṇu is all-pervading." As soon as he had said that, there appeared bugs, mosquitoes, lice, beetles, birds, snakes, horses, cows, etc. The king then realized the greatness of Kapila and Jaigīṣavya and asked: "What is this?" The sages answered that Viṣṇu is omniscient, has the power to take any form, can be attained by all beings and is present in all beings. He can be seen in one's own body and in the bodies of others. All beings, animals as well as insects, are Viṣṇu himself.

Not only the Vaiṣṇavas believed Kapila to be an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, some late Sāṃkhya texts also accepted this belief. Vyāsa in his commentary on Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* (1.25) quotes an old verse that describes Kapila as the primal knower who assumed a created mind out of compassion in order to instruct Āsuri in the Sāṃkhya system. According to Vācaspatimiśra's commentary *Tattvavaiśāradī* on this verse, Kapila is an incarnation (*avatāra*) of Viṣṇu.[4] Also the *Māṭharavṛtti* on *Sāṃkhyakārikā* 1 refers to Kapila as a Viṣṇu *avatāra*.[5] Thus, there seems to have been a historical development in which a sage and yogin called Kapila was incorporated into a mythological complex of divine descent and was mythologized as Kapila, an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Probably the Sāṃkhya commentaries came to accept Kapila as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu because much of the Sāṃkhya tradition had been incorporated into the religion of the Vaiṣṇavas.

There is a close relationship between Sāṃkhya and Vaiṣṇavism. Viṣṇu in several of his incarnations teaches a way of salvation called Sāṃkhya. Sāṃkhya often means the knowledge way (*jñāna*) of salvation, as contrasted with the way of disciplined action (*karman)* and the way of devotion (*bhakti*), but it also means the particular way of salvation associated with the knowledge of the twenty-five principles (*tattva*s), the pre-existence of the material effect in the material cause in a subtle state, and the fundamental difference between the consciousness principle (*puruṣa*) and the material principle (*prakṛti*) which are the doctrines of the Sāṃkhya school of systematic thought. In the *Bhagavadgītā* (4.6 and 4.7), an early clear statement is found about the *avatāra* doctrine. In this text, Kṛṣṇa also teaches the way of knowledge (*sāṃkhya*) and the text contains much Sāṃkhya material. When *adharma* arises and *dharma* is diminished Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) comes down in a material form to destroy the evil-doers and protect the good persons. In the *Bhagavadgītā* (10.26), Viṣṇu says that among perfected beings (*siddha*s) he is the sage (*muni*) Kapila. This Kapila is, one has to assume, identical with the Sāṃkhya teacher.

Kapila is frequently mentioned in the lists of Viṣṇu *avatāra*s in the *Purāṇas*. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (1.3.10) lists Kapila as the fifth of twenty-two incarnations. The text says that God appeared as Kapila, who is the best of the perfected ones (*siddheśa*) and instructed Āsuri in the principles of the Sāṃkhya system of religious

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[4] *Tattvavaiśāradī*, trans. James Houghton Woods, in *The Yoga System of Patañjali*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 17 (1914; repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988), p. 59.

[5] *Purāṇapuruṣasyāvatāra. Sāṃkhyakārikā of Śrīmad Īśvarakṛṣṇa with the Māṭharavṛtti of Māṭharācārya and the Jayamaṅgalā of Śrī Śaṅkara*, ed. Viṣṇu Prasād Śarma and Satkāriśarmā Vaṅgīya (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1970), p. 1.

thought.[6] The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (2.7.3) lists Kapila as third in importance of the *avatāras*, but here it is said that he instructed his mother Devahūti, who became liberated.[7] The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (3.15.12) says that Kapila was the ninth *avatāra* and that he explained the *tattvas*, removed doubt and instructed Āsuri.[8] The *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*, a text which presents much Sāmkhya material, also includes Kapila among the thirty-nine manifestations of Viṣṇu.[9] The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* likewise states that Kapila was an incarnation of Viṣṇu: "The holy lord Kapila, the most exalted among the leading yogins, is born on the earth as a partial power of Viṣṇu, for the welfare of the universe."[10] The lists of *avatāras* are variously given as ten, nineteen, twenty, twenty-two, twenty-four, etc., in the various *Purāṇas*. In the well known story about the descent of the river Gaṅgā, in *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa* (39 and 40), but also in the *Mahābhārata* and in several *Purāṇas*, it is said that Viṣṇu incarnated himself as Kapila to kill the sons of Sagara.[11]

MANY KAPILAS

It is obvious that the references to Kapila in the texts of the Hindu traditions do not all refer to the same person or mythological figure. According to the *Purāṇic Encyclopedia*, at least eight Kapilas can be distinguished. In addition to the sage Kapila, Kapila is recognized as another name of Sūrya; as one of the seven serpent kings who uphold the earth; the fourth son of an Agni named Bhānu and believed to be another incarnation of the sage Kapila; a sage who was the father of Śalihotra; a son of Viśvamitra who was a Brahmavādin; a synonym of Śiva; and a synonym of Viṣṇu.[12] According to the *Liṅga Purāṇa*, Kapila is the son of the incarnation of Śiva, Dadhivāhana.[13] The term *kapila* ('tawny', 'reddish-brown') occurs in the Ṛg Veda (10.27.16) but this refers probably to a Marut of that name and not the sage, as suggested by Sāyaṇa.[14] A Kapila is referred to in *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (5.2) and here

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[6] *Pañcamaḥ kapilo nāma siddheśaḥ kāla-viplutam, provācāsuraye sāṃkhyaṃ tattva-grāma-vinirṇayam.* *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, 4 vols., Sanskrit and English, trans. Swami Tapasyananda (Madras: Sri Ramakrishna Math, 1980), vol. 1, p. 10.

[7] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 118.

[8] *The Garuḍa-Purāṇa*, trans. by a board of scholars, Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology Series, vols. 12–14 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978–80), part 3, p. 1036.

[9] F. Otto Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*, 2nd ed. (Madras: The Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1973), p. 49.

[10] *The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* trans. by G. V. Tagare, 5 parts, Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology Series, vols. 22–26 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983–84), part 3, p. 763.

[11] *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: An Epic of Ancient India*, vol. 1, *Bālakāṇḍa*, intro. and trans. Robert P. Goldman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 196–208; *Liṅga Purāṇa of Sage Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980), 66.18; The Liṅga-Purāṇa, trans. by a board of scholars, Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology Series, vols. 5–6, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973), p. 288.

[12] Vettam Mani, *Purāṇic Encyclopedia: A Comprehensive Dictionary with Special Reference to the Epic and Purāṇic Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975), p. 388.

[13] *The Liṅga-Purāṇa*, p. 92.

[14] Pulinbihari Chakravarti, *Origin and Development of the Sāṃkhya System of Thought* (Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1975), p. 6.

an identity between Kapila, Hiraṇyagarbha and Rudra is implied.[15] Olivelle notes that this reference may be to the Sāṃkhya Kapila.[16] In favour of that interpretation it may be argued that the text contains many Sāṃkhya terms and notable proto-Sāṃkhya speculations. The mention of Kapila in this text may perhaps have contributed to the later divinization of Kapila and to the perception of him having been created in the beginning. That the Buddha's birthplace was called Kapilavastu has led some to believe that it was named after the Sāṃkhya sage. Richard Garbe argued that the reason why the birthplace of the Buddha was named Kapilavastu was that Kapila, the founder of Sāṃkhya, had lived and taught there.[17] Garbe refers to Buddhaghoṣa's commentary on *Suttanipāta*, where it is told that the Śākyas, in search of a place to construct a city, came upon the sage Kapila. Kapila promised to leave the place and give it to the Śākyas if they would name the city after him. Kapila left the place and the Śākyas built the city of Kapilavastu.[18] The *kapila* ('reddish-brown') element in Kapilavastu is most probably just a description of the place. The name Kapila is found also in the Jain scripture. *Adhyāya* 8 of the *Uttarādhayana Sūtra* is ascribed to Kapila, while all the other sections of that text are thought to be the words of Mahāvīra.[19] Kapila here teaches asceticism: one should not be attached to anything, one should renounce pleasures like good food, one should not injure or kill any living being, and men should turn away from women.[20] While this may be in general agreement with Sāṃkhya, there is nothing specifically Sāṃkhyan in these statements. This Kapila, says the commentary by Śanti Sūri, was the son of Kāśyapa and Yaśā, who was enlightened when, having been promised by a king that he would be given whatever he asked for, realized that "the more you get, the more you want". He later converted a gang of five hundred robbers by chanting a verse asking how it would be possible to escape the misery of *saṃsāra*.[21]

Kapila in the *Mahābhārata* is referred to as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, Hari, Vāsudeva or Kṛṣṇa[22] but is also declared to be identical with Agni and Śiva.[23] Kapila is also

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[15] Gerald J. Larson and Ram Shankar Bhattacharya, *Sāṃkhya: A Dualist Tradition in Indian Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 109.

[16] *Upaniṣads. Translated from the Original Sanskrit* by Patrick Olivelle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 392.

[17] Richard Garbe, *Die Sāṃkhya-Philosophie: Eine Darstellung des Indischen Rationalismus*, 2nd rev. ed. (Leipzig: H. Haessel Verlag, 1917), p. 12. This probably mistaken but popular opinion is stated, for example, in Heinrich Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, ed. Joseph Campbell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 60: "Kapila, the reputed founder of Sāṃkhya, may have been a contemporary of the Upaniṣādic thinkers and seems to have given his name to the city in which the Buddha was born, Kapilavastu." A contemporary popular biography of the Buddha interprets Kapila as a close childhood friend of the Buddha. See David J. and Indrani Kalupahana, *The Way of Siddhartha: A Life of the Buddha* (Boulder: Shambhala, 1982).

[18] Garbe, *Die Sāṃkhya-Philosophie*, p. 12.

[19] Maurice Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, rev. ed. trans. V. Srinivasa Sarma (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983), vol. 2, p. 449.

[20] *The Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* in *Jaina Sūtras*, trans. Hermann Jacobi, Sacred Books of the East Series 45 (1895; repr. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964), pp. 31–35.

[21] The commentary is reproduced in ibid., footnote p. 31.

[22] Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 4, p. 38. Dasgupta refers to *Mahābhārata*, 3.47.18 and 3.107.31.

[23] E. Washburn Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India: Character and Origin of the Mahabharata* (repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1993), p. 98.

identified with Prajāpati.[24] There seems, however, to be a special connection between Kapila and the ideas favoured in the *śramaṇical* milieu, such as non-injury and renunciation, and this may perhaps point to a close relationship between *śramaṇical* ideas and the Sāṃkhya system of religious thought. In the *Mahābhārata*, Kapila is in particular associated with the renunciant point of view,[25] and a tradition existed that associated Kapila with the *āśrama* system.[26] In the *Baudhāyana Gṛhyaśeṣasūtra* (4.17), Kapila is said to have originated a procedure for becoming a renunciant.[27] Olivelle suggests that the probable date of the *āśrama* system coincides with the period during which Sāṃkhya rose to prominence as a philosophical tradition.[28] In the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* (2.11.28), Kapila is in fact presented as the originator of the *āśrama* system. Here, Kapila is presented as an opponent of the gods and, according to Olivelle, this story was promoted by the opponents of the *āśrama* system, who considered this system anti-ritual.[29]

Also the discourse between Kapila and the cow (*kapilasya goś ca saṃvādaḥ*) in the *Mahābhārata* connects Kapila with *śramaṇical* ideas.[30] Having seen a cow being taken to be slaughtered in accordance with the Vedic injunction, Kapila made comments on the cruelty sanctioned by the Vedas.[31] The sage Syūmaraśmi then entered the body of the cow and challenged Kapila for criticizing the Vedas. Kapila answered that he did not mean to criticize the Vedas but that, of the two different ways prescribed in the Vedas, work and renunciation, he preferred the way of renunciation. This Kapila is a renunciant and argues against the supremacy of sacrificial action and in favour of ethical values and the purification of one's character. He does not, however, teach any specific Sāṃkhya principles. Kapila, like other *śramaṇical* teachers, argues that a true *brāhmaṇa* is he who has restrained himself, is free from desire, is a renunciant who does not fear any creature and of whom no creature has any fear and who identifies himself with all creatures. Here, the status of *brāhmaṇa* is given an ethical meaning. It is a quality to be attained and not only an ascribed ritual status related to the *varṇa* system.

The *Mahābhārata* (12.327.63–65) identifies Kapila as one of the seven *ṛṣis* (along with Aniruddha, Sana, Sanatsujāta, Sanaka, Sanandana and Sanatkumāra) who are the mind-born sons of Brahmā and who attain knowledge by themselves without study or instruction. They are, according to the *Mahābhārata*, related to the *nivṛtti* religion of Sāṃkhya and Yoga and are teachers of *mokṣa*. They are devoted

[24] Ibid., p. 99. Hopkins refers to *Mahābhārata*, 12.218.9–10.
[25] See Patrick Olivelle, *The Āśrama System: The History and Hermeneutics of a Religious Institution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 98–99 for references to the *Mahābhārata*.
[26] Ibid., p. 99.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Olivelle warns that we cannot be sure that this Kapila is the same as the Kapila of the *Mahābhārata*. If they are the same, however, then, Olivelle notes, there was at least one tradition that associated the *āśrama* system with Kapila and the followers of the Sāṃkhya system.
[30] *Mahābhārata*, 12.260–262. For translation see Roy, *Mahābhārata*, vol. 9, *Śānti* Parvan, part 2, pp. 255–272.
[31] According to *Māṭharavṛtti* on *Sāṃkhyakārikā* 1, Kapila also tried to convince Āsuri that sacrifice does not bring happiness.

to renunciation and the dissolution of matter. The Gauḍapāda commentary on *Sāṃkhyakārikā* (1) quotes a verse that identifies Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Āsuri, Voḍhu, Pañcaśikha and Kapila as the seven great seers.[32]

Kapila and the Descent of Gaṅgā

A sage named Kapila plays an important role in the myth of the descent of the sacred river Gaṅgā. This Kapila is a manifestation of Vāsudeva and thus identified with Viṣṇu. As this myth is told in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the king Sagara had two wives, the righteous and truthful Keśinī, who gave birth to one son who inherited the dynasty, and the beautiful Sumati, who gave birth to sixty thousand sons. After the eldest son had started to throw children into the water, king Sagara wanted to perform a sacrifice to stop him. A *rākṣasa*, however, stole the sacrificial horse, and king Sagara sent his sixty thousand sons to find the horse and bring it back. The sons roamed the earth and were digging it up, slaughtering all creatures and crying "He has ruined our sacrifice".[33] When Brahmā heard what was going on, he said: "Wise Vāsudeva, to whom this whole earth belongs, has assumed the form of Kapila and ever upholds the earth."[34] The sons of Sagara found "the eternal Vāsudeva in the form of Kapila," and the horse grazing near him.[35] The sons of Sagara thought he had stolen the horse and when Kapila heard the accusation "he was filled with great fury and uttered the syllable 'Hum' ".[36] Then the sixty-thousand sons of Sagara were burned to ashes. Upon grieving this slaughter Keśinī's son Asamañja was told by a bird that "this slaughter took place for the good of the world", and that the Gaṅgā should now purify these dead men since it was the "unfathomable Kapila who caused their burning and therefore they should not be offered water of this world".[37] Aṃśumant had a grandson Bhagīratha who performed austerities and as a reward asked Brahmā to be allowed to perform the funerary libations for the sons of Sagara.[38] Bhagīratha worshipped Śiva for a year standing on the tip of one toe and Śiva promised to bear Gaṅgā on his head since only Śiva could withstand the force of the fall of the Gaṅgā from heaven. Gaṅgā then fell to the earth filled with living beings, purity and holiness. Flowing towards the ocean in the east Gaṅgā finally filled the hole where the sons of Sagara had been burned to ashes and the sons of Sagara went to heaven. Kapila is presented here as a form of Vāsudeva, as an upholder of the earth and as an extremely powerful *siddha*. It was because the sons of Sagara was killed by such a sacred person as Kapila that only water from the sacred Gaṅgā could be used to perform their death ceremonies.

The identification of this Kapila with Viṣṇu is restated in the *Mahābhārata*,

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[32] *Sāṃkhyakārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa with the Commentary of Gauḍapāda*, Sanskrit and English, trans. T. G. Mainkar (Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1972), pp. 35–36.

[33] *Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa* 38.26.

[34] Ibid., 39.2.

[35] Ibid., 39.24.

[36] Ibid., 39.27.

[37] Ibid., 40.17; 40.18; 40.19.

[38] Ibid., 41.17.

Vanaparvan, 106 ("the great hermit Kapila whom they call Vāsudeva"); *Śiva Purāṇa, Umāsaṃhitā*, 38.52 ("the sage Kapila, the primordial *puruṣa* of cosmic form"); *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* 2.3.52.15 ("Kapila is born on earth with a partial power of Viṣṇu") and 22 ("It is well known that you are the cause of the sustenance and annihilation of the worlds. With the partial power of Viṣṇu you have been incarnated on the earth").[39] In these texts, the Kapila who destroyed the sons of Sagara is not identified with the Sāṃkhya Kapila. Also the commentaries on the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* do not identify this Kapila with the Sāṃkhya tradition. In the *Nārada Purāṇa* version of the story, however, the gods approach Kapila with these words: "Obeisance to you, the yogin who is absorbed and delightfully engaged in Sāṃkhya-Yoga, salutations to you who are Lord Viṣṇu himself, disguised in the form of a human being" (1.8.82).[40] In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* also the identification of the Kapila of the Gaṅgā myth with the Sāṃkhya Kapila is clear.[41] But how can the Sāṃkhya sage be identified with this person, who exploded in anger and burned to death many human beings?[42] The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* raises this issue and says that the sons of the king were not really killed because Kapila could not have been angry:

It is not correct to say that the sons of the king were destroyed by means of the anger of the sage Kapila. How can *tamas* in the form of anger be imagined with respect to the sage who is pure *sattva* and who is the purifier of the whole universe? It is as impossible as the sticking of particles of earthly dust in the sky. How can there be a sense of difference in the wise sage who is no other than the supreme lord who proclaimed the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy as the strong boat by means of which a person desirous of liberation crosses the ocean of *saṃsāra*, the path of death, which is difficult to cross?[43]

That the Kapila of this myth has become identified with the Sāṃkhya sage illustrates the process by which the tradition creates uniformity, but not consistency, in the mythological material associated with the name Kapila.

Kapila in the Classical Sāṃkhya and Yoga Traditions

Sāṃkhya is usually recognized as the oldest of the six Hindu philosophical systems.[44] The Yoga of Patañjali is a school of Sāṃkhya, in which traditions of me-

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[39] *Mahābhārata* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 230–1; *Śiva Purāṇa* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974), 1611; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983–84) pp. 763–4;

[40] *Nārada Purāṇa* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980), p. 159.

[41] For a complete list of references to the statements about this Kapila in the *Purāṇa*s see Ram Shankar Bhattacharya, "Is Kapila, the Founder of the Sāṃkhya System, Identical with the Destroyer of the Sons of the King Sagara?", *Purāṇa*, vol. 24, no. 1 (1982), p. 192.

[42] Bhattacharya, ibid., pp. 205–6, has shown that the philosopher Kapila cannot be identified with the destroyer Kapila, because it is "inconceivable that a yogin of such a high stage gets so highly enraged that he becomes compelled to create a fire to kill some persons, however wicked they are. It is well known that these yogins are so powerful that even evil thoughts of wicked persons get restricted if they happen to come near them."

[43] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 9.8.13–14. *na sādhuvādo munikopabhajitā nṛpendraputrā iti sattvadhāmani | kathaṃ tamo roṣamayaṃ vibhāvyate jagatpavitrātmani khe rajo bhuvaḥ || yasyerītā sāṃkyamayī dṛḍheha naur yayā mumukṣustarate duratyayam | bhavārṇavaṃ mṛtyupathaṃ vipaścitaḥ parātmabhūtasya kathaṃ pṛthaṅmatiḥ ||*

[44] For a systematic presentation of Sāṃkhya see Gerald J. Larson, *Classical Sāṃkhya: An Interpretation*

ditation are blended with Sāṃkhya metaphysics. Sāṃkhya accepted the existence of divinities as is clear from, for example, *Sāṃkhyakārikā* 54, in which the world is said to include all beings from Brahmā to a leaf of grass (*brahmādi-stamba-paryantaḥ*) but the concept of *avatāra* is not usually part of Sāṃkhya metaphysics. Salvation was gained by the realization of the *puruṣa* principle by means of knowledge and non-attachment. Salvation was considered to be an attainment beyond the world of the divinities, because Sāṃkhya believed that everything manifest, including the divinities, was constituted by two ultimate principles, *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*, and that liberation was the isolation of the *puruṣa* principle from the ultimate material principle (*prakṛti*) and its manifestations.

Information about Kapila is to be found in the various commentaries on *Sāṃkhyakārikā* and *Yogasūtra*, but in general the commentators were not very interested in the events of the life of Kapila. Most commentaries agree that Kapila gave his teaching to Āsuri, but they give different versions of his origin and nature. One gets the impression that each commentary had to bring a new aspect or an original interpretation of the nature and origin of Kapila as part of its general interpretative contribution. There is, in fact, a remarkable variety in the speculations about Kapila in the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* commentaries.

Several commentaries (*Yuktidīpikā* on *kārikā* 69, *Māṭharavṛtti* and *Gauḍapādabhāṣya* on *kārikā* 1, *Jayamaṅgalā* and *Tattvakaumudī* on *kārikā* 43) says that Kapila at the beginning of manifestation was perfectly equipped with knowledge (*jñāna*), virtue (*dharma*), non-attachment (*vairāgya*) and power (*aiśvarya*).[45] According to *Māṭharavṛtti* on *kārikā* 43, Kapila was endowed with these qualities at the beginning of creation (*kapilasya bhagavataḥ paramarṣer ādisarge utpannasya*), while they came naturally (*prākṛtika*) to such beings as the sons of Brahmā. According to other texts, such as *Jayamaṅgalā*, however, Kapila was endowed with these naturally (*prākṛtika*), i.e. they were not brought about by effort. *Yuktidīpikā* also refers to some who hold the view that Kapila's knowledge was something achieved.[46]

Yuktidīpikā says that at the beginning of each cycle of creation, *prakṛti*, having manifested the twenty-three *tattvas*, generated the body of Kapila as the first being who emerged into manifest existence.[47] Kapila was born naturally endowed with the means of liberation because of the predominance of *sattva* in him.[48] *Yuktidīpikā* on *kārikā* 39 states that the bodies of divinities are of four kinds, the first of which is that of Brahmā (*viriñca*) and Kapila (*paramarṣi*) that appeared directly from the material principle (*pradhānānugraha*).

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of its History and Meaning (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979) and Larson and Bhattacharya, *Sāṃkhya: A Dualist Tradition*.

[45] *Yuktidīpikā: The Most Significant Commentary on the Sāṃkhyakārikā*, Critically edited by Albrecht Wezler and Shujun Motegi (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998). p. 367; *Sāṃkhyakārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa with the commentary of Gauḍapāda*, trans. T. G. Mainkar (Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1972), p. 35, p. 37; *Māṭharavṛtti in Sāṃkhya-Kārikā of Śrīmad Īśvarakṛṣṇa with the Māṭharavṛtti and the Jayamaṅgalā* (Varanasi: The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1970), p. 1; *The Tattvakaumudī: Vācaspati Miśra's Commentary on the Sāṃkhya-Kārikā*, trans. Ganganath Jha (Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1965), p. 128.

[46] *Yuktidīpikā*, pp. 233–34.

[47] *Yuktidīpikā*, pp. 255–56.

[48] *Yuktidīpikā*, p. 161.

According to *Māṭharavṛtti*, a text which has been dated "anywhere from the ninth century onward",[49] Kapila was an incarnation of Viṣṇu (*purāṇa-puruṣasya-avatāra*) and was born the son of Prajāpati Kardama and Manu Svayaṃbhu's daughter Deva-hūti. Kapila, overpowered by compassion for the suffering of all living beings, found the *brāhmaṇa* Āsuri who had sacrificed for one thousand years, and asked him if he fulfilled his duty as a householder with joy (*bho bho āsure ramase gṛhasthadharmeṇa*). Āsuri answered "Yes" and Kapila concluded that his discrimination and non-attachment were not yet fully developed and left him. He came back twice at one-thousand-year intervals and the last time Āsuri answered "No". Kapila asked why and Āsuri answered that it was because of the threefold suffering (*duḥkhatrayābhighātāt*). Āsuri then left his family and started the life of a renunciant and became the student of Kapila. That Kapila was the son of Devahūti and Kardama is in agreement with the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* but is not stated in the other Sāṃkhya commentaries. Even the *Sāṃkhyasaptativṛtti* and *Jayamaṅgalā*, which, like the *Māṭharavṛtti*, tell the story of Kapila approaching three times out of compassion the sacrificing *brāhmaṇa* Āsuri (on *kārikā* 1 and 70), do not mention Deva-hūti and Kardama nor do they refer to Kapila as a Viṣṇu *avatāra*.[50] *Māṭharavṛtti* on *kārikā* 33 refers to the Kalkī incarnation and this also shows that it is a late text.

Gauḍapāda under *Sāṃkhyakārikā* 1 traces the origin of Kapila to one of the seven great seers who are the mind-born sons of Brahmā.

Another interpretation of the nature of Kapila as the teacher of Āsuri is found in *Vyāsabhāṣya* on *Yogasūtra* (1.25). *Vyāsabhāṣya* believes that Kapila assumed a created mind (*nirmāṇacitta*) and used this to give the salvific knowledge to Āsuri. Here, it is said that "the first enlightened one through compassion (*kāruṇā*) assumed a created mind (*nirmāṇacitta*) and instructed the inquiring Āsuri in the Sāṃkhya system". The influence of Buddhism is obvious. *Yogasūtra* (4.4 to 4.6) discuss the *nirmāṇacitta* but neither the *Vyāsabhāṣya* nor the *Tattvavaiśāradī* mention Kapila in this context.

Since manifestation is not a one-time event, according to Sāṃkhya mythology, one can perhaps assume that Kapila appears at the beginning of each cycle of creation and his appearance is also not a one-time event.[51]

It is the accepted Sāṃkhya view that Kapila gave his teaching to Āsuri and this is agreed upon by the commentaries. The only systematic discourse between Kapila and Āsuri is to be found in the southern recension of the *Mahābhārata* (*Śāntiparvan*, appendix I, no. 29, 2075–2085) and no commentaries are available on this text of uncertain date.[52] Given the importance of the relationship of Kapila and Āsuri in the mythology of Sāṃkhya, there must have been a need to get such a dialogue accepted as authentic, especially, perhaps, against the competing version in the form of the dialogue between Kapila and Devahūti made popular in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The dialogue starts by Āsuri asking Kapila a series of questions and in the text Kapila

[49] Larson and Bhattacharya, *Sāṃkhya: A Dualist Tradition*, p. 291.

[50] *Sāṃkhya-Saptati-Vṛtti*, ed. Esther A. Solomon (Ahmedabad: Gujarat University, 1973).

[51] Chakravarti, *Origin and Development of the Sāṃkhya System of Thought*, p. 111.

[52] A translation and a full discussion of this interesting text are in preparation for publication by the author.

answers one question after another. The questions reveal probably the topics considered most important for the Sāṃkhya at the time of the compositions of the dialogue. Āsuri says: "Please tell me the undoubted view about the unmanifest principle and the manifest principles, ascertained by the intellect (*buddhi*), Lord with immeasurable wisdom, purposefully."[53] He then asks:

What is the manifest? What is the unmanifest? What is more manifest than the unmanifest? How many are the principles? What is the state of the principles in the beginning and in the middle? What is that which relates to oneself, that which relates to other beings and that which relates to the divinities? What is creation and dissolution? How many are the kinds of creations? What is the past, the future and the present? What is knowledge? What is to be known? Who is the knower? What is the awakened? What is the non-awakened? What is the awakening? What are the parts? What are the kinds of created beings? What is that which impels us to act? What is partlessness? What is multitude? What is association and disassociation? What is metaphysical knowledge and ignorance?[54]

This text makes no reference to *bhakti* as the way to salvation. Knowing the *tattvas* is the way to salvation. Kapila says: "Knowing the twenty-five principles according to their nature and that the *puruṣa* is pure, he becomes free from all these, he suffers no pain."[55] According to this text, when Kapila was born (*utpannamātra*), natural knowledge (*prākṛtajñāna*) was awakened (*avabuddha*) in him.[56]

Kapila is an incarnation of Viṣṇu, according to only some Sāṃkhya texts. This is stated only in the *Māṭharavṛtti* and *Tattvavaiśāradī*, texts that date from no earlier than the ninth century CE. The *Māṭharavṛtti* mentions it at the beginning of the story of Kapila on *kārikā* 1. This text also celebrates Kapila as *īśvara* in the introductory verse, which is probably another indication that the author of this text believed Kapila to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Vācaspati Miśra on *Yogasūtra* 1.25 says that Kapila is a particular incarnation of Viṣṇu (*kapilo nāma viṣṇor avatāraviśeṣaḥ prasiddhaḥ*). These two texts are late commentaries and it seems that Kapila had been accepted by commentators on Sāṃkhya texts as a Viṣṇu *avatāra* only in the ninth century. That Kapila was accepted as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu in these texts probably means that by the ninth century the Sāṃkhya tradition had lost its independence. One is everywhere struck by the variety in the understanding of Kapila by the commentators on *Sāṃkhyakārikā*. This points also to the mythological origin of Kapila, at least that the historical fact had disappeared and that mythological features were prominent. The historical Kapila, if he was ever a historical person, has disappeared behind layers of mythology. Chakravarti has argued that the name Kapila "was associ-

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[53] *Mahābhārata*, ed. by Vishnu S. Sukthankar, S. K. Belvalkar, and P. L. Vaidya, 19 vols. (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental research Institute, 1933–59), *Śānti Parvan*, vol. 16, p. 2075. *avyakta-vyakta-tattvānāṃ niścayaṃ guru-śiṣyayoḥ | bhagavann-amitaprajña vaktum arhasi ne 'rthaḥ |*

[54] *Mahābhārata*, *Śānti Parvan*, vol. 16, p. 2075. *kiṃ vyaktaṃ kim avyaktaṃ kiṃ vyaktāvyakta-taram | kati tattvāni kim ādyaṃ madhyamaṃ ca tattvānāṃ kim adhyātmam adhibhūtam adhidaivataṃ ca | kiṃ nu sargāpyayaṃ kati sargāḥ kiṃ bhūtaṃ kiṃ bhaviṣyaṃ kiṃ bhavyam | kiṃ jñānaṃ kiṃ jñeyaṃ ko jñātā kiṃ buddhaṃ kim apratibuddhaṃ kiṃ budhyamānam | kati parvāṇi kati srotāṃsi kati karmayonayaḥ | kiṃ ekatvaṃ kiṃ nānātvam | kiṃ sahavāsavivāsaṃ kiṃ vidyāvidyam |*

[55] Ibid., p. 2078. *pañcaviṃśati-tattvāni viditvaitāni tattvataḥ | viśuddhaḥ puruṣaścāsmād vargahīno na śocati ||*

[56] Ibid., pp. 2084–5.

ated with Sāṃkhya probably to give greater sanctity to the system",[57] and Larson argues that the various attempts to associate Kapila with mythological figures are attempts to establish a proper lineage for the Sāṃkhya system of thought.[58] Larson writes:

That the later Sāṃkhya teachers unanimously refer to Kapila and Āsuri as the founders of the system probably reflects the Sāṃkhya tradition's attempts to appropriate traditions of ascetic speculations as its own and to relate that ascetic speculation to dissatisfaction with the older sacrificial religion. Moreover, what might be called the upgrading of Kapila to the status of Hiraṇyagarbha or one or another mythological figure (Agni, Rudra, Āsuri), and other Sāṃkhya teachers in enumerations of the "great seers" in the epic and Purāṇic literature may be taken as further attempts to establish a proper lineage for the Sāṃkhya philosophy.[59]

A process can be detected in which a mythological figure is appropriated by different traditions. Vaiṣṇavas adopted Kapila as one of the *avatāras* probably because of the great importance of the Sāṃkhya systems in their tradition. By ascribing a divine origin to Kapila, they ascribed a divine origin to much of their philosophical speculations. Wezler has suggested that the fact that Sāṃkhya finally accepted the idea that Kapila was an incarnation of Viṣṇu meant that Sāṃkhya had been taken over by the Vaiṣṇavas.[60] The establishment of Kapila as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu also served the interests of the Vaiṣṇavas in their attempts to make it an all-including religion. The identification of Kapila with Viṣṇu may be seen as a consequence of the blending of systematic thought and mythological figures and themes in Indian religious history.

The Kapila of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa

Systems of religious thought that claim Kapila as their origin are presented both in the Sāṃkhya traditions associated with Īśvarakṛṣṇa and Patañjali and in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The emphasis in both traditions is not on Kapila's deeds but on the systematic nature of his teaching. These systems of thought are both Sāṃkhya systems, but they differ on the issue of the independence of the material principle (*prakṛti*), the interpretation of the plurality of *puruṣas*, the role of God in the process of manifestation and in the gaining of salvation, the salvific value of devotion, the function of time, etc. They differ also in the understanding of Kapila. In the Sāṃkhya texts, Kapila is variously understood as one of the great seers, a yogin created directly from *prakṛti* at the beginning of creation, a yogin who, having been liberated, created out of compassion a mind for the purpose of teaching Āsuri, the son of Kardama and Devahūti who taught Āsuri or an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Kapila is an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu born of Kardama and Devahūti and he teaches the Sāṃkhya principles to his mother. Kapila in this text is primarily a teacher of *bhakti* as the way to salvation. This Kapila who teaches his mother is also referred to in the *Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, a text which is an imitation of the *Bhāga-*

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[57] Chakravarti, *Origin and Development of the Sāṃkhya System of Thought*, p. 112.
[58] Gerald J. Larson in Larson and Bhattacharya, *Sāṃkhya: A Dualist Tradition*, p. 112.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Albrecht Wezler, "Der Gott des Sāṃkhya: Zu Nyāyakusumāñjali 1.3," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 12 (1970): p. 262.

vata Purāṇa.[61] According to this text, the mere remembrance of the name of Kapila makes the yogins realize the Sāṃkhya *jñāna.*

According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* Viṣṇu was incarnated as Kapila to found the Sāṃkhya system for the sake of salvation. In general, the philosophy attributed to Kapila in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* forms the dominant philosophy of the text and is referred to again and again.[62] Dasgupta has suggested that the account of Sāṃkhya attributed to Kapila in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* may generally be believed to be the actual teaching of Kapila, thus assuming that such identification is possible. In support of this, he argues that most of the *Purāṇas* that have a Vaiṣṇava tradition behind them generally agree in all essential features with the theistic element of the Kapila Sāṃkhya of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and also that some of the important Pañcarātra *saṃhitās,* such as the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā,* support this.[63] According to these systems, the material principle (*prakṛti*) is caused to manifest itself by the will of Viṣṇu, there is only one *puruṣa,* and time (*kāla*) is a separate principle. These systems differ from the Sāṃkhya systems of *Sāṃkhyakārikā, Yogasūtra* and their commentaries.

The story of the divine descent of Viṣṇu as Kapila constitutes a large part of *skandha* 3 of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.* Kapila is here the son of Manu Svayaṃbhū's daughter Devahūti and Kardama Prajāpati. It is said that Kardama, having failed to attain God by austerities, took to the path of devotion (*bhakti*) and Viṣṇu revealed himself to him. Viṣṇu promised Kardama nine daughters and that he should be born of him and his wife as a partial incarnation (*svāṃśakala*) and propound a philosophy.[64] Manu came to where Kardama lived and asked him to marry his daughter Devahūti, because he had heard that Kardama would end his celibacy after he had completed the study of the Veda.[65] Kardama accepted her as a wife on the condition that they should stay together only till the promised number of children had been born and that thereafter he would renounce the world.[66] After spending hundreds of years in sexual embraces Devahūti gave birth to nine daughters.[67] According to their agreement, Kardama was then ready to leave to become a *saṃnyāsin.* Devahūti, however, stopped him from leaving because she also wanted a son, in order to find suitable husbands for her daughters and to give her instruction in how to overcome *saṃsāra.*[68] Kardama then told Devahūti that Viṣṇu himself would be born from her womb as her son, that she should worship Viṣṇu and that Viṣṇu would give her the knowledge of *brahman.* When Kapila was born, the rain clouds thundered, the Gandharvas sang, the Apsaras danced, heavenly flowers fell on earth and everywhere the waters and the minds of human beings became tranquil.[69] The text tells us further that Viṣṇu had incarnated himself in order to teach the enumeration of the

[61] *Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Allahabad: The Panini Office, 1921), p. 748.

[62] Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy,* vol. 4, p. 30.

[63] Ibid., p. 36.

[64] *Śrīmadbhāgavatam,* 3.21.32, vol. 1, p. 239.

[65] 3.22.14, p. 242.

[66] 3.22.19., p.243.

[67] 3.23.46–48, p. 249.

[68] 3.23.52, p. 250.

[69] 3.24.1–8, pp. 250–1.

principles (*tattvasaṃkhyānavijñaptyai*).[70] This incarnation is the lord of perfected beings (*siddha-gaṇādhīśa*), he is much honoured (*susammata*) by the teachers of Sāṃkhya (*sāṃkhyācāryas*), and is known as Kapila among the people, the text tells us.[71] The daughters were then given as wives to the *ṛṣis*. Kardama prostrated himself before his son and sought refuge in him: "I go for refuge to you whose foot-stool fit for reverential salutation is to be worshipped certainly always by learned men desirous of knowing the truth and whose power, non-attachment and glory are perfected by knowledge, strength and auspiciousness."[72] Thus the relationship between Kardama and Kapila is like the relationship between a devotee and God. Kapila answers: "This birth of mine is for the distinguishing and enumeration of the principles in order that the seekers of liberation may realize the *ātman* and distinguish it from the subtle body."[73] He added that this science of the soul had now been almost lost among human beings and that he had been incarnated to revive it.[74] He then allowed Kardama to take *saṃnyāsin* and told him to dedicate all action to him, Kapila, and see Kapila within himself with his purified mind. Kardama then circumambulated Kapila, prostrated himself before him and left for some solitary place. Disciplined in devotion to God, he went to that God.

Kapila then taught his mother the principles of Sāṃkhya and in particular devotion to God. Devotion is combined with renunciation and single-minded yoga, because devotion to God excludes all other concerns and the mind is fixed on God as in the single-minded concentration of yoga. Devahūti is described as a yogin with matted hair and dressed in tree-bark cloth.[75] She has become separated from her husband and son, as a *saṃnyāsin* is separated from his family. And, being separated from her son, she thought constantly of him and her mind was freed from every kind of worldly attachment.[76] This, it seems, is a reference to the *viraha-bhakti* that characterizes the devotional message of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. She meditated on Kapila (Viṣṇu) in an unbroken flow of love, practised intense dispassionateness, practised strict discipline in eating, acquired knowledge, eliminated individuality and, by fixing her mind on God, she attained *samādhi*. Her body had been transformed by yoga and austerity (*tapas*) and was now being fed by others; she was covered with filth and looked like a fire covered with smoke. Her hair was disheveled and her clothes blown about by the wind. Thus, she had followed the path (*mārga*) of Kapila and she attained *nirvāṇa*, *brahman*, *ātman* and Bhagavān[77]

The similarity between yoga, austerity (*tapas*) and *bhakti* is obvious in this description. Devotion to God excludes all other concerns and is similar to the single-

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[70] 3.24.10, ibid.

[71] 3.24.19, p. 252.

[72] 3.24.32, p. 253. *tvāṃ sūribhis tattva-bubhutsayāddhā sadābhivādārhaṇa-pāda-pīṭham | aiśvarya-vairāgya-yaśo 'vabodha-vīrya-śriyā pūrtam ahaṃ prapadye |*

[73] 3.24.36, ibid. *etan me janma loke 'smin mumukṣūṇāṃ durāśayāt | prasaṃkhyānāya tattvānāṃ saṃmatāyātma-darśane |*

[74] 3.24.37, ibid.

[75] 3.33.14, p. 297.

[76] 3.33.21–22.

[77] 3.33.24–30, pp. 297–8.

minded concentration of the yogin. All concerns for the body, such as clothes and the intake of food, disappear as devotion to God is one's only concern. One effect of having Kapila teach *bhakti* is that it emphasizes the similarity between renunciation and the single-minded concentration of yoga and *bhakti*. *Bhakti* is a form of austerity (*tapas*) and single-minded concentration, in which all other concerns disappear.

In both Sāṃkhya texts and in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Kapila is primarily a teacher of systematic knowledge. It is not the events pertaining to Kapila, but his teaching that has a soteriological function. Therefore it is always his teaching that is presented as significant and not the events of his life. The sage Kapila instructs his disciples in how to become unattached to the world and transcend materiality. His teaching is unconcerned with *dharma* and with the preservation of the world. That Kapila is a teacher also of *bhakti* in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* signifies that the relationship between God and the devotee transcends *dharma* and that the world is ultimately irrelevant for the realization both of *jñāna* and *bhakti*. *Bhakti* is a form of yoga: the single-minded concentration on God leads to detachment from sense-objects, for to the devotee only God exists. Kapila and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* say that, when the senses are purified by devotion so that they are naturally focused on God exclusively, one does not even aspire to *mokṣa* but becomes single-minded and indifferent to anything but the total self-surrender to God.[78]

In the *bhakti* tradition, there is an emphasis on the story of Kapila's parents, their moral and ascetic superiority, Kapila's birth, and the ritual worship of him by his parents because he is a god. He teaches Vaiṣṇava Sāṃkhya and devotion (*bhakti*) to Viṣṇu as the way to salvation. Devahūti attains salvation by means of the form of *bhakti* that was taught by Kapila and she exemplifies the model devotee. Her selfless devotion to Kardama, her husband, is described as a form of single-minded concentration that like asceticism weakens her and makes her body lean and thin.[79] Her single-minded devotion to Viṣṇu as a *saṃnyāsin* leads to her hair becoming matted, to her body being covered with dirt, to her stopping eating, etc. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *bhakti* is a form of *tapas* blended with salvific yoga and *jñāna*, and the association of Kapila with *bhakti* shows the importance of renunciation and knowledge for this form of devotion.

COMPARISON AND CONCLUSION

There are some important differences between Kapila's system of thought, as it is presented in Sāṃkhya texts and in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. According to the teaching of Kapila in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, there is one *puruṣa* that appears as many *puruṣa*s due to ignorance.[80] According to Sāṃkhya, however, the many *puruṣa*s do not dissolve in a higher principle but are ultimately real. This is, according to Dasgupta, "the fundamental difference" between the two systems.[81] Another difference

[78] 3.25.32–44, pp. 258–9.
[79] 3.23.2–11, pp. 245–246
[80] 3.26.3, p. 260.
[81] Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 4, p. 32.

is that, according to Kapila in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the supreme *puruṣa* at the beginning was approached by *prakṛti* and looked at *prakṛti* playfully. Seeing this, *prakṛti* produced the various manifestations and the *puruṣa* was blinded and identified himself with the manifestations, believing himself to be an agent.[82] This is different from the Sāṃkhya and Yoga systems, because they do not personify *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*. The enumeration of the principles is different in the two systems. According to Sāṃkhya, there are twenty-five principles: *puruṣa*, *prakṛti* and twenty-three manifest principles. According to Kapila in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, there are twenty-eight principles (twenty-four manifest principles, *prakṛti*, time, *puruṣa* and God).[83] Sāṃkhya considers the inner instrument as constituted by mind (*manas*), egoity (*ahaṃkāra*) and intellect (*buddhi*). Kapila in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* considers *citta* as a fourth principle of the inner instrument.[84] According to Sāṃkhya, time (*kāla*) is not a principle (*tattva*) but Kapila in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* counts time as the twenty-sixth principle. Time is not a product of *prakṛti*, according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, but is a power of *puruṣa* by which the unmanifest state of *prakṛti* is disturbed and the manifest world is produced.[85] Kapila in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* also identifies the first product of *prakṛti*, the *mahat*, with Hiraṇyagarbha, *citta*, and Vāsudeva.[86] *Ahaṃkāra* is identified with Saṃkarṣaṇa and *manas* with Aniruddha. This Pañcarātra scheme seems to be an attempt to identify abstract concepts with mythological figures and is less prevalent in Sāṃkhya commentaries although such attempts are to be found also there. For example, the *Yuktidīpikā* 22 says that Brahmā is a synonym of *buddhi*. Another difference is that, according to Sāṃkhya, *buddhi* is the first product of *prakṛti*; according to Kapila in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *buddhi* is a product of the *rājasa* aspect of *ahaṃkāra*.[87] The way of salvation is described by Kapila in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as the withdrawal of the mind from the activities of *prakṛti* by means of yoga and devotion to God.[88] Devotion to God is not usually mentioned as a means of salvation in Sāṃkhya, although a form of *bhakti* called *īśvara-praṇidhāna* is recognized in Sāṃkhya-Yoga as a means to the goal of liberation (*kaivalya*).[89] Kapila in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* therefore gives an elaborate description of different forms of meditation on God and different forms of devotion. Devotion to God means meditating on the beautiful form of God and by this the devotee attains to absorbing love for him. This love cuts the bondage of the *puruṣa* and the devotee attains to union with God.[90] Kapila defends the *bhagavad-dharma*, the dedication of all the fruits of one's actions to God. The followers of this religion (*dharma*) go to the Satyaloka after death.[91] When the world is dissolved, these

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[82] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.26.4–7, p. 260.
[83] Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 4, p. 25.
[84] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.26.14, p. 261.
[85] 3.26.15–18, pp. 261–2.
[86] 3.26.19–22, p. 262.
[87] 3.26.29, p. 263.
[88] 3.27.5, p. 268.
[89] *Yogasūtra* 1.23.
[90] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.28–29, pp. 271–81.
[91] 3.32.5–7, pp. 290–1.

beings enter the supreme being. Devotion gives permanent freedom, but all those beings who are perfect in non-attachment but not in devotion will become bound again when there is a new world manifestation.[92]

Kapila is different from those Viṣṇu *avatāras* whose function is to protect and preserve the world. According to the theology of the *trimūrti*, the function of Viṣṇu is the preservation of the world; Brahmā functions as creator and Śiva as destroyer. Several of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu have specific roles in the struggle to uphold the world. Matsya, the fish *avatāra*, warned Manu about the flood and made it possible for him to build a boat for himself, the seven sages, their wives and all the various species. The Boar *avatāra* saved the earth, which had been cast into the ocean, by lifting it up from the depth of the ocean, using its tusks. Narasiṃha killed Hiraṇyakaṣipu, who terrorized gods and people. Rāma was the defender of *dharma* and himself represented the perfection of morality and law. Kṛṣṇa also delighted in killing demons, thus defending good from evil and upholding creation. Similarly Kṛṣṇa in the *Mahābhārata* advised Arjuna to perform the duty of his *varṇa* for the sake of holding the world together (*lokasaṃgraha*). According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 3.17.9–45 and 3.18.1–34, Viṣṇu became the Buddha in order to trick the demons into giving up the sacrifice, so that they would lose their power. When the demons had become Buddhists the gods attacked and killed them. Also this incarnation had, in the Vaiṣṇava view, the preservation of the world as its purpose. This is also stated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Agni Purāṇa*, although in later texts such as *Varāha Purāṇa*, *Matsya Purāṇa* and *Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa* the Buddha *avatāra* is accepted as revealing a positive aspect of Viṣṇu, namely his beauty and his compassion for animals.[93] Kapila's teaching is oriented towards *mokṣa*, not the preservation of the world; it encourages withdrawal from the world and not the defence of *dharma* from the forces of evil. The world can be used, according to Sāṃkhya, to realize the separation of the *puruṣa* principle from *prakṛti*, i. e. its function is soteriological. The purpose of the Sāṃkhya system is to liberate living beings from transmigration, because the world is, according to Sāṃkhya, fundamentally associated with pain. Even the divinities will, when their good *karman* is used up, suffer future rebirths. *Sāṃkhyakārikā* starts with the statement that existence is characterized by pain and that there is no other way than the Sāṃkhya teaching that can liberate human beings from this pain finally and totally. Kapila was a saviour in the sense of teaching a method of salvation. The Kapila of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the Sāṃkhya Kapila wanted, out of compassion, to put an end to the suffering of others.

The incarnated deity, according to Vaiṣṇava theology, is one of the five forms of the existence of the supreme deity: (1) the supreme form; (2) the four emanations (the *vyūhas* Vāsudeva, Samkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha); (3) the incarnations of various kinds. Distinctions are sometimes drawn between complete incarnations (*pūrṇa avatāras*), major partial incarnations (*aṃśa avatāras*) in which only a portion of the deity is incarnated, minor partial incarnations, incarnations of might

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[92] 3.32.12–15, pp. 291–2.

[93] See discussion in Daniel E. Bassuk, *Incarnation in Hinduism and Christianity: The Myth of the God-Man* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1987), pp. 39–43.

(*śakti avatāras*), incarnations of power (*vibhūti avatāras*) or incarnations for a purpose (*kārya avatāras*); (4) the inner dweller (*antaryāmin*); and (5) the presence of God in the *mūrti* (*arcā avatāra*). According to some, Kapila is to be considered a major partial incarnation, together with the fish, the tortoise, and the dwarf[94] and, according to others, he was a minor partial incarnation.[95] This can be contrasted with the Sāṃkhya view of four different kinds of divine embodiments, as found in the *Yuktidīpikā*. The first kind appears directly from the ultimate material principle (*pradhānānugraha*).[96] This is the case of Kapila (*paramarṣi*) and Brahmā (*viriñci*).[97] Kapila's physical body is generated by *prakṛti* itself and does not emerge from a womb because he is endowed with perfect virtue (*dharma*), knowledge (*jñāna*), dispassionateness (*vairāgya*) and power (*aiśvarya*).[98] The second is caused by spiritual power as is the case of the sons of Brahmā. The third is generated by the combination of parents as is the case of the sons of Aditi and Kaśyapa. The fourth is from either of the parents singly.[99] According to some Sāṃkhya sources therefore, the physical body of Kapila was generated directly by the ultimate material principle at the beginning of creation and it did not arise from parents. The Kapila of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, however, arises from parents. *Māṭharavṛtti* has probably adopted the belief that Kapila was generated from parents from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The *avatāra* scheme and the Sāṃkhya scheme of divine embodiments represent apparently conflicting interpretations.

The construction of the identity of Kapila and Viṣṇu merges *jñāna* and *bhakti*, the teaching of the experience of contentless consciousness and the devotion to the embodiment of the divine. It merges the belief in the ability of human beings to experience the absolute truth and attain salvific knowledge with the belief in the embodiment of the divinity. The combination of these with the idea of the divinity's compassion for living beings leads to the concept of the compassionate divine teacher of liberation. The divinization of Kapila thus exemplifies a process in which religious teachers in India came to be seen as embodiments of the divine. Judging from the content of the teaching of Sāṃkhya and Yoga, it seems probable that its founder was similar in many ways to the Buddha and Mahāvīra. He was an extraordinary human being, who by himself realized the form of liberation that could be attained by oneself by means of discriminative knowledge. Whether one perceives Kapila as a human person who discovered by himself a method of liberation and realized *kaivalya* or as a god who descended to earth to take the form of a human being and teach the Sāṃkhya system of thought depends ultimately on whether one's own mental predispositions (*saṃskāras*) are favourable to knowledge (*jñāna*) or to devotion (*bhakti*).

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[94] Mariasusai Dhavamony, *Classical Hinduism* (Rome: Universita Gregoriana Editrice, 1982), p. 71.

[95] Helmuth v. Glasenapp, *Der Hinduismus: Religion und Gesellschaft im heutigen Indien* (München: Kurt Woolff Verlag, 1922), p. 131.

[96] *Yuktidīpikā* on *kārikā* 39, vol. 2, p. 291.

[97] Ibid.

[98] See Pulinbihari Chakravarti, *Origin and Development of the Sāṃkhya System of Thought*, 2d ed., p. 280.

[99] Ibid., p. 281.

The Middle Persian Nouns in *-išn* and *-išnīh**

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I. DESCRIPTION OF THE PROBLEM

In studying the rich assortment of nominalizations found in the late Middle Persian texts it has been difficult to establish the meaning of the nouns with the double suffix *-išnīh* and define how they differ from the nouns in *-išn*. This is due to the fact that in describing the nouns in *-išn* emphasis has been placed on their ability to express the action of the verb and their dimension as entities has not been sufficiently taken into consideration. On the other hand nouns with the double suffix in *-išnīh* have received little attention as they have been mainly treated as a form which results from the addition of the suffix *-īh* to compounds in which the second element is a noun in *-išn*. The aim of this paper is to investigate the relation between the nouns in *-išn* and *-išnīh* and propose a meaning for those in *-išnīh*.

To begin by describing the suffix *-īh*, it is said to be an ending added to adjectives and concrete nouns to form abstracts (Salemann, 1895–1901, 280, Rastorgueva, 1966, 41ff). Salemann gives as examples *rāstīh* 'truth' and *dibīrīh* 'writing'. It is the group of nouns represented by the second of Salemann's examples, *dibīr* 'scribe' and *dibīrīh* 'writing' which is relevant for the present study. There is a large number of pairs of nouns in which the concrete noun indicates a person and the noun with the suffix *-īh* a related concept, e. g. *mehmān* 'guest' and *mehmānīh* 'habitation, hospitality' or *ayār* 'helper' and *ayārīh* 'help', or *xwadāy* 'lord' and *xwadāyīh* 'lordship, sovereignty'. Further there are sets of concrete nouns with corresponding abstract forms in *-īh* like *kirbag* 'virtue, good deed' and *kirbagīh* 'goodness, charity' (Boyce, 1977, 54), *marg* 'death' and *margīh* 'mortality' (de Menasce, 1945, 279), *kār* 'work' and *kārīh* 'activity' (Gignoux, 1988, 389), *hixr* 'dead matter' and *hixrīh* 'filth' (Williams, 1990, I, 310).

The nouns of these pairs fall into the two categories of count nouns and mass nouns. Count nouns are characterized by being bounded in some way according to the sphere or domain to which they belong (Langacker, 1987, 63ff.). Thus for example *hixr* represents a tangible piece of matter. The nouns *kirbag, kār* and *marg* are intangible but each consists of a number of characteristic constituent phases which when complete indicate one instance of the noun. Both the tangible and intangible nouns are bounded and can be counted. As regards mass nouns, the substances which they designate are conceived as homogenous and continuous and are therefore not bounded. The nouns *hixrīh, kirbagīh, kārīh* and *margīh* can be characterized thus. They can be expanded and contracted into more or less 'filth', 'goodness' or 'activity', etc. but they cannot be counted or pluralized.

Turning now to the deverbal nominalizations, we will first consider the nouns in

-išn. According to the grammars the suffix *-išn* is added to the present tense stem of the verb to form a noun which has two functions, one being that of a verbal noun and the other a participle of necessity (Salemann, 1895–1901, 281, Rastorgueva, 1966, 31, Nyberg, 1974, 281 and Brunner, 1977, 32). Salemann describes it as a noun of action and gives as examples *rāmišn* 'pleasure' and *mānišn* 'lodging'. Nyberg notes that it is an abstract noun meaning 'the act of ... ' and illustrates this with *xwarišn* 'the act of eating'.

To describe the nouns in *-išn* more closely it can be observed that they express the result or the output of an action. They express an instance or a single occurrence of an activity as in *gumēzišn* 'mixture', *gardišn* 'revolution', *āyišn* 'arrival', or *srāyišn* 'chant' and *zanišn* 'smiting, blow'. They can also express the product of the action as, for example, *gōwišn* 'speech, word', *pursišn* 'question', or *dahišn* 'creation, creature' or denote an element associated with the action as *xwarišn* 'food'. A description of the nouns in *-išn* would be then that they express the completed action of the verb with all its constituent phases including the result. Nouns of this type can be counted and pluralized and therefore they can be classified as count nouns (Langacker, 1987, 91, Perry, 1990, 9). As they have nominal syntax they are easy to distinguish from the same forms functioning as participles of necessity which are construed with verbal syntax (see Section IV below).

The question to be considered in this study is how the addition of the suffix *-īh* to deverbal forms in *-išn* changes their meaning. Rastorgueva (1966, 42) remarks without further comment that the compound nouns formed by the double suffix *-išnīh* can be characterized as action nouns.[1] Leaving the question of 'compound' aside for the moment, I will take this statement as a point of departure and suggest that when the suffix *-īh* is added to the verbal noun in *-išn* a noun is formed which represents the process expressed by the verb. For example *zāyišn* 'birth' can be contrasted with *zāyišnīh* 'the action of giving birth' seen as a process. While *gōwišn* means 'word, speech' *gōwišnīh* means 'the action or process of speaking', and *menišn* expresses 'thought, mind' while *menišnīh* means 'thinking in progress' hence 'meditation, attitude'. To use a comparison suggested by Langacker (1987, 91) one could say that a noun like *menišnīh* refers to 'thinking' in a generalized fashion while *menišn* is a single instance of the process *menišnīh*. Process nouns belong to the category of mass nouns and cannot be counted.

II. THE EVIDENCE OF THE TEXTS

The examples presented in this section have been mainly drawn from the late Middle Persian texts in Pahlavi script. The sparse evidence of the Manichean texts has also been taken into consideration.

II.A. *xwarišn/xwarišnīh*

The noun *xwarišn* is the usual word for 'food' in Middle Persian and among the many examples of this word found in the texts the following three can be adduced as

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[1] Unfortunately Rastorgueva, V. S. and E. K. Molcanova, *Srednepersidskij yazyk* in Osnovy II, 1981, was not available to me.

fairly typical: *u-šān xwarišn xward* (Dk VI 153 'and they ate food'), *ud xwarišn ī hupoxt ud hubōy ... āwurd* (AWN 3.10 'and they brought well-cooked and fragrant food ...') and finally *cē nē *ayābēm az ohrmazd dāmān xwarišn zōrān* (WZ 34.42 '... for I do not obtain the energy of food from the creatures of Ohrmazd').

The noun *xwarišnīh* means 'eating, consuming' and *xwārišnīh* 'drinking'.[2] It expresses the action of the verb stem *xwar-*. The first example is *mardōm *3 ciš ī abēr nēk ēn-iz ēdōn hōm xwārišnīh may xwārišnīh ud *kōstīg barišnīh* (Dk VI 108 'People have 3 things that are very good. These are drinking *haoma*, drinking wine and wearing the sacred girdle.'). In these noun phrases the preposed nouns represent objects of *xwar-*. The noun in *-išnīh* expresses the process of eating and, while it is assumed that the *haoma*-plant and the wine will be consumed, it is the consuming seen as a process which is focused upon.

The following examples are all parallel descriptions of the final state of mankind as the time of the Frašgird draws near. The texts describe how men will gradually cease to eat meat, then plants, then milk and finally will drink only water. The contexts indicate that the noun *xwarišnīh* expresses an activity: *ud pas az ān az gōšt xwarišnīh be ēstēnd ud urwar ud pēm ī gōspandān xwarēnd pas az ān pēm xwarišnīh ēstēnd ud pas az urwar xwarišnīh-iz ēstēnd ud āb-xwarišn bawēnd* (GB 221.7–9 'and after that they will refrain from eating meat and will eat plants and [drink] sheep's milk; and after that they will refrain from drinking milk and then they will refrain from eating plants and become water-drinkers'), *niyōxšīdārān ī ašwahišt framān az gōspand-zadārīh <ud> gōšt /ud/ xwarišnīh be wardēnd* (WZ 34.39 'those who obey Ašwahišt's command will turn away from slaughtering sheep and eating meat.'), ... *pad hammōxtārīh ī yazadān az pēm xwarišnīh *wardēnd* (WZ 34.40 '... through the teachings of the gods they will turn from drinking milk') and finally *ka-šān pas az ān gōšt xwarišnīh nē abāyēd ...* (PR 48.105 'if, after that, meat eating is not necessary for them ...').

II.B. *xwāhišn/xwāhišnīh*

The noun *xwāhišn/xwāyišn* means 'desire, wish, request' and can be exemplified as follows: *u-š hagriz nē xwāst xwāyišn az ohrmazd* (WZ 35.48 'and she [Spandarmad] never made a request of Ohrmazd').

When the noun *xwāh/yišnīh* is used it expresses the action of 'desiring' or 'seeking' as in *wāspuhragānān rāy wizīdār dahišnīh ... ī hast xwāyišnīh <ī> xūb winnirdan ...* (Dk M. 94.14–16 'for the ruling class [there is] the giving of judgment ... which is seeking to order well ...') where it indicates an on-going process. In *ā-šān pus xwāhišnīh frāz menīd* (GB 105.3 'then they made plans for having children') the noun *xwāhišnīh* indicates the on-going process of desiring and the preposed noun *pus*, the object of *xwāh-*. A further example is *mēnōg sūd xwāyišnīh ... wisp dō axwānīgān huparastagīh* (Dk M 284.8–9 'seeking the benefit of the spirit ... is the good service of the beings of both existences').

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[2] More often than not the MSS write *hwlšnyh* or *ŠTHWN-šnyh* for *xwārišnīh*.

II.C. *pursišn/pursišnīh*

The lexical value of *pursišn* as 'question' is well-established and can be illustrated by *ō ruwān-iz ī druwandān gōwēd kū-š pursišn az-iš ma kunēd* (PR 23.34 'And he says to the souls of the wicked, "Do not ask questions of him ...') and by the noun phrase *pursišn ī rāstīh-kāmagān* (ŠGW I 38 'the questions of the lovers of truth').

In *u-š ahlawān ī andar wahišt ... dōšāram nimāyišnīh ud drōd pursišnīh ... gōwēnd* (DD 30.8 'and the righteous in paradise will speak, exhibiting affection and enquiring after well-being') *pursišnīh* expresses the process of 'asking' which occurs simultaneously with the finite verb of the clause *gōwēnd* and the other noun in -*išnīh* likewise accompanied by a preposed qualifying noun *dōšāram nimāyišnīh*. This passage can be compared with a similar passage in which Ardā Wīrāz is welcomed in Garōdmān by the souls of the departed ... *awēšān widardagān ruwān drōd pursēnd ud āfrīn kunēnd* (AWN 10.2–3 'the souls of the departed ask about [my] health and express blessings ...') where the finite verb form *pursēnd* 'they ask' appears with the object *drōd*.

II.D. *wēnišn/wēnišnīh*

The noun *wēnišn* 'sight' can refer to eyesight or the faculty of seeing as in the following example where it is described how a grain of dirt is prevented by the eyelid from touching the eye *ud wēnišn ī cašm ma tabāhēnād* (ŠGW 5:76 'and it will not destroy the eyesight') or in ... *u-š gurs<ag>īh ud tišnagīh ēdōn mad ī-š ōz ud *zōr ud nērōg ud wēnišn ud ašnawišn ī-š be šud* (PR 47.6 '... and such hunger and thirst came upon him that his strength and power and vigour and (faculties) of sight and hearing failed him'). In the following examples it expresses an instance of the action 'seeing': *ān kunišn kunēd ī ka ō ... wēnišn ī was kas rasēd* (Dk VI 226 '... he commits that deed which when it becomes ... visible to many people ...') or *mihr ō *rōz kū ēwag abāg did ō wēnišn rasēnd 100 and abzāyēd* (Dk VI 242 'their love increases a hundredfold on the day when they come to see each other'). In the latter two examples the completed act of seeing is the precondition for the ensuing 'lack of reproach' or 'increase of love'. In these examples *wēnišn* expresses the completed action. In ... *az dānāgīh ud carbīh be ō wahišt ud garōdmān ud wēnišn ī ohrmazd ud amahraspandān mihr arzānagīh bawēd* (PR 36.14 '... from knowledge and gentleness there will be worthiness of (going) to Paradise and Garōdmān and the beholding[3] of Ohrmazd and of the love of the Amahraspands') it represents the result of the action in a clause where the noun phrase *wēnišn ī ohrmazd* is coordinated with *amahraspandān mihr*.

On the other hand the noun *wēnišnīh* is used when the process of viewing is the focus of attention as in *be nimūd āsmān ... u-š pad nimūdārīh abāz dāšt tom az wēnišnīh ī awiš* (WZ 22.7 'he showed him the sky ... and in showing it he held back the darkness from his viewing of it') where the actual viewing of the darkness is blocked. In a passage which discusses the chaos caused by belief in a god responsible for both good and evil it is said *ud padiš ... wēnišnīh ī was gōnag anāgīh* (Dk M

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[3] Williams, 1990, II, 64, has 'beholding Ohrmazd'.

153.15–16 'and because of it ... there will be the viewing of many kinds of evil') the emphasis is on the unpleasant process of experiencing all kinds of evil. In *ka rāh ī az axw ō menišn bowandag ud pāk mēnōg wēnišnīh-iz bawēd* (Dk M 51.10 'when the path from the *axw* to thought is perfect and pure there will also be vision of the spirits') the emphasis is on the process of viewing. An alternative way of expressing this is found in a passage in which the infinitive *dīdan* has replaced the noun *wēnišnīh: -šān kār ēn bawēd ohrmazd dīdan ud namāz burdan* ... (PR 48.102 'and their work will be this, to behold Ohrmazd and to pay homage ...'). These can be contrasted with the last example of *wēnišn* where the 'sight' of Ohrmazd is one of the items resulting from *dānāgīh* and *carbīh*.

II.E. *zanišn/zanišnīh*

The noun *zanišn* is widely used in the meaning 'smiting' as in *ahreman zanišn az was tis* ... (PR 45.1 'there is smiting of Ahreman from many things ...'), *u-š sīh šab wārān pad zanišn ī xrafstarān abar hišt* (WZ 3.8 'for thirty nights he let down rain for the smiting of the noxious creatures') and *az ān kunišn ī xwēdōdah dēwān zanišn-ē ud bēšišn-ē ēdōn be bawē* (PR 8g2 'from that act of *xwēdōdah* the smiting and afflicting against the demons are such that ...').

In the example *ciyōn gōhrīg ayōxšust-kirb ud sang-<kirb> burišn ī pad tēx ud zanišn ī az sag* (WZ 30.51 'Thus the equivalent of the form of metal and the form of stone are the cut of a blade and the blow of a stone') the noun *zanišn* means 'blow'.

The noun *zanišnīh* occurs in a few passages one of which is *ātaxš ī wazišt gad abar wašt ... aspenzaruš az ān gad zanišnīh γarrēnīd ud wāng kard* (GB 64.4–5 'the fire Wazišt turned upon [him with] his mace ... and Aspenzaruš roared and shouted from the beating of the mace'). In this example emphasis is on the process of beating the demon with the club and the aspect from which the action is viewed differs from that of the foregoing examples. In the example *frāy az 30 gām pad wēnišn zanišnīh <ī> daštān zan ō pādyābīh cim* ... Dk M 21.10–11 'the reason that more than 30 steps [distance is required] for a menstruating woman to view a consecrated item ...') the striking of the sight of the eye on a consecrated item is referred to and thus the form in *-išnīh* is used.[4] Even though this action need not take more than an instant in time, within the context of the clause it is the process of seeing which causes the damage to the consecrated item. It is this aspect which is expressed by the noun in *-išnīh*.

II.F. *rasišn/rasišnīh*

The noun *rasišn* 'coming, visit, association, coming together' has a definite undertone of 'associating with' in many of the passages in which it is used as in *kē xēm nē wirāst ēstēd rasišn ī yazadān ō tan kam bawēd* (Dk VI D6b 'he whose character is not disciplined the gods come less to his body') or *ahreman ... rasišn ō xešmenān*

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[4] My translation differs on one point from that of de Menasce (1973, 43) 'La raison pour laquelle il faut plus de 30 pas pour ce qui est du voir et du frapper / d'une femme qui a ses règles par rapport à quelque chose de consacré qui est présent'.

(Dk VI E 40 'Ahriman's ... association is with wrathful creatures). In many occurrences there is a nuance of 'coming together' as in *cē hamē yazadān rasišn ō ānōh wēš kū mardōm rasišn wēš* (Dk VI E 10 'Because the gods always come more to a place where people come more') or *ahreman zanišn az was tis ... rasišn ī wehān ēk abāg did ka mezd kunēnd* (PR 45.1 '[there is] smiting of Ahriman from many things ... from the meeting with one another of good men when they make an offering ...').

When the noun *rasišnīh* is used the emphasis is on the carrying out of the action of coming. The examples speak of the manner in which the action is accomplished as in *ud ēd ōšmurišnān jud jud az xwēš bun rasišnīh az ān ī abar ō ān ī-š azēr* (Dk M 23.1–3 'and the coming of these components one by one from their own base is from the one above to the one below'). In the example *agar-iz zāyišnān ī gētīg frahist padiš margīh rasišnīh paydāg* (ŠGW IV 87 'even if it is manifest to those born on earth that death will come to them in abundance ...') the discussion concerns the frequency with which death will come and therefore the process of coming is the center of focus.

II.G. *stanišn/stanišnīh*

The two nouns *stanišn* 'fetching, bringing' and *stanišnīh* 'fetching, bringing' occur in the same short essay in answer to question 92 of *Dādestān ī dēnīg*, about where Tištar finds water and how he distributes it to the clouds. The noun *stanišn* here indicates an instance of the action of fetching in *ud tā rawāgīhēd mādagīg pāk āb stānišn* (DD 92, 182.25 'and until the fetching of essentially pure water has been put in motion').

In contrast when the author is describing how the water is to be fetched he uses the noun *stanišnīh* as in *u-š sān ī āb stanišnīh mēnōg kārīh* (DD 92, 180.15 'and his manner of fetching the water is an activity of the spirit').

II.H. *stāyišn/stāyišnīh*

The noun *stāyišn* 'praise' means the expression of approval directed toward a divinity or a person in high office and indicates a unit which can be pluralized as in *stāyišn ī tō ohrmazd ā-m az stāyišnān abar* (Y 35.10[5] 'my praise of you, O Ohrmazd, is above [other] praises').

The noun *stāyišnīh* appears in a context where the activity is qualified by a descriptive adjective *buland* 'loud, with raised voice'. Interest is directed to the manner in which the process of praising takes place in *ud buland stāyišnīh ō ohrmazd ud amahraspandān barēnd* (GB 225.16–226.1 'and they administer loud praise to Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands').

II.I. *srāyišn/srāyišnīh*

A difference in aspect is represented by the two nouns *srāyišn* 'chant, recitation in form of chant' and *srāyišnīh* 'chanting, performing a chant'. In the examples pre-

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[5] *staotāiš θβāt ahurā staotōibiiō* '... with a praise, O Ahura, above (all other) praises ...' (Humbach); 'Tantôt par des louanges, ô Maitre, quand c'est le temps des louanges ...' (Kellens/Pirart).

sented here the performance of the recitation of the Gathas is referred to. When the chant is seen as an instance of the activity 'chanting' the noun *srāyišn* is used as in *ān gāhān srāyišn xwāhom ō ēn yazišn* ... (Y. 3.4[6] 'I invoke this recitation of the Gathas at the sacrifice') and in *pad ahlāyīh be dahom ān ī gāhān srāyišn* (Y. 7.4[7] 'Through harmony I dedicate this recitation of the Gathas ...')

In another passage one finds the noun *srāyišnīh* governed by the preposition *pad* 'during, while' which indicates that the carrying out of the chanting takes place simultaneously with the finite verb of the verse *abar raft*: *hōm abar raft ō zardušt pad ātaxšgāh pērāmōn yōjdahrēnišnīh gāhān srāyišnīh* (Y. 9.1[8] 'Hōm approached Zardušt [who was] purifying the altar and reciting the Gathas') In this context *srāyišnīh* renders a present participle *srauuaiiaṇtəm* whose function in the original version of this passage is to indicate an action which is going on at the same time as that of the finite verb *upāit̰*.

II.J. *āmadišn/āmadišnīh*[9]

This pair of nouns comes from the Manichean texts. In the title *'mdyšn 'yg prystg pd šhr'n* (M 2 I V-R 'The coming of the apostle to the countries') *'mdyšn* refers to several different instances of arrival of the missionaries in different places.

On the other hand the use of *'mdyšnyy* in the concluding statement of a segment of the *Šāhburagān* which treats of the judgment of men by the Son of Man *hnzpt 'mdyšnyy 'y zyndkr* (Boyce, 1975, 79, 12 'End of the coming of the saviour') emphasizes that the foregoing account of events has been about how the saviour will come and the account includes a description of the accompanying events. It is about the process of coming itself. The noun occurs again in a passage from a hymn concerning the second coming of Jesus *'w mn gw šhry'r* ... *'br zm'n 'yt 'mdyšnyh* (S 9 R ii 33 f 'Tell me, O lord ... about the time of your coming'). The supplicant goes on to ask about the signs that will accompany it and the 'coming' is obviously seen as a process during which many things will happen.

II.K. *dahišn/dahišnīh*

The noun *dahišn* occurs very frequently with the preposed noun *bun* and refers to the primal creation seen as a concrete place or time. Thus in *ciyōn <pad> abastāg gōwēd kū jordāg-ē sardag pad bun-dahišn dād* (GB 94.1 'as it is said in the Avesta, he created one kind of corn in/at the primal creation ...') *bun-dahišn* 'primal creation' appears to refer to a concrete place where the corn was placed in order to grow. The same observation can be made about *pad bun-dahišn ka ganāg mēnōg andar dwārist pad ham rōz wārān ō harwisp zamīg wašt* ... (GB 139, 6–7 'On that same

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[6] *gāθanąmca sraoθrəm āiiese yešti* 'I proffer the recitation of the Gathas as (part of the) sacrifice'. See Kellens, 1996, 56f. for this verse.

[7] *ašaiia daδąmi gāθanąmca sraoθrəm* 'In a befitting manner I dedicate the recitation of the Gathas'.

[8] *ā haomō upāit̰ zaraθuštrəm ātrəm pairi.yaoždaθəṇtəm gāθåsca* 'Haoma approached Zarathuštra [who was] purifying the fire and chanting the Gathas'.

[9] The suffix *-išn* can be added to the past participle as well as the present (Salemann, 1895–1901, 281, n.3, who adduces *āmōxtišn* and Nyberg, 1974, 281, who cites *bastišn*).

day when Ganag Menog entered the primal creation rain came to the whole earth
...') where the noun phrase seems to indicate a place. In the example *kū az bun-da-hišn ka dām dād tā ō frazām kū ganāg mēnōg akār bawēd* (GB 10.4–5 'from the pri-mal creation when he created the creatures until the end when Ganag Menog will be-come inert ...') *dahišn* seems to indicate a time. *dahišn* seen here as the second ele-ment of a determinative compound of the same type as *bun-kadag* 'original home',
literally 'foundation-home' or *zēn-abzār* 'horse-armour', is a typical result noun in
that it expresses the product or output of the action.

In *kē-š bun dahišnīh ud frazām ī dām az-iš paydāg hast* (GB 12, 13–14 'Through
it the creating of the foundation and the end of creatures are visible to him.') Ohr-mazd views both the activity of creating the foundation and the final goal of crea-tures. This passage refers to the creation process rather than to the actual foundation
which has resulted from it.

II.L. *windišn/windišnīh*

It is possible to contrast *windišn* 'acquisition, earnings' in *windišn ī az sārārān ...
ēmēdišn* (Dk VI E43d 'One ought to entertain a hope for a favor from the chiefs ...')
with *windišnīh* in the noun phrase *pēš az ān ī sazāg windišnīh* (WZ 18.0 'before the
finding of the suitable one (e. g. wife)'). *windišn* denotes an entity or unit which re-sults from the completed action of the verb stem *wind-* while *windišnīh* expresses
the process of 'finding'.

III. SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES OF THE NOUNS IN *-išn* AND *-išnīh*

III.A. The nouns in *-išn*

III.A.1. The nouns in *-išn* and number and determination
The nouns in *-išn* can be construed as singular or plural. They can be counted as in
u-š ēn šaš dahišn... be dād (GB 22.4–5 'He created these six creations') or *... ēg dēn
1000 dranzišn nimāyēd ...* (Dk VI 63 'religion shows him a thousand sayings ... ').
They can be pluralized as in *gētīg xwarišnān pad dō rāh bawēd* (DD 30.11 'The
foodstuffs of the material world are of two kinds.'). One also finds examples of
count nouns in *-išn* to which the collective suffix *-īh* has been added to express plu-rality.[10] In the passage in MHD 60.8 and Dk M 704.15 *pad sē gōwišnīh* 'with the
three words' the suffix *-īh* functions as the collective suffix added to *gōwišn*. It alter-nates with *pad sē gōwišn* in MHD 2.11.

The nouns in *-išn* can be qualified by the numeral one as in *ēg-iz-iš dānišn-ē* (Dk
VI D6a 'then this one piece of knowledge ... ') or *āyabišn-ē ān weh ...* (Dk VI E36
'that one apprehension is best ...'), and by the the indefinite *harw* as in *harw da-*

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[10] A trait found in the texts of Pahlavi script is occasionally to alternate between the plural ending in *-ān*
and the suffix *-īh*. Thus *abzār* 'instrument' alternates in the plural between *abzārān* as in *pad panj
abzārān ī gētīg* (ŠGW I.9 'with the five instruments of *gētīg*') and *abzārīh* as in *ī-š abzārīh xrad frārōn
tuxšāgīh* (DD 2.17 'whose means are wisdom, virtue and diligence'). *hāwišt* 'disciple, pupil' is found in
the plural as *pad sad hāwištīh* (WZ 25.11 'with a hundred disciples').

hišn-ē (Suppl. 20.11 'for each creation'). They can be determined by a demonstrative as in *ān gōwišn ī aršuxt* (Dk M 19.13 'that rightly spoken word').

III.A.2. The nouns in *-išn* in noun phrases

The most frequent type of noun phrase found in the extant texts is that in which the noun in *-išn* is a head noun construed with a qualifying noun which is postposed and joined to it by means of *iẓāfa*. This can be exemplified by nearly every noun in *-išn* found in the Middle Persian vocabulary. Here are just a few examples: *gugārišn ī xwarišn* (Dk VI E19 'the digestion of food'), *uskārišn ī dēn* (Dk VI 266 'reflection over religion'), *pad āxēzēnišn ī rist* (DD 15.6 'by the resurrection of the dead') and *warzišn ī kirbagān* (WZ 3.82 'the performance of good deeds'). It is often coordinated with another noun as in *dārišn ud parwarišn ī mardōmān* (Dk VI C51 'the maintenance and nourishment of people') or *nērōg ud rāmišn* (WZ 30:43 'strength and joy').

The construction in which the head noun is a noun in *-išn* is construed with a preposed noun expressing a genitive relation occurs much less frequently. It can be found when the possessor is a proper noun such as *ahreman xwāhišn* (Dk VI 31 'Ahreman's wish'), *ō zardušt menišn* (WZ 8.10 'to Zarathuštra's thought') or when a type of religious ceremony is named as in *ātaxš niyāyišn* (Dk VI 301 'the fire ritual') or *drōn yazišn* (Dk VI 233 'the *drōn* ritual'). Other examples contain ordinary nouns such as *yazadān-iz rasišn* (PR 18b1 'also the coming of the divinities'). Further the construction is found in contexts in which it contrasts with an *iẓāfa* construction in the same clause so as to vary the rhythm of the clause. This can be illustrated by *rasišn<ī> mēnōgān yazadān ō ... mardōm srāyišn* (Dk M 55.4–5 'the coming of the spiritual divinities ... for the protection of mankind') or *māh rawišn* (GB 30.3 'the motion of the moon') in which it contrasts with *rawišn ī xwaršēd* (GB 30.1 'the motion of the sun') in the same paragraph. It was also possible to allow the construction *ān ī* to precede the noun phrase as in *ān ī gyān bōzišn* (WZ 2.19 'the salvation of the soul') or *ān ī wād damišn ud *wāyišn* (DD 91, 178.22 'that breathing and blowing of the wind') which follows the noun phrase *ān rēzišn ī ābān* (DD 91, 178.21–22 'that flowing of the waters').

The preposed noun can occur in the plural as well as in the singular as in the title *hunarān winnārišn wišōbišn* (Dk M 370.14 'the establishment of the virtues and [their] destruction') or in *urwarān rōyišn* (GB 91.6–7 'the growth of the plants'). It is also possible for the preposed noun to be qualified by descriptive adjectives which precede the preposed noun as in *mādagīg pāk āb stanišn* (DD 92, 182.25 'the fetching of essentially pure water').

The nouns in *-išn* occur also as the qualifying noun in a genitive relation. They can either follow the head noun to which they are joined by *iẓāfa* as in *zamānag ī kōxšišn* (WZ 1.8 'the time of the struggle') and *any jāmag ī yazišn* (PR 47.5 'another robe for worship') or precede it as in *dānišn zrēh* (Dk VI 164 'the sea of knowledge') and *sōzišn bīm* (PR 13a10 'fear of combustion').

As regards descriptive adjectives the nouns in *-išn* are also quite regular in their constructions. They can be construed with a postposed descriptive adjective joined to the head by means of *iẓāfa* as in *pad nām ī yazadān ud dahišn ī nēk bawād* (Suppl. 14.0 'may it be in the name of the gods and the good creation') or *kunišn ī nēk*

(Dk VI E 32 'the good action') and *burzišn ī abrāz* (Dk VI E43e 'high honor'). They can also take a preposed descriptive adjective as in *u-š pad abēzag gōwišn <ī> yazdīg stardag kard* (WZ 1.4 'He stunned him by the pure and divine word') or *kūg zīwišn* (Dk VI 206 'a short life'). A noun in *-išn* can also be qualified by two descriptive adjectives as in *ān purr ud was rēzišn ī āb* (DD 92 'that full and great pouring of water'). Another variation of the construction with preposed adjectives is *ān ī wattar warzišn* (WZ 22.5 'the worst deed').

The noun in *-išn* can be qualified by a preposed adjective and be plural in number as *šnāyēnīdārīh ī dwāzdah weh dahišn* (WZ 30:50 'satisfaction for the twelve good creations') or *harwisp-iz ān ī rāst gōwišn yazēm* (Y 71.10[11] 'We worship all the rightly spoken words') and *pāšom kunišnān* (WZ 26.3 'pious actions').

III.A.3. *Bahuvrīhi* adjectives with nouns in *-išn* as the second element
The nouns in *-išn* are sometimes construed as the second element of *bahuvrīhi* adjectives. In the example *fradom baxšīhist ō sē ī ast cahārpāyān ī zamīg-rawišn ud māhīg ī āb-šnāsizn <ud> murw ī andarwāy-wāzišn* (WZ 3.53 'first they were divided into three which are four-footed earth-walkers, fish who swim in the sea and birds who fly in the sky') the adjectives are postposed and joind to the head noun by *iẓāfa*. In the example *cē yazadān sūd-dahišn hēnd nē kāmag-dahišn* (PR 20.1 'for the *yazadān* are the granters of benefit and not the granters of wishes') *sūd-dahišn* and *kāmag-dahišn* function as the predicate of a noun clause. Finally in *hāmist zamīg-mānišnān az cihrīg <rāh> be wardēd* (WZ 34.49 'all the inhabitants of the earth will turn away from their natural <way>') *zamīg-mānišn* has been substantivized by being made plural, a usual procedure with adjectives as, for example, *ahlaw* 'righteous' and *ahlawān* 'the righteous ones'.

III.A.4. Ambiguity
In a few instances a noun phrase in which the head noun is a noun in *-išn* is written in the same way as a *bahuvrīhi* in which the second element is a noun in *-išn*. It is usually possible to distinguish them by means of the context in which they are found. This can be illustrated by these passages with *rāst gōwišn* 'the true word' and *rāst-gōwišn* 'one who speaks the truth'. In the first example ... *abāg mard ī ahlaw <ī> rāst-menišn rāst-gōwišn rāst-kunišn ...* (Y 19.17[12] '... with the righteous man of true thought, of true speech, of true deed ...') *rāst-gōwišn* is clearly construed as an adjective which qualifies *mard*. In the second example *nē ān ī rāst-gōwišn sardārīh dahēd ō druwandān* (Y 49.9[13] 'the truthful one does not give authority to the lying ones') the adjective *rāst-gōwišn* has been substantivized by the preceding *ān ī* and represents the agent of the verb *dahēd*. On the other hand in the example *u-t awēšān hēnd ān ī rāst gōwišn* (Y 10.18[14] 'and these are your truely spoken words') the pres-

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[11] *vīspaēca vācō aršuxδa yazamaide* 'we worship the truly spoken words'
[12] ... *hacimna naire ašaone aršmanaŋha aršuuacaŋha aršśiiaoθna* 'with the righteous man of true thought, of true speech, of true deed ...'
[13] *nōiṭ *arəš.vacå sarəm didąs drəguuātā* 'The plainly-speaking one does not approve of shelter by the deceitful one' (Humbach); 'Celui qui dit la vérité n'enseigne pas l'union avec le Partisan de la Tromperie' (Kellens/Pirart).
[14] *imå hənti aršuxδa vācō* 'these are [your] rightly spoken praises'.

ence of an animate being would clearly not fit the meaning of the verse. The construction of the noun phrase *ān ī rāst gōwišn* in the last example is the same as that of *ān ī ērdom āsmān* (M98 I R 3 'that lowest heaven') quoted by Boyce (1964, 41).

III.B. The nouns in *-išnīh*

III.B.1. Previous discussion of the nouns in *-išnīh*

Hitherto in descriptions of the Middle Persian language the nouns in *-išnīh* have been discussed only as constituents of compounds. Salemann (1895–1901, 281) notes that the suffix *-išnīh* forms substantives when added to compound adjectives and illustrates this with *gōšt-xwarišnīh* 'meat-eating' and *rāst-gōwišnīh* 'truthfulness'. Nyberg (1974, 281) states under the title 'determined verbal nouns' that if the verbal noun is preceded by a qualifier it must take the abstract ending *-īh*[15] and he gives a number of examples illustrating all types of possible preposed qualifiers, e. g. *gōwišn barišnīh, frōd barišnīh, ham-kunišnīh, a-xwarišnīh,* etc. Further he maintains that if the qualifier is connected with the verbal noun by *iẓāfa* or the circumlocution *ān ī* is present then the suffix *īh* is not added. He gives the examples *dahišn ī zardušt* and *ān ī zardušt dahišn*.

Rastorgueva (1966, 42f.) notes that when a substantive or an adjective is compounded with a verbal noun which expresses an action and has *-išn*, the resulting compound is either a substantive with the meaning of an action noun or an adjective. Further she notes that when *-īh* is added an action noun is formed. She notes that this type of noun can have two meanings which she illustrates by *rāst-gōwišnīh* which can mean 'the quality of telling the truth' and 'speaking the truth'.

MacKenzie (1990, 128f.) discusses what he terms the superfluous usage of the suffix *-īh*. He suggests that the similarity between the *bahuvrīhi* adjectives in which the second element is a noun in *-išn* (e. g. *bowandag-menišn* 'right-minded') and determinative compounds in which the second element is a noun in *-išn* (e. g. *bun-dahišn* 'the creation of/at the foundation') can have led to the spread of the suffix *-īh* from substantivized adjectives to determinative compounds. He asserts that, whatever the reason may be, the result can be seen in the duplicating of *bun-dahišn* by the synonymous *bun-dahišnīh* and in the proliferation of forms like *pārag-stanišnīh* 'bribe-taking(ness)', *uzdēs-paristišnīh* 'idol-worshipping(ness)', *zōhr-rēzišnīh* 'libation-pouring(ness)'.

III.B.2. Contexts in which the nouns in *-išnīh* frequently occur

Although semantically the nouns in *-išn* and *-išnīh* based on the same verb stem can be very close to each other they are not identical. As suggested by the material presented here, the nouns in *-išnīh* express a process. They are most frequently found with a preposed qualifying word which influences the way in which the process is performed. The preposed word is frequently a preverb which expresses direction. The nouns in *-išnīh* are found as the complement of the preposition *pad* meaning 'during, for, through' or with *ō* in the sense of 'for'. Depending on the meaning of

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[15] I have standardized the transcription according to the prinicples advocated by MacKenzie (1971, xiv f.).

the verbal stem the form in *-išnīh* can be the only form used as with *bēšāzišnīh* 'healing' or is far more frequent than that in *-išn* as with *cāšišnīh* 'teaching'. There are also nouns in *-išn* and *-išnīh* derived from the same verb that are so close in meaning that they can be used interchangeably in some but rarely in all contexts. One such pair is *gūmēzišn* 'mixture' and *gūmēzišnīh* 'mixing'.

III.B.3. The syntax of the nouns in *-išnīh*

The nouns in *-išnīh* occur most frequently with a preposed noun. Some typical examples are *frazand zāyišnīh* (WZ 4.1 'giving birth to children'), and *šnūman wizārišnīh ud wāz gīrišnīh* (PR 58.28 'completing the *šnūman* and taking the *bāj*'), as well as *gētīg rāyēnišnīh* (Dk VI E 14, WZ 4.3 'taking care of material things') and *dēn padīrišnīh* (GB 176.4–5 'accepting religion'). Compare also *āb dahišnīh ī aspān* (WZ 11.9 '… giving water to the horses …') in which the noun representing the beneficiaries of the activity is postposed and joined to the action noun by *iẓāfa*. The example *u-š petyārag ēn wēš mad šēwan ud mōyag kunišnīh* (GB 206.8 'its (Herat) misfortune is that much mourning and lamentation has come [to it]') shows two preposed and coordinated nouns. In *ān ī sazāg windišnīh* (WZ 18.0 'finding one who is suitable, i. e. a wife') the preposed *ān ī sāzag* is a substantivized adjective. In the example *ēwag ēn kū pus zāyišnīh warzišnīh andar šab bē pad abar rōšnīh ī ātaxš ayā star ayā māh tā nē kunišn …* (Suppl. 12.7 'One (is) this, that the labor of childbirth should not be undertaken at night except in the light of a fire or the stars or the moon …') the head noun *warzišnīh* expresses a process which is part of the larger process of *pus zāyišnīh*.

The construction seems to be quite flexible and the preposed noun can be moved to another position when displaced by some other expression. This occurs for instance when the noun in *-išnīh* is the qualifying noun and follows its head noun. In the title *abar cim ī dahišnīh ī dām ō ardīgarīh* (GB 30.10–11 'on the reason for creating the creatures for the battle') in which the noun *dām*, which occurs frequently in the left-hand position in the noun phrase *dām dahišnīh*, has been moved to postposition and joined to *dahišnīh* by means of *iẓāfa*. In *zōr ī candišnīh ī mēnōgān* (DD 92, 180.21 'the strength of the trembling of the spirits') *candišnīh* is subordinated to *zōr*. In *cē wišōbišn ī tanān az hamēšag kōxšišnīh ī garmīh ud sardīh …* (ŠGW 2.14 'for the destruction of bodies is due to the continual struggle between heat and cold …') *hamēšag* occupies the left-hand position and the nouns *garmīh* and *sardīh* follow in postposition. In the example *ka kālbod andar mādagān frāz tazišnīh ī tōhm ud gyān andar šawēd* (WZ 35.58 'when by the flowing of the seed and the soul a body enters into the females') the presence of *frāz* has lead to the postposition of the agents of the verbal noun. It is also possible to choose another word order for reasons of style as in *ka cimīg āfurrišnīh ī-š dām wehīh-iz ī-š kām …* (DD 2.6 'Since the creation of His creatures and the goodness of His will are with design …') in which the inverted word order foregrounds the predicate *cimīg*.

In the translation texts there are a few passages in which the preposed qualifying noun has been pluralized as in *gēhānān bawišnīh* (Wr 1.3[16] 'the procreation of crea-

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[16] Name of a divinity or a concept.

tures'). This holds true for non-translation texts as well as in *had bē gāhān srāyišnīh ī pad ruwān ī ōy ī frōd murd druwand tā ... xūb* (Dk M 61.10–11 'but chanting the Gathas for the soul of one who died a sinner in order to ... is good'). A further example is *pad bowandag rawāgīh ī yazadān stāyišnīh* (DD 1.10 'by the complete currency of the praising of the gods').

Nouns in *-išnīh* can also be construed with a preposed adjective as in *ud cand wad āmēzišnīh wēš wād ī bazag stahmagtar* (GB 141.13–14 'the more evil mixing [there is], the more oppressive is the sinful wind'), *ud pad ān ī abardom šōyišnīh pad ān ī widāxtag āhen be yojdahrīhēnd* (DD 31.10 'and they will be purified in that highest washing in molten metal') and *kē-š andar ēn wad zamānagīh ud stahmag kōxšišnīh ī petyārag pad nērōg mēnōg widarag u-š bast ēstēd* (GB 196.14–15 'he who closed the path with spiritual strength in these evil times and violent struggle against the adversary').

Nouns with the double suffix *-išnīh* occur alone. This was seen in Section II of this study and can be further illustrated by the following examples: *ud hamāg dahišnān xwēdīh <ud> bēšāzišnīh az-iš ayābēnd* (GB 82.12–13 'and all the creatures will obtain moisture and healing from it'), *cē akanārag būd pēš az gumēzišnīh* (GB 10. 2–3 'for it was unlimited before the mixing') and *kē ēn panz frahang nēst ... ud pad-iz cācišnīh nē šāyēd* (Suppl. 13.29 'he who does not have these 5 rules of conduct ... nor is he fit for their teaching').

In correct Middle Persian a plural ending is not added to a noun in *-išnīh*.[17]

Concerning the status as a compound of noun phrases consisting of the noun in *-išnīh* with preposed noun it should be observed that the remarks reported earlier concerned already-existing compounds such as *bahuvrīhi* adjectives or determinative compounds to which the suffix *-īh* had been added.[18] It has been seen that nouns in *-išnīh* designating a process can stand alone or enter into other types of noun phrase constructions which are not compounds. Therefore the question to be considered here is whether the process nouns in *-išnīh* form a compound with the preposed noun with which they are so frequently found. It has been said that the criteria for identifying a compound in a language are stress and morphological behaviour (Lass, 1987, 201f.). Observing stress in speech is obviously out of the question. Evidence provided by morphological behaviour including consideration of number and case which would reveal whether the two words act as independent entities or as one word is limited. With regard to number the nouns in *-išnīh* are not pluralized. There were a few cases of pluralized preposed nouns which suggests that these nouns were independent of the head noun in *-išnīh* but there is hardly enough material to provide conclusive evidence. The preposed genitive construction was popular in texts from the period in which the nouns in *-išnīh* occur but word order is the only indication of such a construction. The relative ease with which the preposed noun could be moved suggests that the combination of *-īh* + *iẓāfa* may have been considered awkward

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[17] One occasionally finds *bēšāzišnihā* 'healings' which is obviously New Persian. In Middle Persian there can be little doubt that there is a strong affinity between *-īh* expressing an abstract and *-īh* which expresses a collective (Sundermann, 1989, 155).

[18] In certain cases there will always be an element of ambiguity as to whether a given construction is a substantivized *bahuvrīhi* adjective or some other type of noun phrase.

phonetically with the result that the qualifying noun was only postpositioned when another word blocked the position to the left of the noun in *-išnīh*. On the other hand one could argue that the unmarked preposed noun + noun in *-išnīh* form a compound the function of which is to signal that the first element is to be interpreted as an argument of the verbal root of the second. Evidence on this point is inconclusive but need not obscure the interpretation of the meaning of the nouns in *-išnīh* as process nouns.

IV. PREVERBS AND THE NOUNS IN *-išn* AND *-išnīh*

When the nouns in *-išn* function as participles of necessity they serve as the verb of a clause and are construed with verbal syntax. Thus they can have an agent (Brunner, 1977, 33, Nyberg, 1994, 281) and have been described by Brunner as passive or intransitive (1977, 32). They can also be accompanied by preverbs in the same way as a finite verb. Some examples of participles of necessity with preverbs are *frasast tar gōšudāg abāz widārišn* (PR 58.32 'the *frasast* should be passed back across the *gōšudāg*'), *u-š frāz nišīnišn u-š ašǝm vohū sē be gōwišn* (PR 58.53 'one should sit down and recite three *ašǝm vohūs*.') and *barsom ī drōn hamāg be šōyišn* (PR 58.50 'The *barsom* of the *drōn* should be entirely washed').

Nouns in *-išn* used with nominal syntax are very rarely found with a preverb. There are only a few examples and there is some vacillation in construing them as adjectives or nouns. Two examples of nouns in *-išn* accompanied by a preverb are ... *pad gugāyīh ī sē abar-gōwišnān amahraspandān ...* (WZ 24.6 '... by the testimony of three Amahraspands of superior word') and *ud kōf ud cagād ud gawr ul-dārišn ud frōd-dārišn nē bawēd* (GB 228.5 'and the mountains, summits and plain will no longer become inclining and declining').

The nouns in *-išnīh* occur frequently with preverbs as has been intimated by Rastorgueva (1966, 43) and Nyberg (1974, 281). Among the many examples one can find the title *abar frāz brīhēnišnīh <ī> rōšanān* (GB 25.5–6 'On the creation of the lights'), *kē ō wināh wizārdan šawēd druz be barišnīh rāy ...* (Suppl. 19.5 'he who goes to expiate his sin in order to remove the lie ...') and *u-š ān dah hazār sardag be ō abāz dārišnīh ī dah hazār wēmārīh payrāst* (WZ 3.38 'and he arranged the ten thousand species in order to restrain ten thousand sicknesses').

Thus in summary it can be observed that preverbs occur approximately ten times more often with the participles of necessity in *-išn* and the nouns in *-išnīh* than with nouns in *-išn*. It is unclear whether this is because a noun in *-išn* with a preverb was felt to be an adjective by analogy with words like *a-sōhišn* 'unfeeling' and *a-pōhišn* 'incorruptible' or if the meaning of the *-išn* nouns as result nouns was felt to be incompatible with the meaning of the preverbs.

V. THE HISTORY OF THE NOUNS IN *-išn* AND *-išnīh* IN MIDDLE PERSIAN

The suffixes *-išn* and *-īh* are essential elements in the formation of words already in the earliest forms of Middle Persian. Benveniste (1954, 300f.) suggests that the suffix *-išn* is derived from the Old Persian ending *-šna-* attested in the loanword *dšn*

(restored as **dāšna-* 'gift') in Aramaic in the Elephantine papyri. It corresponds to Avestan *-θna-* in the same manner as OP *arašni-* 'cubit' and Avestan *arəθna-* 'cubit'. The ending *-īh* is derived from **-iya-θwa-* (Salemann 1895–1901, 281, Mac-Kenzie 1990, 130, n.7).

While nouns in *-išn* and *-īh* are found in the entire corpus of Middle Persian texts there are no examples of nouns with the double suffix in *-išnīh* in the inscriptions. The examples of nouns in *-išn* found in the corpus of inscriptions show that these nouns are result nouns. One example is *ZK mgwGBR' W 'twry MH 'LH štly YḤWWN ZKm wn'lšny klty* (KKZ 13 'I organized the Mages and the fires which were in that country') in which the expression is literally 'I made an organization'. The other is in a somewhat damaged passage in the Middle Persian version of the Paikuli inscription where the context is incomplete but the noun phrase *g'sy wndlšny* is clear and the meaning suggested by Skjaervø (1983, pt. 3.2, 110) is 'the establishment of the throne' (Npi §72).

In the Manichean texts there are two probable examples of nouns in *-išnīh* beside the two examples of *'mdyšnyy/yh* discussed in section II.J. The passage where they occur runs *pr'yd'nyšnyg 'wd kmbd'nyšnyg 'y gy'n 'z 'myzyšn 'yš pd rystgygyh wh'ng* (M 9 I V 16–18 'the greater and lesser knowledge of the soul has been shown (to be) the cause of its mixture in mortality'). The final letters are *yg* but they are construed as nouns in the clause and Boyce (1975, 89, n. 7), who considers them to be nouns, notes that the spelling is presumably the result of confusion arising after *-īg* and *-īh* had both come to be pronounced *-ī*.

The bulk of examples of the nouns in *-išnīh* come from the texts in Pahlavi script. At present it is impossible to describe how usage of the verbal nouns may have developed over the long period when Middle Persian was a living language. It can be noted with Gignoux (1988, 387) that the increased usage of the nouns in *-išnīh* in the last period of writing in Middle Persian was partly caused by the learned discussion of the day which led to a need for a new vocabulary.

The nouns in *-išn* and *-išnīh* are not only interesting because of the shades of meaning they provide but also because they form one of the building stones in the style of the 9th century Middle Persian prose in Pahlavi script. The alternance of the two forms from the same verb in treatises on learned matters provides a textual density which must have satisfied the literary taste of the period. That it could be done with elegance is illustrated by the first part of ŠGW V where *abardom fradom hūzīrišnīgtom dānišn* (ŠGW V 3–4 'the highest, foremost and most spiritual science') and *kē-š ēn dānišn nē pēšōbāy ī dānišnān ān-iš abārīg dānišn afrayād* (ŠGW V 4–5 'to the one for whom this science is not the leader of sciences other sciences are of no avail') are contrasted with *ēn-iz ēd framāyist dānēd kū dānistan ī ciš pad 3 ēwēnag pad acār dānišnīh ayā pad hangōšīdag dānišnīh ayā pad šāyēd sazēd būdan* (ŠGW V 10–12 'further it is imperative to know that there are three ways of knowing things: knowing by necessity, knowing by analogy or by what is possible and what is fitting'). The nouns in *-išn* and *-išnīh* provide texts with internal rhyme and contribute to form well-balanced sentences with parallel syntactic constructions as for example *ciyōn bowandag stāyišnīh pad bowandag ōšmurišnīh ī dēn šāyēd* (WZ 27.4 'just as perfect praising is possible through the perfect reciting of the religion').

The texts in which this type of writing is found belong to the last period of Middle

Persian literature and represent a late efflorescence. After this time there was no longer sufficient knowledge of the language to use it with such an awareness of meaning and style. They were produced at a period when Early New Persian was becoming widely spoken and they have certain traits which show that Middle Persian in its late form was giving way to the new language (Shaki, 1993, VI, 551). They were also current at a time when Arabic was becoming the learned language of Moslem scholars of Iranian descent.

Regarding the fate of the nouns in *-išn* and *-išnīh* in later stages of the language Horn (1898–1901, 182) notes that the suffix *-išn* evolved into *-iš* as in *kuniš*, 'act, deed' or *stāyiš* 'praise' etc. He goes on to say that the nouns in *-išnīh* do not appear to have left any traces in Early New Persian. It seems likely however that even though the forms of the nouns evolved or disappeared the categories of thought remained alive. As elegant writing gradually developed in Early New Persian the same concepts came to be expressed by neologisms which would have the advantage that the ambiguity inherent in the forms in *-išnīh* was eliminated. In the learned literature many of the nouns attested in Middle Persian were found to have more or less direct equivalences in Arabic (de Menasce, 1945, 295, and Shaked, 1979, 298) which gradually replaced them in the scientific vocabulary of Persian. Evidence of awareness of the nuances which can be expressed by verbal nouns can be seen in Perry's study (1991) of how an element of ambiguity in the Arabic *tā'-marbuṭa* forms was eliminated in Persian when they were adopted as loanwords.

VI. CONCLUSION

In the course of the present study the nouns in *-išn* and *-išnīh* were compared to each other with regard to context, morphology and syntax. The nouns in *-išn* were found in a wide variety of contexts expressing both single instances of actions as well as products of actions. Those in *-išnīh* occurred in a more limited number of contexts where focus was upon the process. The nouns in *-išn* could be pluralized while those in *-išnīh* could not. The former were most often construed with qualifying nouns by postposition and *iẓāfa* and the construction with a preposed noun was less frequent. The latter were most often construed with a preposed, qualifying noun and while other constructions occurred they were not frequent in the extant material.

The comparison shows that the difference in meaning between the two types of nouns lies in the manner of regarding the action expressed by the verb. The form in *-išn* presents the action seen as a whole and forms nouns meaning 'thought', 'food', 'creature', 'mixture', 'chant', etc. When the suffix *-īh* is added to the forms in *-išn* attention is shifted to the process and we find nouns meaning 'meditation', 'beating', 'creating', 'mixing', 'chanting'.

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List of Abbreviations

AWN Ardā Wirāz Nāmag (Gignoux)

DD Dādestān ī dēnīg (Questions 1–40 – T. D. Anklesaria, Questions 91 and 92 – P. K. Anklesaria)

Dk M Dēnkard (Madan)

Dk VI Dēnkard Book VI (Shaked)

GB Great Bundahišn (MS TD$_2$, T. D. Anklesaria)

KKZ The inscription of Kirdīr on the Kaʿba-yē Zardošt (Gignoux)

MHD Mādīgān ī hazār dādestān (Macuch)

Npi The inscription of Narseh at Paikuli (Skjaervø)

PR Pahlavi Rivayat accompanying the Dādestān ī dēnīg (Williams)

Suppl. The Supplementary texts to the Šāyest nē-šāyest (Kotwal)

ŠGW Škand gumānīg wizār (de Menasce)

WZ Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram (Gignoux and Tafazzoli)

Y Yasna Avesta (Geldner) Pahlavi (Dhabar)

Identité nationale et hégémonie territoriale
Les Umayyades et les Fāṭimides au Maghreb

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INTRODUCTION. LES CONCEPTS D'« IDENTITÉ » ET DE « COLLECTIF »

Plusieurs travaux, études et ouvrages collectifs ont abordé l'examen du concept d'« identité » ou de « stratégie identitaire », et cela dans le cadre d'aires géographiques et historiques très différentes. Alors comment mettre en place les mouvements de notre étude sans en oublier les documents originaux et les instruments du concept?

On pourra s'inspirer des sciences sociales et évoquer les travaux de sociologues comme Alain Touraine ou Malek Chebel[1]. Bien que souvent opposés dans leurs thèses, et pour des motifs qui vont parfois au-delà de simples discussions scientifiques, ces deux auteurs ont bien traité la question de l'« identité » et du « collectif », l'un dans un cadre strictement théorique et l'autre dans le champ arabo-islamique. Avant d'entrer dans le vif du sujet, disons en quelques mots les étapes qui nous conduirons à échafauder, ou du moins proposer, un essai de définition de ce que nous entendons par « identité nationale » vue par le prisme des relations diplomatiques entre les Umayyades de Cordoue et les Fāṭimides d'Ifrīqiya[2]. Mais soyons encore plus honnêtes. Les relations diplomatico-militaires entre les Umayyades et les Fāṭimides constituent en réalité un excellent prétexte pour évoquer un sujet qui pourrait être abordé à partir d'autres exemples, peut-être plus pertinents, et vu finalement selon un autre angle[3].

Au premier abord, le lecteur peut être surpris par notre démarche qui semble confondre les concepts, et dans une certaine mesure les instruments. Mais il n'en est rien. Nous sommes tout à fait conscients de la difficulté qu'il y a d'envisager une étude du concept d'« identité nationale » selon certains critères de la sociologie sans

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[1] A. Touraine, *Pour la sociologie*, Paris, 1974; M. Chebel, *La formation de l'identité politique*, Paris, 1986.

[2] Sur cette question, voir M. Yalaoui, « Les relations entre Fatimides d'Ifriqiya et Omeyyades d'Espagne à travers le *Dīwān* d'Ibn Hāni », dans *Actas del II Coloquio Hispano-Tunecino de Estudios Históricos (Madrid-Barcelona, 1972)*, Madrid, 1973, pp. 13–30; F. Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide au Maghreb, 296–362/909–973. Histoire politique et institutions*, Tunis, 1981, pp. 211 et 223–241.

[3] Sur ces problèmes, voir E. Lévi-Provençal, « La política africana de ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III. El conflicto entre las influencias omeya y fatimí », *Al-Andalus*, XI (1946), pp. 351–378; A.M. al-ᶜAbbādī, « Siyāsat al-fāṭimiyyīn naḥwa al-Maġrib wa-l-Andalus », *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos*, V/1 (1957), pp. 193–226, surtout 197–204; M. al-Ṭālibī, « Al-ᶜalāqāt bayna Ifrīqiya wa-l-Andalus fī l-qarn al-ṯāliṯ al-hiǧrī », *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, XXVI (1970), pp. 31–45; ᶜA.R. al-Ḥaǧǧī, « Al-ᶜalāqāt al-diblūmasiyya bayna al-Andalus wa-Bīzanṭa ḥattā al-qarn al-rābiᶜ al-hiǧrī », *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos*, XXII (1983–1984), pp. 53–91, surtout 57–70.

être sociologue de formation. Dès lors, nous tenterons de voir ce que certains aspects du discours sociologique peuvent apporter à la connaissance de la recherche d'une « identité nationale » de la part des Umayyades et des Fāṭimides.

Identités et corps social représentent sans aucun doute les piliers du discours politique et de la propagande des États umayyade et fāṭimide en ce milieu du IVe/Xe siècle qui voit coexister trois califats (ʿabbāside, fāṭimide et umayyade). En effet, il suffit de se rappeler qu'au même moment, il y a trois califes/*ḥulafā'* dans le monde arabo-islamique. Ces deux protagonistes, qui dans notre cas sont les califes umayyades et fāṭimides, tentent de mettre en place, avec un succès plus ou moins grand, une véritable politique d'État avec le dessein évident de régner en maître sur la Méditerranée occidentale au moins, et pourquoi pas sur le reste de la *mamlaka islāmiyya*[4]. En outre, cette dynamique fait appel aux diverses couches sociales des deux entités territoriales. Il est vrai que ces deux entités politico-territoriales rivalisent en moyens et en idées afin d'agglutiner autour d'eux les divers éléments sociaux capables de leur apporter un soutien et dans le but de renforcer la cohésion intérieure de chacun des deux États[5].

Finalement, et on l'aura bien compris, chacun des États en question organise son discours idéologique selon ses propres critères et tente de s'en donner les moyens en se proclamant comme le seul défenseur sérieux et honnête de l'islam. Pour s'en convaincre, il suffit de se pencher une fois de plus sur les mouvements de forces navales et les nombreuses épreuves de force maintenues entre les pouvoirs umayyade et fāṭimide en Méditerranée au IVe/Xe siècle.

IDENTITÉS UMAYYADE ET FĀṬIMIDE. L'IDENTITÉ NATIONALE VUE D'EN HAUT

Sans pour autant entrer dans les détails d'un débat toujours en vigueur sur les cadres mêmes des concepts d'« identité » et de « corps social », nous voudrions, à l'aide des exemples pris dans le monde des relations politico-diplomatiques entre les Umayyades et les Fāṭimides, essayer de discuter les principaux aspects du problème.

L'un des premiers éléments qu'il nous faut aborder, concerne l'idée même de « corps social » et par voie de conséquence, les méthodes et les possibilités que chacun des deux États étudiés aura à sa disposition pour mettre en place ce bloc autour duquel ils pourront réunir les diverses catégories socio-politiques du pays et forger ainsi ce que l'on appellera l'« identité nationale » vue d'en haut. Mais que signifie au juste cette expression? La réponse nous semble assez simple. Il s'agit en fait de voir brièvement les principaux caractères du discours fait par les gouvernants quant à leur quête d'identité nationale, ou plus exactement, de cohésion politico-sociale. On perçoit bien ici l'actualité des études sur les catégories sociales (*ṭabaqāt*) et leur participation à l'élaboration du principe identitaire.

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[4] Sur ce point, voir Ḥ. al-Ġanhānī, « Al-ṣirāʿ al-fāṭimī al-umawī fī l-Maġrib ḫilāl qarn al-rābiʿ al-hiǧrī », dans *Actes de la 3e Rencontre Tuniso-Espagnole (Carthage, 11–17/IV/1977)*, dans *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, 26 (1978), pp. 17–32.

[5] Sur ces points, voir M. Meouak, « Représentations, emblèmes et signes de la souveraineté politique des Umayyades d'al-Andalus d'après les textes arabes », *Acta Orientalia*, 56 (1995), pp. 78–105.

Si l'on prend le cas de la situation politico-sociale en al-Andalus au milieu du IVe/Xe siècle, on se rend compte qu'il est malgré tout difficile de parler de véritable cohésion des principales catégories sociales du pays. On le sait, Andalousiens d'origine orientale ou d'adoption (ex-*mawālī*), Andalousiens autochtones, Berbères, *Ṣaqāliba* et autres se disputent, jusqu'à un certain point, la première place au sein du pouvoir et de fait, leur intervention dans les appareils politico-administratifs de l'État umayyade de Cordoue. Dès lors, le *bayt* umayyade doit organiser son discours idéologique et sa propagande de manière à attirer autour de lui une plus grande participation et dévotion des différents secteurs de la *ḫāṣṣa*[6]. Cette même *ḫāṣṣa* est celle qui aide les Umayyades à la mise en place d'un discours destiné à renforcer le pouvoir central. Entre une situation intérieure encore difficile d'un point de vue de la cohésion territoriale, et bien que le bastion de ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn et ses fils ait été réduit, de l'homogénéité sociale et des visées clairement impérialistes sur le Maghreb, l'État umayyade de Cordoue se trouve confronter au problème des possibilités qui lui sont données ou non de renforcer son pouvoir et dans une certaine mesure ses aires d'influence en Méditerranée occidentale[7].

Basée sur un discours en apparence clair et cohérent, la politique de l'État fāṭimide d'Ifrīqiya est principalement caractérisée par la logique de sa politique et donc de son hypothétique recherche d'une identité socio-politique[8]. Cette quête passe, à l'égal que chez les Umayyades de Cordoue, par l'organisation idéologique de son discours et des moyens qui vont concourir à son succès ou non. Le calife al-Muʿizz, contrairement à son père al-Manṣūr qui avait assisté sans aucune réaction aux progrès de l'expansion umayyade couronnée par la prise de Tanger en 339/951, va reprendre de façon ferme et décidée les hostilités contre les Umayyades de Cordoue[9].

Marquée par une structure sociale composite, l'entité géographique correspondant à l'Ifrīqiya fāṭimide devait sans doute avoir les mêmes problèmes que les Umayyades à l'heure de consolider la cohésion sociale et de plus, on peut se demander qu'elle fut l'impact de l'idéologie religieuse šīʿite sur des populations toutes ou en partie islamisées et si oui, pratiquant sans doute un islam de rite mālikite. A ce propos, on soulignera un épisode connu de tous ceux qui s'intéressent à ces questions et qui vit al-Andalus comme lieu d'action. Nous voulons parler ici de la propagande šīʿite en al-Andalus organisée par le calife fāṭimide à l'époque de l'Umayyade

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[6] Sur ces questions, voir M. Meouak, *Pouvoir souverain, administration centrale et élites politiques dans l'Espagne umayyade (IIe–IVe/VIIIe–Xe siècles)*, Helsinki, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, en cours de publication.

[7] Sur ces aspects, voir M. Meouak, « Pouvoir souverain et autorité politique des Umayyades de Cordoue. Réflexions sur les concepts de *dawla* et de *sulṭān* », *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, 26 (1995), pp. 171–186.

[8] F. Dachraoui, « Contribution à l'histoire des Fāṭimides d'Ifrīqiya », *Arabica*, VIII/2 (1961), pp. 189–203.

[9] Sur le calife al-Muʿizz, voir Ibn Ẓāfir, *Aḫbār al-duwal al-munqaṭiʿa*, édition A. Ferré, Le Caire, 1972, pp. 21–30; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarā'*, édition Ḥ. Muʾnis, Le Caire, 1963, II, pp. 391–393; Mª J. Viguera, « Los Fāṭimíes de Ifrīqiya en el *Kitāb al-ḥulla* de Ibn al-Abbār de Valencia », *Sharq al-Andalus*, 2 (1985), pp. 29–37, surtout 34–35.

al-Ḥakam II. Bien étudiée par F. Dachraoui sur la base des *al-Aḥkām al-kubrā* d'Ibn Sahl[10], cette mission šīʿite en plein territoire d'al-Andalus avait non seulement pour but de diffuser la doctrine religieuse des Fāṭimides mais également de saper le système politique umayyade et mettre également en place un véritable réseau de propagande en faveur des Fāṭimides[11].

POLITIQUE D'ÉTAT ET IDENTITÉ SOCIO-RELIGIEUSE

Grâce au *Kitāb al-maǧālis wa-l-musāyarāt* du cadi al-Nuʿmān, nous sommes en mesure de retracer, avec une certaine fidélité, les moments importants des relations politico-diplomatiques entre Umayyades et Fāṭimides et en outre, de pouvoir poser comme hypothèse le fait que cette source nous introduit de manière implicite dans ce qui intéressait les deux États : la recherche d'une identité à la fois sociale mais également politico-religieuse[12]. Voyons donc rapidement les trois aspects complémentaires qui nous permettent de mieux comprendre les relations entre Umayyades et Fāṭimides et par conséquent la lutte féroce menée par les États islamiques de la Méditerranée occidentale pour contrôler la zone[13].

En nous basant sur les travaux pionniers de F. Dachraoui et M. Yalaoui, nous pouvons nous arrêter sur ce qui, dans un premier temps, frappe le lecteur de l'ouvrage d'al-Nuʿmān. Nous voulons parler ici du vocabulaire spécifique utilisé et de la teneur du discours employé à l'heure de désigner les souverains protagonistes des événements. Ce complexe textuel reflète des différences politico-religieuses : les Umayyades sont très libéraux dans leurs mœurs et leurs pratiques de l'islam/les Fāṭimides voient en cela une totale indifférence de leur part envers la religion ; les Umayyades disent que les Fāṭimides empêchent les *ahl al-Andalus* d'accomplir le pèlerinage à la Mecque/affirmation jugée mensongère par les Fāṭimides ; les Umayyades se sont alliés avec les Chrétiens/les Fāṭimides mènent une lutte incessante contre les Byzantins ; etc.[14].

La liste des reproches implicites d'ordre juridique pourrait s'allonger si l'on puisait à d'autres sources. En effet, d'autres données peuvent être tirées des documents juridiques tels que les *kutub al-fatāwā* et les collections de *nawāzil* comme dans le *Miʿyār* d'al-Wanšarīsī. Par exemple, les Fāṭimides y sont perçus comme étant injus-

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[10] Sur ce point, voir F. Dachraoui, « Tentative d'infiltration šīʿite en Espagne musulmane sous le règne d'al-Ḥakam II », *Al-Andalus*, XXIII/1 (1958), pp. 97–106.

[11] On consultera également al-Wanšarīsī, *al-Miʿyār al-muġrib wa-l-ǧāmiʿ al-muʿrib ʿan fatāwā ahl Ifrīqiya wa-l-Andalus wa-l-Maġrib*, édition M. al-Ḥiǧǧī *et alii*, Rabat, 1981–1983, 13 vols., II, pp. 259–263, passage traduit dans V. Lagardère, *Histoire et société en Occident musulman au Moyen Age. Analyse du* Miʿyār *d'al-Wanšarīsī*, Madrid, 1995, pp. 56–57.

[12] Al-Nuʿmān, *Kitāb al-maǧālis wa-l-musāyarāt*, édition Ḥ. al-Faqī, I. Šabbūḥ et M. al-Yaʿlāwī, Tunis, 1978, pp. 45–48 où l'on pourra apprécier les intentions de l'auteur dans son « introduction ».

[13] M. al-Yalaoui, « Controverse entre le fatimide al-Muʿizz et l'omeyyade al-Nasir, d'après le 'Kitab al-majalis wa-l-musayarat' du cadi Nuʿman », dans *Actes de la 3ᵉ Rencontre Tuniso-Espagnole (Carthage, 11–17/IV/1977)*, dans *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, 26 (1978), pp.7–33; H. Halm, « La réfutation d'une note diplomatique du calife ʿAbdarraḥmān III par la cour du calife fatimide al-Muʿizz », dans *Saber Religioso y Poder Político*, Madrid, 1994, pp. 117–125.

[14] Al-Nuʿmān, *al-Maǧālis wa-l-musāyarāt*, pp. 189–203.

tes envers leurs propres sujets car ils confisquent des propriétés légalement consti-
tuées et laissent certains de leur membres usurper des métaieries[15]. Mais cependant,
il nous faudrait procéder à un dépouillement critique d'autres sources car la tentation
de vouloir diaboliser le califat fāṭimide reste présente.

Le fond non avoué de l'ensemble de ce dispositif à vocation discursive et de l'or-
ganisation de la propagande, vue à travers le *Kitāb al-maǧālis wa-l-musāyarāt*, ré-
side en réalité dans la nécessité d'une recherche d'identité socio-religieuse qui serait
finalement l'objectif de chacun des deux États[16]. Cependant, cette recherche semble
passer par des étapes qui seraient plutôt en rapport avec des démonstrations de force
militaire et des luttes d'influence religieuse en Méditerranée occidentale.

DÉFENSE DE L'ISLAM ET HÉGÉMONIE TERRITORIALE

Nous voici de nouveau confrontés à l'histoire de la Méditerranée centro-occidentale
et au problème des hégémonies territoriales. Alors que les Fāṭimides tentent en vain
d'étendre leur contrôle sur le Maghreb central au moyen d'alliances, parfois éphé-
mères, les Umayyades essaient de nouer quelques relations avec les tribus, notam-
ment avec les Zanāta aux dépens des Ṣanhāǧa, ou les petites dynasties du Maghreb
susceptibles selon eux d'entrer dans leur orbite. A partir de documents fāṭimides peu
connus, S.M. Stern avait apporté quelques précisions sur l'histoire des relations en-
tre al-Muᶜizz et les Byzantins à propos de la Sicile, sur l'alliance de Byzance avec
les Umayyades contre les Fāṭimides et sur les événements de l'ambassade byzantine
de 346/957–958 à al-Manṣūriyya[17]. Nous pensons que cette situation conflictuelle
trouve son origine dans une série d'alliances faites et défaites entre les Fāṭimides, les
Umayyades et les Byzantins. Dans l'année 335/946–947, alors que l'avant dernier
calife al-Manṣūr est au plus fort de sa lutte contre le rebelle Abū Yazīd, une ambas-
sade envoyée par le souverain de Byzance vient s'informer de la situation en Médi-
terranée centrale[18]. Environ dix ans après, en 344/955, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir
obtient une aide de l'empereur byzantin contre les Fāṭimides. Le *basileus* de By-
zance propose à al-Muᶜizz une trève en échange d'un retrait des troupes fāṭimides.
Mais en 345/956–957, le souverain fāṭimide refuse et arme une flotte commandée
par son *qāʾid* Ǧahwar qui emportera la victoire sur les Byzantins et débarquera
même en Italie. Le résultat est favorable aux Fāṭimides qui obtiennent de Byzance le
paiement d'un tribut et une trève de cinq ans. Ce pacte ne dura que peu de temps car
al-Muᶜizz partit afin d'appuyer la flotte crétoise en guerre contre les Byzantins. A
l'époque de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas, qui avait refusé de s'acquitter des tributs
dûs aux Fāṭimides, les hostilités reprennent en Sicile où les armées sont défaites au
cours de deux batailles, celle de Rametta et celle du Détroit en 363/965[19].

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[15] Al-Wanšarīsī, *al-Miᶜyār*, I, pp. 437–438 et 562–563/Lagardère, *Histoire et société*, pp. 25 et 393–394.
[16] Al-Nuᶜmān, *al-Maǧālis wa-l-musāyarāt*, pp. 363–364.
[17] S.M. Stern, « An Embassy of the Byzantine Emperor to the Fatimid caliph al-Muᶜizz », *Byzantion*, XX
(1950), pp. 239–250; M. Canard, « Quelques notes relatives à la Sicile sous les premiers fāṭimites », dans
Studi Medievali in onore di Antonino di Stefano, Palerme, 1956, pp. 569–576, surtout 569–571.
[18] Sur ce calife, voir Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, II, pp. 387–391; Mª J. Viguera, « Los Fāṭimíes »,
p. 34.
[19] Sur ces événements, voir M. Amari, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*, 2e édition avec notes de C.A. Nal-
lino, 1933–1939, vol. II, *passim*.

Pendant l'époque africaine, la dynastie fāṭimide se voit confrontée aux ambitions territoriales des Umayyades de Cordoue qui n'ont pas l'intention de laisser le Ġarb du Maghreb tomber aux mains de souverains non orthodoxes. Mais ces difficultés d'ordre politico-diplomatiques ne sont pas les seules car les Fāṭimides doivent lutter contre une opposition interne venues de deux directions : la dissidence sunnite et les révoltes ḫāriǧites.

CONCLUSION. ANTAGONISME ET DÉSORDRE POLITIQUE

Si l'antagonisme politico-religieux est parfaitement perceptible à la lumière des textes arabes, il n'en va pas de même pour les alliances qui, ainsi que nous l'avons résumé, se font et défont au gré des vicissitudes du temps. A ce propos, notons que la figure d'Abū Yazīd, activiste religieux ḫāriǧite qui œuvra au profit des Umayyades contre les Fāṭimides, en est un bon exemple[20]. Les circonstances politico-religieuses qui président à l'histoire de la Méditerranée centro-occidentale en ce IVᵉ/Xᵉ siècle sont marquées par la lutte incessante que mènent les Umayyades et les Fāṭimides. Les premiers, hérités du califat de Damas, défendent leur *dawla* alors que les deuxièmes, successeurs des Aġlabides, étaient toujours aussi actifs dans la défense de la *daʿwa* qui les amène au sommet du pouvoir.

Grâce au maintien d'une situation d'antagonisme et de désordre politique réglés selon des critères encore peu clairs, les califats umayyade et fāṭimide réussirent à répandre un discours idéologique basé sur les principes fondamentaux de chacun d'entre eux. Si la situation intérieure de chacun des deux États était politiquement compliquée, les gouvernants surent tirer profit de cela en organisant un véritable dispositif « nationaliste » capable de réunir les principales forces vives de leurs pays afin de justifier les interventions des uns et des autres dans le Maghreb centro-occidental et en Méditerranée.

Au terme de ce bref voyage au Maghreb et en Méditerranée centrale, il est difficile de conclure sur un sujet si vaste et qui nécessite une lecture plus longue et poussée des sources arabes. Mais cependant, nous voudrions signaler trois directions de recherche qui permettraient, selon nous, de mieux comprendre cette période de l'histoire de l'Occident musulman. Le premier point concerne les États du Maghreb central qu'il serait souhaitable d'étudier selon les termes d'une histoire globale. Le second aspect est en relation étroite avec les mouvements socio-religieux en activité dans le Maghreb central notamment d'un point de vue des doctrines ḫāriǧite et ibāḍite. Enfin, la troisième question consisterait en une étude systématique de l'histoire du peuplement en partant de l'Ifrīqiya pour aller jusqu'au Maghreb occidental sans oublier l'Algérie médiévale[21]. Sur ce dernier point, nous sommes bien conscients de la difficulté de l'entreprise et du chemin semé d'obstacles divers. Par exemple, nous devons prendre en considération la complexité des événements historiques qui présidèrent à la formation d'une entité religieuse et sociale tout à fait originale.

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[20] Sur ce personnage, voir *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, I, *sub voc.*, pp. 167–168 [S.M. Stern].

[21] L'étude de R. Bellil, « Migrations et évolution de deux *qsur* du Gourara : At Said et Timimoun », *Études et Documents Berbères*, 10 (1993), pp. 139–169 pourrait, en partie, servir d'exemple dans le cadre d'une recherche sur la longue durée.

Les derniers problèmes graphico-phonétiques turks du « Codex Cumanicus »

MEFKÜRE MOLLOVA, Paris

Avant de passer au sujet de l'article, nous voudrions aborder un problème théorique qui s'impose de plus en plus : le titre du Codex Cumanicus.

Ce nom fut attribué à ce manuscrit médiéval par le Comte hongrois Géza Kuun, qui en 1880 en faisant sa publication integrale, avait intitulé son livre : *Codex Cumanicus bibliothecae ad templum Divi Marci Venetiarum.* Mais il fut encore trop tôt pour réussir dans le choix d'un titre quelconque. On savait simplement que la plus grande partie de ce manuscrit fut écrite en une langue turke. Et le manuscrit, provenant de Dechti-kiptchaque Occidentale, on a cru que cette langue est celle des Coumans, habitants massifs de ce vaste territoire. Or, on s'est trompé. La langue turke du CC fut la langue turke écrite, employée communément dans les centres culturels et étatiques des peuples turks en Asie Centrale, en Asie Mineure et Europe Orientale.

A part Bang (1911, p. 33, n° 4), qui au commencement de ses études sur le Codex Cumanicus, a cherché un lien entre le « coman » et l'ouigour, mais en partant du couman, et Kenesbaev, Ķuryššanov (p. 40) qui constatent que la langue coumane a plusieurs traits communs avec les langues de l'Asie Centrale (l'özbek, le kirgiz etc.), avec les langues ogouzes (turque, azérîe etc.), les autres chercheurs ont estimé que la langue turke de ce manuscrit est le couman qui est une langue kiptchaque. Ces spécialistes, pris par une obsession subjectivale, ont fait et font encore trois erreurs capitales, substantielles qui font que le manuscrit en souffre! Ces erreurs sont: 1) Voyant que le manuscrit est écrit en caractères latins, selon les normes orthographiques italo-latines, et en partie, allemandes, avec deux abréviations (le tilde et l'apostrophe) bien connues, ils ont cru se trouver devant une source facile, sans autres problèmes graphiques. Hélas! 2) Selon eux, les auteurs et les scribes des textes et des gloses turks étaient des européens ayant appris la langue « coumane ». 3) Et puisque ce manuscrit était l'œuvre des non-Turks, les spécialistes pourraient se permettre toute sorte de'interventions – correction, addition et soustraction des morphèmes là où ils estimaient nécessaires; ils changeaient la place des mots; ils lisaient, translittéraient, transcrivaient et interprétaient les données turkes, sans même voir l'existence d'autres problèmes graphico-phonétiques.

Seuls deux turkologues se sont opposés à ce harcèlement du CC turk – Salemann et Daszkjewicz! Ils ont déclaré que la transcription de la langue turke du CC est authentique, c. à d. il faut y faire confiance (Salemann, p. 950), et dernièrement Daszkjewicz (pp. 79–86), voyant la normalisation outrée de la langue turke du CC, a proposé de l'étudier en la soumettant à la décodification. Malheureusement ces

auteurs ont posé les jalons et ne se sont pas mobilisés pour démontrer la justesse de leur thèse.

A notre tour, dans un article, intitulé : *Codex Cumanicus, le bouddhisme et le turk oriental* (dans WZKM, 1990, pp. 141–142) nous avons écrit, en critiquant les transcripteurs outrés, que : «1) les lettres, dont la valeur était étrangère [à ces spécialistes] se soumettaient à la correction et à l'adaptation; 2) à la suite de l'intervention, la phonétique turke du CC ne se déterminait pas impartialement; 3) la sémantique de plusieurs mots non-glosés n'était pas convaincante; 4) une comparaison entre le turk du CC et les textes religieux turks de l'Asie Centrale (Srednaja Azia) montrait qu'un nombre de termes bouddhiques, nestoriens, manichéens etc. y étaient présents aussi. »

Il a fallut tout recommencer en partant du scriptus : 1) Avait-on chercher tous les secrets graphiques, toutes les clés cachées de la leçon? 2) Ne méritait-il pas une plus grande confiance (pourquoi substituer la forme donnée, inconnue à une autre, connue)? 3) Avait-on déterminé la langue turke du CC en partant de ses particularités linguistiques et non pas en partant de son titre et de l'emploi à l'intérieur du *tatar tíl, tatarče* « la langue tatare »? 4) Comment les traducteurs des textes catholiques latins en turk du CC pourraient être des moines européen – ces hymnes poétiques parfaits, ces oracles et sermons à une syntaxe compliquée, contenant des termes archaïques, chamaniques, bouddhiques etc.? 5) Les informateurs des gloses turkes du Dictionnaire trilingue ne pourraient-ils pas être des Turks? Car, chaque auteur composant un dictionnaire veut puiser dans la source même d'une langue. 6) Les multiples corrections, faites sur le CC ne seraient-elles pas fruits des Turks de différentes ethnies et ne fallait-il pas prendre en considération aussi bien les formes corrigées que celles qui viennent les substituer?

Depuis dix ans nous essayons de répondre à ces questions. Les résultats démontrent que la langue turke du CC n'est pas une langue kiptchaque, mais la langue même écrite turke de cette époque, appelée türkîe, turke orientale, ancienne ouigoure.

Maintenant que nous possédons des moyens techniques modernes, le CC devient bien lisible. Non seulement les différentes mains, même les moindres corrections, faites sur ce manuscrit, se discernent et ne laissent pas place aux hésitations et à double leçon.

Avec le présent article nous allons essayer de démontrer qu'il restait encore des systèmes graphico-phonétiques, appliqués par les *philologues* du CC qui n'avaient pas été pris en considération jusqu'à présent alors que c'est d'eux dépendrait notre connaissance plus sûre et plus approfondie de la langue turke de cette source.

Ces systèmes graphico-phonétiques encore non connus sont :

1) le graphème /ø/ dans les mots de la classe vélaire;
2) le graphème /v/ dans les mots de la classe vélaire;
3) la polyvalence du graphème /v̇/ (qui touche encore les langues allemande et italo-latine du CC).

Ensuite nous voudrions partager ici notre souci en ce qui concerne:

4) la ou les valeurs vocaliques des graphèmes /í, ı, j, y, ỹ/;

5) la valeur consonantique des graphèmes /ɛ/ et /cz/ (ce dernier employé uniquement dans la langue allemande du CC).

Ainsi:

1. Le graphème /ø/ dans les mots turks de la classe vélaire

La valeur de ce graphème est *ö* dans les mots allemands du CC, ainsi que, selon Kuun, Radloff, Bang, Németh, Malov, Grønbech, Tietze, Drimba dans les mots turks du CC, *ò* selon les auteurs de KQŽS et nous.

Voilà que ce /ø/ apparaît dans certains mots turks de la classe dite vélaire aussi. Par ex. : /køylar/ *qòylar* « les moutons ». Cela nous paraissait bizarre. Aucun des codexcumanicusistes ne le prenait en considération. Dernièrement nous avons constaté la présence de *ò* en özbek dans les mêmes mots (et dans beaucoup d'autres encore). En voici la liste des mots turks à /ø/ dans le CC, et à *ò*[1] en özbek :

turk du CC	özbek	traduction
/øynas/ (57 v 21 d) *òynaš*	*òynaš*	« bien-aimé »
/ørtlík/ (59 r 10) *òrtlík*	*òtli*	« de feu »
/iøch/ (61 r 23) *yòχ*	*yòq*	« pas; il n'a pas »
/køylar/ (61 v 2) *qòylar, qòy*	*qòy*	« mouton »
/køɛkar/ (65 v 21 d) *qòčqar*	*qòčqor*	« bélier »
/jøl/ (70 r 6) *yòl*	*yòl*	« chemin; voie »
/tøyd'rír/ (70 v 6) *tòydírír, tòydír-*	*tòydirmoq*	« nourrir; rassasier »
/øtdã/ (72 v 3) *òtdän, òt*	*òt*	« feu »
/ølGa/ (74 r 42) *òlğa*	*òlğa*	« butin, captif »
/øv̇luma/ (76 r 3 d) *òwuluma, òwul*	*òγil*	« fils »
/øv̇lunɑ/ (76 r 17 d) *òwulunä, òwul*	”	”
/òrtlí/ (80 r 5) *òrtlí*	*òtli*	« de feu »

A l'exception de /ølGa/ et /øv̇luma/, lesquels Grønbech corrige, les autres furent transcrit par lui avec un *ó*: *qóčqar*; Drimba et les auteurs du KQŽS les prennent avec un *o*: *qočqar*; Drimba (1973, p. 225, …) indique la forme à /ø/ des graphies dans ses notes et parfois y donne leur forme à *ò* également : *tòydïrïr, tòydurïr*. Pour ces auteurs /ørtlik/, /ørtli/ sont palataux : *örtlik, örtli*; KQŽS : *òrtlík, òrtlí*.

A.K. Borovkov (URS, pp. 680–681) détermine le *ò* özbek comme « voyelle vélaire » faisant partie du groupe *o, u* et comme une voyelle très courte, rappelant le *o* russe tonique. Mais nous voyons que ce *ò* özbek correspond aux *ò/ö* dans les autres langues turkes [ex. *özbek* (en özbek) et dans les autres langues turkes (turc, azérî, etc.) *özbek*]. Mais l'emploi parallèle de /ø/ dans le CC et de *ò* en özbek, n'étant pas accidentel, est soutenu par leurs mots correspondants de la classe dite vélaire. Cette parenté serait ancienne et viendrait prouver l'authenticité de cette particularité. Donc les scribes attentifs du CC n'avaient pas négligé même ce trait phonétique!

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[1] Dans l'adaptation de la lettre /ÿ/ de l'alphabet özbek à la transcription internationale, Ščerbak (1970, p. 35) emploie le phonème *ŭ*, Scheinhardt (p. 374) le *ö*. Nous estimons que précisément notre *ò* y serait plus convenable.

Comment expliquer ce fait?

Il faut remarquer que l'ouigour, le tchagataï et l'özbek sont presque exempts du syn-harmonisme si typiquement turk. Selon cette loi phonétique, dans un mot donné tou-tes les voyelles et consonnes sont ou vélaires ou palatales. Cela nous donne le droit de parler de la classe vélaire et de celle palatale des mots turks. Tandis qu'en turk du CC, en ouigour, en tchagataï, en özbek ces classes sont très floues et si nous en fai-sons usage, c'est plutôt par une habitude pratique et utile. Ainsi, l'absence, disons, partielle du synharmonisme dans ces langues permet aux voyelles (et même aux consonnes) de se succéder sans trop respecter les règles des deux classes des mots.

Dans les mots à /ø/ en turk du CC il serait vain de chercher le rôle de l'assimila-tion vocalique régressive (ex. *ayna* « dimanche » et *äynädä* « le dimanche »). Ici *òtdän*, *òrtlik* pourraient être expliqués par une telle assimilation. Mais en özbek on a *òt* « feu ». Dans *qòylar*, *òynaš*, *yòχ*, *tòydírír*, *yòllaríñä* on pourrait chercher le rôle palatisant de *y*, mais dans *òwluma*, *qòčqar* – le rôle palatisant de ? *l*, *č*. Ce problème doit être abordé surtout dans le domaine de la langue özbeke. Cette particularité, ainsi que démontrent les données du CC, aurait dû exister en tchagataï et peut-être en ancien ouigour, mais les caractères arabes et ouigours, ne faisant pas distinction entre *ö*/*ò* et *o*, entre *ü*/*ù* et *u*, ne pouvaient pas refléter ce trait, d'où l'importance, quoique minime, du CC, qui peut-être est la plus ancienne source, témoignant de ce phénomène phonétique régional.

Notre conviction ferme en l'annotation juste des particularités linguistiques turkes dans le CC ne nous permettant rien changer dans les voyelles (seules les voyelles hautes restent discutables – v. alinéa 4), nous nous demandions quand même si les scribes n'auraient pas omis d'annoter la palatalité, exprimée par des consonnes pala-tales, comme c'est le cas du karaïm (*k'ol* « lac » et non pas *kòl* ou *köl*). Mais cela se heurte à l'insuccès. Par exemple : /butun/, /tutun/ ont leurs correspondants özbeks : *butun* « entier », *tutun* « fumée ». Grønbech, Drimba les transcrivent *bütün*, *tütün*; dans KQŽS : *bùtùn*, *tùtùn*. Dans le CC on a encore /bvtvn/, tvtkā/ où les voyelles sont palatales : *bùtùn* « entier », *tùtgän* « ce-qui-fume », donc les traces de deux sys-tèmes différents!

Ainsi, le synharmonisme limité et la voyelle *ò* dans les mots de la classe vélaire (*qòy* « mouton ») viennent enrichir nos arguments en faveur de la théorie, selon la-quelle la langue turke du CC est la langue turke écrite, dite orientale de XIIᵉ–XVIᵉ siècles. Notons encore la constatation de I. Kurban (p. 126), selon laquelle la langue ouigoure moderne est une langue « vélaire » (*kalın*).

2. Le graphème /v/ dans les mots de la classe vélaire

La valeur de ce graphème est *ü* dans les mots allemands du CC, ainsi que, selon les transcripteurs, dans les mots turks du CC, *ù*, selon les auteurs du KQŽS et nous.

Cela est ainsi dans les mots de la classe dite palatale. Mais, ainsi que nous venons de constater en parlant de /ø/ dans les mots turks de la classe dite vélaire, le /v/, ayant la valeur de *ü*/*ù*, apparaît dans certains mots turks de la classe dite vélaire éga-lement. Mais, à la différence des mots özbeks à *ò* qui coïncident aux mots turks du CC à *ò*, ici les mots en question n'ont pas leurs correspondants à *ù* en cette langue, ce phonème étant absent en özbek.

Liste des mots turks à /v/ *ù* dans les deux parties du CC

/ɛvvlvydír/ (81 r 7 d) *čùùlùydír* ou *čùwlùydír* « il retentit »

/mv/ *mù* – particule interrogative : /barmv/ (66 r 9 d) *barmù* « y-a-t'il? »; /tyv̇ramv arkrímv/ (81 r 4 d) *tuwuramù, arqrímù*? « est-il vrai ou non (*litt.* est-il de travers) »

/orsu/ (82 r 10 d) *or šù* (<< *olttrur šù*) « il s'assiera donc! »

/ʃolvydírmẽ/ (56 r 27) *solùydírmen* « je respire »

/tvydím/ (57 r 17) *tùydím* « j'ai entendu »

/uívymíder víoumíder/ (58 r 25 g) *uyùymíder, ùyowmíder* → *ùyowmídär*? « dort-il (ou) est-il réveillé? »; özb. *uyqu* « sommeil »

/vɛkũ/ (58 r 15 d) *ùčqun* « étincelle »

/vlgay-/ (7 r 9–11) *ùlɣay-* « grandir »

/vlu/ (19 r 10; 57 r 26; 66 v 39) *ùlu* « grand; énorme »

/ulv-/ (57 r 6) *ulù-* « hurler »

/vluluc/ (38 r 27) *ùluluq* « grandeur »

/vn/ (55 v 9) *ùn* « farine »

/vna-/ (5 r 3–4) *ùna-* « servir à; être utile »

/vnut-/ (19 v 6–10) *ùnut-* « oublier »

/vr-/ (12 r 22–24; 21 v 18–20; 57 r 21; 61 v 18; 62 r 7; 63 v 20, 24) *ùr-* « frapper; battre »

/vrmach/ (13 v 14) *ùrmaq* « action de frapper; frappe »

/vʃsaнeí/ (58 v 16) *ùsaχčí* → *ùšaχčí* « clabaudeur »

/vʃcu/ (43 v 23) *ùsqu* « rabot »

/vʃtlu/ (49 r 27) *ùstlu* « sage »

/vs/ (39 r 2) *ùš* « humide; mouillé »; Grønbech *us* « nass, feucht »

/vs et-/ (5 r 16–18) *ùš et-* « baigner; laver »; Grønbech *us et-*

/vx/ (12 v 11; 25 r 8; 49 v 15) *ùz* « sage », « bon » = lat. factum; parlers turcs de la Roumélie *uz* « bon; bien » (archives personnelles); Grønbech *uz* « tüchtig, kunstfertig »

/vxbile/ (33 r 1) *ùzbíle* « sagement : comme il faut »

/vxun/ (30 v 10; 43 v 19), /vxũ/ (38 r 24; 38 v 20) *ùzun* « long »

/vxunluc/ (38 r 22) *ùzunluq* « longueur »

/jɑlínvrmẽ/ (82 v 20 g) *yälínùrmen* « je fais des yeux doux ».

Dans les textes turks catholiques :

/vɛmak/ (69 r 1) *ùčmaq* « paradis »; özb. *óčmoq* « s'étteindre » (?)

/kuttvlur/ (69 r 10) *quttùlur* « (il) sera délivré »

/kutul/v/s/ (72 r 12) *qutulùš* « délivrance »; özb. *qutulmoq* « se délivrer »

/tutvgãdɑ/ → tutvrgãdɑ/ (70 r 17) *tutùɣandä* → *tutùrɣandä* « lorsqu'il fait tenir (sa main droite) »; özb. *tuttirmoq* « faire tenir ».

Remarque. Le /v/ dans les mots allemands a encore la valeur de *w*, surtout au commencement des mots. Ex. : /virgeʃlich/ (58 r 1 m) *wirgesliχ* « oublieux » = allm. mod. *vergessen* « oublier ». Mais après une sonsonne il est pour *ü* : /glvt/ (81 v 16 d) *glüt* « chauffé à blanc »; Kuun (p. 357) le lit *Glut* et le compare à l'allm. *glüht*.

De même, le /v/ dans les mots turks a encore la valeur de *w* :

a) entre deux voyelles : /tuvíp/ (69 v 15) *tuwíp* « en naissant; né »; /bíz yuvunalí/ (75 v 3) *bíz yuwunalí* « afin que nous nous purifions »;

b) à la fin d'une syllabe et d'un mot : /ɛov/ (57 v 27 d) *čow* « gazouillement »; /kuv/ (58 r 3 m) *quw* « pâle »; /jɑrovlí/ (81 r 29 g) *yärowlí* « utile »; /juvduH/ (81 v 21 g) *yuwduχ* « vulgaire »; /kavdɑn/ (81 v 14 d) *qawdän* « grande herbe d'automne, non fauchée »; özb. *qovdon* id.; /gichovga/ (61 r 11, 16) *ǧiχowγa* « à l'église ».

3. Les valeurs de graphème /v̇/ dans les mots allemands, italo-latins et turks du CCII

Les codexcumanicusistes ne prennent pas en considération la spécificité de ce graphème, ni quand ils emploient la translittération ni dans leur transcription et par conséquence ils ne se sont pas penché sur sa ou ses valeurs phonétiques. Pourtant les scribes du CCII en font usage avec une nette distinction entre /v/ et /v̇/. Et en tête du feuillet 69 v, au-dessus de /tuv̇rupʃẽ/, une main a marqué un /v̇/ seul, comme pour en attirer l'attention et pour montrer que là on a une abréviation.

C'est en travaillant sur les petits textes allemands que nous avons constaté que le /v̇/ était pour *erw, irw, urw, ruw, riw, rew, wer, wir, wur, uw, wu* – combinaisons théoriquement possibles. Par example : /v̇achynde/ (58 r 24 g) devait être pour *erwaχinde* « en réveillant », de *erwachen* « réveiller ». Grønbech le translittère bien 'v̇achynde', mais le rapporte à l'article lexical de *ujuχysyra-* « schaflos sein (être privé de sommeil) ». Mais ce verbe turk – *uyuχísíra-* – signifie « somnoler » et /v̇achynde/ se lie à *uyañγandä* « en se réveillant », de *uyan-* « se réveiller ». Là, Grønbech serait influencé par Kuun (p. 366) qui, ne sachant pas la valeur *erw* de /v̇/ dans /v̇achynde/, l'a translittéré /vachynde/ et l'a traduit par « vigilans ». Kuun embrouille même parfois les signes d'abréviation. Par ex. : /Ūgilvkke/ (81 r 3 g) devient chez lui : « U'gilvkke : êy ûgilvkke (ein urgilukke). Respondens – dit-il – glossa cum. čiyrû « campana », germ. glocke, cf. m. ae. urglocke, germ. Uhrglocke « horologium ». Nous y voyons *ungilükke* « malchance ».

Dans les mots italo-latins du CC, la valeur *ver, vir* du /v̇/ était connue des spécialistes : /ficta v̇ba/ (81 v 17 = 18 g) *fikta verba* « paroles fictives, fausses »; /v̇tus/ (66 r 14 g) *virtus* « vertue ».

Dans les mots turks, le /v̇/ a les valeurs de : *uw, wu, u͡w, w͡u*, et peut-être encore de *w* (mais le *w* y est marqué par les /w/, /v/ : /aʃʃow/ *asow* « aide »), sans les variantes palatales *üw, wü*. Par exemple : /v̇ureík/ *uwurčíq* « fuseau; quenouille »; /tarlov̇/ *tarlou͡w* « champ labourable »; /ov̇lduH/ *owulduχ* « frai »; /ʃvrvv̇/ *sùrùu͡w* « troupeau; foule ». Avant de déterminer la valeur complexe de ce graphème, nous le prenions pour *ü/ù*, tout comme les /ò/, /ó/ étaient pour *ö/ó*. Et dans notre transcription, nous le marquions par : *ù, v̇, w* : *v̇urciq, tarlow, oùlduχ*.

La constation que le /v̇/ est pour *wu, uw* … nous a dénoué les mains, mais seulement d'une part. Dans *uwurčíq* (variante de *aγïrčïq, aγïršaq*, de *aγïr, awur > uwur*; tc. *aγïr* « lourd »), *owulduχ* la présence de /v̇/ se justifiait pleinement. Grønbech, Drimba, les auteurs du KQŽS, en prenant le /v̇/ pour un *u*, ajoutaient un *v* (Grønbech, KQŽS) ou un *w*. Par exemple : (øv̇lunɑ/ *òwulunä* « à son fils (Jésus) » devenait chez eux : *ovuluna* (Grønbech), *owuluna* (Drimba), *o/v/ul, ovluna* (dans les KQŽS, KQŽS II).

Ce /v̇/ serait encore le correspondant latin du graphème arabe ۏ – un ۏ à trois points, employé par Mahmud Kašgarî pour une consonne « labio-labiale » (rus. gubno-gubnyj) et repris par les écrivains turks des siècles suivants et même par les philologues arabes s'occupant des langues turkes : ex. ۏ *aw* « chasse » (Nadžip, p. 99).

Ainsi, dans le CC le /v̇/ est d'une part pour *uw, wu*, comme en allemand du CC et d'autre part, au cas où il suit une voyelle labiale nous le transcrivons *u͡w, w͡u*, une diphtongue interne (*tarlou͡w*) ou *ẇ*, surmonté d'un point qui forme un *w* palatal (*tarloẇ*), qui, venant après *lo, lu, ro, ru, ča, ču, i, yí* ou précédant *ar, ur*, justifie sa palatalité (!).

De même dans la transcription de ces graphies nous prenons en considération leurs correspondants dans les autres langues turkes ; par exemple : /ɛvv̇re/ *čuẇure* « en retournant l'intérieur à l'extérieur *ou* le dos en face (en signe de deuil) », de *čuẇur-*, par comparaison avec le turc *čevir-* id. (mais /ɛuv̇urumẽ/ *čuu͡wurumen* ou *čuẇu͡urumen* ou *čuẇurumen*?). Dans la liste que nous ajoutons ici, les graphies discutables sont transcrites de deux manières : à diphtongue interne et à *w* palatal, toutes les deux étant inhabituelles : *tarlou͡w* ~ *tarloẇ* (?)

Dans les textes poétiques, les variantes *uw, wu* de /v̇/ se justifient parfois (/ov̇lunɑ/ (76 r 17) *owulunä*, mais parfois non (/ov̇lū/ (76 r 9) : *oẇlum* (?)

Dans le CCI, nous n'avons pas trouvé de gloses turkes ayant un /v̇/, ni même dans celles ajoutées par les scribes du CCII.

Dans le CCII, le /v̇/ se rencontre dans le petit vocabulaire latin-turk, dans les petits textes turks, dans les devinettes et dans les textes catholiques turks.

Liste chronologique des mots turks vélaires et palataux à /v̇/

1) Dans le petit vocabulaire latin-turk :

/ɪarov̇lɪ/ (65 v 21 d) *yarowulí* « utile » ou *yaroẇl*
/bøv̇/ (65 v 25 d) *bóu͡w* « grande araignée » ou *bóẇ*
/tarlov̇/ (65 v 26 d) *tarlou͡w* « champ labourable » ou *tarloẇ*

2) Dans les petits textes turks :

/jt v̇radír/ (57 r 1) *it uwradír* ou *uwradír* « le chien aboie » (6 lignes plus bas : /ÿt vrdi/ *it ùrdí* « le chien a aboyé »)
/ʃav̇rí/ (57 r 10 d) *sawurí* « peau desséchée de la cuisse de cheval »
/kov̇ra/ (57 r 23) *qowura* « silène »
/----ov̇/ (57 r 30) fragment de mot(s) endommagé(s), reconstruit(s) par nous comme : (*aš tat*)*owu* « goût des mets », car ils sont suivis de : *igísí* « son odeur » : (*aš tat*)*owu, igísí* « goût (et) odeur (des mets) ».
/kɛɛov̇/ (57 v 4 g) *kečou͡w* → *käčou͡w* ou *kečoẇ* → *käčoẇ* « âgé »
/cruv̇/ (57 v 7 g) *qruu͡w* ou *qruẇ* « sec »
/kav̇rʃín/ (57 v 16 g) *qawursín* « tube de plume (*selon allm.* colorée) des ailes d'oiseaux »
/kvn tuv̇m[e]esden brū/ (57 v 19 g) *kún tuwumesden brun* « avant le lever du soleil » ou *kún tuẇmesden brun*
(Hī kov̇srí/ (57 v 37 g) *χíyn kowusrí* « il veille sur (lui) assidûment »

/o[z]zav̇ kvn/ (57 v 8 d) *ozaṷ̈ ~ ozaẇ kün* « avant-hier »

/av̇lak/ → /avlakkα/ (57 v 19 g) *awulaq* → *awulqkä* « steppe » → « à la steppe »
  (c'est-à-dire « dehors »)

/jα rʃov̇/ (57 v 20 d) *yärsoṷ̈* « répugnant » ou *yärsoẇ*

/ʃvrvv̇/ (57 v 26 d) *sürüuṷ̈* « foule; troupeau » ou *sürüẇ*

/εov̇lanma9gíʃ/ (57 v 28 d) *čowulanmañγís* « ne gazouillex pas! »

/av̇ʃtírmaga/ (58 r 7 g) *awustírmaγa* « pour faire ouvrir la bouche » ou « pour mettre
  en mouvement la bouche du nouveau-né »

/av̇/ (58 r 10 g) *auṷ̈* « filet de pêcheur » ou *aẇ*

/atov̇/ (58 r 17 g) *atouṷ̈* « grande île » ou *atoẇ*

/v̇reík/ (58 r 18 g) *uwurvíq* « fuseau; quenouille »

/εuv̇urumē/ (58 r 1 d) *vuṷ̈uurumen* ou *cuṷ̈wrumen* « je tourne », cf. ouig. mod. *savra*
  – cérémonie de circumambulation – mot vélaire ou *čuẇurumen*

/tumov̇/ (58 r 6 d) *tumouṷ̈* « rhume » ou *tumoẇ*

/kujov̇/ (58 r 9 d) *kuyouṷ̈* « gendre » ou *kuyoẇ*

/tíntov̇ɛí/ (58 r 22 d) *tíntowučí* « perquisiteur » ou *tíntoẇčí*

/køʃøv̇/ (58 r 14 d') *kòsòuṷ̈* « tisonnier » ou *kòsòẇ*

/bav̇rʃak/ (59 r 14 g) *bawursaq* « chéri; tendre; compatissant »

/v̇namak/ (59 r 21 g) *uwnamaq* « consentiment »; ouig. mod. *una-* « to agree, to con-
  sent, to obey » (Jarring, 1964)

/ervv̇/ (59 v 15) *erüuṷ̈* « force » ou *erüẇ*

/av̇al/ (66 r 12 g) *auwal* « principe »

/boy aruv̇líχí/ (66 r 19 g) *boy aruṷ̈wlíχí* « chasteté » ou *boy aruẇlíχí*

/yarov̇/ (66 r 9 d) *yarouṷ̈* « équipement » ou *yaroẇ*

/av̇urgagíl/ → /av̇urlagíl/ (66 v 3 g) *aṷ̈uurγaγíl* → *aṷ̈uurlaγíl* « sanctifie! » ou
  aẇurγaγíl → *aẇurlaγíl*

/Sev̇gíl/ (66 v 10 g) *seuṷ̈gíl* « aime! » ou *sewgíl*

/kezív̇/ (80 v 3 a) *kezíuṷ̈* « épidémie » ou *kezíẇ*

/jv̇/ (80 v 23 d) *iuṷ̈* « maison de prières, près d'un kourgan; maison » ou *iẇ*

/ov̇lduH/ (80 v 30 g) *owulduχ* « frai »

/kanov̇/ (80 v 33 g) *qanouṷ̈* « courbe » ou *qanoẇ*

/jαmov̇/ (80 v 3 d) *yämouṷ̈* « pièce à rapiécer (de feutre à suie servant de couverture
  de l'ouverture-cheminée de la yourte) » ou *yämoẇ*

/v̇ʃínlarme/ (80 v 26 d) *uwsínlarmen* « j'incommode »

/jαrov̇lí/ (80 v 29 d) *yärouṷ̈wlí* « utile » ou *yäroẇlí*

/ʃerív̇/ (81 r 25 g) *seríuṷ̈* « civilisé; docile » ou *seríẇ*

/tuv̇ra/ (81 r 4 d) *tuwura* « juste; droit » ou *tuẇra*

/tarlov̇/ (81 r 6 d) *tarlouṷ̈* « champ labourable » ou *tarloẇ*

/ov̇sar/ (81 v 7 g) *owušar* « confrère » ou *oẇšar*

/ojov̇larme/ (81 v 26 g) *oyowularmen* « je grave »

/jov̇αεα/ (81 v 23 d) *yoṷ̈uačä* « les nouveaux-venus » ou *yoẇačä*

/buv̇armē/ (81 v 24 d) *buṷ̈uarmen* « j'étrangle » ou *buẇarmen*

/kírlov̇/ (81 v 34 d) *qírlouṷ̈* « fente » ou *qírloẇ*

/talov̇/ → /tarlov̇/ (81 v 36 d) *talouṷ̈* → *tarlouṷ̈* « champ labourable » ou *taloẇ* →
  tarloẇ

/bav̇rʃak/ (81 v 38 d) *bawursaq* « chéri; tendre; compatissant »

/ʃav̇rak/ (82 r 14 g) *sawuraq* « crâne »

/bav̇lagíl/ (82 r 17 g) *bawulaγíl* « lie! »

/kursov̇lapdír/ (82 r 19 g) *quršowulapdír* « il a ceinturé »

/tv̇ler̥/ (82 r 18 g) *tuwler* → *tuwlär* « il se tend »

/jív̇/ (82 r 21 g) *yíu͡w* « gros » ou *yív̇*

/vv̇seydír/ (82 r 22 g) *ùwušeydír* « il caresse »

/ɛvv̇re/ (82 r 24 g) *čùwure* « en retournant le dos en face »

/jav̇ruttí/ (82 r 31 g) *yawuruttí* « il a égratigné le dos »

/julov̇eí/ (82 r 8 d) *yulowučí* « rédempteur » ou *yulowčí*

/ʃaHav̇/ (82 r 9 d) *saχau͡w* « bégayeur » ou *saχaẇ*

/uv̇gíl/ (82 r 15 d) *uwuγíl* « frotte! »

/ʃíltov̇/ (82 v 2 g) *síltou͡w* « raison spécieuse (*selon allm.* fascination) » ou *síltoẇ*

/jav̇lov̇/ (82 v 15 d) *yawulou͡w* : *yawulou͡w yírdí* « ils ont accumulé (et ? mangé) ce qui était resté au fond de la poêle à frire » ou *yowlow*

/kírov̇/ (82 v 19 d) *qírou͡w* « gelée blanche » ou *qírow*

/ko9rov̇/ (82 v 24 d) *qoñrou͡w* « clochette » ou *qoñroẇ*

3) Dans les textes turks catholiques :

/te9ríní9 ... øv̇í/ (69 r 9) *teñríníñ ȯu͡wí* « la maison de Dieu »

/aretīní9 ȯv̇í/ (69 r 19) *aretínníñ ȯu͡wí* « demeure du Saint-Esprit »

/av̇az-/ (69 r 21) *auwaz-* « voix; son »

/tav̇ga/ (69 v 3; 71 r 1; 72 r 8) *tau͡wya* « à la montagne »

/ʃøv̇mek-/ (69 v 5) *sȯu͡wmek-* « amour »

/kvjov̇-/ (69 v 9) *kùyou͡w-* « fiancé »

/jav̇lí/ (69 v 11) *yau͡wlí* « gras »

/ʃev̇dv/ (70 r 4) *seu͡wdù* « il a aimé »

/jv̇rgā jollaríga/ /70 r 6) *yẇùrgän yollaríñä* « sur les voies que tu as parcourues »

/arov̇/ → /aru/ (79 r 8) *arou͡w* → *aru* « bon; digne »

/tuv̇mís/ (70 r 12) *tuu͡wmíš* « né »

/buzov̇ley/ (70 r 14) *buzou͡wley* « comme un veau »

/aeuv̇í9/ (70 r 16) *ačuu͡wíñ* « ta colère »

/jav̇d'dí9/ (70 v 2) *yau͡wdírdíñ* « tu as fait pleuvoir »

/jav̇leín/ → /jav̇leyín/ (70 v 10) *yau͡wleín* → *yau͡wleyín* « comme la graisse »

/kø'v̇ʃap ʃen ʃuʃadi9 | kørvv̇ʃap/ (70 v 17) *kȯrùwsap sen susadíñ | kȯrùu͡wsap* « désirant voir (ton Dieu) tu as été assoiffée »

/av̇zí9/ (71 r 8) *awuzíñ* « ta bouche »

/ov̇dí9/ (71 r 14) *ou͡wdíñ* « tu as loué »

/ov̇sadí/ (71 r 18) *ou͡wšadí* « il a ressemblé »

/bosov̇ teydí/ (71 v 2) *bošou͡w teydí* « (les captifs) furent délivrés »

/bav̇urʃakí9/ (71 v 4) *bawu͡wursagíñ* « ton fils chéri »

/Hav̇a/ (72 r 5) *Hau͡wa* « Eve »

/tavlarní9 tav̇í/ (72 r 7) *tau͡wlarníñ tau͡wí* « montagne des montagnes »

/ov̇líga/ (72 r g) *ou͡wlíñä* « à ton fils »

/ov̇retmís/ (72 r 13) *ou͡wretmíš* « a enseigné »

/te9rí tuv̇rgā → tuv̇gā/ (72 r 13) *teñrí tuu͡wryan* → *tuu͡wyan* « né de Dieu » → « né Dieu »

/baṿler-/ (72 r 21) *baȗwler-* « les liens »

/jaṿd'a/ (72 v 6) *yaȗwdíra* « il fait pleuvoir »

/oṿgā anaʃí/ → /oṿd'gā ana/ *oȗwyan anasí* → *oȗwdíryan ana* « sa mère bénie » →
     « la mère qui s'est faite bénir »

/karoṿímíz/ (73 r 1) *qarowuímíz* « notre récompense »

/ʃíz veøṿgα/ (73 r 4–5) *síz u̇čóȗwgä* « à Vous trois »

/juluṿ/ (74 r 4) *yuluȗw* « rachats »

/bosoṿ/ (74 r 13) *bošoȗw* « délivrance »

/bítṿlar/ (74 v 10) *bítuwlar* « les Ecritures »

/oṿvnɛlu/ → /oṿvnɛlí/ (74 v 15) *owuu̇člu* → *owuu̇nčlí* « avec louanges »

/kríṿgα/ (76 r 1) *kríȗwgä* « à l'entrée »

/oṿαlí/ (76 r 1) *owuäli* « louons! »

/øṿluma/ (76 r 3) *òȗwluma* « à mon fils »

/kutkaruṿʃap/ (76 r 4) *qutqaruȗwsap* « en voulant sauver »

/tabuṿʃap/ (76 r 4–5) *tabuȗwsap* « en voulant retrouver »

/oṿlū/ (76 r 9) *oȗwlum* « mon fils »

/tuṿdí/ (76 r 14) *tuȗwdí* « il est né »

/oṿlunα/ (76 r 17) *owulunä* « à son fils » – ici l'isosyllabisme permet la forme
     owulunä, avec *wu* et non pas *ȗw* ou *wȗ*.

/kuyoṿ/ (76 r 16) *kuyoȗw* « fiancé »

/duṿlak/ → /duṿlat/ (76 r 19) *duȗwlaq* → *duuwlat* « fortune »

4) Dans les devinettes :

/juṿsapd'/ → /uṿsapd'/ (60 r 5) *yuwušapdír* → *uwušapdír* « il somnole; il molit »

/ʃíloṿʃín/ (60 r 7) *Síloȗwsín* « le Lynx »

/aṿzu/ (60 r 8) *Awuzu* « son Ouverture »

/tuṿ/ (60 r 9) *Tuȗw* « le Drapeau »

/jaṿ/ (60 r 9, 10) *Yaȗw* « l'Huile »

/tuṿ/ corrigé de /tur/ (60 r 10) *tur* → *tuṿw*, de *tur-* « rester intact »

/jabaṿlí/ → /jaboṿlí/ (60 r 14) *yabaȗwlí* → *yaboȗwlí* « couvert d'une pélerine »

/taṿdα/ (60 r 15) *taȗwdä* « dans la Montagne »

/koɛkar mṿzí/ (60 r 16) *Qočqarmu̇wzí* « le Béliercorne; le Bélier »

/bítíṿ/ (60 r 21) *Bítíȗw* « l'Ecrit; l'Ecriture »

/oṿlu/ (60 r 22) *Oȗwlu* « le Fils chéri (du Ciel) = le Soleil »

/karī jaṿdír/ (60 r 25) *Qarín Yawudír* « c'est le Suif de Ventre »

/taṿ/ (60 r 27) *Taȗw* « la Montagne »

/tuṿ/ (60 r 29) *Tuȗw* « les Plumes (de l'Oiseau-Soleil) »

/jαṿlí/ (60 v 5, 6) *yäȗwlí* « grasseux »

/ítaṿzū/ → /ítoṿzū/ (60 v 13) *Itawuzun* → *Itowuzun* « son Museau de Chien =
     Sirius »

/ʃaṿrí/ (60 v 22) *Sawurí* « la Peau de la cuisse de Cheval »

/toṿram/ (60 v 22) *Toȗwram* « les Quignons »

/aṿlu9/ (60 v 24) *Aȗwluñ* « ton Intelligence »

/ayṿruṿ/ (60 v 24) *Ayuwruȗw* « détaché »

/bugoṿlí/ (60 v 26 + 27) *buɣoȗwlí* « mis aux cangues »

/kuv̇luk/ → Huv̇luk/ (60 v 34) *Quu͡wluq* → *χuu͡wluq* « les Joyaux »

/ʃav̇lav̇ıatı/ → /ʃav̇lav̇latı/ (60 v 36) *sawulau͡wíatí* « ? » → *sau͡wlau͡wl Atí* « le (*litt.* son) cher Cheval caché (?) »

Ainsi, le /v/ est employé seulement dans la Deuxième partie du Codex. C'est surtout les données allemandes et italo-latines prouvent incontestablement que dans les graphies turkes aussi il a servi à marquer une particularité phonétique turke saillante.

4. La ou les valeurs vocaliques des graphèmes /ı, í, j, y, y̆/

Puisque nous disons que la langue turke du CC est la langue turke orientale, ce problème s'impose de soi-même. Car Ščerbak (pp. 32, 39–40) parle de convergence de *ï* et *i* en ouigour moderne, et selon Nasilov (p. 11), Aširaliev (p. 54) l'ouigour moderne est une *i*-langue, sans *ï*.

La rédaction américaine du Dictionnaire de Mahmud Kašgārí, réalisée par R. Dankoff, J. Kelly, se distingue des autres rédactions par l'emploi seul de *i*, sans *ï* et cette rédaction fut prise en considération par E. Tryjarski dans la transcription des données turkes dans son livre *Kultura ludów tureckich w świetle przekazu Mahmūda z Kaszgaru (XI. w.).* (Polska Akademia Nauk: Instytut archeologii i etnologii: Komitet nauk orientalistycznych, Warszawa 1993).

L'özbek et l'ouigour modernes sont des *i*-langues. Mais Jarring, Malov, Tenišev, Kakuk emploient les deux (les *i* et *ï*) dans leurs textes dialectologiques ouigours et les spécialistes-ouigouristes – dans leur transcription des textes ouigours anciens.

Les lettres, employées pour ces phonèmes dans le CC sont : /ı, í, j, y, y̆/. Nos recherches sur la distribution quelconque de ces lettres de la part des scribes du CC, n'ont pas donné des résultats. Elles sont employées aussi bien pour un *í* ou *i* (/aní/ *aní* « lui; le, la ») ; /kysí/ *kíší* « personne; quelqu'un ») que pour *y* (/kuíu/ *quyu* « puits ») ; /jala jabadír/ *yala yabadír* « il calomnie » ; /ulvydír/ *ulu̇ydír* « il hurle ». Les *yí, íy, yíy* furent marqués par : /yí/ (/yílkí/ *yílqí* « troupeau de chevaux ») ; /íy/ (/kíeíyder munda/ *qíčíyder munda* « ici j'ai des démangeaisons » ; /jíj/ (/jíjlagíl/ (59 r 20 d) *íyílayíl!* « sens l'odeur! ».

Le /y/ est parfois pour *yí* (ex. : /ylap/ *yílap* « pleurant », employé dans un hymne, où le *yí* est exigé par l'isosyllabisme). De même nous supposons que /Hī/ doit être transcrit *χíyn* ou *χyín* « assidûment », que /beík/ est pour *beyík* « haut », /níat et-/ est pour *niyat et-* « prier; se proposer de prier » etc.

Le /y̆/, employé seulement dans quelques mots, serait aussi pour *i* ou *í* ou ? *yí* : /y̆t/ *it* ou ? *yít* « chien » ; /Ky̆m/ (11 r 13) *kím* ou ? *kyím* « qui ».

Selon notre ancienne conviction, selon laquelle la langue turke du CC était une langue kiptchaque parlée, ces lettres avaient les valeurs suivantes : *i, í, ï, y, yi, yí, yï, iy, íy, ïy,* attestées ou théoriquement possibles. C'était commode, bien organisé bien kiptchaque : les *ï, yï, ïy* trouvaient place dans les mots de la classe vélaire et les autres – dans ceux de la classe palatale. Il faut reconnaître que nous n'avons jamais cherché le *ï* dans les mots qui contiennent un /e/ à la place de /i, í, j, y/ (v. plus bas). Et selon notre conviction actuelle qui dit que la langue turke du CC est une langue turke orientale, écrite de XII–XIVes siècles, les mêmes lettres se couvrent de valeurs : *í, y,* rarement de *íy, yí,* sans distinction de classes vélaire ou palatale des mots.

Cette interprétation, que nous estimons maintenant juste, crée quelques complications. Par exemple la graphie /askínẽ/ avant ne nous posait aucun problème. Depuis Bang (1912, p. 350), on y trouvait *aškinem* « meine Speise ». Németh le transcrivait *aškiniïm*, Drimba (1973, pp. 208, 215) le transcrivait *ašqïnïm* et le traduisait par « ma nourriture ». Mais voilà que Zahiruddin Muhammed Babur, dans son livre autobiographique *Baburname* (XVIᵉ siècle) a écrit ce mot avec un kef et non pas avec un kaf, ainsi qu'on aurait attendu. Kostenko, Beveridge (pp. 3–4) et Bacqué-Grammont (p. 46) le traduisent par « garniture de riz et des légumes » du faisan (et probablement d'autres volailles et oiseaux de chasse). Dans la base de ce mot se trouve *aš* « nourriture » et encore « pilav ». Nasilov (p. 60) indique les allomorphes du suffixe y ajouté : *γina, ginä, qina, kinä*. Selon cette distribution on devait attendre *ašqina*, mais voilà que dans Baburname on a *aškinä* et dans le CC – *aškine*, ce qui bouleverse la définition de Nasilov et des autres (v. Mollova, pp. 261–263).

Alors, partant de ce fait unique, devons-nous promulguer une loi et de dire : dans une syllabe ayant une des voyelles *a, o, u*, les graphèmes /c, k, g/ se transcrivent *q, γ* et dans une syllabe ayant une des voyelles *ä, e, i, ö, ü – k, g* ? Certainement pas ! Car :

1) Les combinaisons *iq, qi, iγ, γi* existent dans les transcriptions des textes en caractères arabes et dans la prononciation des Ouighours modernes. Ex. : Dans Badā'i', Borovkov (pp. 120–121) transcrit les lettres arabes ای *i* et *ï* : ايليق *iliq* « tëplyj (chaud) », « gorjačij (bouillant) », ايسيغ *ïsïγ* id. Jarring (1967, Glossar) trouve dans les textes de Raquette des formes comme *aγïz ~ äγïz* « Mund », etc.

Selon Nasilov (p. 6), le point de prononciation d'*i* en ouigour moderne, après les consonnes vélaires se retire plus en arrière qu'après les consonnes palatales : *χizmät* « service », *qildi* « il a exécuté ». Mais dans ce cas, dit Nasilov, il ne représente pas un « phonème à part – *ï* ».

Borovkov (URS, p. 680), tout en approuvant l'emploi d'un seul *i* en özbek moderne, constate que ce *i* se prononce plus en arrière dans *iš* « travail » que dans *ešik* « porte » et devient, dit-il, *ï* dans *qïz* « fille », *qïlïq* « action ».

Cette variabilité peut être possible seulement en partant d'*í* et non pas d'*i*. Les Özbeks, avec lesquels nous avons mené des conversations, prononçaient par exemple le mot écrit /aldi/ – *aldí* « il a pris », tandis que les Turcs de la Roumélie Occidentale (Yougoslavie et Bulgarie de l'Ouest) le prononcent nettement avec un *i* : *aldi*!

2) L'emploi de /e/, au lieu de soi-disant *ï*, dans le turk du CC et dans les textes en ancien ouigour, montre qu'on y a une alternance de *i ~ e*, et non pas de *ï ~ e*. Mais ce /e/ devient *ï* dans la transcription des turkologues. Par ex. : /sogeq/, /sareg/ des anciens textes turks de Tourfan furent transcrits par Gabain (1954, Glossar) *soγïq* « kalt », *sarïγ* « gelb ». Il fallait *soγeq, sareγ*. Les transcripteurs du turk du CC adaptent ce /e/ en *ï* dans les mots de la classe vélaire et en *i* (KQŽS en *í*) dans les mots de la classe palatale. Par exemple /tengeríg íarıklıche ıarıtte alarne/ (61 v 6–7) *teñgerníg yaríqliχe yarítte alarne* « la splendeur de Dieu les éclaira » devient chez Drimba (1973, p. 225) : *teŋriniŋ yarïqlïχï yarïttï alarnï* (v. WZKM 1988, § 4; WZKM 1990, p. 154, § 2); pour cette particularité cf. ouig. mod. *alte* « six » (Jarring, 1980, p. 89), *parmate* « ne hodil » (Malov, 1957, p. 190), *altä* « six » (Nasilov, p. 8), *qizil, q̂ẑâl* « rouge », *yārȇm* « moitié » (Kakuk). Alors on dira que les graphies turkes du CC /chezel/, /yarem/, /ıarıtte/ seraient annotées juste : *qezel, yarem, yarítte*.

3) Dans le CC il y a quelques graphies, écrites avec /a/, au lieu de /ɪ/ attendu, dont la plupart furent corrigées en /ɪ/. Cela prouve que l'annoteur européen, pour qui les sons turks *ï* et *í* étant étrangers, les aurait entendus *a* ou proche de *a* et les aurait annotés par /a/. Par ex.: /Çagharmẽ/, corrigé par grattage: /Çɪgharmẽ/ (11 v 7). On peut les interpréter comme: on est en présence des deux formes, l'une caractéristique à la prononciation des Occidentaux: *čaχarmen* et l'autre – à celle des Turks: *čïχarmen* ou *číχarmen* «je sors», avec *ï* ou *í* et non pas *i*. Les autres exemples sont: /ʃaganmac/, mais /ʃagɪngɪl/ (4 v 18, 19), ajoutés par un scribe du CCII, de *saγín-* «penser», où: *saganmak*, et non pas *saγanmaq*, serait selon la prononciation étrangère du scribe européen et *saγínmaq* «pensée; souvenir» selon la prononciation turke, alors que *saγíñγíl* «pense!» serait annoté juste. /ʃaganmac/ ne fut pas corrigé par un scribe du CC, mais il fut corrigé par Grønbech et KQŽS: *saγïnmaq*. /jarac et/ (4 r 11), écrit par un scribe du CCI, ne fut pas corrigé aussi, ni par un scribe du CC, ni par Grønbech (chez qui transcrit: *jaraq et-*). *Yarak et* est selon la prononciation étrangère du scribe et selon la prononciation turke ça devait être *yíraq et*, de *yíraq et-* «libérer». Dans le même paradigme, deux lignes plus haut on a /jragírmen/ *írayírmen* ou *yírayírmen* «je libère». /ɪarlaɪgaʃen/ (61 r 9) /ɪarlagaʃen/ corrigé: /ɪarlɪgaʃen/ *yarlagasen* – selon la prononciation étrangère et *yarlïγasen* – selon celle turke; sa signification: «qu'il aie pitié!» – cette correction est faite ou sur l'original ou sur le prototype de la copie, conservée dans San Marco, où le copiste a gardé la lettre corrigée par exponctuation (/ạ/) et a inséré la lettre ajoutée (écrite probablement au-dessus de /ạ/) dans le corps du mot: /ɪarlạɪgaʃen/. [Saga] /ʃagīmagɪs/ (61 r 20). Là aussi nous cherchons une variante étrangère: *saga(nmagis)*, variante délaissée et reprise comme: /ʃagīmagɪs/ *saγínmaγís* «ne pensez pas!» Drimba (1970, p. 457) estime que /ʃaga/ est «vraisemblablement, le datif *saγa* du pronom *sen* écrit automatiquement … au lieu de l'impératif *saγïnmaγïz*». /ʃagat/ (65 v 31 d) dans le petit vocabulaire vient traduire la graphie latine *arma*. Le deuxième /a/ de /ʃagat/ fut barré, ce qui montre qu'il devait être écrit /ʃagít/. De nouveau: *sagat* – selon la prononciation étrangère et *saγít* «arme», selon celle turke. /ɛaradír/, corrigé: /ɛacharadír/ (57 r 5) *čāradír* serait turk, corrigé il devient *čaχaradir* – selon la prononciation étrangère. Il fallait faire une deuxième correction: /ɛachíradír/ *čaχíradír* «(la poule) caquette» – selon la prononciation turke; Radloff, p. 79: *caqaradïr*; Grønbech: *čaχar-*, KQŽS: *čaqïr-*; nous (PTT, p. 53): *cāradir* → *caχaradir*. /charandas/ (49 r 8) serait pour *karandaš* – prononciation étrangère; au lieu de *qarïndaš* «frère; confrère; prochain»; cf. /karīdas/ (66 v 10 g) *qaríndaš* id.; /baHap/ corrigé: /baHɪp/ (70 r 22) *baχap* – selon la prononciation étrangère et *baχíp* – selon celle turke; sa signification: «en regardant». /Samola/ (42 r 15) *samola* – selon la prononciation étrangère et selon celle turke serait *símola* «colle», du russe *smola* id., l'étymologie déterminée par Kuun (p. 294); Grønbech, KQŽS: *samola*. /karɛaga/ (65 v 26 g) *karčaga* – selon la prononciation étrangère, au lieu de /karɛíga/ *qarčíγa* «faucon»; cf. /çarçiga/ (55 r 7) *čarčíγa*, forme inconnue ou mal écrite par le copiste, au lieu de /carçiga/ *qarčíγa* id. /Kassadím/, mais /Kassírmen/ (13 v 22, 21) *kašadim, kaširmen* – selon la prononciation étrangère, serait pour /kassídím/ *qašídím, qašírmen*, de *qašī-* «gratter»; cf. /caʃí-/ (14 r 13–15) *qasí-*, variante à *s* du même verbe. Gabain (1954, p. 59) estime que le verbe /azastɪ/ (80 v 31 g) *azaští* «il s'est égaré» est pour *aziští* (chez elle: *az-aš-* «sich verirren»), KQŽS *azaš-*

« adas », tc.-osm. *adaš*- id. Dans les colonnes persanes il y a toute une série de données de cette sorte. On sait que les informateurs de ces données persanes furent des Turks. Par exemple : /bachat/ (13 v 11) serait *bakat* dans la prononciation et l'ouïe des annoteurs étrangers; dans la prononciation turke serait *baqít* « fortune », du persan *baχt* id.; cf. kirg. *baqït* id.; /darzanı/ (41 r 2) *darcani* serait étranger; au lieu de *darcíní* turk « canelle », du persan *dārčīnī* etc.

Les mots soumis au passage de *ï* ou *í* en *a*, analysés jusqu'ici, sont de la classe vélaire. Le passage de *ï* turc-osmanli en *a* dans les turcismes en bulgare est un des traits les plus typiques : ex. *bajaldisvam* « s'évanouir; perdre connaissance », du turc-osmanli *bayïldï* + bulg. -*isvam*.

Nous avons trouvé deux exemples pour le passage de *í* en *a* qui se rapportent aux verbes de la classe palatale. Ce sont : /Sasarmẽ/, corrigé : /Sisarmẽ/; /Síʃtín/; /Saʃtchíl/, corrigé : /Síʃtchíl/ (16 r 16–18) – *šašarmen*, *šaskil* – selon la prononciation étrangère et *šíšarmen*, *šístím*, *šískíl*, de *šíš*- ~ *šís*- « s'enfler »; la présence de /t/ dans /Saʃtchil/, /Siʃtchil/ serait l'erreur du copiste, influencé de /Síʃtín/ qui serait d'ailleurs pour /Síʃtím/. /Eʃatmaga/, corrigé : /Yzítmaga/ (2 v 21) *esatmaga* – selon la prononciation et l'ouïe étrangères et *ízítmaγa* selon la correction, faite par un correcteur du CCII; on peut encore corriger /Eʃatmaga/ comme /Eʃítmaga/ *esítmaγa* « action d'entendre », de *esít*- ~ *ízít*- « entendre ».

Dans notre article, intitulé : *Sur l'histoire du vocalisme turk* (In: UAJb 1970, Bd. 42, Heft 1–4, pp. 65–66), entre autres, nous parlions des voyelles neutres, dont le type saillant est précisément le *í* [dans l'article en question : *ï* est représenté par *y*; le *í* – par *ï* et le *i* par *i*]. A propos de *í* (= *i*) nous lisons :

« J. Deny (p. 26) reconnaît l'existence d'un *ï* en turk de Turquie qui serait d'après lui « une voyelle mixte », « intermédiaire entre l'*i* antérieur et l'*i* postérieur » et qui phonologiquement appartiendrait à la classe des voyelles antérieures (*geldï* « il est venu », *evïm* « ma maison ») ».

Ainsi, c'est sur ce *í* neutre qu'il faut peut-être revenir dans le turk du CC (?).

L'*i* étant à fréquence rare, serait employé au commencement des mots (*it* « chien »), à la fin des mots, au lieu de *íy* (*kowušri* « il veille sur »), au contact de *č*, *š* (*ič*- « boire »; *ğiχow* « église »).

Là, il faut encore chercher le rôle de la prononciation différente des Turks, appartenant aux différents groupes éthniques, tout comme dans la leçon différente des lettres arabes, par exemple, par les Turcs et par les Özbeks. Nous, personnellement, nous transcrivons, par exemple, la phrase turke du CC /jrip jrip jrgalmaʃ/ (60 r 6) *íríp íríp íryalmäs* « on a beau (la) creuser elle ne s'ebranle pas », mais nous les prononçons en nous, et à haute voix, *ïrp ïrïp ïryalmas*. C'est une question de conscience linguistique!

5. La valeur consonantique des graphèmes /ε/ et /cz/

Encore un problème insoluble! Dernièrement dans *Les Petits Textes* (pp. 11–12) nous écrivions :

« Dans le CCII il y a une lettre qui nous paraissait inhabituelle, l'emploi de laquelle dans les autres langues ne nous était pas connu. C'est la lettre ε. Elle est employée

dans les mots turks et dans très peu de mots allemands. Dans les mots allemands elle a la valeur de *c* (ex. : ɛu = allm. mod. zu).

Dans les mots persans et turks du CCI les scribes ont employé des « ç, ci, z », au lieu de ɛ du CCII. Les turkologues et iranistes attribuent aux ç, ci, z du CCI et au ɛ du CCII la valeur de *č*. Seuls Radloff et Musaev[2] acceptent que la langue turke du CC en général est un *c*-langue en partant surtout du fait que dans le passé en Europe orientale il y avait des langues turkes à *c*, comme le *c*-dialecte des Khazars, dont les successeurs actuels sont les Karaïms de Galicie et les Balkars des Caucases (Baskakov, pp. 110–112, 148). Pour nous, les ç, ci du CCI sont pour *č*, le z du CCI est pour *c*. En ce qui concerne le ɛ nous hésitions. Nous déclarions dans WZKM 1990, pp. 156–157 : « Mais étant donné que dans le CCII ne fut employée que la lettre « ɛ », nous nous demandons si elle ne fut pas prise pour *č*? Malgré tout pour le moment nous attribuons au « ɛ » la valeur de *c*. »

Dernièrement nous avons constaté que le ɛ fut une lettre latine, employée comme majuscule dans les mots latins du XIIIᵉ siècle (ex. : ɛlem̃tus [*Klementus*]; v. *Dizionario di abbreviature latine et italiane*. Per cura di Adriano Cappelli, Milano 1973, p. 54) et comme minuscule, accolée surtout au t et employée dans les textes latins, italiens, français (ex. français : proteɛtion [*proteksyon*]; ital. mod. protezione [*protecyone*], de proteɛtione [*proteccyone*], roumain protecţiune [*protekcyune*]. Ainsi, en italo-latin ɛt [*kc*] donnant *cc*, le ɛ serait employé pour *c* turk du CCII.

Maintenant étant convaincus que ɛ est pour *c*, nous acceptons que la langue turke de CCII (à partir du f 56 r) est une *c*-langue. La langue turke du CCI l'est aussi, mais partiellement; là on trouve surtout des mots à *č* et un peu de mots à *c*. »

Et dans le un de nos articles (WZKM 1988, p. 97, § 8 : *c* = « zi, z, c ») nous écrivions : « En tout cas elle (la lettre ɛ) aurait une seule valeur, probablement celle de *c*. »

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* *</div>

Cette fois nous allons partir d'abord des données allemandes du CC. On sait que l'allemand est une *c*-langue (avec quelques exceptions à *č* : Deutsch).

Mais avant d'aborder ce problème, disons que l'allemand du CC est une langue allemande des Turks – une langue erronée des étrangers. Nous disposons d'une série d'arguments pour cela. Ici citons en guise d'exemples : 1) l'absence d'accord en genre entre l'article indéfini et le substantif : /en babe/ (82 r 24 + 25 d) *en babe* « une vieille femme » = allm. des Allemands *eine Babe*; 2) propositions à la syntaxe turke : tk. /v̇urɛík ílermẽ/ (58 r 18, 19 g) *Uwurčíq ílermen* « J'accroche un fuseau (à la tête du berceau d'une fille nouveau-né, afin qu'il la garde des mauvais esprits). » = allm. *Eyn spille iχ henge* – à la syntaxe turke, au lieu de : *Iχ henge eyne spille.*

Dans CCII le *c* des mots allemands fut marqué par /c/, /ɛ/, /cz/. Le /c/, employé dans deux mots, serait pour /cz/ : /ich plince/, au lieu de : /ich plincze/, car sur la

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[2] W. Radloff, *Phonetik der nördlichen Türksprachen*. Leipzig 1882, pp. 104, 125–6; K.M. Musaev, *Grammatika karaimskogo jazyka*. Moskva, 1964, pp. 24–25.

ligne suivante on a /ich plinczte/ (56 r 22, 23); /ich krøhcit/, au lieu de /ich krøhczit/ (57 r 7). Chez Grønbech (pp. 253, 304) 'holtz' et 'holz' sont pour /holcz/. Le /ɛ/ est employé dans cinq mots : /ɛu/, /ɛunge/, /ɛolle/, /ʃmoɛe/, /holɛ/. Kuun, Grønbech et Drüll les ont transcrits : ču, čunge, čolle, smoče, holč.

Le /cz/ est employé dans les autres mots allemands à *c* : /czu/, /holcz/, /czene/, /gancz/ etc. Kuun, Grønbech, Drüll laissent ce /cz/ tel quel, le prenant probablement pour un *c*.

Le /cz/ ne fut employé dans aucun mot turc du CC[3]. Ce /cz/ existe en polonais, en tchèque où il est pour *č*. Dans le manuscrit turc d'Illésházy (XVIIe siècle) on trouve une seule graphie à /cz/ où elle peut être soit pour *č* (sl. *c* > tc. *č*), soit pour *c* : /panczer/ *pančer* ou *pancer* « cuirasse »; serbo-croate, bulg., rus. *pancir*, ukrain *páncer*, anc. allm. *panzier*, de français *pancier*. J. Németh (*Die Türkische Sprache in Ungarn im Siebzehnten Jahrhundert*. Budapest 1970, p. 70) le transcrit *pantsır*.

/ɛ/ et /cz/! Sur les feuillets du CCII, le /ɛ/ apparaît d'abord dans les mots turks. Dans les mots allemands c'est le /cz/ qui apparaît d'abord : /czwirn/ (56 r 7) et ensuite le /ɛ/ : /ʃmoɛe/ (56 r 11). Pourquoi cette distinction dans l'annotation du *č* ou *c* dans les mots de ces deux langues? Pourquoi le /cz/ ne fut pas employé dans les mots turks également? Peut-être est-ce parce que le /cz/ est pour *c* et le /ɛ/ est pour *č*? Et les cinq mots allemands à /ɛ/ seraient à la prononciation des scribes non-allemands – ils prononceraient les mots allemands à *c* avec un *č* et l'écriraient avec un /ɛ/ et les scribes qui pourraient prononcer le *c* employeraient la lettre complexe /cz/ *c*?

Alors le /cz/ *č* polonais change-t-il de valeur et commence-t-il à indiquer le *c* et le /ɛ/, connu avec sa valeur de *c* en latin, hongrois, serbo-croate, polonais, tchèque, slovaque etc., change-t-il de valeur : *c* > *č*! (comme cela s'observe dans la transcription, choisie par Nasilov dans l'annotation des mots ouigours : /c/ est pour *č*; /ç/ pour *ǧ*, le contraire de ces lettres dans l'alphabet turc moderne : /c/ *ǧ*, /ç/ *č*). Si cela est juste, il faut supposer que ces graphèmes avec ces valeurs, auraient été employés jadis par un ou deux ou plusieurs peuples européens. Nous ignorons s'ils furent employés en ancien allemand ou non.

On peut continuer à supposer que le /ɛ/ et le /cz/ sont pour *c*, employés par deux groupes de scribes différents. Dans ce cas, le turk du CCII apparaît comme une *c*-langue, ainsi que nous avons accepté dans *Les Petits Textes Turks*. Mais maintenant nous hésitons, car :

1) nous ne disposons pas de quelques repères solides en faveur de *c* dans la langue turke orientale écrite et en ouigour moderne. Or, dans cette langue le *c* existe seulement dans les emprunts au chinois et dans un parler salar, où il y aurait des mots à *c* non chinois aussi (Tenišev, Slovar'; Rahimov, Slovar'). Cela est loin d'être suffisant.

2) Le mot turk du CCI /azarmẽ/ (3 v 22) *acarmen* « j'ouvre » (dans le CCI la lettre /z/ est pour *c*, comme en italien et en allemand) fut corrigé par une main du CCII en /aɛarmẽ/ *ačarmen*. Mais le /z/ dans CCII étant pour *z*, le correcteur n'aurait-il pas vu

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[3] Le lecteur curieux peut trouver ce /cz/ dans la translittération du mot turk /kicze/ (31 r 19) « nuit » chez Kuun (p. 67) et chez Grønbech. Mais la graphie juste est /kyze/ *kíce*.

dans /azarmē/ *azarmen*, exactement comme le /z/ *z* du CCII qui fut corrigé en /ɛ/ dans : /chaz/, corrigé : /chaɛ/ (61 v 34) χ*az* → χ*ač* ou χ*ac* « croix »?

Le /ɛ/ ne fut jamais corrigé, ni dans les mots allemands, ni dans ceux turcs. Pourquoi? Pourquoi, par exemple /holɛ/ ne fut-il pas corrigé en /holcz/? C'est parce que les /ɛ/ et /cz/ ont la même valeur? Celle de quoi? Du *č*? D'où la conclusion que la langue turke du CCII est une *č*-langue; l'allemand des Turks est une *č*-langue également (?).

Devant nous s'étalent quatre suppositions différentes :

1) ε = *č*; cz = *c*. Le turk du CCII est une *č*-langue; l'allemand du CCII est une *c*- et *č*-langue : /ɛu/ *ču*; /czu/ *cu* – supposition acceptable.

2) ε, cz = *č* – et l'allemand (des Turks) et le turk du CCII sont des *č*-langues – supposition possible, acceptée par nous à cette étape de nos recherches.

3) ε, cz = *c* – et l'allemand et le turk sont des *c*-langues, supposition, acceptée par nous dans *Les Petits Textes Turcs*.

4) ε = *c*, cz = *č* – l'allemand des Turks est une *č*-langue, le turk est une *c*-langue – supposition graphiquement prouvable, mais linguistiquement non. Si le turk était une *c*-langue, les mot allemands ne seraient pas à *č*.

A l'heure actuelle nous ne pouvons pas encore trouver une solution convaincante à ce problème. Il nous manque la connaissance paléographique sur les valeurs historiques des graphèmes latins /ɛ/, /cz/, employès dans les différentes traditions européennes : le /cz/*č* fut-il employé pour *c* aussi et le /ɛ/*c* fut-il employé pour *č* aussi? Leur usage dans le CCII serait basé sur les traditions et ne représenterait pas une nouveauté.

CONCLUSIONS

1) La présence de *ò* dans les mots de la classe vélaire en turk du CCII et en özbek moderne (ex. : *qòylar* « les moutons ») – ce trait existerait en ancien özbek (tchagataï) et en ancien ouigour également – vient multiplier les arguments en faveur de la langue turke du CC qui serait la langue écrite de l'Asie Centrale, transportée en Europe Orientale.

2) Le deuxième système graphico-phonétique – l'emploi de *ù* dans les mots de la classe vélaire (*ùlu* « grande; énorme ») reste non encore soutenu, pour nous, par des textes et des langues ou dialectes turks modernes.

3) La valeur complexe de /v̇/ en allemand du CCII, en italo-latin du CCII, en turk du CCII, comme *uw, wu*, …, ne fut pas remarquée et respectée par les spécialistes jusqu'à présent également. C'est une particularité graphico-phonétique très saillante de ces trois langues du CCII (ex. allm. /v̇achynde/ *erwaχinde* « en réveillant »; tk. /v̇urɛík/ *uwurčíq* « fuseau; quenouille »; italo-lat. /v̇tus/ *virtus* « vertue »).

4) Les deux problèmes discutables (la ou les valeurs vocaliques des graphèmes /í, ı, j, y, ỹ/ et la valeur consonantique des graphèmes /ɛ/ et /cz/) restent ouverts. Nous n'arrivons pas à déterminer si le turk du CC est une *i*-langue ou une *ï*- et *i*-langue ou une *ï*- et *í*-langue ou une *í*-langue. Pour le moment nous nous arrêtons sur le dernier : sur la *í*-langue.

De même le /ɛ/ est-il pour le *c* ou pour le *č*? Après l' avoir lu *c* dans les PTT, nous revenons au *č* surtout théoriquement – la langue turke écrite de l'Asie Centrale qui

se trouve dans la base du turk du CC, fut une *č*-langue. Mais graphiquement nous ne pouvons pas prouver la valeur *č* du /ɛ/; la lettre /c/ dans les langues de l'Europe Centrale et Orientale se lit *c*; le /cz/ – *č*! Et si la *c*-langue turke européenne (khazare) s'était imposée dans le CC sur la *č*-langue turke asiatique transportée plus tard en Europe? Mais alors pourquoi les Turks employeraient le graphème composé /cz/ qui est sans aucune doute pour le *č* et fut employé uniquement dans les mots allemands, au lieu du *c* (= z) allemand?

5) Tous les facteurs qu'on vient d'énumérer en relation avec des graphèmes employés dans les mots turks, étudiés ici et dans nos articles récents (comme l'assimilation vocalique régressive: *ayna* « dimanche », mais *äynädä* « le dimanche »; la chute du *r* devant une consonne et à la fin des mots: *talow*, au lieu de *tarlow* ou *tarloŭw* « champ labourable »; les morphèmes à voyelle *u* constant: *alur*, au lieu de *alír* « il prend » etc.) nous invitent à déclarer que la langue turke du Codex Cumanicus est le turk oriental écrit de l'époque, qui, loin d'être une langue normative, standardisée, telles que sont les langues nationales modernes, contient toutes sortes de régionalismes, de doublets, et même de triplets phonétiques, morphologiques, des synonymes, encore que le manuscrit avait été soumis à plusieurs rédactions et corrections de la part des Turks d'ethnies différentes qui ont laissé les traces de leurs langues. Ces corrections témoignent plutôt de la superposition de différentes variantes phonétiques, morphologiques que des formes incorrectes (ces dernières sont caractéristiques surtout à l'ouïe différente et à l'annotation différente des scribes européens).

Entre le turk du CCI et le turk du CCII il y a une certaine différence: le 1er est une *č*- et *c*-langue: /çíarzau/ *čarcaw* « drap de lit »; le 2e est plus homogène: là, on a une seule *č*- ou *c*-langue turke. En tout cas on peut parler de la langue turke integrale de ce manuscrit et cette langue n'est pas kiptchaque, ainsi qu'on a cru, mais *türkîe*, la langue turke écrite de XII–XIVes siècles. Et voilà pourquoi nous proposons de changer le nom de ce manuscrit du Codex Cumanicus en Codex Uiguricus ou Codex Turkicus.

ABRÉVIATIONS

allm.	allemand
ar.	arabe
bulg.	bulgare
CC, CCI, CCII	Codex Cumanicus, CCI – 1ère partie; CCII – 2e partie
italo-lat.	italo-latin
kirg.	kirgiz
lat.	latin
ouig.	ouigour
tc.-osm.	turc-osmanli
tk.	turk (russe: tjurkskij)

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An Iranian Myth in Eastern India:
Gayōmart and the Mythology of Gayā

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The problem of interrelations between the great ancient civilizations of India and Iran is almost as old as Indology itself. Every, more or less significant character in the ancient Iranian mythology has been repeatedly analysed against the background of his or her real or imaginary Indian (mostly Vedic) correlates. In this paper, an attempt will be made to review some earlier suggested links and to offer a new Indian connection for the Iranian primaeval man, *Gayōmart* (Avestan *Gayō.marətan*).

According to the pre-Zoroastrian, "pagan" Iranian doctrine (reconstructed on the basis of the Avesta and the Pahlavi tradition), at the time of creation, after heaven and earth had been made, the gods also produced three living things: a uniquely created bull, the first man *Gayō.marətan* (*Gayōmart* in Pahlavi texts) and the primordial plant. *Gayō.marətan* means "mortal life"; in the Avesta, the name is sometimes given simply as *Gaya* (Nom. *Gayō*), "life". In the Great Bundahišn (Ia. 13), the giant is described as "bright as the sun" and as being more than 12 m ("4 *nāy*"), both in height and in breadth. But the world in which the first three living beings existed had one profound disadvantage: it was static. "The sun stood still at noon above an earth which lay flat and bare upon the motionless waters, with the plant, the bull and *Gayō.marətan* existing quietly at the centre of an empty world" (Boyce 1975:141). To make the cosmos dynamic, the gods had to introduce death into it. They pounded the plant and killed the bull and the man. However, the plant, the bull and the first man, having died, miraculously gave life to all existing plants, all animals and all mankind. The world became dynamic, owing to a succession of day and night, summer and winter, life and death. Since that time, the triple sacrifice has served as a "sacred precedent" for the ritual activity of men. The human sacrifice "was probably already largely abandoned by the late pagan period", but "the animal sacrifice is still occasionally made … in India and Iran", and the offering (the ritual "killing"[1]) of the plant (*soma* / *haoma*) is regularly maintained (Boyce 1975:ibid.).

The "pagan" doctrine of creation "underwent a radical and somewhat awkward change in Zoroaster's teachings, according to which the original static world was *perfect*, alteration coming to it not through beneficial sacrifice, but through the malicious assault of the Hostile Spirit. The killing of *Gayō.marətan* and the uniquely created Bull, and the destruction of the Plant, all *spənta* creations, were accordingly evil acts, but out of them the embattled powers of good snatched advantage for their cause by creating from what had perished more men, plants and animals. Thus, the old doctrine, that through the sacrifice of life more life was produced, survived, but

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[1] For the Indian version of this myth, see [Schlerath 1987].

the motive for the act and the identity of the actors were altered ..." (Boyce 1975: 231).

There is one more noteworthy characteristic of Iranian *Gaya*. He was not only the first man, but sometimes the first *king* as well. This image is known mostly from later sources, such as the Persian epic *Shāhnāmah*, in which *Gayōmart* appears as *Kayōmarθ*, the ideal first king of the Iranian "Golden age", a great fighter against the forces of evil, who is eventually killed by Ahriman. However, the image of *Gayōmart* the king may be traced back to much earlier Pahlavi texts, such as *Xvaðāynāmak*, the "Book of the Kings", compiled at the Late Sassanian royal court, or *Aogəmadaēčā* (85–87; Christensen 1918:29, 87). The idea of combining the first man (patriarch) and the first king in one image is perfectly natural, and mythological characters of this type are well known in the Indo-Iranian traditions (Indian *Manu*, *Yama*, Iranian *Yama²* / *Yima*). Therefore we should not dismiss in our analysis the concept of *Gayōmart* the king as late and irrelevant.

In both his main functions–as the first king of the Golden Age and the first man– *Gayōmart*, it may be supposed, coincided, from early times, with *Yima*. The latter, together with his sister and spouse *Yimeh,* form a couple of progenitors of the human race (cf. Indian *Yama* and *Yamī*); but *Gayōmart,* in some versions of his myth, also has a spouse and acts as a progenitor of mankind, e.g., in the Manichean theology, *Gēhmurd* and *Murdyānag* are identical with Adam and Eve.³ There is no doubt that Iranian priests were fully aware of the redundancy of the *two* myths of the first man/ king; in the process of rationalizing and systematizing archaic Iranian mythology, they tried to co-ordinate the *Gayōmart* and *Yima* myths chronologically. According to their calculations, *Yima* was the third ruler in the Paraðāta Dynasty, which had started after *Gayōmart*'s death. Modern scholars have tried to elucidate an interrela- tion between the two myths in their own way, i.e., historically; they agree that the myth of *Gayōmart* as the first man and a pious ruler replaced the myth of *Yima* after the latter had been proclaimed a sinner by Zoroaster. But this does not necessarily mean that the *Gayōmart*'s myth is of a later origin than *Yima*'s. In archaic mythol- ogy, both were merely variants of the first man/ruler myth. From the work of social anthropologists, it is known that an archaic myth exists only as a totality of variants which functionally duplicate each other (it is sufficient to refer to the parallel exist- ence of different cosmogonies in the archaic core of the Vedic mythological tradi- tion). The necessity to establish which one of the two (several) similar myths is "true" and which is "false" or which one describes the "original" event, as opposed to its variation(s) or repetition(s), arises only in the minds of priests in early histori- cal societies who undertake a rationalistic revision and codification of an archaic heritage.

Gayōmart has several times been compared with various Indian mythological

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² This Old Iranian form of the name appears on the Persepolis tablets (5th century B.C. [Boyce 1975–82: II, 18]).

³ In more common Pahlavi versions, the first human pair, *Mašya* and *Mašyang*, are said to have been born from dead *Gayōmart*'s seed; their names are derived from Av. *mašiia-* "man; mortal" (Old Ir. *martiya-*). In this case it is implied that "the primordial couple is born from the mythical Ancestor (*Gayōmart*) and the Earth mother" (Eliade 1984:318).

characters. In a Zoroastrian version (*Mēnōγ-ī-xrad* 27. 14–15), *Gayōmart* "accord-ing to [the law of] righteousness", submits himself to the Hostile Spirit (*Ahriman*), that is, lets himself be killed for the future prosperity of mankind. In the "pagan" cosmogonic myth, he may have similarly, i.e. voluntarily, accepted the role of a sac-rificial victim. According to some versions of *Gayōmart*'s myth, not only did he contribute by his death to the creation and prosperity of mankind, but some other important elements of the cosmos were also created from his body: metals and, ac-cording to M. Eliade, "in other words, the planets" (*Zāδ-sparam* 10.2; *Dāδastān-ī-dēnīγ* 64.7; Eliade 1984:319). All this gave some grounds for comparisons of *Gayōmart* with Vedic *Puruṣa* (Christensen 1918:34; Zaehner 1955:137–140). But we have to agree with the opinion that in this case "the parallels are not close, and it is not possible to say more than that the germ of a common concept may be remotely behind an idea which had developed differently by the Iranian and Indian priests" (Boyce 1975:142).

There are more points of similarity between Iranian *Gayōmart* and another Indian mythological image, *Mārtāṇḍa*. This vague Vedic character is a son of Aditi, but in contrast to her other sons–immortal Ādityas–he was born (probably, as a result of a miscarriage, see [O'Flaherty 1983:40]) in the shape of a "Mortal Egg" (the literal meaning of his name) and was destined to produce progeny and to die (*prajấyai mṛtyáve tvat*, RV X.72.9c). *Mārtāṇḍa*, like *Gayōmart*, is described as shining and as wide as he was tall, i.e. he was round in shape. The Ādityas somehow saved *Mārtāṇḍa* from death, shaped him and made him into the sun; he then joined the clan of the gods under the name of *Vivasvān* (*-vant*) "the shining one" (cf. Avestan *Vīvahvant*, a legendary hero, father of *Yima*). Karl Hoffmann, who seems to have been the first to draw this striking parallel (Hoffmann 1956; reprinted in: Hoffmann 1976:422–438), referred to some passages in the RV and the *saṃhitās* of YV where *Mārtāṇḍa* seems to be regarded as the progenitor of the human race (see, e.g., *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* I. 6,12 [104.10ff.]: *mārtāṇḍó yásye 'mé manuṣyâḥ prajâ*). While the comparison of *Gayōmart* with *Puruṣa* may be extended to include such mythic figures as the ancient German *Ymir* and even the Babylonian *Tiamat* or the Chinese *P'an-ku* (all of them—primaeval, anthropomorphic Beings killed and dis-membered in the process of creation[4]), the parallel *Gayōmart—Mārtāṇḍa* enables us to reconstruct a specific <u>Indo-Iranian</u> mythological concept of the First Man, radiant and round in shape, destined to die and, at the price of his death, to give life to man-kind. The name of the giant in both traditions contained the Indo-Iranian adjective *marta* "mortal".

But the differences in the treatment of this Indo-Iranian background myth given by the two traditions are all too evident. How far away from this starting-point the development of the myth in the Vedic tradition went is demonstrated by the appear-ance in RV of *Gáya Ámartya,* a *ṛṣi*, "son of Plati (?)", the supposed author of the

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[4] We should probably add to this set one more Indian image, that of *Bahādūn*, the highest god of the mys-terious *Bahādūnīya* sect described by Shahrastānī and some other mediaeval Muslim writers (but other-wise unattested). According to its teachings, *Bahādūn* was an ancient giant killed by his two evil broth-ers, who "made out of his skin the earth, out of his bones the mountains, and out of his blood the ocean". For the details, see [Haarbrücker 1851:365; Lawrence 1976:49–50, 145–146, 178–85].

hymns X.63–64: "Thus the wise son of Plati supported (strengthened, inspired) all your Ādityas, o Aditi! *Gáya Ámartya* praised the rich (generous) persons (and) the heavenly tribe",[5] This is undoubtedly a human character, a priestly singer (*kaví-, vípra-*, X.64.16), but his name means "Life Immortal". The name is certainly a parallel to *Gayō.marətan* (see [Geldner 1951:235]), but it has the opposite meaning, which allowed Hoffmann to suggest that on the Indian soil a happy end was added to the ancient Indo-Iranian story of the first sacrifice: *Gaya* escaped death and, under the name of *Vivasvān*, joined the clan of the gods, thus becoming immortal (*ámartya*). As K. Hoffmann remarked, even under his own name *Gáya*, "Life" would look quite natural in the company of other Ādityas, whose names mostly co-incide with abstract notions (Hoffmann 1957:100; Hoffmann 1976:435). In the sub-sequent development, the half-forgotten god turned, as it may be supposed, into a legendary *ṛṣi* (cf. AV I.14.4).

But there is in India a myth which might be called not a distant relation of the myth of *Gayōmart* through some common Indo-European or Indo-Iranian ancestor (as is the case with *Puruṣa* and *Mārtāṇḍa* myths), but its closest relative, with much more "family likeness" to it, i.e. much more similar to the Iranian myth in its seman-tics and structure. The reason why this Indian myth has until the present day escaped the attention of scholars is that nobody has even tried to look for any parallels to Avestan myths in the Indian material of such a late period (versions of the Indian *Gaya* myth appear, for the first time, in the Late Epic and the Purāṇas). Secondly, while the Iranian *Gaya* (*Gayōmart*) myth, so far as it tells about the origin of the hu-man race and of metals and planets out of the giant's body, deals with cosmogony, i.e. the *macrocosmic* creation, the Indian *Gaya* myth is in fact a local one, dealing with the origin of a *mesocosmos*, that is, of a particular Hindu sacred city, Gayā in Bihar, with its objects of pilgrimage and noteworthy details of local landscape.

Outside India, Gayā is put in the shade by its suburb Bodh-Gayā, one of the great-est centres of Buddhist pilgrimage in the 20th-century world. But the old, Hindu Gayā, has the fame of its own within the subcontinent as the best place to perform *śrāddha*, ritual offerings to the Dead (*pitṛ*, the Fathers). As early as in the Mahā-bhārata's *Tīrthayātraparvan*, one can find a verse which will later appear in the Purāṇas and some Dharmaśāstra works as a traditional formulaic *gāthā*, reportedly first sung by the Pitṛs or Ṛṣis:

   eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ putrā yady eko 'pi gayāṃ vrajet /
   yajeta vāśvamedhena nīlaṃ vā vṛṣam utsṛjet //

   "One should wish to have many sons, (then) probably at least one of them
   will make pilgrimage to Gayā, or sacrifice with the Horse sacrifice, or set
   free a dark bull."[6]

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[5] *evá platéḥ sūnúr avīvṛdhad vo víśva ādityā adite manīṣī /*
   īśānáso náro ámartyenāstāvi jáno divyó gáyena // RV X.63.17 = 64.17

[6] The last ceremony is performed even now at Gayā, in one of the local *tīrtha*s, Vaitaraṇī (Baitarani), a tank which mythologically represents the river of this name separating the world of the living from the re-gion of the dead. There "some sacrificers ... set free a bull in the name of their ancestors in the belief that it will help them in the passage of the Baitarani, the Hindu Styx" (Vidyarthi 1961:38–39; cf. Jacques 1962:390). The ceremony (*vṛṣotsarga*) is described in detail in the Viṣṇusmṛti (LXXXVI [Viṣṇusmṛti 1881:150–151; Viṣṇusmṛti 1880:260–263]) and Garuḍapurāṇa (II. 6).

Mbh III.82.85 (cf. XIII.88.14;
III.85.7*cd*; Rām. II. 107.13 [Bomb.];
Kūrmapur. II. 95.13; Vāyupur. II.
44.10; Garuḍapur. I. 84.34; Viṣṇusmṛti
85.67, etc.).

There are two mythical explanations of the *tīrtha*'s origin. At first sight, they look like two different myths, but are, in fact, as we shall see, two variants of the one.

The first variant is told in the Mbh. King *Gaya* is mentioned there several times as one of the great royal sacrificers and pious men (in particular, strict vegetarians, XIII.116.65) of the past. In the light of the proposed comparison of the Indian *Gaya* with the Iranian *Gayōmart* (*Gayō.marətan*), it is noteworthy that more than once the Mbh text stresses *Gaya*'s mortality; his greatness as a sacrificer is described only to conclude that even if such a righteous king, in spite of all his righteousness, fell victim to death, it is only natural that every man should die (consequently, there is no reason to mourn for our deceased relatives: see [XII.29.104–112; cf. I. 1.168]). *Gaya* seems to be an eponym for the tribe of Gayas (II.27.8; 48.15) and the city/state Gayā in what is now called Bihār. The legend of king *Gaya* had to explain the origin of the sacred city: it became a *tīrtha*, because it had been "honoured" (*satkṛta*) or sanctified (*puṇyakṛta*) by a sacrificial activity of *rājarṣi Gaya* (III.85.6; 93.9). The sacrifice, performed at a place which was later to be named after *Gaya*, had one distinctive feature: there, the royal sacrificer piled up "mountains of food (*annaparvatāḥ*) by the hundreds and thousands" and there were also "streams of ghee and rivers of curds by many hundreds, and torrents of delicious sauces by the thousands" (III.93.18–19). Brahmins and all other (Aryan) people could satisfy their hunger there, and all around their song (*gāthā*) was heard: "Are there any living beings who even now still want to eat at Gaya's sacrifice, where there are twenty-five mountains of leftover food? Nobody has done before and nobody will do later what the royal sage (*rājarṣi*) Gaya of boundless luster[7] did at this sacrifice ..." (III.93.24–25). The "mountains of food" motif is not unique in the Mbh, it appears in the other descriptions of exemplary sacrifices (*annaparvatāḥ* in XIII.62.49–50; XIV.91.37). Sometimes this motif finds expression in the Indian ritual symbolism.[8] But only in the *Gaya* myth, is the "mountains of food" motif central. And being viewed in the light of the second variant of the *Gaya* myth this motif acquires, as we shall see, a very special meaning.

Outside the Mbh, the earliest dated reference to this version of the *Gaya* myth is found in the *Buddhacarita* by Aśvaghoṣa (XII.87–88; 1st–2nd centuries A.D.), in which a *tīrtha* visited by Buddha is called "the city of the royal sage Gaya" (Sircar 1960:227).

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[7] We should not attach too much importance to this feature, comparable with the radiance of *Gayōmart* or *Mārtāṇḍa*: *amitadyutiḥ* "of boundless lustre" is a traditional epithet of kings, heroes and sages in the Mbh (see, e.g., III.79.27 [Arjuna], 83.106 [ṛṣi Lomaśa], 126. 1, 35 [king Māndhātā], 149.4 [Hanuman]); see, however, below, footnote 19.

[8] The "mountain(s) of food" motif is particularly connected with interlocal, potlatch-type, agonistic festivals, which often imply the so-called "excesses of wastefulness": sometimes the host-party really piled up a "mountain of food" to entertain their guests/neighbours/rivals (see, e.g., the description of *annakūṭa* ["heap of food"] festival in Rajasthan in [Tod 1920:638–639, 648]).

The second variant of the *Gaya* myth turns up in Purāṇic texts. The first in impor-
tance is *Gayā-māhātmya*, which constitutes several chapters of the Vāyupurāṇa (II.
43–50[9]). It is generally supposed to be a later interpolation in the text of the purāṇa,
because it is missing in many manuscripts (see [Winternitz 1981:529; Dikshitar
1933:4; Patil 1946:5; Hazra 1958:17; Kane 1930–62,V, pt. II, 906]). On the other
hand, it appears in manuscripts as an independent work. It seems quite possible that
Gayā-māhātmya was composed (as well as the Vāyupurāṇa itself [Rocher 1986:70])
at Gayā and for some time existed independently before it was inserted into the text
of the purāṇa. While working on this paper, I used the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition of
the VP (Vāyupurāṇa 1880–1888) and the critical text of the *Gayā-māhātmya*
(Jacques 1962 [Sanskrit text referred to as GM]). A manuscript in the Manuscript
Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies at St. Petersburg, containing the *Gayā-
māhātmya* text (according to the colophon, extracted from the Vāyupurāṇa), with a
commentary (*ṭīkā*), proved to be very useful, especially for the study of the local
place-names inside the sacred complex of Gayā.

According to the second version of the *Gaya* myth (VP II.44; GM 2; Agnipurāṇa
[AP] 114; for English summaries and extracts, see [Buchanan 1811–12:98–99;
Gazetteer 1908:269; Vidyarthi 1961:14–117; Mani 1979:288]), he was not a human
king, but an *asura*. As is often the case with *asuras* in the Epic and Purāṇic ac-
counts, he practised *tapas* so effectively that the gods had to grant him a boon: his
body from now on would be purer (lit.: "more purifying") than all the *tīrthas* and
even than the purest of the gods. Since that time, all mortals who saw or touched
Gaya's body at once ascended to the highest (Brahmā's [GM 2.19] or Viṣṇu's [VP
II.44.19]) heavenly world; as a result, all the three regions of the universe became
empty. *Yama*, the lord of the dead, whose domains had become depopulated, grew
jealous and appealed to the gods. Then the gods decided to get rid of *Gaya* and to re-
store the ancient world-order (in other words, to bring death back into the world).
On Viṣṇu's advice, Brahmā approached the *asura* and asked him to give the gods
his holy and pure body so that they might perform a sacrifice (*yajña*) thereon. The
pious *asura* gladly consented to it and fell prostrate on the ground, with his head to-
wards the north and his feet towards the south (VP II.44.33). Then Brahmā created
mentally (by or from his mind, *manas*) the officiating priests (*ṛtvijaḥ*) and per-
formed a sacrifice on *Gaya*'s body.

But when he was performing the concluding ceremonies, Brahmā was surprised
to find Gaya still moving (44.42–44). He then asked Yama to fetch from his realm a
"sacred stone" (*dharmaśīlā*) and to place it on the *asura*'s head. However, when it
was done, and even when all the gods, headed by Rudra, had mounted the stone,
Gaya still kept moving. Nothing could help until the great Viṣṇu had intervened. He
came out of the Milky Ocean and stood upon the stone in his most glorious form of
the Ancient Wielder of the Mace (*Ādigadādhara*), and at the same time in five other
forms (*Prapitāmaha, Pitāmaha, Phalgvīśā, Kedāra, Kanakeśvara*). Many other
gods also stood or sat on the sacred stone, among them, the Sun in his threefold

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[9] The reference is to the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition (Vāyupurāṇa 1880–1888); in the Ānandāśrama edi-
tion (Vāyupurāṇa 1905), there is no division of the text into two parts and the corresponding chapters are
105–112.

form: the Northern Sun, the Southern Sun and the Sun of Gayā (*Gayāditya,* GM 2.50; VP II.44.57). To ensure the victory, Viṣṇu, with the strokes of his mace, "rendered the *daitya* motionless" (*sthirīkṛta,* GM 2.52; VP II.44.60). But all these efforts proved to be unnecessary when *Gaya* said that he would gladly become motionless at the request of Viṣṇu, merely out of respect for the great God. Viṣṇu and the gods did not have to treat him so cruelly and now had to show their mercy to him. Satisfied, Viṣṇu and the gods consented to grant him a boon. According to his wish, the "sacred stone" (and evidently, *Gaya*'s own body too) will turn into a holy area (*kṣetra*) which will bear his name (*mannāmnā...Gayākṣetram,* GM 2.56–57; VP II.44.64–65) and will extend over five *krośas,* one of which will be called *Gayāśiras* (in spite of the long vowel *ā* in *Gayā*- here, the meaning "head of *Gaya*" is evidently implied). GM (2.59) gives *Gayākṣetra* one more name: *Gayāsurakṣetra,* "*asura* Gaya's holy land". In this sacred place all the gods and the *tīrthas* on the earth would always abide, and whoever offered funeral cakes and performed the *śrāddha* ceremonies there, would be translated, with all their ancestors, to the *Brahmaloka.*

Brahmā donated the *Gayākṣetra* with 55 villages on it to the officiating priests (the ancestors of modern Gayāvāl Brahmans [Buchanan 1811–12:99; Vidyarthi 1961:62]) as their *dakṣiṇā* for the performance of the rite. For some time, the Gayā region looked like a paradise on earth: there were the wish-fulfilling tree and the cow Kāmadhenu, rivers flowing with milk and honey, "many mountains of food and other (similar) things" (*bahūn annādiparvatān,* GM 2.64–65; VP II.44.74–75). Brahmā ordered the Gayā brahmans to be content with it and to fulfil their ritual duties free of charge. But they were insatiable and greedy. Angry with this, Brahmā cursed the people of Gayā: the rivers became ordinary streams of water, the mountains of food turned to stone (became *pāṣāṇaparvatāḥ*) and the houses made of pure gold, to clay huts (44.80). The Gayā brahmins have had to work hard for their sustenance. But Brahmā eventually took pity on them and ordered that no *śrāddha* at Gayā would be effective until a pilgrim had satisfied all the requests of his brahman ritual guide. Everyone who has visited Gayā knows how Gayāvāl brahmans sometimes abuse Brahmā's favour.

In this version of the myth, there is a motif which is not expressed explicitly but is often implied and may be quite reliably reconstructed. Many *tīrthas* in the holy area (*kṣetra*) of Gayā are merely details of the local landscape associated or identified with different parts of *asura* Gaya's body. As early as in the Mbh, the main sacred place (a mountain with a nearby lake) is called *Gayaśiras* "*Gaya*'s head" (Mbh III.85.7b; 93.10a; 105.46a). Outside the Epic the earliest mention of *Gayaśiras* is in the *Nirukta* (XII.19) by Yāska (not later than 500 B.C.; see [Sircar 1960:229]).[10] A

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[10] In modern times this mountain is known as *Brahmayoni,* no doubt in connection with a local rite described already in the Agnipurāṇa: a pilgrim "should pass through the fissure in the hill known as the Yonidvāra (orifice of the vagina) by which he would be exempted from entering a human womb" (Agnipurāṇa 1902:458). Nowadays this fissure between the rocks on the Brahmayoni mountain is still shown to pilgrims and tourists, who are invited to crawl through it by the priests of the nearby Hindu temple; the latter explain the origin of the rite (to European visitors at least) in connection with the Buddha legend. The name *Gayaśiras* was applied in modern times to a particular, most sacred part of the Gayā complex.

variant of the name is *Gayaśīrṣā* (*Gayāśīrṣā*) having the same meaning (GM 4.43,44; 750,93; 8.10,17,19; AP 115.56,63; Viṣṇusmṛti 85.4,66). A *tīrtha* named *Gayāsuraśiras* is located by GP (I. 86.1) on Pretaśilā mountain in the vicinity of Gayā.

The purāṇic texts mention some other *tīrtha*s identified with parts of *Gaya's* body, such as *Nābhikūpa* "the Well of the Navel" (VP II.44.85, explained there and in the *ṭīkā* in connection with "*daitya's/asura* Gaya's belly [*jaṭhara*]"; cf. *Gayanābhi* "Gaya's Navel" in [GM VIII.55;AP CXVI. 16; Agnipurāṇa 1903:459] and *Gayakūpa* 'Gaya's well" in [GM VIII.49; Buchanan 1811–12:124]). According to GP, *Nābhitīrtha* seems to be the same place as *Brahmasaras* (in GP, Brahmasa-das) with a pond or a well (*kūpa*) and a sacrificial post (*yūpa*) in the middle of it (GP I.83.24; 84.20); in this case, the well-known symbolism of *yūpa* makes *Nābhikūpa* represent not only "*asura* Gaya's navel" but the "Navel of the World" as well. There is also a *tīrtha* named *Suṣumnā* (the central channel or "artery" through which *prāṇa* flows from the lowest *cakra* up the spine to the crown of the head; GM V.15; VIII.51; AP CXVI16; *Suṣumnā* in Gayā is a river; cf. "Susumna Nadi" in [Vidyarthi 1961:124]).

Another *tīrtha* of the same class is *Muṇḍapṛṣṭha*:

> *daityasya muṇḍapṛṣṭhe tu yasmāt sā saṁsthitā śilā /*
> *tasmāt sa muṇḍapṛṣṭhādriḥ pitṛṇāṁ brahmalokadaḥ //*

> "Since that stone was placed on the bald pate (*muṇḍapṛṣṭhe*) of the *daitya*, the Muṇḍapṛṣṭha rock bestows on the ancestors the world of Brahmā"
> (GM IV.12; VP.II.12)

The word *muṇḍapṛṣṭha* may be understood also as something like "hairless but-tocks" or "naked back" (cf. "le dos de l'*asura* Gaya" [Jacques 1962:416]), but the texts rather tell in favour of the "bald top/head/pate" meaning. The translator of the Agnipurāṇa explains *Muṇḍapṛṣṭha* as "the place where the heads of pilgrims are shaved" (Agnipurāṇa 1902, I, p. 452), thus witnessing to the tradition which linked this place-name with the notion of the "head". Garuḍapurāṇa (I.86.4) directly asso-ciates the *Muṇḍapṛṣṭha* mountain with *asura* Gaya's skull (see below). This ancient *tīrtha* is mentioned in the Mbh (XIII.26.40).

One more place-name of the same kind in Gayā is mentioned by Francis Bu-chanan in his description of the early-19th-century Gayā, *Jihwalol*, on which he commented as follows. It was "a part of the channel of the Phalgu (river) included in the space reckoned sacred. The name implies to thrust out the tongue; but I have not learned the reason assigned for its being esteemed holy, nor the origin of a name so strange" (Buchanan 1811–12:123). But in the light of the Gaya myth, to which Buchanan himself so frequently refers, the initial meaning of the name seems per-fectly clear: it is the thrust-out and trembling (cf. Hindi *lol* "trembling") tongue (*jīhva*) of the *asura* pressed down to the earth by the heavy "stone".[11] The Sanskrit form of the name used now in Gayā is *Jihvālola*. Probably the same place is men-

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[11] In the 1950s, when L.P. Vidyarthi did his field work at Gayākṣetra, this *tīrtha* still existed but was in "partial neglect" (Vidyarthi 1961:19; see also a possible variant of the same name, *Jihwal*, on p. 126).

tioned in the Purāṇic sources as *Lelihāna* (GM 8.24; GP I.83.69, in the translation, I.83.77 [Garuḍapurāṇa 1978–82:I.259]) which means "frequently licking or darting out the tongue" (MW), in Epic literature, a sign of anger and agitation. *Jihvālola / Lelihāna* constitutes a part of Phalgutīrtha, and C. Jacques (1962:416) was quite right when he suggested a correction for GP 83.20: *mukhā 'surasya* "*asura*'s mouth" instead of *mukha surasya* ("god's mouth"): it makes Phalgutīrtha "the mouth" of *asura* Gaya. Noteworthy are such place-names as *Gayapad* (*Gayapāda*?) "Gaya's foot" (Vidyarthi 1961:140) and *Dhautapāda* (GM 8.50; = *Dhautpad*, "the purified foot" [Buchanan 1811–12:124]).

Sometimes a *tīrtha* is not directly identified with a part of Gaya's body but is simply mythologically associated with it, e.g., the sanctity of the *Mahendra* mountain (in Gayā) is explained in VP and *ṭīkā* by the mythological fact that this mountain had been used by the gods to hold down the poor *asura*'s feet.[12] According to the GP (I.86.4), the *Muṇḍapṛṣṭha* mountain is a place where the skull of Gayāsura (a demon whom Viṣṇu killed with his mace) fell on the earth (cf. Agnipurāṇa 115.40). It is said at the same time that the image of Gadādhara (Viṣṇu with a mace, worshipped in connection with the Gaya myth) in the Gadādhara temple (one of the most important in Gayākṣetra) buried, under its heavy weight, the head of the *asura* (GP I.86.8).

But these last examples represent, as it seems, later re-interpretations, and there are enough grounds to reconstruct for the original Gaya myth the motif of the primaeval giant's *dismemberment* or at least to suggest that in this original myth various details of the holy area's landscape were explained as having been created from the *asura*'s *disjecta membra*. The Purāṇic texts tend to suppress this motif for an obvious reason: the sanctity of the area should be explained as due not to the holiness of Gaya (an obscure figure and an *asura*, after all), but to the constant presence of Viṣṇu and other great Hindu gods there. But in the local, orally transmitted tradition, the old concept persisted for a long time. At the beginning of the 19th century, F. Buchanan, who widely used in his description of Gayakṣetra *tīrthas* the information provided to him by local "pilgrimage guides" (*pandas*), still witnessed to the identification of particular *tīrtha*s with particular parts of Gaya's body: "Whatever pilgrims made offerings over his head, Gayasir, which extends two miles in diameter, should procure the immediate admission of their ancestors to heaven; while those, who worshipped on any part of his body, should recover from all sin, even from the murder of a Brahman. The usual ceremonies, however performed, both on the head and body, are done entirely with a view to the relief of the ancestors of the votaries" (Buchanan 1811–12:I, 99).

The first variant of the Gaya myth used in the Mbh is of the same origin as the second, purāṇic one. It has realized somewhat differently the possibilities inherent in their common source. I shall try to prove this by writing down both stories as syntagmatic sequences of the main motifs, one sequence under another, in a Levy-Straussian way, so that it will be possible to study, in each vertical column, a paradigm of a particular motif:

[12] VP II.44.86: *mahendragiriṇā* (*ṭīkā*: *mahendranāmnaparvatena*) *tasya* (*gayāsurasya*) *kṛtau pādau suniścalau.*

	The agent	His action	Its result
1st var.	ancient king, pious ruler	performed a sacrifice	"mountains of food"
2nd var.	first man, primaeval giant	is sacrificed	parts of his body become mountains etc. (+ "mountains of food" motif)

Let us now analyse the contents of each column:

1. Gaya, pious ancient king / Gaya, primaeval giant. Both characteristics were combined already in the supposed common source of both variants–the Iranian myth of *Gayōmart*. Similarly, they occur together in the related Indo-Iranian myth of Yama/Yima.

2. Gaya is a sacrificer (*yājamāna*) / Gaya himself is a sacrificial victim (which is to be reconstructed as an original form of the "sacrifice on his body" motif). The two ideas can be united only in an archetypal myth of the *Puruṣa* type: the "first man", a divine, primaeval giant, performs a sacrifice (or makes gods perform a sacrifice) of his own body to himself (see RV X.90.16). The passive variant (the first "Man" at the request of gods submits his body for a sacrifice) left its obvious traces both in the myth of *Gayōmart* (see above) and in the mythology of Vedic Yama (see H. Gün-tert's interpretation of RV X.13.4, where it is said that "Yama surrendered (for the sacrifice) his (own) dear body", and the words "For the sake of the gods, verily, he chose death; he chose not, indeed, in the interest of progeny, a life immortal" most probably refer to Yama too [Güntert 1923:315ff.; Dandekar 1979:129]).

3. "Mountains of food" are left at the place of king Gaya's sacrifice / Mountains and other details of the local landscape originated from different parts of Gaya's (the sacrificial victim's) body. Here, again, in the search for a common source, we in-evitably arrive at the same myth of the First Being in its most archaic form: in the myth, the victim's body turned into the created cosmos with its different parts (mountains, waters, etc.), but in the corresponding ritual (in which the mythical vic-tim was represented by its ritual equivalent/human counterpart) the body turned into food and was eaten. This archetypal motif may be traced back probably to the Palaeolithic times; but, on the other hand, it had yet to play, as we know, an excep-tionally important role in the history of Hinduism and other great religious tradi-tions. In the Iranian myth, minerals (and probably mountains as a source of minerals) originated from *Gayōmart*'s dead body. The Purāṇic mythology of Gayāsura provides us with a good parallel to it. As for the Mbh legend of Gaya the king, I do not have the slightest intention to ascribe to it a "cannibalistic" meaning; what I do mean to say is merely that certain semantic possibilities implicit in the long-forgotten, archetypal myth could have been revived or re-actualiszed in the legend under the influence of the popular Hindu *annaparvata* / *annakūṭa* motif.

Thus, the stories of king Gaya from the Mbh and *asura* Gaya from the purāṇic texts contain motifs having a common source, and therefore it seems possible to de-fine them as two variants of one myth on the origin of Gayākṣetra.[13] We must also

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[13] An additional link between these two versions of the myth is provided by Rām. II.99.11:

  śrūyate hi purā tāta śrutir gītā yaśasvinī / gayena yajamānena gayeṣv eva pitr̄n prati //

  where Gayā the sacrificer appears as an establisher of the cult of the dead in Gayā (which we should rather expect of the *asura* Gaya).

note that this myth has more points of similarity with the Iranian myth of *Gayōmart* than any Vedic myths which have so far been studied in this connection.

The decisive argument in favour of a genetic relationship between the Gaya and the *Gayōmart* myths seems to be the common motif of the "initial lack" (Vladimir Propp's term): both stories start with the situation in which there is no death in the world (Yama's kingdom is empty,[14] GM 2.19; VP. II.44.20), there is only life, and it is necessary to sacrifice life (the original meaning of *Gaya*, both in Avestan and in Vedic) in order to start (or restart) the universal cyclical process (life–death–life). The occurrence of such a unique motif in two strikingly similar myths can hardly be regarded as purely coincidental.

But the genetic relationship between the Indian and the Iranian Gaya myths may be of two kinds. Either they are "brothers", i.e. both spring from some, common, Indo-Iranian "ancestor", or the Iranian myth stands in a "parental" relation to the Indian one (i.e. the Indian myth is a local transformation/adaptation of the Iranian myth). The choice is difficult, and after all there is probably no simple, unequivocal answer. The earliest mention of the place-name *Gayaśiras* occurs in the Nirukta (not later than 500 B.C.), in which Yāska refers to the opinion of his predecessor, Aurṇavābha, who connected the three strides of Viṣṇu with the three localities on the earth: Samārohaṇa ("Ascent"), Viṣṇupada ("Viṣṇu's [middle or highest] step") and Gayaśiras ("Gaya's head"; XII.2.8 [19]). A traditional commentary explains these names as referring, correspondingly, to the Udaya (Sunrise) mountain, the position of the sun at midday, and the Asta (Sunset) mountain (Nirukta 1886:282). But modern scholars think that Aurṇavābha and Yāska imply the real holy mountain at Gayā (see [Sircar 1960:229]). It should be noted that in Gayā one can find not only Gayaśiras, but two other *tīrtha*s which may be correlated with the place-names (and positions of the Sun) mentioned in Nirukta. One of them is the holy mountain *Udyanta(ka)*, which is mythologically linked in the GM with the Sunrise mountain (*Udayādri*);[15] its connection with the first stride of Viṣṇu is revealed in Mbh III.82.81, where (in the description of the Gayākṣetra) the footprint of the Sun (*sāvitraṁ padaṁ*) is said to be visible there.[16] In other words, the Udyanta mountain in Gayā constitutes a good parallel to Nirukta's *Samārohaṇa*. As for Viṣṇupada, a *tīrtha* of this name has been, in recent centuries, one of the most popular in Gayā; but it is not mentioned in the Mbh and appears only in AP (115.49) and GM (1.21; 5.16. 7.52,54,62,71,82). If we suggest, together with P.V. Kane, that the omittance of the name in the Mbh is casual (Kane 1930–62:IV,648–650) and that Viṣṇupada *tīrtha* existed in Gayā as early as in antiquity, then we shall have to admit that in the middle of the 1st mill. B.C. three main *tīrtha*s in Gayā were dedicated to the worship of Viṣṇu as the Sun.

[14] Similar overlapping of Gaya's myth with Yama's and of *Gayōmart*'s myth with Yima's may serve as an additional indication of the genetic relationship between them.

[15] It is said literally in GM 4.30 that Udyantaka mountain "was brought by *mahātma* Agastya from the *Udayādri*" (so probably it is a part of it). Cf. VP II. 46.43.

[16] Mbh's strange epithet for the mountain—*gītanāditam* "noicy with singing" (III.82.81)—is partly elucidated by GM 4.32: "Hāhā, Hūhū and other [gandharvas] made there noise with singing" (*gītanādaṁ pracakrire*). Nowadays the same mountain bears another "musical" name: Murlī ("Flute"; [Jacques 1962: 112]).

But even if we join C. Jacques in his assertion that in the Epic period no Viṣṇupada *tīrtha* existed at Gayā (Jacques 1962:XXXVI), the fact that at least *Gayaśiras* was definitely connected in Nirukta's time with the myth of the three strides of Viṣṇu retains enormous significance. Long ago, this fact attracted the attention of Benimadhav Barua, who wrote: "… Gayaśira, the 'Gaya's head' (in the Nirukta., Ya.V.) is the same term as Gayāsuraśira, "the head of the demon Gaya". It is there, then, in the Vedic legend of the demon Gaya and in the Vedic allegory of Viṣṇu's three strides and Aurṇavābha's interpretation that we can happily trace the nucleus of the magnified legend of the Gayāsura in the *Vāyu* and the *Agni Purāṇas*" ([Barua 1931:40–41]; quoted in [Jacques 1962:LIV–LV]). Jacques discarded the idea, noting that it was not Gaya, but the *asura*s Namuci and Vṛtra with whom the Vedic Viṣṇu fought; and, indeed, it is not these two, but another figure from the mythology of Viṣṇu that Gaya should be related to. *Gaya* is probably just another name for *asura* Bali, who will appear much later, in some post-Vedic sources, as the ancient, pious king of the Universe, the "former Indra", deprived of his kingdom by the present Indra Śatakratu with the help of Viṣṇu, who used the stratagem of the "three steps", placing the third and the last of them, in some versions, *on the head* of the *asura* to push him down into the netherworld. Therefore the most ancient Gaya cult in Magadha was probably linked to the early Viṣṇu mythology, and this ancient Gaya myth should be considered as an Indian one, i.e. as an Indo-Aryan, independent development of the inherited Indo-Iranian myth of the first man/king named *Gaya.

But, on the other hand, as far as Magadha (and particularly the district of Gayā) is concerned, one has to take into account the possibility of the Iranian influence on the local culture in different historical periods, starting from the time when the first wave of Aryan migrants, preceding even the coming of the Vedic Indo-Aryans, had reached north-eastern India. Recent studies reveal in the easternmost Māgadhī Prakrit some features characteristic of the extreme north-western dialect of Gāndhārī and the presumed East Iranian "language of the Dāsas" (Parpola 1988:262–264). There are also some cultural traits supposedly witnessing to the East Iranian origin of the *prācyāḥ* ("Easterners", Magadhans; [ibid.:256–262]).

While this still remains a hypothesis, the historical period provides us with much more reliable evidence, not only of the Iranians' appearance in India and particularly in eastern India (Magadha), but also of a special, very significant role of Gayā and its area in the spread of Iranian cultural influence. The interest of scholars in the Sāmba legend, related in the Sāmba-, Bhaviṣya-, Brahma- and Skandapurāṇa, was first aroused by F. Wilford (see [Wilford 1809; Wilford 1812]). Since then, it has never died and was renewed in the second half of the 20th century, especially by the research work of R.C. Hazra, H. von Stietencron and H. Humbach (for the bibliography of relevant studies see: [Humbach 1978:251–253; Rocher 1986:217–219; Panaino 1996:585–587]). According to the legend, Kṛṣṇa's son Sāmba was cured of leprosy by the Sun-god and out of gratitude built a Sun-temple at Mitravana, on the banks of the Candrabhāgā River in the Panjāb. There, he introduced for the first time in India the worship of the Sun-god as an image (not as a *maṇḍala*, as had been done before). Since no Brahmans were available who could perform the rites of the new cult, Sāmba had to invite 18 families of the priests called *Magas* from the continent

of Śākadvīpa, who were said to be distinguished by wearing a sacred girdle called *avyaṅga*. At Mitravana, Sāmba founded a new city for them, Sāmbapura, from where the new form of Sun-worship later spread all over northern India (see surveys and texts of this legend in [Hazra 1958:42–56; Stietencron 1966; Humbach 1978]).

Research done by many generations of scholars has revealed the historical core of the legend, consisting of at least two phases of Iranian religious influence on India. The first phase started probably as early as the time of Darius and his conquest of the Indus valley (about 518 B.C.), when an Indian Sun sanctuary at the site of the later Mitravana/Sāmbapura (= historical Multān < Skt. *Mūlasthāna*) might have come under the control of the Persian Magi. But this wave of Iranian influence supposedly reached its peak only at the time of Alexander the Great and his early successors, the period characterized by the syncretism of Iranian, Greek and Indian traditions in north-western India (Humbach 1978:238). The Maga immigrants, coming from Śākadvīpa (a mythical place-name which disguised the name of historical Saka/Śaka people, the Scythians or north-eastern Iranians[17]), came later to be known as *Śākad-vīpa* (*Śākadvīpiya*) *Brāhmaṇa* (a term which has survived, as we shall see, to the present day). The Iranians brought with them the practice of wearing *avyaṇga* (a corruption of the Avestan term *aiβiiåŋhana*, the "sacred girdle of the Zoroastrians" [Weber 1879:457]) and the cult of the Sun-god, worshipped in the form of iconic images under his Old Iranian name *Miθra* (which was easily substituted by the related, Old Indian, divine name *Mitra*). The second phase of Iranian influence should be ascribed, according to H. Humbach, to the period of the invasion of the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas (beginning in the middle of the 2nd century B.C.). The distinctive feature of the second phase was the use of the Middle Iranian name *Mihr* or Bactrian *Miiro* [= *Mīr*] (developments of the Old Iranian *Miθra*), which was borrowed from Sanskrit in the form *Mihira*, the latter being perceived as another name of the Sun, different from the ancient *Mitra* (Humbach 1978:239–243).

Of special interest and of relevance to the study of "Gayā mythology", is the information contained in the Purāṇic and other Sanskrit sources on the routes of the Magas' diffusion over the Indian subcontinent. In some passages of a later origin, the Bhaviṣya-, Varāha- and Skandapurāṇa mention, alongside Mitravana = Mūlasthāna (the western temple, which correlates with the Sun's position in the evening), two other centres of Sun-worship in India: Kālapriya on Yamunā (probably = Mathurā; the position of the Sun at midday) and Tapovana/Muṇḍīra/Sutīra/ Suṇḍīra/Puṇḍīra in the east (probably = Koṇārak in Orissa; the position of the Sun at sunrise). Varāhapurāṇa gives the name *Udayācala* "Sunrise/Ascent mountain" to the eastern centre (Stietencron 1966:222), and this gives one more reason to suggest that in these late purāṇas the triple structure of the mythical geography modelled by the daily movement of the Sun imitates and transforms a much more ancient, triple system of sacred centres modelled by the three strides of Viṣṇu in Yāska's *Nirukta* (see above). The very name *Mūlasthāna*, which appears for the first time in a later passage of the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (as a substitute for *Mitravana*; BhP I.189.23–26; see [Stietencron 1966:222; Humbach 1978:235]) seems to imply the subsequent spread

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[17] Cf. the name of the *Sakasthāna* country or modern Seistan in eastern Iran (Biswas 1949:179).

of the Sun cult from this centre, as its literal meaning is an "original, basic place; base" (cf. [Bhandarkar 1929:219–229]). According to Sāmbapurāṇa 4. 1 ff. (~ BhavP 1.74.1 ff.), the Sun sanctuary on the bank of the Chandrabhāgā was "the original abode (*ādyaṁ sthānam*) of the Sun god" (Humbach 1978:235, footnote). The Sāmbavijaya (text published in [Weber 1880]) makes the Magas, after staying for some time on the bank of the Chandrabhāgā river (i.e. in *Mitravana / Mūlasthāna*), migrate to Dvārakā in Kāṭhiāwār and subsequently move to the area of Gayā in Magadha. H. Humbach discarded the mention of Dvārakā as a Parsee inter-polation made during the time of the Moghul emperor Akbar (1542–1605), in order to link the historical arrival of the Pārsī community in western India (8th–9th cent. A.D.) with the name of the Magas and events of the deep past,[18] but he regarded as a historical fact the transfer of the Maga tradition to Magadha.

The presence of the Magas (or, to be exact, of their almost totally Hinduised de-scendants, still retaining, however, some memories of their foreign origin) in Magadha/Bihar and in the environs of Gayā itself is documented by a stone inscrip-tion (Kielhorn 1894) found at Govindpur (Gayā district), in which the poet *Gaṅgād-hara* relates the story of Sāmba and of the Magas' arrival in India (*iha*). He ascribes the origin from Śākadvīpa to his own ancestors and to the local royal dynasty (*Māna*). The date of the inscription is Śāka (*sic!*) 1059 (= A.D. 1037–38). H. Hum-bach suggested that the Magas arrived at Magadha slightly earlier–during the period when a large part of northern India was under the rule of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, governing in Kanyakubja (9th–10th centuries). The Gurjara-Pratihāras were Mihira worshippers, of East Iranian (Scythian) origin; the most famous of them were *Mihira Bhoja* (c. 840–895) and his son Mahendrapāla (c. 895–910); the latter added Magadha to his empire and left an inscription at Gayā. But the Magas must have been present in Magadha much earlier. Bhojakas (allegedly, from a Middle Iranian form *bōžak "healer", "savior"; according to BhavP, a branch of the Hinduized Magi) are referred to in the inscription from the former Sun temple in Deo Baṇārak (< *Varuṇārka*) in Bihar (Magadha). This inscription belongs to the first half of the 8th century A.D. In it, king Jīvitagupta II confirms the grant of a vil-lage made by his predecessors to Bhojaka Brāhmaṇas. Bhaṭṭotpala, in his commen-tary on the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of the great astronomer Varāhamihira (who must have been himself a Māga born in Avanti, near Ujjain) calls the latter "a Magadha-brahman" which is certainly synonymous with "Maga-brahman" (Biswas 1949:181–183). To make synonymy of this kind possible, the Magas had to have established themselves

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[18] This conclusion by H. Humbach does not seem well grounded. In particular, he ignored the informa-tion on Maga-Brāhmaṇas given by Ptolemy: "The Βραχμᾶναι Μάγοι who are located by Ptolemy (*Geo-graphy* VII. 1, 74) in the south of the unidentified Mount Bittigō in India, should, perhaps, be discarded" (Humbach 1978:231, footnote). But Ptolemy's information is surely authentic, for two reasons: 1. Βραχμᾶναι Μάγοι perfectly corresponds with the *magabrāhmaṇāḥ* of many Sanskrit sources; 2. "Mount Bettigo" (Βηττιγώ) of Ptolemy (*Geography* VII. 1,22) was quite reliably identified as a part of the West-ern Ghats, a mountain (mountain system) on the western coast of the Deccan; the name even has a con-vincing Dravidian etymology (see [Tomaschek 1897]). On the basis of Ptolemy's evidence, it may be ad-mitted that by the second cent. A.D. the Maga-Brāhmaṇas had already penetrated southward along the western coast of the subcontinent as far as the Deccan.

in Magadha by Bhaṭṭotpala's time (10th cent.) or even earlier, by Varāhamihira's time (6th cent.).

The story of Gaya the king from the Mbh can serve as indirect evidence for the presence of an Iranian cultural element in Gayā at a fairly early period. The Tīrthayātraparvan from Book III of the Mbh, which contains the main references to the Gaya legend, cannot be dated any later than the first centuries A.D. Apart from its affinity to the myth of Gaya the giant (and, eventually, to the *Gayōmart* myth), there is another piece of evidence that enables us to view the legend of king Gaya as being of Iranian origin. King Gaya in the Mbh has a patronymic: *amūrtarayasa-* (*āmūrtarayasa-*) *gaya-* (Mbh III.93.16; XII.291.13), *amurtarayasaḥ putro gayo* (Gaya, son of Amūrtarayas; Mbh III.93.17), *āmurtarayasaḥ...rājā* (III.121.3), *gaya-āmūrtarayasa-* (XII.291.4). But nothing else is known about Gaya's father, while the etymology of his name, *Amūrtarayas*, cannot be drawn from Sanskrit. To be exact, its first component, *amūrta*, means "formless", "shapeless", "unembodied" or (in *Sūryasiddhānta*, an astronomical treatise dated 4th–5th centuries A.D.) "not forming one body, consisting of different parts" (MW), semantically, these meanings could sooner have been related to the image of *Gayōmart/Mārtāṇda* or the image of the dismembered giant than to the image of Gaya the king, a model sacrificer, or his father. But there is no way at all to relate the second component in the name *amūrtarayas–rayas–*to Sanskrit (MW derives it merely as a part of the name *amūrtarayas*, which seems to have no meaning). One gets the impression that *amūrtarayasa* is not a patronymic, but an epithet of Gaya himself–possibly, an adaptation of an alien mythological epithet, the meaning of which was already obscure to the authors of the Mbh.

An attempt could be made to trace the epithet *amūrtarayas(a)* to the Avestan word combination *amǝša-* (< *amr̥ta-*) *raiiay-* (Yašt 6.4; 1.6) which was used in referring to the sun, to denote its "immortal lustre/magnificence"[19] (Bartholomae 1904: 145, 1511). The change of *-mǝš-* to *murt-* (in Sanskrit re-interpreted as *-mūrt-*, probably in connection with *mūrti-*) enables us to regard the borrowed form of the epithet as Middle Iranian. Interestingly, in the Mbh (where the idea of the inevitability of death is being developed with Gaya as an example: even a king as great and pious as Gaya had to die), the Indian singer of epic tales, by an alliteration, links the word *āmūrtarayasa* with derivatives from the Skt *mr̥* "to die" (*gayam āmūrtarayasaṃ mr̥tam* [Mbh XII.291.4], *āmūrtarayaso gayaḥ ... mamāra* [291.11*b*–12*a*]), thus unconsciously "reconstructing" the ancient etymology of the *āmūrta-* (*amūrta-*) component.

So, as early as in the first half of the first millennium A.D. (the corresponding passages from the Mbh can only be dated as widely as that), there was a legend in India of the origin of the Gayākṣetra which definitely betrayed its Iranian background. A local tradition in Gayā itself (which survived until the colonial period) preserved the memory of the Magas' arrival at Magadha and ascribed this

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[19] In the light of this interpretation the occurrence of Gaya's epithet *amitadyuti-* "of boundless lustre" in close proximity to *amūrtarayasa* (Mbh III.93.16–17, 25) acquires additional significance (cf. footnote 7 above).

event to the remotest antiquity–the reign of the legendary demonic Magadha king, *Jarāsaṁdha*. At the beginning of the 19th century, Major F. Wilford recorded in Bihar (mostly from oral sources) the legends containing a sequel to the accounts of SP and BhavP:

It was not the intention of the children of Maga to remain in India; and accordingly they had previously bargained with Garuḍa that he should carry them back to Śākam, as soon as they had completed the object of their mission. To this Garuḍa agreed; but *Jarāsaṁdha*, king and lord paramount of India at that time, and whose capital city was Rājagṛha, in South Bihar, prevailed on them to come to him to reform certain religious rites, and to teach him, as well as the priests in his dominions, the true worship of the Sun. They agreed to it; and when they had acquitted themselves of their promise to the king, they wanted to return to Śākam; but Garuḍa refused to carry them back as soon as the object of their mission to Sāmba was accomplished; instead of which they had gone to *Jarāsaṁdha*, and spent much time with him. Deterred from travelling back to Śākam, on account of the immense distance, they were forced to remain in India. King Bhoja, a vassal of *Jarāsaṁdha*, invited them into his own country, called *Curucadeśa*, south of the Ganges, the name of which still remains in that of the small district called Curruckpoor.[20] They accepted of his invitation; he gave them lands, and they married into his family: to one of them he gave his own daughter; and on that account they are called *Bhojakas*.

> (Wilford 1812:81–82; the transliteration of names has been partly updated).

The Indian Parsees in the Moghul period believed that Gayā had preserved a religious cult of ancient Iranian origin. A Parsee writer, Muhsin Fanī, in his Persian book *Dabistān* (completed between 1652 and 1658 and containing descriptions of 12 religions) mentions Gayā as one of the three seats of ancient Iranian cults in India (the two others are Dvārakā and Mathurā): "There are fire-temples in several parts of India ... In Gya (Gayā) also was an idol temple, called *Gah-i-Kaivan*, or "Saturn's residence", which (name) was turned into Gya (Gayā)" (Dabistan 1843:I, 53). It is noteworthy that elsewhere in the same book (p. CLIV) *Gilšāh* is mentioned as the ruler of the planet Saturn (*Kaivan*, Pers. *Kēvān*), and *Gilšāh* 'Earth-king' is nothing but another name of *Kayōmarθ / Gayōmart* (ibid., pp. 29–30).

To sum up, it seems possible to reconstruct hypothetically the historical dynamics of the religious cults at Gayā in the following way: originally (since at least the 6th century B.C.), there existed a cult of Viṣṇu as the Sun-god connected probably with an Indo-Aryan version of the Indo-Iranian **Gaya* myth. In the first half of the first millennium A.D., the immigrant Magi built on this foundation a superstructure of their own (Hinduized) Sun-cult and re-interpreted the local Gaya myth on the lines of the Iranian myth of *Gayōmart*. At the last stage, all local cults underwent Late Hindu "Viṣṇuisation", which took place in the 13th–14th centuries A.D. or even later (Gonda 1977:279).

The Sanskrit sources reveal the constant existence of sun-worship in Gayā ("Savitar's footprint" in the Mbh, the cult of Gayāditya "the Sun of Gayā" in GM 2.50; 4.62; 8.56; GP 83.17[19]). Even in modern times, the Sun temple played an important role in Gayā's religious life. This temple is now probably the oldest in

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[20] This place-name corresponds, most probably, to Kharagpur, a small town in the Monghyr district of Bihar, south of the Ganges.

Gayā (built, according to an inscription, in the 13th century [Buchanan 1811–12:I, 123]). In 1950s and1960s, its officiating priests belonged to several families of *Śākadvīpa-brāhmaṇas* (Vidyarthi 1961:26). As for the the dominant local Brahmanic caste of the Gayāvāls, there are some traces of their Iranian origin too. L.P. Vidyarthi compiled a table of the Gayāvāls' professional lineage titles (*vaṃśa*). Among the names grouped under the heading "Origin unknown", there are such names as the following:

Polad. Cf. Pers. *pōlād*, later *pūlād* "steel" and the popular personal name *Pūlād*; Phlv *pōlāwad*; the form of the name in L.P. Vidyarthi's book is closer to early Persian.

Devnar. The name *Dēvnar* could be both Middle and New Iranian, with the possible meanings "God's man/warrior" (which excludes Zoroastrian origin, because *dēv* is a "demon" for Zoroastrians[21]) and (if we understand *-nar* as Persian *nar²* "terrible, horrible"), "terrible (or ugly) like a dēv", a nickname of the lineage's founder, probably. In this case, the name is to be placed under the heading "Titles derived from personal characteristics". On the contrary, the title/name

Meharvar should perhaps be removed from this group. L.P. Vidyarthi seemed to believe that this name was somehow connected in its meaning with Hindi *meh(a)r* "grace", "mercy". But it is unclear how in this case he would explain the *-var* element. It is possible, however, that *Meh(a)r-* is merely another Middle Iranian variation of the name *Mithra* (*Mihira, Mihr, Mehr*), and then the final element *-var* may be understood as New Indo-Aryan *var*, Skt *vara-* "gift", "blessing". The whole name will then acquire the meaning "given by Mehr (Mihr, Mihira)", cf. Middle Persian **Mihrdān* "don de Mihr" (Gignoux 1986: No. 641).

L.P. Vidyarthi, himself a resident of Gayā, wrote in his monograph on the city and its sacred complex: "At Gayā we find the presence of the sun temple, the sun cult, and the Sakadvip Brahman(s), and it is quite likely that some beliefs of the Magian priests and cults might have been absorbed into the general system of Hindu belief and practice. It provides a good problem for further research" (Vidyarthi 1961:27). I hope that, after all that has been said above, the Indian scholar's wish may be considered as at least partly fulfilled.

Acknowledgements

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[21] That is, the name with this meaning should either be of "pagan" Iranian origin or contain the word *dēv* with the "Indianized" meaning (= Skt *deva*) of "god".

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Book Reviews

Sohn, Peter, *Die Medizin des Zādsparam*, Anatomie, Physiologie und Psychologie in den *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādsparam*, einer zoroastrisch-mittelpersischen Anthologie aus dem frühislamischen Iran des neunten Jahrhunderts, Wiesbaden 1996 (Iranica, herausgegeben von Maria Macuch, Band 3).

This book is an edition of the three chapters of the Anthology of Zādsparam which describe his views on the composition of the human being. It consists of an introduction (pp. 1–47), the text of chapters 29–31 of the *Wizīdagīhā* in transliteration with note apparatus, transcription and translation into German (pp. 49–97) followed by a commentary to the text (pp. 98–140). There are two wordlists, one from Pahlavi to German which indicates all the occurrences in the text of each word (pp. 141–174) and the other from German to Pahlavi (pp. 175–191). In a supplement (pp. 194–235) some chapters from the *Greater Bundahišn* (GB 15.1–12 on conception, 19 and 19A on sleep, and 28 on the cosmos and man) are transliterated with apparatus, transcribed and translated with the purpose of elucidating some of the statements by Zādsparam. Also a translation of one short passage from the *Saddar Bundahišn* on the five immaterial component parts of man is included.

The special character of this edition comes from the fact that the editor, P. Sohn, is also a historian of medicine. He confirms Zādsparam's dependency on Greek theories of medicine which view man as a microcosmos of the universe. At the same time he notes how Zādsparam illustrates the composition of man by means of an analogy with the fire temple which represents the material *tan* 'body', the fire which corresponds to the *gyān* 'fire of life, vital soul' and the tender of the fire representing *ruwān* 'soul'.

In the Introduction the editor provides a summary of what Zādsparam has to say about anatomy or the study of *tan* and continues with a description of some physiological processes like reproduction, growth and digestion which are related to *gyān*. In this connection he notes the originality of Zādsparam in using terms which express ideas of Greek medicine in Pahlavi. Indeed identifying what terms have been used in Pahlavi for key terms in Greek medicine as well as Platonic concepts in philosophy is an interesting aspect of this study. However, Sohn does not mention the article by Ph. Gignoux, "Un témoin du syncrétism mazdéen tardif: le traité pehlevi des 'Sélections de Zādsparam' "[1] which also has a good deal to say on this subject.

The editor rightly draws attention to the most original part of Zādsparam's work, his treatment of the *ruwān* which the author discusses under three aspects, the soul in the body (*ruwān ī andar tan*), the outer soul or the soul on the way (*ruwān ī bērōn, ruwān ī andar rāh*) and the heavenly soul (*ruwān ī pad mēnōgān axwān*). The function of the soul in the body involves the will (*kāmag*) of an individual and is directly concerned with the moral struggle between good and evil. The function of the outer soul is surveillance or control. The heavenly soul is described as the twelve *kirbān daxšagān* (*kirb*-Zeichen) whose function is to act as keeper and guardian of virtuous deeds. Sohn suggests that the key to understanding the heavenly soul is to identify the twelve form-signs (*kirbān daxšagān*) of which it is comprised with the twelve signs of the zodiac. According to his theory they represent stations which the soul passes when journeying on the path of illumination.

Sohn has a sensitive ear for certain mystical undertones in Zādsparam's characterization of the soul. He interprets the passage 29.9 which also forms the motto of his book, ... *mard-ē pad būm ī Hindūgān karg-ē ī ēk srū dīd u-š griftan be ō ērān-šahr nē tuwān būd* ... 'a man saw a one-horned rhinoceros but could not capture it and take it to Iran ...' (and which continues by saying that he drew a picture of it with which he could convey an idea of it to his compatriots) as a declaration of the author's intentions especially in discussing the soul.

Sohn recounts the little that is known of Zādsparam's life which mainly concerns the dispute in 880–881 with his own community in Sīragān and his brother Manuščihr, Rad of Fars and Kirmān, as a result

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[1] In *Transition Periods in Iranian History* (Actes du symposium de Fribourg-en-Brisgau 22–24 mai 1985) 1987, 59–72.

of his decision to replace the lengthy *baršnum* purification ceremony with a shorter one. He establishes that Zādsparam's description of man follows the traditions of Galen as well as Hippocrates. He sees little trace of influence from Indian medicine but in his commentary to the text interprets certain of Zādsparam's ideas as expressing a kind of monism of the same type as found in the *Upaniṣads*. He concludes that Zādsparam must have received an education in medicine, natural science and Greek philosophy and that he could possibly have attended the school in Jondešāpūr where translations into Syriac from the original Greek had long been in circulation. He also demonstrates that Zādsparam's ideas are firmly within the scholarly tradition of his time and place by quoting the similar description of the composition of the body found in the somewhat later (10th century?) *Rasā'īl Ixwān aṣ-Ṣafā'*.

Thus Greek medicine and Platonic philosophy provide a framework for Sohn's interpretation of this rather difficult text. Occasionally one can ask whether or not he has let his guiding theories lead him too far as when he suggests that the lines 30.42–44 must either be an interpolation or meant ironically because they represent a traditional Zoroastrian view which would contradict the opinions of Zādsparam (P.125, n.189). In fact Chapter 30 contains four descriptions of how the individual meets death, the first in 30.32–33 where the *gyān* spends three days at the head of the corpse in fear of the birds and dogs who will tear the corpse to pieces. The second description is from 30.42–44, the presumably interpolated passage, where the *ruwān andar tan* is judged and the immaterial component parts of the individual are subsequently reassembled by Neryōsang in *mēnōg* state before proceeding to Paradise or are dispersed and fall into darkness. Thirdly in 30.47–48 the *ruwān andar rāh* advises the individual on how to act in meeting the divinities and notes that he will either don a garment of light or one of darkness. Finally the *ruwān ī ān gyāg* or heavenly soul consisting of the twelve forms come foward to meet the soul of the righteous one and finally unite to destroy evil and to take part in the Paradise which is so magnificently described in 30.53–61. In each instance the fate of the righteous individual is contrasted with that of an evil-doer. Thus it seems to me that 30.42–44 describes one of the stages on the way from physical death to dwelling in Paradise and is therefore an integral part of the text.

As can be expected there are some passages in which one disagrees with the editor as to how they should be translated and I will mention a few here. An example is the passage 29.6 where the clause *abar mazg ī sar abzōn bawēd* has been rendered 'im Gehirn (aber) sammelt es sich an: ...' and one would like to suggest 'in the brain it increases'. In the passage 29.9–10 Sohn translates the words *gētīgān* and *gētīgīgān* which are identical in meaning as 'Matter' in the philosophical sense as the opposite of the 'Ideal' (*mēnōgīg*). Ordinarily *gētīgān* construed alone means 'worldly creatures, beings' which would give the passage a less specialized meaning more in agreement with the original. In 30.40 the phrase *ud griftan ī andak gētīg rāmišn* 'and to find a little worldly pleasure' has been transcribed as *kardan ī andak gētīg rāmišn* and rendered 'die Vollzug ausschliesslich materieller Vergnügen'. One final example concerns the phrase *ud ruwān wuzurg urwāhmtom* in 30.54 where the editor has construed *wuzurg* 'great' as qualifying *ruwān* and translates 'und (für) die höchste Seele (Himmelseele) der Freudvollste (Wohnsitz)'. It seems to me that the adjective *wuzurg* 'great, big' is preposed and qualifies *urwāhmtom* and that it means 'and the most blissful for the soul'.

As regards the relation of the present edition to earlier transliterations of the text, namely that by Bailey, H., *Zorastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*[2] and the edition of the entire text by Ph. Gignoux and A. Tafazzoli, *Anthologie de Zādspram*,[3] it can be noted that Gignoux/Tafazzoli often follow Bailey while the present editor prefers to introduce new solutions. The notation of differences is very conscientiously carried out in Sohn's commentary to the text. Despite the innovative spirit there are several passages in which the earlier restorations seem to suit the context better. Thus in transcribing several of the verb forms in *-īhist* of the text Sohn has chosen to follow the MSS rather than to emend them to present tense as does Bailey followed by Gignoux/Tafazzoli. These forms include 30.4 *uspurrīgīhist* in a definition which generally requires present tense and 30.38 *xwānīhist* where the name of a thing is given which is generally expressed by present tense *xwānīhēd*. In 30.56 the editor reads the ambiguous *'pd/yk* as *abdag* 'wonderful' and renders the clause *ud sag-kirb ... be ō was abdag gōharān ... wardēd* as 'Und Stein ... wandeln sich zu wielen wunderbaren Edelsteinen ...' whereas Bailey reads *'pyk* which gives *ābīg* 'brilliant', a common epithet of precious stones. In the passage 30.39 it seems to me that *kōdag-xrad*

[2] Oxford 1943, 209–216.
[3] Paris 1993.

'of little wisdom' proposed by Gignoux/Tafazzoli is more suitable to the context than the suggestion *kardag-xrad* 'the wise one' by the present editor.

Among many interesting observations Sohn has noted the regular occurrence of forms like *rāyēnīdār* alternating with *rāyēnīdārīh* and *waxšēnīdār* with *waxšēnīdārīh* in the MSS to express the agent noun. This tendency is confirmed by other texts and it seems that at some point the copyists of the 9th century texts interpreted agent nouns in *-dār* as adjectives. To assure that the word would be construed as a noun they often added the abstract ending *-īh* even though the agent is meant.

In conclusion it can be said that the present edition by Sohn maintains a high standard as regards the technical side of text edition such as transcription, translation, etc. and that it contributes to defining more closely the ideas of Zādsparam especially in relation to Greek medicine. Finally it contains many thought-provoking comments which lead to a deeper understanding of Zādsparam's rich and rewarding text.

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Mikael Persenius, *The Manuscripts of Parts 1 and 2 of Shams al-'ulūm by Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī. A Study of Their Relationship*. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis 13). Uppsala 1997. 278 pp.

Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, the author of this Arabic text, was in his time a distinguished authority on linguistic and cultural matters of Southern Arabia (Yemen). It has not been possible to establish the exact date or place of his birth in Yemen. However, he did die there, probably in the year 573 A.H. / around 1178 A.D. In his *Shams al-'ulūm*, "The Sun of Sciences", which comes in the form of an Arabic dictionary, arranged by initial letter in contrast to other old Arabic dictionaries, the author lavishly exemplifies the linguistic phenomena with his enormous erudition in cultural history and poetry. In addition to this work, Nashwān devoted himself to practically all genres of literature.

The eccentric Swedish orientalist Carlo Landberg (1856-1924) was the first to draw attention to this important work by Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī for the publication of which he made a donation to Uppsala University Library. At the request of Landberg himself, the well-known Uppsala Arabist, K.V. Zetterstéen (1866-1953), undertook the task of publishing the text. Among the few MSS that were available at the time, Zetterstéen chose to base his edition primarily on the important MS of Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, here referred to as E 1. The first part of Zetterstéen's edition (*Shams al-'ulūm wa-dawā' kalām al-'arab min al-kulūm*, Vol. 1, fasc. 1) was published in 1951, after which fasc. 2 appeared in 1953, the very year of Zetterstéen's death. These two fascicles cover the text from the beginning to the letter *djīm*. The publication was interrupted not only by Zetterstéen's death but also by a lack of funds so that up to now the publication has been at a standstill.

There is no extant autograph of Nashwān's *Shams al-'ulūm*. However, Persenius has made a complete inventory of all presently known and available MSS. His aim was to create a basis for a complete edition of this important work. He has proceeded with great accuracy and knowledge in putting the material in order, i.e. some fifty MSS, and has managed to divide them into two main groups, Family A and Family B.

Persenius offers some examples of his text analyses in an "Edition of Six Sample Texts", p. 123 ff. He has provided all the samples with exemplary stemmata founded on solid arguments. Given that the material is rather varied in quality and content and that certain MSS are incomplete, he found it advisable to make a complete stemma for each one of the published parts, which is certainly the correct procedure for the future. Although the different stemmata resemble each other in many respects, they show the complexity of the MSS tradition and give evidence of Persenius' skilful way of handling the vast material.

As a result of his convincing investigation and analysis, Persenius concludes that MS E 1, which Zetterstéen used as the main manuscript, should also have an important position in future editorial work.

This is a matter for consideration. In spite of the fact that two of the samples published by Persenius are already included in the fascicles edited by Zetterstéen, Persenius, according to what he says in the Introduction, does not clearly state whether he really intends to resume Zetterstéen's critical edition of

Shams al-'ulūm from the point where Zetterstéen left off or whether the addition of a considerable number of new MSS has made it necessary to remake the edition from the beginning.

I have a marginal observation regarding Persenius' account of Zetterstéen's editorial principles on p. 28. From my point of view, to draw the conclusion that Zetterstéen had a deliberate opinion as regards a diplomatic or an eclectic edition, basing it on his reading *su'ālahum* in a single passage instead of *su'āla-hu* with the MS in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (MS B 1, according to Persenius' text p. 131), implies an overconfidence in human consistency ("Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus", Hor.). I think that Zetterstéen was unintentionally and quite understandably influenced by the plural form of the verb. In his own *Anmerkungen* he does not even notice the second example mentioned, i.e. the slight Arabic difference between *fa-auda'tu* and *wa-auda'tu*.

Be that as it may, Persenius himself recommends for the future an eclectic edition based on a number of selected MSS. This is the method illustrated in his samples. Considering the actual MS situation, there can hardly here be any serious objections to this method. However, the method suggested makes it necessary to beware of the risk of subjective and arbitrary evaluation. An eclectic method always invites discussion. Thus, for example, the word *faladja*, p. 130, was wrongly chosen in my opinion. Important MSS representing both families have *falaha*. Also Sura XX, in which the same magic of Mose is recounted, has a form of the verb *falaha* (for a non-Arabist it might be amusing to know that the only thing that differs is a dot under one single Arabic letter. Is this perhaps the trace of a fly in one of the MSS, which was then copied in some of them?).

Further examples could be mentioned of the uncertainty arising from this method of presenting the readings. With regard to the actual basis of MSS and considering the planned edition, there is really reason to question whether the words on the last line of p. 221, *bidh-dhāl mu'djama*, belonged to the original text or whether they represent a useful addition made by some reflective copyist, an addition later handed down in a number of MSS. In a closely comparable case on p. 210, note 1, *wa-sukūn al-'ain*, the editor was most certainly thinking of the latter alternative.

The above remarks aside, it must be clearly stated that Mikael Persenius has carried out an impressive and pioneering work and made a significant advance towards the completion of this important Swedish and, more particularly, Uppsalian project as well as contributed to a mapping out of the Arabic language. Considering the solid scholarship shown by Mikael Persenius, it is the hope of older editors of Arabic texts that he should be given the opportunity of bringing this work to a conclusion. He merits his place at the side of Carlo Landberg and K.V. Zetterstéen. All three have understood the importance of enriching Arabic linguistics with a good edition of *Shams al-'ulūm*.

Gösta Vitestam
Lund

Gregor Wurst, *Die Bema-Psalmen* (Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum: Series Coptica I, Liber Psalmorum, Pars II, Fasc. 1). Turnhout 1996.

The publication of this volume inaugurates a major event in scholarly publishing. It is the first instalment in a comprehensive edition of the entire corpus of sources on Manichaeism. We are promised some thirty volumes altogether to appear by the year 2000, organized into a Syriac, an Arabic, a Coptic, an Old Uighur, a Chinese, a Latin, and a Greek series. In addition, there will be a separate series devoted to the new materials from the Dakhleh oasis, volumes on Manichaean art and archaeology, and various working tools in a *Subsidia* series.

This edition of the Bema-psalms is the first of a set of five volumes to be devoted to the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-book. As will be recalled, only 'Part II' of the Psalm book was ever published in a critical edition, by C.R.C. Allberry in 1938. (A facsimile edition of the entire extant codex was published by Søren Giversen in 1988.) The psalms edited in the present volume belong to the part of the codex already published by Allberry.

Allberry's edition was an eminent piece of scholarship. It was not, however, entirely without flaws, nor did it render superfluous further efforts to extract meaning from the often feeble traces of writing on the

papyrus. Wurst's text of the psalms does in fact offer significant, albeit not dramatic, improvements in the transcription of the manuscript. His collation work is carried out with extreme meticulousness. The apparatus informs the reader of the slightest deviation from Allberry's text. I have been unable to detect any errors or misprints in the Coptic text.

This edition differs from its predecessor in that the text is not printed as a "diplomatic" reproduction of the manuscript, but (wherever possible) so as to highlight the metrical divisions of the psalms. After T. Säve-Söderbergh's pioneering work from 1949 (*Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-book*), the formal characteristics of the psalms as poetry have of course become much better understood than they were when Allberry prepared his edition, and Wurst's approach is now clearly to be preferred. At the same time, page and line numbers are still provided, as they should be, for reference purposes. The German translation accompanying the text is rather literal, but well done.

The annotation beyond the critical apparatus restricts itself to indicating Manichaean and Biblical parallels in a separate apparatus, and to discussing particular lexical and grammatical problems in the texts. There is no commentary on the contents.

The introduction offers a codicological report on the whole second part of the Psalm book, with reconstruction of the individual quires, and observations on the different hands and the writing signs used in the manuscript. At the end there are good word indices, including the now usual list of attested conjugation forms, and eight plates of excellent photographs, better, as far as I can see, than the corresponding ones in the facsimile edition.

As already indicated, this is a meticulously executed work, with very few errors: On p. 1, as well as in note 7, the first Bema psalm is said to be no. 217, whereas in fact it is no. 218 (of which only the final doxology is preserved); at the top of p. 35 read 222, instead of 221/222.

This is a strictly philological work, in the narrow sense, devoted to the best presentation possible of what remains of the text, and in that respect it is an admirable feat. Apart from the references to parallels, the reader is given no guidance, however, in the form of an introduction or notes, to the ideas found in the texts, or to the *Sitz im Leben* of the psalms in Manichaean worship. For that kind of information, the reader is evidently expected to look elsewhere.

At any rate, this is a publication which sets high standards for the series it initiates. May we hope that the subsequent volumes will maintain the same level, and that they will appear as expeditiously as promised.

Einar Thomassen
Bergen

J.B.L Gibson, *Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar: Syntax*, T.&T. Clark, Edinburgh 1994. 229 pp.

In layout and order of topics, this revision follows A.B. Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax*,[3]1901, but in contents, not least the syntax of the verb, it is a completely new and fully fledged description of Biblical Hebrew syntax.

At the end of the portion devoted to pronoun, noun and nominal clause, §§ 1–54, there is a new treatment of verbless and quasi-verbal clauses (*yēš*, *'ēn* ,*'ōd* and *hinnē*).

A remark on p. 54 shows how difficult it is to reckon with the findings of text linguistics in a traditional grammar. Formal and functional criteria are discussed in distinguishing between nominal and verbal clauses. It is freely admitted that there is much to be said for the Arab grammarians' view that a clause begun by a verb is *verbal* (i.e. characterized by action), while a clause begun by a noun, whether or not containing a verb, is *nominal*: "[a] verbal clause emphasizes what is being done, a 'nominal clause' of either kind who or what is involved in the action; and such clauses may have different roles in an extended text, as most clearly in prose narrative". Yet in the end it is concluded that "at the level of the clause itself the distinction is not so useful".

In the part on the verb and its object, §§ 55–97, the basic description of the verbal conjunctions does not invite any objections (actually it is splendid): "[the conjunctions] do not locate a situation or event *in*

time, but view it in its relation *to* time. Thus QATAL (the perf.) identifies a situation or event as static or at rest, YIQTOL (the impf.) as fluid or in motion. It is left to the context to indicate by various means, e.g. an adverb of time, whether the situation or event is past, present or future", p. 60.

First (§ 57) deals with *qātal* in a *present time frame*, that is, stative verbs, performative utterances, and cases that "denote a present state flowing from a past action"—all these usages are restricted to non-narrative discourse and poetry. Next, (§ 58) deals with *qātal* in a *past time frame*, that is, passages in which the perfect aspect automatically answers to a pluperfect, and cases in which *qātal* takes the perfective aspect, i.e. when the verb takes a zero value in relation to the time of the narrative (= narrative past). Also, it is pointed out that oral narrative does not always follow the conventions of narrative proper, e.g. there is little obvious difference when the subject goes first (p. 66).

Moreover, (§§ 59 and 60) *qātal* occasionally answers to Engl. future perfect; also in conditional sentences it may refer to the future; and, in fact, the so-called prophetic perfect, "may be regarded as injecting a note of permanency into the prediction", e.g. Gen. 30:13 *kī 'iššᵉrūnī bānōt* women will call me happy (p. 68). By its stative character *qātal* is unsuitable for expressing mood or contingency, but sometimes, we learn, it may attract such nuances from the context, as is the case in conditional sentences.

The *yiqtol* conjunction (§§ 61ff.) is divided into < *yaqtul* and < *yaqtulu*. The former is restricted to the position immediately following *waw*, with a few exceptions, and basically sustains a forward movement. (The examples adduced of *yiqtol* (< *yaqtul*) in the present-future (pp. 72f.) apparently gainsay the idea that *yaqtul* was originally a preterite.)

In contrast, *yiqtol* (< *yaqtulu*), pp. 73ff., expresses actions and processes as opposed to states. From narrative prose, some fifty passages are adduced to illustrate frequentative *yiqtol* in a past-time setting, whereas the present is represented mostly by proverbial sayings, typical conduct and general truths, but also actions repeated or general over a limited period, e.g. 1 Kings 22:8 *kī lō'-yitnabbē' 'ālay ṭōb*.

In future settings, *yiqtol* expresses both indicative (*lō' ya'ᵃmīnū*, Ex. 4:1) and contingent actions (e.g. after telic conjunctions *'ᵃšær yīṭab lᵉkā*, Deu. 4:40), as well as actions that depend on the attitude of the speaker concerning some ensuing action (*'ēk tō'mar* how can you say). Whether Biblical Hebrew actually makes a difference between the use of *yiqtol* in situations depending on a character's explicit—or conceived—will, and situations that contain no element of will (past future) is, however, doubtful.

The consecutive forms are dealt with in §§ 69ff. The introductory portion states that the term "conversive" should be dropped and the primary meanings of *weqatal* and *wayyiqtol* are to be sought among the aspectual possibilities offered by their own conjunctions. In effect, it is argued (p. 84) that *wᵉqātal* essentially denotes a state, although at times it continues a *yiqtol* in a modal or contingent sense (*'abdᵉkā yēlek wᵉnilḥam*, 1 Sam. 17:32, cf. § 74), and *wayyiqtol* denotes a simple action which arises out of something that has gone before.

The form *wᵉqātal* is (pedagogically) introduced as *wᵉqātal apodoseos* of a conditional, temporal or causal clause (*'im tēlᵉkī 'immī wᵉhālaktī*, Judg. 4:8, cf. § 71) and from this, by extension, it is argued, *wᵉqātal* may follow equivalent, temporal or causal phrases, some very briefly expressed, and finally it may be loosely connected with various independent clauses, or their equivalents, some of which simply provide the starting-point of a new development (*'ᵃnī YHWH wᵉhōṣē'tī*, Ex. 6:6). Equally important are those cases in which *wᵉqatal* follows an antecedent *yiqtol,* or equivalent (§§ 73ff.). A *wᵉqatal* may follow a *yiqtol* in a future time, in a general present (Gen. 2:24), and even in a past continuous setting (Gen. 2:6).

On *wayyiqtol* (§§ 78ff.), it is stated that its aspectual quality is more readily appreciated as independent when the antecedent is an introductory phrase (*kī na'ar Yiśrā'ēl wā'ōhᵃbēhū*, Hos. 11:1) than when it follows a prior *qātal*. In narration, the sequence *qātal—wayyiqtol* signals off-line statements (*kī 'āzab bigdō bᵉyādāh wayyānås*, Gen. 39:13), but in discourse and poetry it is used in narrative reports (*bā' 'Abnēr ... wayšallᵉḥēhū*, 2 Sam. 3:23). Here the findings of Niccacci *et al.* have been employed.

In addition, it is pointed out (ib.) that *wayyiqtol* is sometimes rather explanatory than strictly consecutive (e.g. 2 Sam. 14:5 I am a widow *wayyāmåt 'īšī* my husband died).

Moreover, it is stated that "though it has been strenuously denied (Driver), it seems an extension of this explanatory usage when in a few passages *vav cons.* YIQTOL refers to something that happened before the events being described and calls, therefore, for a transl. with the pluperf. in English. Ex. 4.19 *wayyō'mær Y. 'æl-Mōšê bᵉMidyān* now Y. had said to M. in Midian (he had been instructed to return to Egypt before he had gone back to Jethro, vs. 18)". To be sure, it is added that this rare usage is to be distinguished from the cases in which *wayyiqtol* continues a *qātal* form with pluperfect nuance (p. 96).

Considerable space is given to the macrosyntactic markers *wayhī* for the narrative line and *wᵉhāyā* or *wᵉqātal*, plus *subj—verb* for repeated action, and circumstance (§ 80).

At times, there is no switch over to *wayyiqtol*, after the first *qātal*, but the speaker continues in *qātal*, especially if the new verb merely alternates the idea of the first verb or restates what has gone before or links an extended situation to it (§ 84).

In a few cases, it is hard to see why *wayyiqtol* was not used, and these are often regarded as late and due to Aramaic influence; but, it is argued, the phenomenon is more satisfactorily explained as an inner Hebrew development. In addition to what was said about the moods (imperative, jussive and cohortative, §§ 65–68), it is stated in § 87 that a jussive and cohortative with simple *waw* expresses design or purpose, though the notion of consequence is never far away.

Construction of the passive is dealt with in § 95, where it is said that "the subj. of a trans. verb becomes the agent of pass., and is usually expressed by prep. *lᵉ*: Gen. 14:9 *bārūk lᵉ'ēl 'ælyōn*". On this point, Nyberg (*Hebreisk grammatik*, §§ 90 e, 89 j Anm.) differs, as he analyses the phrase as a dissolved construct relation, which indeed reminds us of the agent, though the idea is different, it being rather a question of the dative of interest.

In a section on two verb constructions (§§ 96f.) some (mostly) phasal verbs are treated in respect of various ways of connection: infinitive *(wayyaḥdᵉlū libnōt*, Gen. 11:8) and syndetic or asyndetic coordination *(hō'el-nā' wᵉlek; hō'el qaḥ*, 2 Kings 6:3; 5:23).

The syntax of the infinitive and participle is contained in §§ 98–113. About the *inf. cst.* (§§ 107ff.) we learn that it is mostly used as a clause substitute after a preposition, whether it is a temporal, causal, purpose or result clause; and furthermore that the prep. *lᵉ*, with *inf. cst.*, in addition to expressing purpose or result, has a gerundial sense, either as a circumstance (the people are sinning *læ'ᵃkol* in eating) or to express obligation (*mah la'ᵃśōt*) or, it is used in the periphrastic future (the sun was about to set *lābō'*).

The *act. ptcp* (§§ 110ff.) is said to present the subject in the exercise or exhibition of the action or condition denoted by the verb. Often—but not always—continuity is implied; with some verbs, we learn, it actually indicates a simple punctual action.

The syntax of the adverb, adverbial phrases and clauses is contained in §§ 114–130. Adverbs are divided according to their function, whether modifying the verbal predicate or a whole clause or being adnominal (mostly with adjectives). As to its form, an adverb (or adverbial phrase) may be made up of a noun (he sat *pætaḥ-hā'ohœl* at the door of the tent) or a prepositional phrase, an adverbial clause (conditional, temporal, causal, final, result and comparative), at times substituted by *prep.+ inf. cst.*

The syntax of the sentence is contained in §§ 131–157 and deals with phenomena not previously treated, such as (*a*) circumstantial clauses, (*b*) coordinated clauses that are related to each other in terms of equivalence, contrast, inclusion, exclusion, etc., (*c*) clauses in apposition, (*d*) *casus pendens*, and (*e*) questions, wishes, oaths and exclamations. In verbal syntax the notion of aspect, though not spelled out, plays a prominent role, but in sentence syntax there is no similar strong linkage with sequence and the presentation is more oriented towards logical relationship between clauses.

An introductory section (§§ 133 and 134) states that unmarked word-order is used when macrosyntactic (or microsyntactic) ends are not being promoted and that the division into sequential and non-sequential coordination is basic in all analyses of Hebrew syntax.

Circumstantial clauses (§§ 135–137), being *marginal*, provide additional information of various kinds. In prose narrative, they often have a macrosyntactic function and, tied to the immediate context, they describe concomitant actions or take functions similar to relative or adverbial clauses.

Compound sentences (§§ 138–145) may be simply conjunctive or chiastic, contrastive and antithetical. Introduced by other conjunctions than *waw*, they may be inclusive (*gam*), exclusive (*raq*) or disjunctive. Clauses in apposition (§§ 136 and 147) are stated to be more closely linked than coordinated clauses, while asyndeton (§ 148) is used with juxtaposed imperatives, lists of instructions and in poetry.

Causus pendens (§§ 149–151) is a construction in which the chief semantic subj. is isolated in the front and resumed by a pronoun. Its function resembles that of the circ. clause. At sentence level, the construction is used to facilitate the syntax when a noun is required (contrast, antithesis) in initial position, but in extended passages its role is macrosyntactic. Questions, wishes and exclamations (§§ 152–157) are traditionally treated.

Gibson, in his revision of Davidson's grammar, is like a scholar who "brings forth out of his treasure things new and old". There is a balance between a diachronic and a synchronic approach, plus an openness towards the findings of text linguistic research.

Miguel Pérez Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew* (transl. by J. Elwolde), Brill, Leiden 1997 (xxii + 327 pp.).

The preface of this grammar states: "It is not only the pedagogical orientation of this book that clearly sets it apart from M.H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford, 1927), but also its use of manuscripts—rather than printed editions—of the Mishna (notably Codex Kaufmann), its general avoidance of later—amoraic—Rabbinic Hebrew, and its inclusion of texts from the early *midrashim*". The table of contents (14 pages) is very informative in details, yet a bit difficult to grasp. The introduction accounts for the different stages of Hebrew, stressing that Rabbinic Hebrew, despite the technical nature of its literary legacy, was a spoken language, the more popular style of which can be observed in *meshalim* and *ma'asiyyot*. It differs considerably from Biblical Hebrew, partly owing to Aramaic influence not simply in loan words and loan translations but also in the basic grammatical structure of the language, in the inflection of nouns and verbs (p. 5).

Each unit begins with an *introductory text*, the purpose of which is primarily to teach something about Tannaitic concepts, rather than to introduce the grammar of the lesson. The main instruction is given under the headings *morphology* and *grammar and usage*, whereas *phraseology* and *vocabulary* are more intended for the *exercises*, which consist of short excerpts from the Tannaitic literature.

An interesting development is outlined on p. 184, where a comparison is made between 1 Kings 15:13 *wᵉgam æt-Ma'ᵃkā 'immō waysīræhā miggᵉbīrā* and 2 Chr. 15:16 *wegam-Ma'ᵃkā 'em 'Āsā hammælæk hᵉsīrāh miggᵉbīrā*, with the comment: "Whereas Kings retains the two-element construction of protasis and apodosis joined by *waw*, Chronicles removes the *waw apodosis* and converts the protasis into *casus pendens*, which is emphasized because of its position at the beginning of the clause. This process of change would reach its climax in RH, where the *casus pendens* construction abounds and *waw apodosis* is generally absent."

This book is written for students who already have a basic knowledge of Biblical Hebrew, but, even so, it is difficult to combine the outline of a traditional grammar with that of a textbook. The verb, for instance, is introduced only in unit 15 (p. 95), and the students have to work through extensive exercises before being able to profit from the instructions given there. Also, the exercises are partly unvocalized and are not accompanied by any translation. Nevertheless, Pérez Fernández' book, in this translation by J. Elwolde, is very useful, mostly since it explains idiomatic usages and phrases in their contexts.

Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible. Papers of the Tilburg Conference 1996, ed. by E. van Wolde (Biblical Interpretation Series, 29), Brill, Leiden 1997. x + 269pp.

At the Tilburg Conference, seventy-two participants—among them, the present reviewer—listened to papers read by J. Joosten (Strasbourg), E. Talstra (Amsterdam), Chr. van der Merwe (Stellenbosch), A. Niccacci (Jerusalem) and T. Muraoka (Leiden) and the host of the conference, E. van Wolde (Tilburg).

Ellen van Wolde's contribution, to begin with, deals with markedness and grounding. It is pointed out that the terms "foreground" and "background" are somewhat misleading, insofar as backgrounded material, which contains *inter alia* the narrator's sparse remarks, is not less important for the development of a story and its interpretation than the foregrounded, rather it is more important.

Chr. van der Merwe treats the developments within the research sphere of Biblical Hebrew syntax. He points out that the great grammars of Bauer-Leander (1922) and Bergsträsser (1929) have no syntax at all, that in Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley (1910) the part devoted to syntax is fairly short, and that generally sentence syntax in most introductory grammars up to the 1970s is meagre. Modern linguistics, on the other hand, has promoted a shift from the traditional, sentence-based approach, to a more text linguistic one. There is a renewed interest in the problem of the Hebrew verb, which has led to attempts to treat the verbal system and the function of word order in terms of entities bigger than or different from the sentence. In this connection, H. Weinrich's distinction between *Sprechhaltung* (discourse vs. narrative), *Reliefge-*

bung (foreground vs. background) and *Sprachperspektive* (i.e. prospective, retrospective and simultaneous) has exerted a crucial influence on W. Schneider's grammar (1974), and this influence was perhaps even more highlighted in E. Talstra's review in *BiOr* 1978, 168–175, 1982, 26–38, and reinforced in A. Niccacci's several books and articles on the Hebrew verbal syntax. In addition, it is argued that text linguistics or discourse analysis, has always been more formalistic in America than in Europe and more apt to be occupied with isolated, invented sentences. R. Longacre's pragmatic approach, we learn, is thus actually more in line with the developments in Europe than in America.

Muraoka's main contribution in the present volume, entitled "The alleged final function of the biblical Hebrew syntagm < waw + a volitive verb form >", deals with the conjoined jussive and conjoined cohortative. He contests the common view that a volitive form, following a wish or command, exclusively indicates the purpose of the action denoted by the preceding verb, as may be concluded from the standard example *hābī' ā llī wᵉ' ōkēlā* (Gen. 27:4). When the subject of the main clause and the subordinate clause is the same, purpose is commonly expressed by the infinitive construct, and if the purpose is spelt out—whether the subject is the same or not—the final clause may be introduced by *lᵉma'an* or some other telic particle. In conclusion, accordingly, it is held to be more likely that "two or more conjoined volitive verbs are essentially a series of expressions of the speaker's wish" (p. 239).

Talstra's article, "A hierarchy of clauses in Biblical Hebrew narrative", opens with the question: to what extent is it possible to produce a grammatical description of the linguistic mechanisms used in classical Hebrew? How much is system, how much is strategy? It is argued that a text structure traced by an attentive reader is actually deduced from an interplay between text and reader, and at this point a computer-assisted analysis shows very helpful in eliminating arbitrary interpretations. The answer to the question, whether text grammar is system or strategy, is consequently that verb forms and clause types *per se* contribute little to the understanding of a text. To the reader, they set a small number of switches only (p. 101). Nevertheless, in the textual hierarchy of clauses and paragraphs, these switches, by recurrent use at various text levels, give the hints needed to structure the text correctly (p. 93, n. 13). Thus, according to Talstra, it is recurrent use in strategy rather than an underlying system that produces a narrative syntax.

Jan Joosten, on the other hand, in his papers, entitled "The indicative system of the Biblical Hebrew verb and its literary exploitation" and "Meaning and use of tenses in 1 Samuel 1", argues that verbal forms as such exercise a specific and system-bound function at the level of the sentence and, in extension, at the level of the text.

In the description of the indicative system of the verbal paradigm, only *participle, qātal* and *wayyiqtol* are reckoned with. The Biblical Hebrew verbal use of the participle *subj-kōtēb/kōtēb-subj* is roughly compared to German *(er) schreibt* and French *(il) écrit,* while *kātab* is compared to *er hat geschrieben* and *il a écrit*, and the impf. cons. *wayyiktob*, it is argued, answers to *er schrieb* and *il écrivit* as well as *il ecrivait.* Two things call for attention: first, the impf. cons. is assigned a somewhat problematic neutral, i.e. neither cursive nor punctual, force; secondly, the participle is given its appropriate place in the verbal system, which is partly done at the cost of the (long) *yiqtol*, which commonly assumes modal colour, and is therefore assigned a basically modal sense. The *general* present usage, as in *haddᵉlælt tissob 'al ṣīrā* (Prov. 26:14), is explained as an action liable to happen and is thus consistent with a modal function; the *actual* present usage in a case like *mah-ttᵉbqqeš* (Gen. 37:15) is thought to be "the vanishing traces of an historically earlier use of the prefix conjugation, preserved here in a closed syntagm" and "an historically earlier, indicative function" (pp. 58 and 77).

The notion of modality involves difficulties, since it is not easily correlated to any single semantic concept. Jespersen long ago suggested that modality expresses a certain attitude of a speaker towards the contents of the sentence, and furthermore that modality is basically of two kinds, either containing an element of will (obligative, permissive, etc.), or containing *no* element of will (dubitative, potential, etc.). In elaborating his idea of an "extrinsic modality", i.e. action as not subject to human control (p. 78), Joosten plays down the idea that modality signifies an *attitude of a speaker* and thus transfers modality from discourse to narrative, which is perhaps the most crucial point. Whereas in direct speech the speaker's attitude is demonstrated in modal *yiqtol*, or the volitive moods, it would actually seem that in narration frequentative and non-volitive modal sense may interact or somehow coalesce.

Niccacci's text linguistic theory was positively reviewed in *Or Suec* 40, 1991, pp. 95–101. In the contributions now under discussion, "Basic facts and the theory of the Biblical Hebrew verb system in prose", accompanied by an application in "Narrative syntax of Exodus 19–24", his presentation is somewhat simplified. The starting point is the same, viz. "one should not begin with semantics or interpreta-

tion but with morphology and function" (p. 168). When it is argued (p. 181) that only narrative *wayyiqtol* is a real tense, "while other verb forms and constructions indicate aspect: unity, anteriority, repetition, habit or description and contemporaneity", it is expressly meant that narrative *wayyiqtol* represents a fixed tense value, while other forms do not, though they may assume relative tense values.

As regards the common opinion that Ex. 19–24 show a composite character, it is refreshing to read how Niccacci is able to demonstrate that these chapters, in view of verbal syntax, are held closely together.

Young, I, *Diversity in Pre-Exilic Hebrew*, Tübingen 1993. 256 pp.

The onset of Young's book is promising. He calls attention to weaknesses in the way in which current exegetics treats linguistic issues, and the aim of his book is accordingly "to suggest a new model for the Hebrew of the Biblical period, one which is better able to comprehend the evidence" (p. 2). In this re-thinking, *diversity in the origins* of Hebrew is first attended to (ch. 1). It is suggested that the heterogeneous Israelite tribes took over Hebrew as a super-tribal, prestige language used in the Canaanite area.

In the section on *Hebrew in its environment* (ch. 2), the neighbouring dialects and languages are treated, but the discussion lacks a description of the different corpuses, as it is apparently taken for granted that the reader is familiar with the material. It is suggested that sometime at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. the archaic prestige language, with its consecutive forms, began to release its hold on the Canaanite area. Aramaic was defined as a language of its own, though in constant conflict with inherited scribal tradition, while Hebrew, in turn, dropped its strong Aramaic flavour, still found in the old poems. Yet the use of Aramaizing Hebrew in some passages to characterize foreigners shows that pre-exilic writers could both write in that style, and yet avoid it as bad form (p. 60). It is further suggested that the origin of Standard Biblical Hebrew is connected with the establishment of a centralized monarchy in Israel and the subsequent antagonism to Aram, but the general tendency to avoid Aramaic influence was obviously not spread to the wisdom literature. Also, it is pointed out that we know too little about mediating languages and dialects to express certain opinions on the chronological significance of loan words in Biblical Hebrew.

In the section on *social and chronological stratification* in pre-exilic Hebrew (ch. 3), it is said that, since some of the Qumran documents were set down in Biblical Hebrew, though Mishnaic Hebrew was the living vernacular at this time, it may be presumed that a kind of diglossia existed even in pre-exilic times. In fact, some think that a form of Mishnaic Hebrew was spoken as an equivalent of literary Hebrew during the whole Biblical period; but this idea, it is argued, does not fit with the special features of Late Biblical Hebrew as found in the indisputably late books of the Bible. The reason why the later language diverges from the pre-exilic norms might instead have been the influx of refugees from the North after 722 (pp. 89ff.).

In the section on *Hebrew inscriptions* (ch. 4), it is held that usage in official inscriptions differs from literary usage, for example 3rd masc. sing. suff. is *-h*, not *-w*. The idea of a general orthographic revision in post-exilic times is questioned. Instead, it is suggested that *-w* was generally favoured, but the Aramaizing (?) *-h* was too firmly entrenched in official usage to be replaced (p. 106).

At this stage, *diversity in the Bible* itself is to be treated (ch. 5). Poetry, we learn, was freer in its access to earlier forms and more open to Aramaisms, but these features, it is argued, "reflect a particular literary style and not necessarily the linguistic background of the author" (p. 124). Thus, the discussion of Job, Proverbs 30–31, Qoheleth and Songs deals with the tension between possible foreign influence and a possible, local literary dialect.

The final portion (ch. 6) is devoted to *pronunciation*, followed by a vast bibliography of 41 pages. There is no general conclusion, which may be due to the fact that no specific problem was presented from the outset, and the discussion throughout the book is more suggestive than substantial. The book is a clear challenge to current views on the dates of several Biblical books and, as such, is worth while reading.

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Studia Ottomanica: Festgabe für György Hazai zum 65. Geburtsdag. Ed. by Barbara Kellner-Heinkele and Peter Zieme. Wiesbaden 1997. (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica, vol. 47).

The Hungarian Turcologist György Hazai is one of the most important—and colourful—Ottomanists in this century. Especially during his years as a professor of Turcology at the Humboldt University of Berlin from 1963 to 1982, but also during his subsequent positions as managing director of the publishing-house of Akadémiai Kiadó in Budapest and as a professor of Turcology in the Greek part of Cyprus, he has published numerous articles and books, mostly on Ottoman studies, but also within other fields of Turcology. The present volume, which to a great extent consists of contributions by his students, very well reflects Hazai's own specialities.

Some of the articles are studies in Ottoman history such as N. Clayer and Alexandre Popovic: "Les revues turques d'Üsküb et de Manastir à la fin de l'époque ottomane", H. İnalcık: "A Report on the Corrupt Ḳāḍīs under Bayezid II", R. Mantran: "Vienne, relais d'informations sur les Turcs pour la Gazette de France au début du XVIIIᵉ siècle", Michèle Nicolas: "Tulipes et jardins ottomans", V. Stojanov: "Zum Quellenwert der sogennanten "Namenslisten" unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der "Defter-i Voyniǧän"", and E.A. Zachariadou: "Another Document of Shehab al-Din Pasha concerning Mount Athos". Other contributions are philological studies, such as L. Bazin: "Deux passages incompris dans le Kitâb-i Dede Korkut", H. Eren: "Türkeitürkisch *üvez*", A. Gallotta and A. Bombaci: "The History of *avania*", S. Stachowski: "Zur Geschichte des osmanisch-türkischen *pabuç* 'schafloser Schuh, Pantoffel'", and P. Zieme: "Gab es buddhistische Vorbilder für Yunus Emres Gedankenwelt?". A couple of the articles deal with Turkic languages and cultures outside the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, such as G. Doerfer: "Drei patriotische Gedichte 'Arabgols in neuer Version" (on Khalaj), S. Kleinmichel: "Zu экан und -кин im Usbekischen", C. Schönig: "Wie entstand das Südsibirische Türkisch?", in which a fascinating hypothesis on the development of the different features of these languages is presented, and D. Sinor: "Early Turks in Western Central Eurasia (Accompanied by Some Thoughts on Migrations)".

Some of Hazai's most important contributions to Turcology are his studies on the so-called Ottoman "transcription texts", i.e. Turkish texts written in other alphabets than the Arabic one. The reason why they were written in other scripts is that they were written by foreigners. Most of the texts are phrase-books or grammars written for Europeans who want to learn Turkish. In spite of the fact that the orthographical principles employed are often very random and that the authors had insufficient knowledge of Turkish, these texts give a quite interesting picture of the phonological features of Turkish at the time when they were written. This is especially valuable because the very conservative orthography of Turkish in Arabic script gives insufficient phonological information. Because of Hazai's important works within this field it is quite natural that some of the contributions deal with this kind of text. One of the articles in this field is V. Drimba's "La grammaire turque de Giovanni Agop (1685)", in which the author presents some of the features of this previously untreated grammar book. However, the article is too brief to give any substantial impression of the grammar. One of the most interesting features of 17th-century transcription texts is vowel harmony, but except for one sentence giving examples that show that the genitive suffix may have a rounded vowel after low front vowels, and also striking examples such as *özim* "io stesso", vowel harmony in inflectional suffixes remains obscure, especially because the author does not present any of his own views on the subject. Another most interesting contribution on transcription texts is L. Johanson's "A Grammar of the Lingua Turcica Agemica", which is another study by this scholar on the Azeri of the 17th century (his article referred to on p. 87 as 1995*b* is not included in the bibliography at the end of the article). The article reveals intriguing details on this language that makes it even more desirable that more Middle Azeri texts should be published as soon as possible. H. Stein's article "Türkisches Wortgut bei Antoine Geuffroy (1542/1543) nach dem *Nomenclator* von Nikolaus Höniger (1577)" is a thorough study in the lexical element presented of this quite early text.

Other linguistically oriented contributions are A. Bassarak, "Türkische Klitika zwischen Morphologie und Syntax" and K. Georgiou-Scharlipp and W. Scharlipp, "Some Remarks on the Turkish Dialects of the Village of Potamya in Cyprus". In this last-mentioned article, our attention is drawn to a field of dialectology which has been very much neglected, i.e. the dialects of Cyprus, where the events after 1974 resulted in a concentration of Turkish-speakers in the northern part of the island and consequently thorough disturbances of the previous dialectal distribution. However, a very limited number of Turkish-speaking

groups have remained in the southern part of the island, where the original dialectal features may still be studied *in situ*, so to speak. The article gives a very brief, but interesting survey of one of these dialects, although the reader becomes somewhat confused by remarks such as (p. 142) "The dentals show a variety of quality: ...", followed by signs unknown to me both as IPA signs and as traditional signs for transcribing Turkic languages—if these signs have the same value as when used for transcribing Arabic, that should have been mentioned. Likewise, the following remark, explaining the status of the velar nasal /ŋ/ is also puzzling: "In several instances the guttural quality is less strong, the word thus representing a state of development towards a dental quality: saŋa – saa – sana ..." I do not see any dental quality whatsoever here.

The volume starts with an instructive survey of Hazai's scholarly career (by the editors) and ends with a bibliography of his works.

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Symbolae Turcologicae. Studies in honour of Lars Johanson on his sixtieth birthday 8 March 1996. Ed. by Arpád Berta, Bernt Brendemoen and Claus Schönig. Uppsala 1996. 245 pp.

Lars Johanson is doubtlessly one of the most important Turcologists alive. Up to now, he has given Turcology roughly eighty scientific publications (not counting his reviews, which are almost as many). But anyone who has ever read one of his works will agree that the quality of this large production is even more impressive than its quantity. Most of professor Johanson's contributions concern Turkic linguistics. It is no wonder, then, that the *Festschrift* on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday in 1996 focused mainly on Turkic linguistics.

Three articles in the present volume are devoted to questions of dialectology. Two contributions (by Bernt Brendemoen and Nurettin Demir) deal with modern (Turkish) dialects, although both of them recur to historical data in some places. The last of the three, Gerhard Doerfer's, is the only one exclusively devoted to historic dialects. After having read all these three contributions on dialectology, one cannot but remark at least one amazing parallel between them—the enormous complexity of all the dialects under investigation, whether they are historical or modern. Whereas the dialect group treated by Brendemoen, the Black Sea Dialects of Turkish, can easily be marked off from the surrounding dialects and from standard Turkish (which is partly due to Brendemoen's scrupulous work, see below), the Yörük dialects (or in some cases rather, dialect splinters) investigated by Nurettin Demir are often mixed up with other Turkish dialects.

Bernt Brendemoen investigates in his "Case merge in the Black Sea dialects: A Kartvelian substrate feature?" some syntactical peculiarities of the Turkish Black Sea dialects. In these dialects, there is use of the dative case with a non-directional local meaning (which corresponds to the meaning of the locative case in standard Turkish). On the other side, the pronominal form *onda* (which is in the locative case) is used in these dialects in a directional sense (also contrary to the usage of standard Turkish). Setting out from his own extensive fieldwork in the area (which alone is a merit, considering that even delegations of politicians sometimes experience difficulties in moving freely around the Turkish Black Sea region!) as well as former publications on dialectology, Brendemoen gives numerous examples of the case peculiarities of the Black Sea dialects. He then proceeds to search for possible explanations for these case anomalies. First, he points to parallels in other Turkic languages. Most strikingly, he cites examples of the use of locative forms of pronouns, for instance, the Chagatay and Old Ottoman *anda* with a directive meaning (pp. 49f.). According to Brendemoen, these forms might have come via Old Anatolian Turkish into the Black Sea dialects. But in his view, the use of the dative in a non-directional, local sense cannot be sufficiently explained by parallels with other Turkic languages. Instead, he mentions the absence of the distinction between locative and directional meaning in certain features of Pontic Greek, e.g. the preposition *s* meaning both "to" and "in" (the latter giving a stationary meaning). But Brendemoen is not satisfied

with a Greek substrate as the sole explanation for the non-directional use of the dative. Since Greek was widely spoken in the Pontic area in historical times, he argues, one would expect that features from (Pontic) Greek like the one mentioned would be taken over into all of the Turkish Black Sea dialects. But the above-mentioned feature appears only in *some* places within the Black Sea dialect area. This leads Brendemoen to the assumption that there was probably another substrate in this area. Following him, this might have been a Kartvelian substrate. To support his view, Brendemoen gives some features of the Turkish Black Sea dialects which were most probably taken from a Kartvelian language (p. 52). And what is more, in a Kartvelian language such as Laz, the dative expresses both locative and directive meaning (p. 53). Thus Brendemoen's hypothesis of the Black Sea Turkish case-merging phenomenon as going back, at least partly, to a Kartvelian substrate appears plausible. It is a proof of Brendemoen's polymathy, as well of his scientific scrupulousness, that he does not stop at this result, either. Instead, he changes gear into the field of history, investigating sources from Xenophon to Evliya Çelebi, in order to find traces of a Kartvelian substrate in the Black Sea region. Although there are certain hints in toponyms and ethnonyms, Brendemoen is realistic enough not to claim to have found a definite proof of his hypothesis. In sum, with his multi-sided approach to the Black Sea dialects, he shows how complex a research field area dialectology can be and how carefully statements about it have to be made. Brendemoen's careful statements and critical attitude to the evidential power of the material keep him and the reader safe from drawing premature conclusions.

The term "complexity" is also apt to describe the dialectological field of interest that Nurettin Demir attacks in his sketch entitled "Einige Merkmale yörükischer Dialekte". According to the information available to him, the Yörüks (as Demir tells us, quite a lot of ethnonyms are used in referring to Yörüks, but to avoid confusion, I shall exclusively use this term) or Turkish nomads are becoming more and more absorbed by groups who are speaking other Turkish dialects. Thus, the difficulty of gaining source material about their language is also on the increase. Practically, this causes Demir, on some occasions, to complete his material with the help of publications from the past—from times when there still lived more Yörüks in Turkey.

Gerhard Doerfer's analysis of "the language of Gadāī", the famous pre-Navāī poet, again clearly shows how fluid the borders between dialects can be. Doerfer clearly demonstrates that Oghuz language elements in the poetry of Gadāī cannot be explained by the requirements of versification but represent the result of a mixture of three Turkic languages in the Amu Darya region. On the other hand, it may seem that, even if the Oghuz elements in Gadāī's verses were determined merely by metric constraints, one would have to recognize a certain amount of language-mixing too, at least in the literary language. In whatever way we may look at it, the natural use of language mixture seems to care little for the postulation of dialect and language borders.

Although Klára Agyagási's article is not expressly devoted to dialectology, she is confronted with problems similar to those of Brendemoen, Demir and Doerfer. In trying to find the roots of the word for "twin" in the language of the Christian Tatars of Russia, she suggests two hypotheses, each one reflecting an extremely complex linguistic and historical interaction between the Tatar and Chuvash languages and their dialects. That even a well-known expert on Chuvash etymology such as Ms Agyagási cannot, in the end, exclude either of these hypotheses shows what an intricate area of investigation Chuvash and Tatar etymology is and how much still remains to be done.

Apart from the article by Klára Agyagási, there are two more dealing with the languages of the Volga-Kama region. Milan Adamović argues convincingly for the Cheremis origin of the Bolgar and Chuvash ordinal suffixes. In a critical discussion of the previous literature, Adamović supports his thesis with examples from Cheremis as well as from other Finno-Ugric languages.

Árpád Berta puts forth an equally plausible theory on the -*t*- forms of causatives in the Qïpčaq languages. The -*t*- of the causative suffix in some monosyllabic words ending in a sonorous consonant contradicts the rule according to which there should be -*d*- in this position. Berta explains this irregularity by assuming that there were once two causative suffixes in this position, together forming a cluster -*Ctt*-, which was later reduced to -*Ct*- (C stands for consonant).

Turkic etymology—not of the Volga-Kama region but of the region around Lake Baikal—is also touched upon by Juha Janhunen in her article "Khamnigan data on the Turkic name of Lake Baikal". The form *Baigul*, which Janhunen finds in the modern Mongol Khamnigan dialect, is an important support for the thesis that the final *a* in the Mongol name of Lake Baikal is not original. The *u* in the Khamnigan form speaks for a Turkic etymology of the name (<*ba:y* "rich", *kö:l* "lake"), which also features a la-

bial vowel in the second syllable. Janhunen gives some further arguments for the Turkic etymology, which, together with the above-mentioned, give a quite convincing picture.

The complex history of Turkic words is again the subject of András Róna-Tas's reconstruction of how the word *terem* has migrated through all kinds of languages, including Greek, Hungarian, Turkic, Mongolian, Slavic and Tibetan. As one of the great masters of the great Hungarian Turcological tradition, with its emphasis on comparative linguistics, Róna-Tas uses a wide variety of sources and reference material. To appreciate his line of argument in full, the reader would have to possess, besides a thorough knowledge of Slavic, Turkic, the Mongolian languages and Hungarian (not to mention some of the less common scientific languages such as Latin and German), at least some idea of Ancient and Byzantine Greek, Tibetan, Arabic and Armenian. Although Róna Tas's reconstruction of *terem*'s history is convincing, without knowing all the languages mentioned well enough, the reviewer feels unable to say whether alternative etymologies are possible or not. For instance, does the first element of the Old Bavarian place-name *Termperhc* necessarily have to be explained by a word connected with the Greek τέραμνα meaning "house, habitat"? There is another Greek word, τέρμων, meaning "border", which may be the source of the first element of *Termperhc*, apart from the possibility of a derivation from the Latin *terminus*, also meaning "border". And what about the Greek θερμός "warm"? And so on. There should be simple and unequivocal reasons for excluding such possibilities from the etymology of *Termperhc*, if the arguments of Róna-Tas are to be correct. The reviewer does not feel competent to challenge Róna-Tas's richly documented etymology, which is, all in all, fairly consistent.

Another contribution to Turkic etymology is Claus Schönig's concise listing of the possibilities of analyzing Sayan Turkic *käŋmä*. While Schönig is optimistic about identifying the element *-mä* as a typical Turkic deverbal suffix denoting food (as in Turkish *dolma*), despite his extensive search in languages both Turkic and non-Turkic he does not succeed in producing a verbal stem *käŋ-* in any language. What pleases most in Schönig's contribution is his strict adherence to scientific precision: all of the hypotheses and comparisons that he discusses are solidly based on linguistic rules and he carefully fulfils the requirement that an etymology should unite the morphological, semantic and geographical levels into one coherent unit. There is not a crack in the author's line of argument, as far as I can judge as a dilettante in the field of Turkic etymology. Just one more possibility comes to my unqualified mind: what if *käŋ(-)* was not a verbal root at all? Despite the above-mentioned facts, the existence of, for instance, Turkish *lokma* "bit (of food)" does not allow of the conclusion that there is a verbal stem *lok-*, because the word *lokma* as a whole is of Arabic origin. Since Schönig clearly states that a source language for the first element of *käŋmä* cannot be identified (yet), it may, theoretically, just as well be that *käŋmä* is a global copy (in the meaning that Lars Johanson has given the term) not containing Turkic *-mä* and possible not of deverbal origin at all.

Hendrik Boeschoten's article "Zur Charakterisierung des Kodekopierens" is thematically linked to Gerhard Doerfer's description of a language-contact situation in medieval Central Asia (see above). Among the many inspirations that Lars Johanson has given to Turcological linguistics, one of the most important, without any doubt, is the impetus that he has given to apply contemporary linguistic methods and theories to the study of Turkic languages. His recently published book "Strukturelle Faktoren in türkischen Sprachkontakten" (Stuttgart 1992) must be appreciated as the most serious attempt so far at a theory of contact linguistics applied to the Turkic languages. Hendrik Boeschoten compares in his article Johanson's code-copying model and terminology with other current modern theories of contact linguistics. Thus, the article is, first of all, a helpful tool for anyone who wants to get linguistic terms settled before possibly embarking on a research project on Turkic-language contacts. As Boeschoten emphasizes, Turkic contact linguistics is a field of research still in the process of developing. He underscores several difficulties that inevitably arise when one looks at copying between two different (Turkic) languages, for instance, the difficulty of distinguishing between momentary copies and those copies that make a permanent entry in the grammatical and/or lexical system of the recipient language. Another problem is how the equivalence of grammatical categories can be established between two languages; such equivalence seems, however, to be indispensable for language comparison. Another important point in Boeschoten's article is his allusion to the historical dimension of language contacts (p. 37). Boeschoten reports how far linguists have already come in their attempts to establish a finite quantity of descriptive rules for language contact, together forming a more or less complete model. But even after Johanson's milestone book on Turkic language contacts, there is still a long way to go and the factors determining many a situation of language contact may in the end prove to be so multilayered as to preclude a coherent systemati-

zation. It starts with such simple text examples as "engen Beziehungen *mit* der Türkei" (quoted from p. 37 of Boeschoten's article, my italics), where some native German speakers might expect the preposition *zu* instead of *mit*. Has Boeschoten here copied something into German or reproduced something already existing (perhaps copied at some former point of time) in that language? Similar questions might be very difficult to answer, given the number of languages spoken in a multinational environment like Germany and the lightning speed of information transmission in our internet age, when language change often goes on below the level of consciousness of the speaker (and the researcher).

Another article in this *Festschrift* concerned with modern Turkish is Tooru Hayasi's "The dual status of possessive compounds in modern Turkish". (Throughout this review, I shall not follow the editors' practice of capitalizing all initials in titles.) Hayasi pleads for a new analysis of Turkish possessive compounds that is to replace the traditional perspective, which, according to him, has proved inadequate. He criticizes two traditional ways of understanding possessive compounds: one of these regards the obligatory possessive suffix merely as a marker for the compound, while the other perceives possessive compound constructions as being on the same level as genitive constructions. One of the reasons why the possessive suffix of the third person singular cannot, in Hayasi's eyes, simply be a marker of the compound state is that it does not occur in all instances of compound-building. For example, the *-(s)I* suffix disappears if the whole compound takes a possessive suffix of the first or second person, as in *okul bina-mız* "our school-building" (with just one suffix). A form **okul bina-sı-mız* (with two suffixes) does not exist in Turkish. However, this does not necessarily disprove that in at least some compounds with *-(s)I* this suffix has *no* other function than marking the composition. In fact, cannot *-mız* (possessive suffix of the first-person plural) in the example *okul binamız* above just be regarded as an allomorph of the possessive suffix *-(s)I* (expressing nominal composition), which is chosen whenever the compound has a possessor in the first-person plural? Hayasi is right in stating that the possessive suffix may be absent or change place if another derivational suffix is added (thus one says *Türkiye Cumhuriyetli*, not **Türkiye Cumhuriyetili*, and *Çorum leblebicisi*, not **Çorum leblebisici* in the examples given by Hayasi). But concerning Hayasi's example *milletvekilliği* "Member of Parliament" (I choose the standard orthography without a space between the compound nouns), one could think of an alternative segmentation to that of Hayasi. His analysis has the word-formation suffix *lik* added to *milletvekili* (p. 124), that is, in the hierarchy the possessive suffix would rank before the derivation. However, *milletvekilliği* can also be regarded as a compound of *millet + vekillik* rather than a *-lik* derivation of *milletvekili*; if formed from *millet + vekillik*, there is no need to assume a possessive suffix after *vekil*. One would perhaps need a careful investigation into the history of the use of *milletvekilliği* in order to resolve this question. The second traditional view that has been summed up above is criticized by Hayasi, who points out that genitive constructions and possessive compounds are structurally not identical. Among Hayasi's arguments for this we read that between the components of a possessive compound no adjective can be inserted, while between the elements of a genitive construction adjectives may be inserted. He cites as an example the impossible form **okul yüksek binası* with *yüksek* meaning "high" in between. However, Hayasi gives at the end of his article the form *cumhur eski başkanı* (to which can be added the analogous case of *devlet eski başkanı*) which *is* a nominal compound with an adjective in between. This seems to contradict what Hayasi has stated in connection with **okul yüksek binası*. On the other hand, besides *cumhur eski başkanı* also the form *eski cumhur başkanı* exists. It remains to be investigated if there is a functional or stylistic difference between these two forms. Furthermore, there are examples in Turkish such as *Kızılay tabii sodası* "Kızılay natural soda water" (my own observation on a bottle-box in Istanbul), a possessive compound consisting of noun+adjective+noun-*(s)I*. The reason why *Kızılay tabii sodası* exists in precisely this form might have something to do with cohesion: while *cumhur başkanı* is a fixed lexeme rarely allowing any insertion (in standard Turkish orthography it is almost always written as a single word, *cumhurbaşkanı*), *Kızılay sodası* is maybe not lexicalized, while *tabii soda* can be, to a certain degree, regarded as a cohesive unit ("soda water"). That is, to say, *Kızılay tabii sodası* has most probably to be segmented as *Kızılay+(tabii soda)*, not *(Kızılay sodası)+tabii*; thus we have to deal with adjunction, not insertion. However, this does not change the fact that *Kızılay tabii sodası* strictly speaking remains a possessive compound with an adjective in between. Turkish possessive compounds with an adjective in between await further research. Another important point in Hayasi's contribution is that words making up a Turkish compound show (at least to a certain degree) "syntactic autonomy" (p. 127). However, what Hayasi cites as proof of syntactic autonomy seems to be taken not from the sphere of syntax, but of reference (that is, a subsection of semantics). Even if it is granted that, in Hayasi's example

portakal reçeli yiyemem ama onun marmeladına bayılırım (p. 128) "orange *jam* does not agree with me, but I am fond of its *marmelade*" (my translation and italics) the word *onun* does not refer to the compound *portakal marmeladına* but only to *portakal*, this alone is not a sufficient proof that *portakal* in the quoted sentence has a special *syntactic* status. Something else that one may miss in Hayasi's contribution is a basic definition of "syntactically complex construction" or its synonymous "phrase" (p. 128), notions that are central to Hayasi's analysis, since he tends to see possessive compounds as closer to a "phrase" status than is accepted in traditional views. Finally, Hayasi's hints at Japanese possessive constructions offer a fascinating perspective, but the reader is left without examples, probably due to a shortage of space.

There is a another investigation of modern standard Turkish in the volume under review. Klaus Röhrborn throws a glance at a subclass of Turkish neologisms: neologistic nouns that have an identical verbal counterpart (Röhrborn uses the term "conversion" (*Konversion*) for this whole process of neologism-building) or neologistic verb/noun pairs where the verb has an additional morpheme, usually *-la*, to mark its verbal status (in this case, Röhrborn speaks of subtractive word-formation (*subtraktive Wortbildung*)). The result that Röhrborn obtains is that conversion is practically not working as a principle of Turkish word-creation, since the Turkish neologisms formed by conversion are basically restricted to a shadowy existence between the covers of remote neologistic dictionaries. On the other hand, the highly productive suffix *-la* guarantees that words marked by it are recognized as verbs by speakers of Turkish.

Peter Golden's expert glance at "The *Černii Klobouci*" is situated at the interface between history and linguistics (albeit historical). On the one side, Golden investigates the ethnic composition of the *Černii Klobouci* ethnic group and, on the other he reports and suggests a number of etymologies of personal names that have come down to us from them. *Černii Klobouci* appears in Old Russian historical documents as the designation of a Turkic ethnic group that takes sides with some of the rival Russian princes in the 12th century. The Russian term means "black hats", which is supposedly a loan-translation from a Turkic language. Since there are quite a few Turkic groups whose names mean or meant "black heads", Golden refrains from identifying the *Černii Klobouci* with any particular one of them, for instance, the *Qara Qalpaq*.

Before making some notes on Kenesbay Musayev's article "Dravidian-Turkic-Sanskrit lexical comparisons", the reviewer wishes to point out that he has zero knowledge of any Dravidian language. Therefore, the following critical annotations, which are made from a Turcological viewpoint, may seem completely unjustified to experts of Dravidian languages (and Sanskrit). Musayev speaks of "connection(s)" (p. 170, line 20 and p. 171, line 5) and "relationship" (p. 173, line 43) between the Dravidian and Turkic languages. These and similar terms that he uses leave it open whether he is discussing a genetic or some other form of relationship between Dravidian and Turkic, including loan contacts. This is probably intentionally done, although part of the literature used by Musayev does in fact refer to the question of genetic relation (for instance, Burrows and Collinder). Since Musayev does not specify the nature of his "relationship" thesis, it remains altogether quite vague. Moreover, what he gives as support for his theory can be attacked from numerous sides, both methodological and factual. For instance, one wonders why he takes the pains to have his "connection" (whatever its precise nature may be) supported by a scholar from the 19th century (M. Müller), who, as Musayev tells us directly after, did not even know the Turkic languages. Musayev's Turkic-Dravidic relationship hypothesis seems to be triggered by two observations. The first is that there are "typological features" (p. 169) that those languages have in common. The second is that Turks and speakers of Dravidian languages were in a geographical neighbourhood 3500 years ago (p. 174). As regards the first trigger, one has to recall the fact that the mere existence of typological parallels proves nothing about direct historic relatedness (which seems to be what Musayev is after at this point); on the contrary, the vast linguistic literature on language universals and typology (which is still growing in our days) has shown that many languages that cannot be traced back to some common ancient mother-language show typological parallels (eg. Aymara Quechua and Turkic). As regards the second assumption, it is noteworthy that Musayev speaks of "Turks" for a period of time that is 3.5 millennia ago (p. 174), for the name "Turk" appears, as far as we can know, for the first time only about one thousand years ago. Moreover, the word comparisons Musayev offers seem to be not very convincing. While there seems to be some degree of phonetic and semantic similarity in some of the examples, this is, again, no proof of relatedness, especially considering the small number of compared items Musayev has to offer (about 15). Linguistic rules are not presented, and the correspondences might well be attributed to pure coincidence. If Tamil etc. *mey* is to be related to Turkic *boy* "body" (p. 173), why not compare *mey* also

with English *body* (note that *boy* also exists as *bod* in some Turkic languages!)? Apart from the absence of a methodological framework, which would allow us to gauge such similarities, there is also a number of factual errors which make the basis for his theory appear even weaker. For instance, *maṛday* etc. (p. 173) is not a Turkic, but a Mongol word (not attested in Turkic before the 13. century), and, contrary to Musayev's information (p. 174), there are conjunctions in Turkic from the most ancient times onwards (such as Ancient Uyghur *kalti*). While the existence of relations between the Turkic and Dravidian languages that exceed probabilistic expectations remains an interesting idea, Musayev's remarks fail to give it any substantial corroboration.

Roy Andrew Miller's article "Trk. *l_2, *r_2 and Korean" is similar to Musayev's in that it argues for lexical connections between different language families (or different branches of one language group, if one accepts an Altaic hypothesis). Miller tries to shed some new light on the question of Turkic rhotazism and lambdacism by comparing it with Korean material. Without entering on the details of Miller's etymological suggestions, one may be allowed to make some remarks concerning methodology again. Like practically any Korean material before the invention of the Korean *Han-gŭl* in the middle of the 15th century, the Old Korean words cited by Miller are based upon transcriptions from Old Chinese. As he correctly points out (p. 160), "the phonetic and phonological interpretation of such texts [texts written in Chinese characters, M.H.] is not always easy". But the conclusion he draws from this observation, namely that "a volume of Turkological contributions is no place in which to become bogged down in these often tiresome Sinological details" and the freedom he takes to "content ourselves with providing a transcription of the original phonogram orthography that appears to us to conform most closely to what is presently understood concerning these writings" (also p. 160) is to my mind not appropriate. "Appear to us", "most closely", "presently", passive voice and "understood" indicate a degree of uncertainty concerning the interpretation of Miller's data that makes it hard to believe that they can give any precise and reliable answer to such minute questions as the existence of two different *r*s, *nota bene* not in Korean, the language of the transcription, but in the Turkic language family. For instance, Miller gives on p. 165 a reconstructed Late Old Korean form *narg*. He compares it with Old Turkic *yüz*, Mongolian *niyur* and others, which is not necessarily an implausible comparison, given the fact that all these words have a common semantic core ("face"). But, although Miller mentions on p. 166 that there is no *l*/*r* distinction in middle and modern Korean, he gives no information about *l* and *r* in Old Korean. Why, for example, does he not transcribe *narg* as *nalg? In other Old Korean words cited by Miller, *l* *does* appear, as in *kilči* (p. 161). Were there, according to Miller, two different phonemes, *r* and *l*, in that language, or by what other conditions is the choice of *l* in *kilči* and *r* in *narg* determined? It seems hard to compare single Old Korean phonemes with Turkic phonetics without sketching at least the relevant part of the supposed Old Korean phoneme system in some detail. Like Musayev (see above), Miller does not formulate linguistic rules, maybe as a consequence of his theoretical tenets, which include the wish to avoid the trap of "'deriving' one attested language from another" (p. 167). But, on the other hand, if there are no systematic descriptions of how, for instance, Old Korean *mu'alši* (Miller's reconstruction) is supposed to have developed into Old Turkic *bügüš* etc. (p. 162), giving all the intermediary steps, including the development of the vowels, Miller's suppositions might fall into another trap, namely, the coincidence trap: for, without exact rules, a limited number of similarities may just as well as anything else be the product of coincidence. Miller fails to disprove that the parallels observed by him are the results of coincidence. There is at least one instance of circular argumentation in Miller's article. Thus, on p. 166, we read: "Since Middle Korean like the modern language has no *l*/*r* distinction, the form [*kalk*] could as well (or even better?) be written *-kark*; and the etymology shows that historically the consonant was *-r-* and not *-l-*." It seems that Miller wants to render the etymological parallel that he draws between the Korean language and languages from other language families more striking by suggesting the alternative reading of *kalk* as *kark*, while on the other hand, the basis for that alternative reading is just that etymological parallel. Finally, I want to make a remark on chronology. On p. 167, Miller writes: "This [our being led astray by incorrect linguistic derivation methods, M.H.] can successfully be prevented only by establishing a chronological scenario, and constantly keeping in mind that correlations suggested in the present contribution can *have historisch-vergleichende* implications only so long as they and their putative operations are all rigidly restricted to a stage in history well before the earliest attestation of any of these materials. In other words, and most plainly put, we must think of all this in terms of *Ursprache*" (italics in the original). If I understand this passage correctly, Miller is telling us that the parallels between Old Korean and Turkic that are observed by him hint at a prehistoric stage, far beyond the time of the oldest

attested documents of either language group, and in which these languages were in some way united. But, on the other hand, Miller in the present article brings forth arguments for similarities that can, according to him, be observed in the historical period (e.g., in the 12th and 13th centuries). Let us suppose that the obvious similarity between Turkic *boγaz* and Middle Korean *mok*, both attested in the historical period, supports the existence of a common *Ursprache* that existed at some remote stage of prehistory. Then the question has to be asked whether these two words had undergone any phonetic change in the time that elapsed between that supposed *Ursprache* and their being attested (*boγaz* roughly from the 8th century onwards, the Korean word before 1289 according to Miller, p. 163). That this should *not* have been the case seems quite improbable in the light of all linguistic experience, for all languages are always and without exception subject to change. But, if there was some change, this would probably mean that the degree of phonetic similarity between the two cited example words would decrease rather than increase. For instance, the further one goes down the history of any two languages that have developed from a common language, the greater the phonetic differences between these two languages as a rule become (cf., for instance, Turkish *iyi* "good" and Bashkir *éye* "yes" from Old Turkic *äδgü*). But since Miller himself gives no "chronological scenario" (p. 167), it is difficult to decide in what chronological dimensions he locates the *Ursprache*. All the criticism in the above paragraph is not intended to say that Miller's thesis of some connection between the Turkic languages and Korean is implausible or even wrong. Indeed, it may be true, and some ethnographic parallels, as in the field of shamanism, to which Miller points on pp. 162–163 support such a view. But what that theory boils down to will not, alas, be seen without " 'solid' linguistic materials" (Miller, p. 165).

A different approach to the "Altaic question" is Aleksandr M. Ščerbak's. While the perspective of Roy Andrew Miller easily reaches back for millennia in the past and involves a very remote candidate language for the Altaic hypothesis, Ščerbak shows at what great difficulties we are in describing the relationship even between two language groups that are, according to pro-Altaistic viewpoints, to be regarded as forming the core of the Altaic languages: Turkic and Mongolian. If one compares Ščerbak's careful tracing of Turkic-Mongolian borrowings and re-borrowings and the many question marks he puts behind them, one cannot but draw the conclusion that we are far from establishing a conclusive picture of the relationship between Mongolian and Turkic. A larger Altaic theory can only be established if the contradictions that Ščerbak discovers for us have been satisfactorily described. Words such as Yaqut *bihilex* "seal-ring" with their rather variegated forms in the other Turkic and in the Mongolian languages seem to raise the question whether the divergences between such forms are not serious obstacles on the way to a possibly coherent Altaic theory. Observations like Ščerbak's must absolutely be taken into account by anyone who is working comparatively on the Altaic languages.

How popular Altaic hypotheses still are is shown by yet another article, "On the origin of the Turkic Genitive Suffix" by Talât Tekin. Tekin argues that the suffix *-n* represented both accusative and genitive cases in Proto-Turkic and Old Yaqut and that the nasalisation of final *n* of the Common Turkic genitive suffix can be explained by assimilation to the dative suffix *-ka/-kä* and by the analogical copying of that assimilation (p. 229). This is a possible explanation of the origins of the Turkic genitive suffix. Another question is whether the Yaqut and Volga Bulgarian examples with a genitive *-n* (instead of a nasalized *ŋ*) are a valid support for the originality of the unnasalized genitive form in the Turkic languages. As is well known, Yaqut has undergone a thorough Mongolian influence, and Mongolian influence cannot be excluded for the Volga Bulgarian of the 14th century, as cited by Tekin (p. 228) either. The *-n* forms of Old Yaqut and Volga Bulgarian may, theoretically, have something to do with Mongolian genitive forms in *-n* (compare Nicolas Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian comparative studies*. 2nd ed., Helsinki 1987, p. 189). As regards the Old Turkic examples containing *qaγan-iŋ-in* that Tekin cites on p. 228, *-in* may perfectly well represent the ancient, non-nasalized, genitive suffix he argues for. But on the other hand we have to take into account the possibility that the illabial appearance of *-in* may also be the result of a dissimilating process due to the nasalized *ŋ* that precedes *-in*. One would want to see further examples of the old *-in* genitive, in which dissimilation can safely be excluded.

The investigation by Elvira A. Grunina is also about the origins of a class of Turkic suffixes. In passing, she touches upon the Altaic question, too, so it is legitimate to link her up with Miller, Musayev and Tekin. Her main attention is devoted to "functional verb forms" (*funkcional'nye formy glagola (FF)*, p. 109). Grunina defines *FF* as coming into being by predicative particles and auxiliary words being added to a lexical morpheme (… *kotorye voznikali putem prisoedineniya k leksičeskoy morfeme predikativnyx častic i služebnyx slov* …, p. 109). The *FF* morphemes are listed on p. 110, and they comprise, among

others, the element *-r(°)* which is related to the Common Turkic aorist suffix, the suffix *-d(°)* which Grunina connects with the Common Turkic preterite suffix (Turkish *-di* past etc.). Her aim seems to be to find root meanings for archimorphemes such as the above-mentioned. An important aspect is that she considers Turkic verbal and nominal morphology to be genetically related. For instance, she mentions connections between the Common Turkic reflexive suffix *-n* and the Chuvash participle *-ne/-ne* (p. 111), and she puts the diathetical morpheme *-K(°)* in words like Old Turkic *basïķ-* next to the element *-(°)K* in words like Old Turkic *ķïruķ* "open" (p. 115). One may ask what hints are there, besides the formal similarity of these two suffixes, that would enable us to regard them as a reflections of a common morpheme? Since Grunina gives very few examples and the scope of her investigation is very broad, the output is rather abstract and does not extend to giving examples for every step. But specialists will be happy to follow her interesting approach to the etymology of Turkic suffixes.

One of the major articles in this *Festschrift* is Marcel Erdal's "On applying 'causative' to 'passive', mainly in Turkish". As the title suggests, Erdal compares Turkish examples with examples from other languages. Erdal's investigation centres on the old discussion about whether Turkish *-il* verbs can receive a causative suffix or not.

In his contribution "Beobachtungen zum Vokalismus des Lehngutes im Mittelosmanischen" (Observations on the vocalism of loan words in Middle Ottoman), Györy Hazai emphasizes the importance of computer-supported analyses for general linguistics and for Turcology. Hazai is famous for being one of the first Turcologists to have systematically employed machine-based methods of linguistics, and his work in this field dates back to the sixties. In our days, when computer software is introduced probably nearly as rapidly as words in living languages, it is more than legitimate to plead, following Hazai, for the use of computers in linguistics, not only as a sophisticated species of typewriters, but also as machines for statistical work. Taking things to the extreme, one might draw scenarios in which the back-bending toil of past generations of scholars who took decades to analyse texts and collate dictionaries is reduced to a matter of a few minutes, thanks to scanners, giant CPUs and superb software. While Hazai sounds quite optimistic about the computer revolution, which, according to him, has opened up new perspectives ("neue Perspektiven", p. 132) for linguistics, the question must be put, whether an electronic revolution necessarily leads to an increase of (after all, human) understanding. What Hazai presents in his contribution is hardly more than a word-list. Admittedly, to prepare such a list without the aid of computers would not only lead to an increase of effort on the part of the preparator, but also to an increased fault rate. But a descriptive word-list alone, such as Hazai's adds very little to our *understanding* of language as a system. To give an example, from an epistemological point of view, it is hard to understand why Hazai leaves out counter-examples to the linguistic phenomenon he introduces to us (the representation of long *i* by *iy* in a transcribed Ottoman text from the 16th century). Since such counter-examples are "hardly observable" ("kaum zu beobachten", p. 137), one might have expected that their inclusion in the article would not have been impossible, especially given those electronic possibilities. The inclusion of counter-examples would probably have given Hazai's conclusion (p. 138), that an *iy* standing for long *i* was common in transcription texts of the first half of the 16th century, some statistical backing. Another way to satisfy the reader's thirst for knowledge might have been some sort of comment on the naked data in Hazai's list. For instance, why are the first vowel of *bidin* "infidel" (p. 134) and the second of *simin* "made of silver" (p. 136) not marked as long by *iy* in the transcribed text, despite their etymological length and despite the fact that all other words with initial long *i* in the list have *iy* in the transcription text? With every entry Hazai shows in brackets whether the vowels of the lemma are short or long. Hazai took this information from a Redhouse dictionary (which one, we cannot know, since there is no bibliography), as he states (p. 132). But the description of the second vowel of *tarih* as short (p. 136) is not in accordance either with the vowel length of the original Arabic word or with the medieval Ottoman (Arabic script) usage, which preserves the *Ye* in writing. In the entry *tarik* (p. 136) the vowel situation given by Hazai (-., long-short) stands again in contrast to the Arabic source word and to the Ottoman literary standard of the 16th century, which both demand (.-). Another question arises in connection with the lemma *kadimi* "very ancient" (p. 134): Since Hazai treats *kadimi* as a lexeme with the vowel structure (.--), the second *i* must not be analysed as an *izafet i*. Therefore, the form *kadiym-i* which Hazai puts under the lemma *kadimi* strictly speaking does not belong to it. The other form which Hazai gives under *kadimi*, *kadiymi*, raises again the problem of why the final *i* is not represented by *iy* in the transcription text, given the fact that it has the vowel structure .--.

One of the longest as well as most instructive contributions to the *Festschrift* is undoubtedly Mark

Kirchner's comparison of two Ottoman translations of the well-known Persian *Ḳâbûsnâma*, one dating from AD 1432 and the other from around 1732.

There is an interesting article covering etymological relations between Turkish, Ottoman, Persian and Aramaic by Fritiof Rundgren, entitled "Turkish *baška* and *diğer*, Aramaic *tūb*, and Old Persian *pasava*". It links up the other contributions in the volume with the sphere of Semitic philology.

Wolfgang E. Scharlipp's carefully worded interpretation of "the so-called dative suffix *-a/-ä* in the Yenissey inscriptions" shows the difficulties in interpreting ancient texts whose contexts are only partly known to us. Because of this, it is only natural that Scharlipp should refrain from saying any final word on the question of whether *-a/-ä* in the Yenissey Turkic text quoted by him really does represent a dative suffix in all or in most of the instances in which it occurs. As appears from Scharlipp's translation proposal (p. 206), he understands *-a/-ä* in most instances in the text in such a way that *a* is an exclamation particle, even in cases like *yärim a ayıt a subum a* (quotation from Scharlipp's transcription on p. 207) where it follows nouns (*yärim*, *subum*) and where its interpretation as a dative seems to be possible because the verb *ayıt-* requires a dative. However, the multitude of *a*'s in the text under Scharlipp's scrutiny seems to be a natural support for his theory that many or most of these elements can indeed be interpreted as interjections.

One of the most original contributions is Erika Taube's report on the Tuvinians in Western Mongolia. It is the only article not predominantly linguistic in the book, covering mainly social and historical aspects. Ms Taube is without doubt one of the greatest living authorities on Tuva, which is discernible already from the fact that her scientific devotion to the Tuvians, which has lasted for roughly three decades now, has had repercussions among the Tuvinians themselves. Ms Taube's article is a highly informative mixture of a travelogue and a scientific investigation of ethnography, history and linguistics.

A contribution by Peter Zieme on the textual tradition of the Uigur version of the Sutra of Golden Light rounds off the volume. He makes an important contribution to the establishment of a text fragment, comparing it with the Chinese translation on which it is based. The results may be unspectacular, but they are an indispensable basic work for both Buddhologists and Turcocolgists.

Last but not least, the *Festschrift* is closed by a bibliography of Lars Johanson's impressive scientific opus, including the numerous reviews he has written. This bibliography has been carefully provided by Éva Ágnes Csató. Thus, the book is not only a fascinating collection of articles reflecting the manifold topics touched upon by Turcology, but also a useful tool for access to the life's work of one of the most important Turcologists of the century.

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Contents