

# **ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES**

**Department of Oriental Studies  
of the Slovak Academy of Sciences Bratislava**

**V  
1969**

**1971**

**VYDAVATEĽSTVO SLOVENSKEJ AKADÉMIE VIED  
BRATISLAVA**

KO-11-3468

7/195



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## **ARTICLES**

## A CONTRIBUTION TO THE COMPARISON OF THE POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES\*

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§ 1. There can be no doubt that the Polynesian languages rank among the best described languages of the Austronesian family, both in synchronic and diachronic respect. Quite a good deal of attention has been paid to the internal subdivision of the Polynesian branch. However, this does not mean that there is such a thing as a generally accepted internal classification of the Polynesian languages. Apart from the traditional partition into a western and an eastern group (which seems to be true, even if not sufficient) several slightly different classifications have been suggested recently. They will be explained below. Elbert<sup>1</sup> (using lexicostatistical techniques) splits Polynesian into Tongan, Niue, East Uvean and East Futunan on the one hand, and into Samoan, Tikopian, and all the other (East) Polynesian languages on the other hand. Pawley<sup>2</sup> who bases his classification on morphological innovations arrives at a roughly similar conclusion. He splits Polynesian into Tongic (Tongan, Niue, East Uvean) and Nuclear Polynesian which in its turn splits into Samoic (Samoan, Ellice, Tokelauan, East Futunan, and Tikopian) and Eastern Polynesian. Green<sup>3</sup> accepts Pawley's classification and proposes a further subdivision of the Eastern Polynesian branch into a Central subgroup and Easter Island while the Central subgroup differentiates into Tahitic (Maori, Rarotongan, Tahitian, Tuamotuan) and Marquesic (Hawaiian, Marquesan, Mangarevan). Dyen's classification (based on lexicostatistical calculations)<sup>4</sup> is essentially traditional; the West Polynesian

\* This study was kindly supported by the National Science Foundation.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel H. Elbert; *Internal Relationships of Polynesian Languages and Dialects*. South-western Journal of Anthropology 9 (1953): 147—173.

<sup>2</sup> Andrew Pawley, *Polynesian Languages: A Subgrouping Based on Shared Innovations in Morphology*. Journal of the Polynesian Society 75 (1966): 39—64.

<sup>3</sup> Roger Green, *Linguistic Subgrouping within Polynesia: The Implications for Prehistoric Settlement*. Journal of the Polynesian Society 75 (1966): 6—38.

<sup>4</sup> Isidore Dyen, *A Lexicostatistical Classification of the Austronesian Languages*. Waverly Press, Baltimore 1965.

cluster includes a Tongan hesion (Niue, East Uvean, Tongan), East Futunan, Samoan, an Ellicean hesion (Tikopian, Ellice Islands), Tokelauan, Rennellese, and Pilheni; the East Polynesian hesion includes Rarotongan, Tahitian, Tuamotuan, Hawaiian, Marquesan, Mangarevan, and Easter Island. Three Polynesian languages are regarded

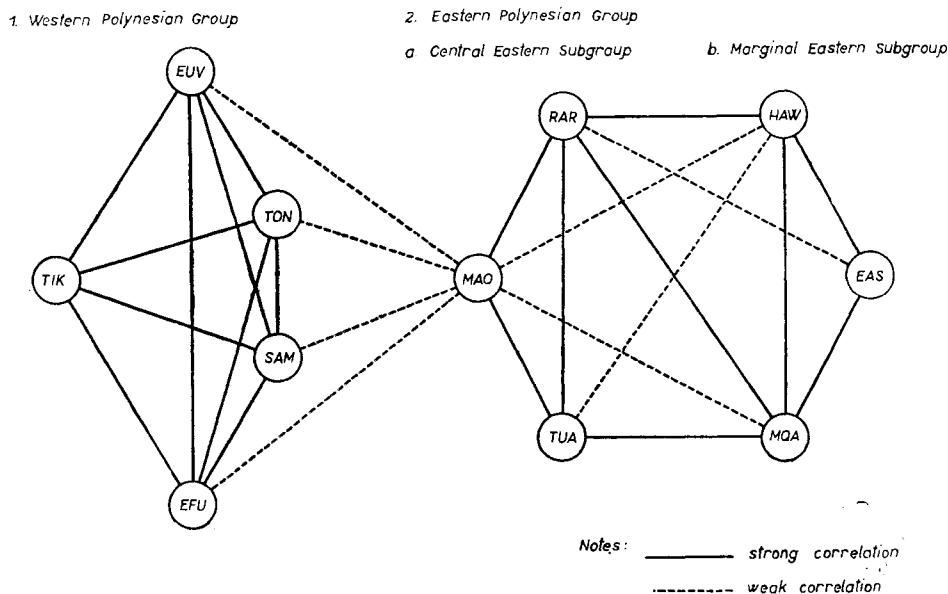


Fig. 1. Internal Classification of the Polynesian Languages

as standing somewhere between East and West, namely Kapingamarangi, Nukuoro, and Maori. The latter is said to have "marked Eastern Polynesian characteristics".

§ 2. This article is an attempt to classify the Polynesian languages proceeding from their vocabulary. According to Bruce Biggs,<sup>5</sup> Chrétien asked "by what scholarly principle we neglect the great bulk of available lexical material in comparative work". This gave a sort of an impetus to linguists of the University of Auckland who have started a research project involving the comparison of the total lexicons. The first result of their work is a Proto-Polynesian Word List I<sup>6</sup> which reconstructs about 1000 Proto-Polynesian words. A form is reconstructed as Proto-Polynesian, first, if its reflexes occur in any Polynesian language east of Samoa or in Maori, and in (a) Tongan and/or East Uvean or (b) Fijian; second, a reconstruction is

<sup>5</sup> In Polynesian Culture History, Edited by C. A. Highland e. a. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu 1967: 314.

<sup>6</sup> D. S. Walsh and Bruce Biggs, *Proto-Polynesian Word List I*. Linguistic Society of New Zealand, Auckland 1966.

labelled tentatively Proto-Polynesian if its reflexes occur in Fijian and/or in Tongan or East Uvean and also in Samoan plus either East Futunan or Tikopian. In so doing a prejudice is showed in favour of placing Samoan in a different group from Tongan.<sup>7</sup>

It should be observed that the compilers of the Proto-Polynesian Word List have been restricted by the lexicographic material available. For this reason at least twenty Polynesian languages (including Tahitian) had to be omitted from the investigation. That is why the suggested classification is incomplete. Its value is also diminished by insufficient information available on some of the langauges included (especially Tikopian, Easter Island, and Marquesan). Another source of errors might have been in choosing words for reconstructions and in processing the data.

§ 3. It ought to be stressed in advance that the use of statistical methods for determining relationships between languages is not completely new. In 1937, A. L. Kroeber and C. D. Chrétien published "Quantitative Classification of Indo-European Languages"<sup>8</sup> in *Language*, and two years later "The Statistic Technique and Hittite".<sup>9</sup> C. D. Chrétien published "The Quantitative Method for Determining Linguistic Relationships".<sup>10</sup> Further, H. K. J. Cowan's work ought to be mentioned.<sup>11</sup> D. W. Reed and L. J. Spicer used correlation methods for comparing idiolects.<sup>12</sup>

In this article Levin's measure of similarity<sup>13</sup> is used as combined with rank correlation technique (Kendall's tau).<sup>14</sup> Preference has been given to Kendall's tau instead of other correlation techniques because tau is much less tedious to calculate and much easier to evaluate, especially if  $S$  is smaller than, or equal to 10. The procedure used here is described below.

First, lexical cognates for all pairs of languages (EAS = Easter Island, EFU = East Futunan, EUV = East Uvean, HAW = Hawaiian, MAO = Maori, MQA = Marquesan, RAR = Rarotongan, SAM = Samoan, TIK = Tikopian, TON = Tongan, TUA = Tuamotuan, FIJ = Fijian) have been identified in the Polynesian Word List<sup>15</sup> and counted. The scores are given in Table 1. We see at a glance that

<sup>7</sup> D. S. Walsh and Bruce Biggs, o. c.

<sup>8</sup> *Language* 13 (1937).

<sup>9</sup> *Language* 15 (1939).

<sup>10</sup> University if California Publications in Linguistics, 1 (1963).

<sup>11</sup> H. K. J. Cowan, *Phonostatistical Diagnosis of Loanwords*. *Studia Linguistica* 13 (1959).

H. K. J. Cowan, *A Note on Statistical Methods in Comparative Linguistics*. *Lingua* 8 (1959).

H. K. J. Cowan, *Statistical Determination of Linguistic Relationship*. *Studia Linguistica* 16 (1962).

<sup>12</sup> D. W. Reed and L. J. Spicer, *Correlation Methods of Comparing Idiolects in a Transition Area*. *Language* 28 (1952).

<sup>13</sup> J. J. Levin, *Ob opisaniji sistemy lingvističeskich elementov obladajuščich obščimi svojstvami*. *Voprosy jazykoznanija* (1964): 112—119.

<sup>14</sup> Sidney Siegel, *Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences*. McGraw-Hill, New York 1956: 213—223.

<sup>15</sup> D. S. Walsh and Bruce Biggs, o. c.

there are some basic differences between pairs of languages as to the number of shared cognates (Tab. 1). The gap between Fijian (which is outside the Polynesian

Table 1  
Cognates Labelled PPN or (PPN)

<i>TIK</i>	<i>EFU</i>	<i>EUV</i>	<i>TON</i>	<i>SAM</i>	<i>MAO</i>	<i>RAR</i>	<i>TUA</i>	<i>MQA</i>	<i>HAW</i>	<i>EAS</i>	
215	268	277	298	285	272	253	254	208	215	168	<i>FIJ</i>
	389	411	423	404	403	383	382	312	346	273	<i>TIK</i>
		534	544	518	481	450	453	357	397	315	<i>EFU</i>
			588	548	532	490	490	394	435	335	<i>EUV</i>
				582	568	512	529	411	458	352	<i>TON</i>
					520	484	488	386	423	328	<i>SAM</i>
						515	531	410	466	347	<i>MAO</i>
							506	404	441	330	<i>RAR</i>
								396	450	335	<i>TUA</i>
									376	299	<i>MQA</i>
										322	<i>HAW</i>

branch) and the rest of the languages (which are Polynesian) is the most obvious. Therefore Fijian will be omitted from further considerations and our attention will be restricted to the Polynesian languages.

Table 2  
Proto-Polynesian Words in Daughter Languages

<i>PPN</i>	<i>TON</i>	<i>EUV</i>	<i>MAO</i>	<i>SAM</i>	<i>EFU</i>	<i>TUA</i>	<i>RAR</i>	<i>HAW</i>	<i>TIK</i>	<i>MQA</i>	<i>EAS</i>	<i>FIJ</i>
	660	614	607	604	568	559	545	491	443	435	363	322

§ 4. The comparison will be carried out in two stages. In the first stage a measure of similarity will be computed for all pairs of languages by means of a formula suggested by J. J. Levin.<sup>16</sup> If the language *a* has *k* properties and the language *b* has *l* properties while *s* is the number of properties shared by both *a* and *b*, then the measure of similarity

$$\sigma_{a, b} = \frac{s^2}{k \cdot l}$$

$\sigma_{a, b}$  ranges within the interval  $\langle 0; 1 \rangle$ . It equals 0 if *s* = 0. On the other hand, it equals 1 if *s* = *k* = *l*. Levin's measure neutralizes differences in the number of Proto-Polynesian forms displayed by the individual languages. The resulting  $\sigma_{a, b}$  are given in Table 3.

<sup>16</sup> J. J. Levin, o. c.

Table 3  
Similarity of Languages in Terms of  $\sigma_{a, b}$

<i>TIK</i>	<i>EFU</i>	<i>EUV</i>	<i>TON</i>	<i>SAM</i>	<i>MAO</i>	<i>RAR</i>	<i>TUA</i>	<i>MQA</i>	<i>HAW</i>	<i>EAS</i>	
.324	.393	.388	.418	.418	.378	.365	.358	.307	.292	.241	<i>FIJ</i>
	.601	.621	.612	.610	.604	.608	.589	.505	.550	.463	<i>TIK</i>
		.818	.789	.782	.671	.654	.646	.516	.565	.481	<i>EFU</i>
			.853	.810	.759	.717	.699	.581	.628	.503	<i>EUV</i>
				.850	.805	.729	.758	.588	.647	.517	<i>TON</i>
					.737	.712	.705	.567	.603	.491	<i>SAM</i>
						.802	.831	.637	.729	.546	<i>MAO</i>
							.840	.688	.727	.550	<i>RAR</i>
								.645	.738	.553	<i>TUA</i>
									.662	.566	<i>MQA</i>

When the values of  $\sigma_{a, b}$  for all pairs of Polynesian languages are arranged according to the size (where rank 1 is assigned to the pair of the most similar languages), by means of the runs test<sup>17</sup> it can be proved that there is greater similarity between a Western and a Western Polynesian language and between an Eastern and an Eastern Polynesian language than between a Western and an Eastern Polynesian language. Pairs in which one member is an Eastern Polynesian language and another member is a Western Polynesian language are termed mixed and denoted by *M* while pairs in which both members are either Eastern Polynesian languages or Western Polynesian languages are termed identical and denoted by *I*. An extract from the sequence of pairs of languages is given in Table 4.

Table 4  
Ranked Pairs of Languages According to Similarity

1. <u><i>TON:EUV</i></u>	2. <u><i>SAM:TON</i></u>	3. <u><i>TUA:RAR</i></u>	4. <u><i>TUA:MAO</i></u>	5. <u><i>EUV:EFU</i></u>	6. <u><i>SAM:EUV</i></u>
<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>
7. <u><i>MAO:TON</i></u>	8. <u><i>RAR:MAO</i></u>	...53. <u><i>EAS:SAM</i></u>	54. <u><i>EAS:EFU</i></u>	55. <u><i>EAS:TIK</i></u>	
<i>M</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>M</i>	

There are 25 identical pairs, 30 mixed pairs, and the number of runs equals 26. We obtain a  $z = -4.74$ , and since  $p$  is much smaller than 0.01, this means that the sequence of pairs of languages is not random. Identical pairs of languages tend to display higher measures of similarity than mixed pairs. This confirms that the division of the Polynesian languages into a Western and an Eastern group is justified. However, this procedure cannot be used for a more subtle classification.

<sup>17</sup> Sidney Siegel, o. c.: 56—58.

Therefore, in the second stage, every language will be furnished with a sequence of all other languages arranged according to the decreasing value of the measure of similarity (see Table 5).

Table 5  
Sequences of Languages Ranked According to the Decreasing Value of  $\sigma_{a,b}$

TIK:	EUV	TON	SAM	RAR	MAO	EFU	TUA	HAW	MQA	EAS
EFU:	EUV	TON	SAM	MAO	RAR	TUA	TIK	HAW	MQA	EAS
EUV:	TON	EFU	SAM	MAO	RAR	TUA	HAW	TIK	MQA	EAS
TON:	EUV	SAM	MAO	EFU	TUA	RAR	HAW	TIK	MQA	EAS
SAM:	TON	EUV	EFU	MAO	RAR	TUA	TIK	HAW	MQA	EAS
MAO:	TUA	TON	RAR	EUV	SAM	HAW	EFU	MQA	TIK	EAS
RAR:	TUA	MAO	TON	HAW	EUV	SAM	MQA	EFU	TIK	EAS
TUA:	RAR	MAO	TON	HAW	SAM	EUV	EFU	MQA	TIK	EAS
MQA:	RAR	HAW	TUA	MAO	TON	EUV	SAM	EAS	EFU	TIK
HAW:	TUA	MAO	RAR	MQA	TON	EUV	SAM	EAS	EFU	TIK
EAS:	HAW	MQA	TUA	RAR	MAO	TON	EUV	SAM	EFU	TIK

The internal classification of the Polynesian languages will be based upon a comparison of these sequences (for all pairs of languages). If two languages display identical or sufficiently similar sequences, this means that they are members of the same subgroup. If two languages display sufficiently different sequences, this indicates that they are members of different subgroups. Sufficiency of the similarity of any pairs of languages is evaluated here by means of Kendall's tau. If the value of  $p$  associated with an obtained tau is smaller than or equal to 0.01, we speak of a strong correlation, and if it ranges between 0.01 and 0.05, we speak of a weak correlation. In other instances there is no correlation. It should be added that those cases in which there is a negative correlation are treated as those in which there is no correlation. This is natural, for it means that the two languages compared associate with the other languages in opposite ways.

Table 6  
Values of  $p$  Associated with Tau Based on  $\sigma_{a,b}$

EUV	TON	EFU	SAM	MAO	RAR	TUA	MQA	HAW	EAS	
.001	.000	.000	.001	.060	.179	.090	.460	.381	.038	TIK
	.000	.000	.000	.038	.130	.090	.460	.540	.060	EUV
		.000	.000	.022	.090	.090	.540	.306	.130	TON
			.000	.038	.130	.179	.460	.460	.038	EFU
				.038	.130	.090	.460	.460	.060	SAM
					.000	.001	.022	.012	.130	MAO
						.000	.003	.003	.038	RAR
							.003	.038	.060	TUA
								.000	.001	MQA
									.001	HAW

The languages compared may be subclassified in a clear way when pluses and minuses (++ denoting a strong correlation, + denoting a weak correlation, and — denoting lack of a correlation or a negative correlation) are used instead of the values of  $p$  and when Table 6 is complemented into a quadrangular form (see Table 7).

Table 7  
Classification of the Polynesian Languages

	<i>TIK</i>	<i>EUVE</i>	<i>TON</i>	<i>EFU</i>	<i>SAM</i>	<i>MAO</i>	<i>RAR</i>	<i>TUA</i>	<i>MQA</i>	<i>HAW</i>	<i>EAS</i>
<i>TIK</i>		++	++	++	++	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>EUVE</i>	++		++	++	++	+	—	—	—	—	—
<i>TON</i>	++	++		++	++	+	—	—	—	—	—
<i>EFU</i>	++	++	++		++	+	—	—	—	—	—
<i>SAM</i>	++	++	++	++		+	—	—	—	—	—
<i>MAO</i>	—	+	+	+	+	+	++	++	+	+	—
<i>RAR</i>	—	—	—	—	—	++	++	++	++	++	+
<i>TUA</i>	—	—	—	—	—	++	++	++	++	+	—
<i>MQA</i>	—	—	—	—	—	+	++	++	++	++	++
<i>HAW</i>	—	—	—	—	—	+	++	+	++	++	++
<i>EAS</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	++	++	—

§ 5. When we try to subdivide the languages compared into such largest groups members of which are strongly correlated, we obtain the following three groupings:

1. Western group comprising Tikopian, East Uvean, Tongan, East Futunan, and Samoan:

2. Central Eastern group comprising Maori, Rarotongan, and Tuamotuan;

3. Marginal Eastern group comprising Marquesan, Hawaiian, and Easter Island.

The latter two groups can be combined into an Eastern group on the grounds that any member of one group is associated with any member of the other group.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, no member of the Eastern group is associated with any member of the Western group (in other words, there is no strong correlation between them). Thus the Western group seems to be rather well separated from the Eastern group. The former group cannot be subdivided, for all Western languages are mutually linked (strongly correlated). However, there is a link which joins both main groupings, at least on a somewhat lower level. That is, Maori correlates weakly with four of the Western languages (East Uvean, East Futunan, Tongan, Samoan). This seems to indicate that Maori takes up a rather excentric position in the Eastern group. Besides, it correlates strongly with members of the Central Eastern subgroup only, while

<sup>18</sup> In Levin's definition (cf. o. c.), an object  $a$  is associated with an object  $b$  if such objects  $c_1, c_2, \dots, c_n$  exist that  $a$  is linked with  $c_1$ ,  $c_1$  is linked with  $c_2$ ,  $c_2$  is linked with  $c_{n-1}$ ,  $c_{n-1}$  is linked with  $c_n$  which is linked with  $b$ . In this particular instance „linked“ can be interpreted as “strongly correlated”.

it correlates either weakly with members of the Marginal Eastern subgroup (Marquesan and Hawaiian) or not at all (Easter Island). The latter language is diametrically opposed to Maori for it correlates strongly with Marquesan and Hawaiian (of the Marginal Eastern subgroup), weakly with Rarotongan while it does not correlate at all with Maori and Tuamotuan. A graphic representation of this classification is shown on Figure 1.

§ 6. If the above classification of the Polynesian languages is compared to other existing classifications, we must admit that it corroborates the traditional subdivision of the Polynesian branch into a Western and an Eastern group. Samoan, East Futunan, and Tikopian are classed with Tongan and East Uvean. As far as the Eastern group is concerned, there is a considerable agreement with Green's partition of the Eastern group into a Tahitic subgroup (Our Central Eastern subgroup) and into a Marquesic subgroup (our Marginal Eastern subgroup).<sup>19</sup> The position of Maori seems to be somewhat closer to the Western group than that of any other Eastern language, which is a result analogous to Dyen's view.<sup>20</sup> The position of the Easter Island language is also different in our classification. While Green regards it as a separate member of the Eastern group, our classification classes it with the Marquesic languages.

In conclusion it should be mentioned that a satisfactory classification of a group of languages must be based not only on the comparison of their vocabularies but also on their grammatical and phonological properties. Until all these aspects are taken into account, any extant subclassification of the Polynesian languages will be only tentative.

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<sup>19</sup> Roger Green, o. c.

<sup>20</sup> Isidore Dyen, o. c.

## SPANISH LOANWORDS IN TAGALOG

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The subject-matter of the present study belongs to the group of problems that have recently been briefly characterized as language contacts. This implies an extensive area of investigation, for in practice, contact between two or more languages takes place all over the world. An overestimation of this fact in linguistics has gone so far as to lead to vulgarization (Marr), when every change in a language was ascribed to the mixing of languages. This oversimplifying viewpoint has but few adherents today. This, however, is not meant to imply that language, although representing a system, is inaccessible, entirely resistant to the influence of other languages. No effort is made to analyse here the language contact problems in general, — it will suffice to state that the influence of one language upon another becomes manifest in various degrees and different ways. At the same time it should not and cannot be denied that languages, even from the point of view of their mixing, do not behave in accordance with the same general laws that most frequently manifest themselves in the form of stronger or weaker tendencies.

It is a well-known fact that certain languages are relatively resistant to foreign influences, while others imbibe external influences relatively readily. Philippine languages and particularly, the Tagalog, belong among the latter.

We shall make at least a brief mention of the factors that aid foreign language elements to penetrate into Tagalog.<sup>1</sup> They are of two main types: structural and extra-structural. The present study is concerned with the influence of Spanish upon Tagalog from the lexical aspect, and consequently, from the structural factors we are mainly interested in similarity at the phonological level. As will be shown later, this phonological similarity between Spanish and Tagalog is remarkably high, and this facilitated considerably the action of extra-structural factors.

Among the extra-structural factors that aided the influence of Spanish over the

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<sup>1</sup> This problem has been dealt with in detail by Uriel Weinreich in his work *Languages in Contact*, Mouton and Co., The Hague 1963. The present study adheres to his exposition.



Philippine languages, the following are especially effective: (1) a higher social prestige of the expedient language, (2) its political superiority, (3) common religion.

It would seem that any inhibitory factors that might have slowed down the inflow of this influence, failed to take effect in this Spanish-Tagalog setting. The fact that Spanish was but the language of immigrants while Tagalog was the native tongue, seemed not to have played any role at all. Neither has a further circumstance proved an obstacle, namely, that Spanish was essentially confined to towns and larger settlements<sup>2</sup> and the Spanish-speaking layer was very thin, indeed.

It may generally be stated that the factors assisting the influence of Spanish were very active, indeed to such a degree that the assimilation was not confined to terms designating new objects and concepts, but in many cases went so far as to supplant entirely or partially semantic equivalent Tagalog words (numerals, words like 'isla' island, 'pimienta' pepper, numerous toponyms, etc.). The strength of the influence of Spanish is further borne out by the fact that not only individual words were taken over, but entire verbal connexions and phraseological turnings ('krus roha' red cross, 'alta presyón' high blood pressure, 'kumustá' how are you?, etc.).

Of course, the extent of Spanish influence on Tagalog will appear less surprising when we realize that it went on for more than 300 years, from the 16th to the end of the 19th century. Since the turn of the 20th century, in consequence of political upheavals, English has come to fill the role which Spanish had played formerly.

The borrowings followed in the present study have been chosen from these sources:

1. *Pilipino-English and English-Pilipino Dictionary*, compiled and edited by Andrea A. Tablan and Carmen B. Mallari, Washington 1961;
2. *The Spanish overlay in Tagalog*, Cecilio Lopez, Indo-Pacific Linguistic Studies I, Amsterdam 1965, p. 467—504.
3. *Tagalsko-russkij slovar* (Tagalog-Russian Dictionary), Manuel Cruz and S. P. Ignashev, Moscow 1959.

Our selection comprises 662 words. Among borrowings from Spanish we include also such words which Spanish had formerly taken over from other languages, e.g. from Arabic ('alcalde' mayor), from American-Indian languages ('tabaco' tobacco, 'maíz' maize) and a couple of Spanish-American words, like 'barbacoa' salted fish, 'bochinche' scrupulous, fastidious, and Mexicanisms such as 'tiangue' market-place, market days, and 'zacate' grass.

Personal names and geographical terms have not been included in this selection. It should further be observed that no attempts have been made at an exhaustive compilation of all the Spanish elements in Tagalog. Nevertheless, the selection is so extensive that it allows us to characterize the formal changes which borrowings from Spanish underwent in the Tagalog language.

These formal changes are classified as regular and irregular. In the latter we distin-

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<sup>2</sup> See Cecilio Lopez, *Indo-Pacific Linguistic Studies I*, Amsterdam 1965, p. 467.

guish between those changes that can be explained by current phonological processes and changes which still elude an explanation.

Since the Spanish phonological system differs from that of Tagalog, every correspondence must in reality be considered as a change, for Tagalog phonemes, even in the case of a considerable similarity, occupy in their phonological system a different place from that taken up by Spanish phonemes. One or more equivalents must be found for every Spanish phoneme taken over. The equivalent which occurs with the greatest probability (i.e. with the highest frequency of incidence) is here considered as a regular change (= regular correspondence). All other correspondence is looked upon as irregular change.

In the following list regular correspondence is always stated in the first place: the others are irregular.

1. Sp. [b] > Tg. [b].
2. Sp. [p] > Tg. [p].
3. Sp. [m] > Tg. [m]; Sp. [m] > Tg. [b]: e.g. Sp. 'montón' > Tg. 'buntón' heap, mound; Sp. [m] > Tg. [n]: e.g. Sp. 'almíbar' > Tg. 'arnibal' simple syrup.
4. Sp. [f] > Tg. [p].
5. Sp. [Ø] > Tg. [s].
6. Sp. [d] > Tg. [d]; Sp. [d] > Tg. [l]: e.g. Sp. 'soldado' > Tg. 'sundalo' soldier; Sp. [d] > Tg. [r]: e.g. Sp. 'arado' > Tg. 'araro' plough; Sp. [d] > Tg. [0]: e.g. Sp. 'padre' > Tg. 'pariq' (eccl.) father.
7. Sp. [t] > Tg. [t].
8. Sp. [n] > Tg. [n]; Sp. [n] > Tg. [l]: e.g. Sp. 'almidón' > Tg. 'almiról' starch; Sp. [n] > Tg. [ŋ]: e.g. Sp. 'longitud' > Tg. 'longhitúd' longitude.
9. Sp. [l] > Tg. [l]; Sp. [l] > Tg. [n]: e.g. Sp. 'soldado' > Tg. 'sundalo' soldier; Sp. [l] > Tg. [r]: e.g. Sp. 'salsa' > Tg. 'sarsa' sauce; Sp. [l] > Tg. [s]: e.g. Sp. 'alfiler' > Tg. 'aspilé' pin.
10. Sp. [r] > Tg. [r]; Sp. [r] > Tg. [d]: e.g. Sp. 'pared' > Tg. 'padér' wall; Sp. [r] > Tg. [l]: e.g. Sp. 'arpa' > Tg. 'alpá' harp; Sp. [r] > Tg. [0]: e.g. Sp. 'entender' > Tg. 'intindi' understanding.
11. Sp. [ɾ] > Tg. [r]; Sp. [ɾ] > Tg. [d]: e.g. Sp. 'razar' > Tg. 'dasál' oration, prayer; Sp. [ɾ] > Tg. [l]: e.g. Sp. 'rábanos' Tg. 'labanós' radish.
12. Sp. [s] > Tg. [s].
13. Sp. [č] > Tg. [ts]; Sp. [č] > Tg. [s]: e.g. Sp. 'chisté' > Tg. 'siste' joke.
14. Sp. [ñ] > Tg. [ny]; Sp. [ñ] > Tg. [n]: e.g. Sp. 'concha' > Tg. 'kontsa' shell; Sp. [ñ] > Tg. [0]: e.g. Sp. 'bochinche' > Tg. 'busisiq' scrupulous, fastidious.
15. Sp. [l] > Tg. [ly]; Sp. [l] > Tg. [y]: e.g. Sp. 'caballo' > Tg. 'kabayo' horse.
- According to Lopez (o.c. 473) *ts*, *ny* and *ly* are more a matter of spelling pronunciation of some single sounds which we did not want to introduce here as new phonemes but have left the respective clusters as regular correspondences.
16. Sp. [y] > Tg. [y].

17. Sp. [k] > Tg. [k].
18. Sp. [g] > Tg. [g]; Sp. [g] > Tg. [0]: e.g. Sp. ‘congreso’ > Tg. ‘kongreso’ congress.
19. Sp. [x] > Tg. [h]; Sp. [x] > Tg. [s]: e.g. Sp. ‘jarro’ > Tg. ‘saro’ jug.
20. Sp. [i] > Tg. [i]; Sp. [i] > Tg. [y]: e.g. Sp. ‘adiós’ > Tg. ‘adyós’ good-bye, farewell; Sp. [i] > Tg. [e]: e.g. Sp. ‘zaquizamí’ > Tg. ‘kísamé’ ceiling; Sp. [i] > Tg. [a]: e.g. Sp. ‘pimienta’ > Tg. ‘pamintá’ pepper; Sp. [i] > Tg. [0]: e.g. Sp. ‘rienda’ > Tg. ‘renda’ rein.
21. Sp. [e] > Tg. [e]; Sp. [e] > Tg. [i]: e.g. Sp. ‘demonio’ > Tg. ‘dimonyo’ demon, devil; Sp. [e] > Tg. [y]: e.g. Sp. ‘línea’ > Tg. ‘linya’ line; Sp. [e] > Tg. [a]: e.g. Sp. ‘cerrar’ > Tg. ‘sará’ close, lock; Sp. [e] > Tg. [u]: e.g. Sp. ‘repique’ > Tg. ‘rupeke’ pealing, ringing of bells; Sp. [e] > Tg. [0]: e.g. Sp. ‘pañuelito’ > Tg. ‘panyulito’ kerchief.
22. Sp. [a] > Tg. [a]; Sp. [a] > Tg. [0]: e.g. Sp. ‘apostar’ > Tg. ‘pustá’ bet, wager.
23. Sp. [o] > Tg. [o]; Sp. [o] > Tg. [w]: e.g. Sp. ‘toalla’ > Tg. ‘tuwalya’ towel; Sp. [o] > Tg. [a]: e.g. Sp. ‘macetero’ > Tg. ‘masitera’ flower-put; Sp. [o] > Tg. [u]: e.g. Sp. ‘muñeca’ > Tg. ‘manikaq’ doll.
25. Sp. [0] > Tg. [y]: This case is considered as regular because it showed the largest number of correspondences even though there be question of a substitution of a hiatus after [i] by the phoneme [y]; Sp. [0] > Tg. [i, a, u]: e.g. Sp. ‘prensa’ Tg. ‘pirinsá’ flat-iron; Sp. ‘cartas’ > Tg. ‘kalatas’ letter, missive; Sp. ‘recluta’ > Tg. ‘rekuluta’ recruit. Here epenthetic vowels for abolishing the cluster are involved; Sp. [0] > Tg. [h]: e.g. Sp. ‘horno’ > Tg. ‘hurnó’ oven. In certain cases Spanish initial *h* which is mute, is rendered by Tg. *h* (but compare Lopez, p. 474); Sp. [0] > Tg. [q]: e.g. Sp. ‘cocina’ > Tg. ‘kusinaq’ kitchen.

Some Spanish words are rendered in Tagalog by two words with an alternate pronunciation. These are doublets, but triplets too, are encountered (see Lopez p. 480). Doublets found in Tablan and Mallari’s dictionary are the following: Sp. ‘emento’ > Tg. ‘simento’, ‘simyento’ cement; Sp. ‘chinelas’ > Tg. ‘tsinelas’, ‘sinelas’ slipper; Sp. ‘harina’ > Tg. ‘arina’, ‘harina’ flour; Sp. ‘millonario’ > Tg. ‘milyonaryo’, ‘milyunaryo’ millionaire; Sp. ‘rosario’ > Tg. ‘rosaryo’, ‘dusaryo’ rosary; Sp. ‘salsa’ > Tg. ‘salsa’, ‘sarsa’ sauce; Sp. ‘sombrero’ > Tg. ‘sumbrero’, ‘sambalilo’ hat; Sp. ‘trompo’ > Tg. ‘trumpó’, ‘turumpó’ top.

Table 1 includes the frequency of incidence of individual correspondences. In the 662 words there occurred 4366 phonemes altogether, if a zero corresponding to a segmental phoneme is also considered as one. Part of the indirect correspondences arose also from the fact that we did not take into account either the distribution or the functional relationships of the phonemes.

If the number of phonemes in the expedient and the recipient language is the same, there are good prospects for a phonemic one-one correspondence to be achieved. However, this need not occur of necessity. If the phonological inventories of both

the languages differ in extent, there ensue in the recipient language either unifications or splits of correspondences. The degree to which both the languages mutually correspond may be quantitatively expressed by the so-called measure of correspondence. W. Meyer-Eppler suggests for such a measure the sum of conditioned probabilities in the diagonal cells of the correspondence matrix, divided by the inventory range of symbols.<sup>3</sup> Since in the present case emitted symbols (= phonemes) are carried over to a different symbol inventory, it is found more convenient to utilize conditioned probabilities of regular correspondences, i.e. of linear maxima. We then calculate the measure of correspondence according to the formula

$$B = \frac{1}{|P|_{Sp.}} \sum_{i,j} \max_i p(j|i)$$

where  $|P|_{Sp.}$  is the number of phonemes in the Spanish inventory,  $p(j|i) = \frac{p(ij)}{p(i)}$ ,

i.e. relative frequency in  $a_{ij}$ -th cell divided by the relative marginal frequency of the  $i$ -th line and  $\max_i$  designates the cell with the maximum frequency in the  $i$ -th line. To make the calculation easier, the formula may be re-written as follows:

$$B = \frac{1}{|P|_{Sp.}} \sum_{i,j} \frac{\max_i a_{ij}}{a_i};$$

$B$  may acquire the value 1, but not that of 0, for in every line there exists at least one maximum. If two maxima occur, we make use of only one.  $B$  attains the lowest value when the frequency is the same in every cell of the line, i.e.  $a_i / |P_R|$ , where  $|P_R|$  is the number of phonemes in the recipient language. The conditioned probability for the maximum will then be  $a_i / (|P_R| \cdot a_i) = 1 / |P_R|$ . This applies to every line, of which there are  $|P_E|$ . Then

$$\min B = \frac{1}{|P_E|} \sum \frac{1}{|P_R|} = \frac{1}{|P_E|} |P_E| \cdot \frac{1}{|P_R|} = \frac{1}{|P_R|}.$$

$B$  will then move within the interval  $<1/|P_R|; 1>$ , in our case in  $<1/25; 1>$ . The more frequent are regular correspondences (i.e. the higher the line maxima), the greater is the value of  $B$ . In our case we obtained  $B(Sp., Tg.) = \frac{1}{25} (150/150 + 126/126 + 146/148 + \dots + 106/128 + 37/78) = 0.9015$ . If  $B$  attains the value of 1, it means that the correspondences are one-one. The calculated value  $B(Sp., Tg.)$  is very high and indicates that the phonological inventories of both the languages are very similar and that borrowings did not meet any major obstacle from this point of view. Eight Sp. phonemes had in Tg. a unique correspondence. The value  $1-B$  yields the measure of deviation from the overall unique correspondence. In our case this is  $1-B = 0.0985$ .

<sup>3</sup> W. Meyer—Eppler, *Grundlagen und Anwendungen der Informationstheorie*, Berlin-Göttingen-Heidelberg 1959, p. 143 f.

It is also possible to measure the phonetic or phonemic divergence of the Tg. words from their Sp. originals. A method was proposed by J. Grimes and F. B. Agard<sup>4</sup> and applied to Romance languages. Its authors determine six phonetic variables within the framework of which they assign to particular parametres integer values. They are the following:

- (a) *Point of articulation*: 1 bilabial, 2 labiodental, 3 interdental, 4 apical or front vowel, 5 laminal or central vowel, 6 dorsal or back vowel, 7 nonbuccal, i.e. glottal.
- (b) *Degree of constriction at the centre line*: 1 closure, 2 local friction or loss of a vowel, 3 semivowel, 4 high vowel or loss of a consonant, 5 mid close vowel, 6 mid open vowel, 7 low vowel.
- (c) *Effective timing of the central constriction*: 1 effective lack of constriction due to lateral opening to bypass the median constriction, 2 momentary constriction or flap, 3 ‘normal’ constriction, 4 lengthened constriction, including trill.
- (d) *Secondary shaping*: 0 no secondary shaping, 1 vocoidal shaping, such as palatal or labial offglide or lip rounding, 2 contoidal shaping, such as affrication.
- (e) *Velic action*: 0 velic closed, 1 velic open.
- (f) *Laryngeal action*: 1 vocal cords vibrating, 2 vocal cords open.

Each vowel is then defined by a vector comprising six elements. When two vowels are compared, the differences of the corresponding vectors are summated, e.g.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 a = 5 \quad 7 \quad 3 \quad 0 \quad 0 \quad 1 \\
 b = 1 \quad 1 \quad 3 \quad 0 \quad 0 \quad 1 \\
 \hline
 \text{Diff.} = 4 + 6 + 0 + 0 + 0 + 0 = 10
 \end{array}$$

It should be noted that this measure is but an approximation toward the phonetic difference. Some of the six variables change jointly and the natural values are not represented by points, but by whole intervals. Hence, this method may be applied with equal profit also to the calculation of the phonemic difference in phonemes in which usually the whole interval of allophones is combined.<sup>5</sup> And it is in this sense that it will be applied also in our present study.

Vector equivalents of Spanish and Tagalog phonemes are listed in Table 2. The “nines” indicate that no subtraction has to be carried out. Since we are interested in the way phonemic divergence of both the systems as entities and not of particular words will become manifest in the borrowings, we shall utilize directly Table 1 for our calculations. Clusters [ts], [ny], [ly] have been calculated by ascertaining the difference between the Spanish phoneme and one cluster phoneme (Sp. č > Tg. t,

<sup>4</sup> J. E. Grimes, F. B. Agard, *Linguistic Divergence in Romance*, Language 35, 1959, 598—604.

<sup>5</sup> G. Altmann, *Differences between phonemes* (Manuscript).

Table 2  
Vector equivalents for Spanish  
and Tagalog

<i>a</i>	573 001	<i>η</i>	613 011
<i>b</i>	113 001	<i>o</i>	653 101
<i>č</i>	513 202	<i>p</i>	113 002
<i>d</i>	413 001	<i>r</i>	412 001
<i>e</i>	453 001	<i>ŕ</i>	414 001
<i>f</i>	223 002	<i>s</i>	423 002
<i>g</i>	613 001	<i>t</i>	413 002
<i>i</i>	443 001	<i>θ</i>	323 002
<i>k</i>	613 002	<i>u</i>	643 101
<i>l</i>	411 001	<i>w</i>	133 001
<i>ł</i>	511 001	<i>x</i>	623 002
<i>m</i>	113 011	<i>y</i>	443 101
<i>n</i>	413 011	<i>h</i>	723 001
<i>ñ</i>	513 011	<i>q</i>	713 999

consonant with zero correspondence    949 999  
vowel with zero correspondence    929 999

Sp. *ñ* > Tg. *n*, Sp. *ł* > Tg. *l*) to which was additioned the loss of a consonant. It is also possible to calculate these values by ranging the relevant phonemes in their respective place following the breaking down of the clusters. The differences (*d*) and their frequency (*f*) are given in Table 3. The average phonemic difference between the

Table 3  
Distribution of differences *d* between Spanish and Tagalog correspondences

difference	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
frequency	3689	333	172	7	82	40	1	39	3

form of borrowings in their original shape and their form when taken over, will then amount to 0.3502, which is relatively low.

If phonemes with zero correspondence occur in one of the languages, then there will inevitably be a certain difference also in the word length between the original and the recipient language. This difference is expressed by the index of lengthening  $I_l$  which is defined as the ratio of the number of received phonemes  $N_R$  to that of emitted phonemes  $N_E$ , i.e.

$$I_l(E, R) = \frac{N_R}{N_E}$$

Since  $N_R = N - a_{.0}$ , where  $a_{.0}$  is the sum of the column in which occurs the phoneme with recipient zero and  $N_E = N - a_0.$ , where  $a_0.$  is the sum of the line of expedient zero, we have

$$I_l(E, R) = \frac{N - a_0}{N - a_0}$$

In the case under study, this will be

$$I_l(Sp., Tg.) = \frac{4366 - 30}{4366 - 78} = 1.01$$

Since in three cases double-clusters had been recognized as regular clusters, a minor complication arises here. If the clusters are broken up into phonemes, the total number  $N$  will augment by  $15 + 30 + 8 = 53$  phonemes, which will appear in the line for expedient zero, whereby  $a_0$ . will also increase by 53 phonemes. Then the corrected result will be

$$I_{l'}(Sp., Tg.) = \frac{4366 + 53 - 30}{4366 + 53 - (78 + 53)} = 1.02$$

The interpretation is quite simple: On an average, 1.02 Tagalog phoneme corresponds to 1 Spanish phoneme during passage of a word from Spanish to Tagalog; thus, for inst., three-phoneme Sp. words will in Tg. have an average length of 3.06 phoneme. Tg. thus appears as having the tendency moderately to lengthen Spanish words.

Since in borrowings whole words and not phonemes pass from one language to the other, a certain characteristic will be given by *the index of lengthening of an average word* of the expedient language in the recipient language. The calculation is done according to the formula

$$I_{wl}(E, R) = \frac{N - a_0}{W_E} \cdot I_l - \frac{N - a_0}{W_E}$$

where  $W_E$  is the number of words of the expedient language and  $I_l$  is the index of lengthening. In our case  $N = 4366$ ,  $a_0 = 78$ ,  $W_E = 662$ ,  $I_{l'} = 1.02$  (will be used instead of  $I_l$ ). Hence,

$$I_{wl}(Sp., Tg.) = \frac{4366 - 78}{662} \cdot 1.02 - \frac{4366 - 78}{662} = 6.6068 - 6.4773 = 0.13$$

Thus, a Spanish word of average length becomes lengthened in Tg. by 0.13 phoneme.

The above results are but a minor part of a quantitative investigation that may be carried out in the domain of language interference. In reality, every interference phenomenon has also its quantitative aspect without a description of which the problem of borrowings cannot be considered as solved. Tagalog represents a relatively simple problem with its high correspondence with Spanish, but many Oceanic languages present a whole series of new problems: nevertheless, because of their lack of expressiveness, it was not thought fit to introduce them in this study.

Table 1  
Frequency of Spanish and Tagalog correspondences

Tg. Sp.	b	p	m	w	d	t	n	l	r	s	y	k	g	η	h	q	i	e	a	o	u	ts	ly	ny	ō	Ni.		
b	150																									150		
p		126																								126		
m	1		146					1																		148		
f		26																								26		
θ																										109		
d							131					2	5	109													1	
t								251																		139		
n										256	3															251		
l									1	176	3	1														271		
r									1	19	216															181		
ŕ										3	1	49														254		
s													204														53	
č													4														204	
ñ											5																19	
ł																												14
y																												33
k																												11
g																												207
x																												1
i																												49
e																												45
a																												325
o																												6
u																												387
ó																												2
N. j	151	152	146	24	135	251	263	201	273	322	128	207	48	12	47	11	306	317	672	438	179	15	30	8	30	4366	664	
																												494
																												128
																												78

## CERTAINES PROPRIÉTÉS DES VERBES JAPONAIS

SAE YAMADA, Grenoble

1. Le but de ce petit article est de présenter certaines propriétés inhérents aux verbes japonais. Les propriétés que nous examinons ci-dessous sont limitées à celles qui jouent des rôles importants dans le système de temps et d'aspect. Cependant, le but direct de cet article n'est pas de donner une description exacte de ce système, mais de préparer une description, qui sera faite ailleurs. Nous voulons rendre claires dans cet article certaines propriétés des verbes qui figurent syntaxiquement et sémantiquement dans les concaténations avec des éléments auxiliaires d'aspect,<sup>1</sup> et les déterminer comme des traits inhérents suivant Chomsky (Cf. note 7).

Certains éléments à l'extérieur de VP peuvent être mentionnés aussi, lorsqu'un phénomène local coïncide avec les propriétés d'un complément (surtout celui du sujet). Autrement les propriétés du substantif (par exemple celles qui sont indiquées par les traits [ $\pm$ Animé] [ $\pm$ Humain]) ne sont pas utilisées comme des cadres fixes pour catégoriser les verbes.

Comme principe, nous considérons que deux verbes sont distincts si l'un possède au moins un trait qui n'appartient pas à l'autre. S'ils ne montrent pas un même comportement avec un même élément auxiliaire de temps et d'aspect, ils sont différents au moins d'un trait d'aspect.

Les membres principaux des verbes auxiliaires d'aspect que nous voulons utiliser comme des cadres sont *iku*, *aru*, *simau*, *miru*, *oku*, *iku* et *kuru* qui sont appelés

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<sup>1</sup> Le principe de catégorisation des verbes japonais en considération des éléments de temps et d'aspect n'est pas tout à fait une idée nouvelle. J'ai consulté les articles suivants;

1. S. Suzuki, *Gendai-nohongo no doosi no tensu* (Le temps des verbes japonais contemporains), dans KOTOBA NO KENKYU; Shuei-Shuppan PP-138, Tokyo 1965.

2. *Gendai-zasshi 90 shu no yooji yoogo* (3) (Vocabulary and Chinese Characters in Ninety Magazines of Today. The National Language Research Institute, Tokyo 1964.

Par contre, je n'ai pas pu consulter l'article de H. Kindaichi, intitulé *Le temps et l'aspect des verbes japonais* qui m'aurait aidé beaucoup dans mon travail.

respectivement les auxiliaires de „duratif“, „résultatif“, „cessatif“, „experimental“, „resolvent“, „éloignant“, et „approchant“.

Ces termes expliquent mal la réalité. En effet, ce n'est pas un verbe auxiliaire mais c'est la combinaison d'un verbe avec un verbe auxiliaire qui donne un tel aspect. Autrement dit, l'aspect exprimé dans une phrase dépend des propriétés du verbe et de l'élément auxiliaire (et éventuellement celles de l'adverbe). Les exemples suivants sont des groupes verbaux qui contiennent *iru*. Cependant ils n'indiquent pas obligatoirement l'aspect „duratif“.

1-1 *ima tabete iru.*

((maintenant) (manger)

action actuelle avec une durée  
indéfinie

((On) est en train de manger.)

2 *joku sitte iru.*

(bien) (savoir)

état actuel

((On le) sait très bien.)

3 *akai joofuku o kite iru.*

(rouge) (robe) (mettre)

action ou état

((On) est en train de mettre une  
robe rouge ou)

(On) porte une robe rouge.)

4 *Sooseki ga soo kaite iru.*

résultat perpétuel

(Sooseki a écrit comme ceci.)

5 *sono joofuku wa moo kite iru,*

expérience.

(Cette robe — là a été déjà portée.)

6 *kurosugite<sup>2</sup> iru.*

7 *ite<sup>3</sup> iru.*

La phrase 1-1 qui montre une durée indéterminée d'une action au présent peut se paraphraser à peu près par *ima tabetutu aru* qui est la traduction fidèle de "I am eating now", tandis que 1—2 ne peut pas se paraphraser par *siritutu aru* (I am learning).

Cette dernière indique la durée indéterminée de la transition de l'état d'ignorance à l'état de connaissance, tandis que *sitte iru* indique l'état actuel qui est le résultat de cette transition. *kite iru* est ambigu de ce point de vue. Cela indique soit la durée d'une action, ou l'état qui est le résultat de cette action. Par contre *kurosugiru* et *iru* (verbe principal) ne peuvent pas prendre *iru* comme verbe auxiliaire.

En tenant compte de la généralité, nous voulons examiner une à une les relations

<sup>2</sup> Les verbes auxiliaires d'aspect suivent toujours la *te*-forme du verbe. ex. *kaite iru*, *tabete iru*.

<sup>3</sup> Aucun verbe dit d'action ne peut indiquer au présent le temps présent. Avec cette forme, ils indiquent le temps futur. Pour exprimer le temps présent, il faut ajouter *iru* à la *te*-forme de ces verbes. ex. *taberu* ⇒ *tabete iru*. Par contre la forme passée indique le temps passé.

syntaxe-sémantiques entre des verbes et des éléments auxiliaires pour élucider les propriétés qui jouent certains rôles dans ces relations.

2. Nous commençons d'abord par la concaténation des verbes avec *aru*. Un grand nombre de verbes ne peuvent pas être suivis d'*aru*.

2-1 <i>sinbun ga katta aru.</i>	Cf. <i>sinbun o katta.</i> (Quelqu'un a acheté un journal.)
(journal) (acheter) (Le journal a été acheté par quelqu'un et il est là.)	
2 <i>sakana ga hanbun tabete acu.</i>	Cf. <i>sakana o hanbun tabeta.</i> (Quelqu'un a mangé la moitié du poisson.)
(poisson) (moitié) (manger) (Le poisson a été à moitié mangé par quelqu'un et il est là.)	
3 * <i>hana ga titte aru</i>	Cf. <i>hana ga titta.</i> (Des fleurs sont tombées)
(fleur) (tomber)	
4 <i>sono koto o omotte aru</i>	Cf. <i>sono koto o omotta.</i> (On a pensé à cela.)

Jorden<sup>4</sup> explique ce fait comme suit; „the gerund of a TRANSITIVE verbal+aru (means) „so and so has been done“.—it always implies the result of an action that HAS BEEN DONE BY SOMEONE.” Cependant la cooccurrence d'un verbe avec *aru* ne peut pas être expliquée par la propriété syntaxique de TRANSITIVITÉ. Elle n'est pas la propriété qui coïncide exactement avec la propriété dont le critère extérieur est la possibilité de cooccurrence avec *aru*. Il y a des verbes transitifs qui ne peuvent pas apparaître avec *aru*. Par exemple \**motte aru*, \**kononde aru*, \**omotte aru* sont des formes non-grammaticales, bien que *motu* (posséder), *konomu* (aimer), *omou* (penser) soient définis comme verbes transitifs (par les dictionnaires SANSEIDO—KOKUGUZITEN et IWANAMI—KOKUGOZITEN).

D'un autre côté, ce que Jorden appelle „the result of an action“ contient divers comportements dont l'explication nécessite la considération des autres propriétés autres que la TRANSITIVITÉ. Indiquons la propriété qui se présente dans la concaténation avec *aru* par le nom ACTIVITÉ. Les verbes qui peuvent prendre *aru* sont considérés comme ayant le trait [+Activité] et d'autres verbes le trait [—Activité]. Par exemple *taberu* (manger), *kiru* (s'habiller), *akeru* (ouvrir), *tukeru* (allumer) sont des verbes ayant le trait [+Activité] et *konomu* (aimer), *niru* (ressembler), *mieru* (être visible), *tiru* (tomber), *naru* (devenir), *iru* (exister) sont avec le trait [—Activité]. Cette distinction nous semble se rapporter à deux autres phénomènes. Premièrement, comme nous l'avons vu, un verbe + *iru* n'exprime pas

<sup>4</sup> Jorden E. H., *Beginning Japanese*, Part I. Yale University Press, 1962, p. 282.

toujours une durée indéterminée d'une action. Il y a des cas où cette combinaison donne un état qui est le résultat d'une action préalable. Ce fait ne coïncide pas nécessairement avec la transitivité des verbes ni avec l'animation du sujet.

Un verbe avec le trait [+Activité] peut indiquer une durée indéfinie de l'action qui fait le sens lexique du verbe, lorsque celui-ci est suivi de *iru* à la position du prédicat final. Tandis qu'à la même position un verbe avec le trait [—Activité] indique un état qui est la suite de l'action ou de la transition<sup>5</sup> qui fait le sens lexique du verbe.

3-1 *ima hon o jonde iru.*

(maintenant) (livre) (lire)

[(On) est en train de lire un livre.]

2 *kono hanketi wa moo kawaite iru.*

(ce) (mouchoir) (déjà) (secher)

(Ce mouchoir est déjà sec.)

Cependant, la distinction du trait [+Activité] du trait [—Activité] n'est pas une condition suffisante pour la description des comportements des verbes dans la combinaison avec *iru*, bien qu'elle soit nécessaire pour ce but.

4-1 *mado o akete iru*

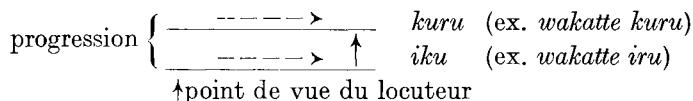
(fenêtre) (ouvrir)

[(On) est entrain d'ouvrir les fenêtres ou]

Les fenêtres sont ouvertes.]

L'existence de deux interprétations pour la phrase 5-1, comme d'ailleurs beaucoup de cas avec des verbes semblables, ne peut pas s'expliquer par la propriété que l'on vient de distinguer. Elle doit être expliquée encore en considération d'une autre propriété qu'on examine ci-après.

Deuxièmement, la distinction de [ $\pm$ Activité] se rapporte également aux comportements que les verbes montrent lorsqu'ils sont suivis de *kuru* ou d'*iru*. *kuru* et *iru* sont des verbes auxiliaires progressifs. Ils sont différents l'un de l'autre de la manière que le premier indique la progression approchée et le second la progression éloignée; c'est-à-dire qu'il y a deux points de vue du locuteur par rapport à la direction dans laquelle la progression est orientée.



Lorsqu'un verbe avec le trait [—Activité] fait la concaténation avec *kuru* ou *iku*, cette combinaison montre positivement la progression d'une action ou d'une transition.

<sup>5</sup> Il faut souligner qu'il n'y a que très peu de verbes d'état en japonais. La plupart de verbes qui se traduisent par des verbes d'état en anglais (live, have par exemple) sont en japonais les verbes qui indiquent une action ou une transition d'un état à un autre état. Cf. Kindaichi, H., *Japanese Language-Grammar* dans „An Introduction to the Language of the World II“ (ed. by Ichikawa, S., and Hattori, S. Tokyo, Kenkyusha 1955).

5-1 *koori ga dandan mizu ni natte iku.*

(glace) (graduellement) (eau) (devenir)

(La glace se réduit en eau petit à petit.)

2 *sono koto ga dandan wakatte kita.*

(ce) (fait) (devenir clair)

(Cela devenait de plus en plus clair.)

Tandis qu'un verbe avec le trait [+Activité] suivi de *kuru* ou *iku* indique plutôt la première de deux actions successives.

6-1 *sikudai o sumasete kita.*

(devoir) (terminer)

((On) est venu après avoir fini son devoir.)

2 *denki o tukete kita.*

(lampe) (allumer)

((On) est venu en laissant les lampes allumées.)

Nous pouvons dire que dans les exemples de 6 *iku* et *kuru* ne fonctionnent pas complètement comme verbes auxiliaires. Car ils gardent encore leur sens lexique (venir et aller respectivement) et ils sont plutôt utilisés comme un second verbe en coordination, avec le premier.

3. Comme deuxième critère pour catégoriser les verbes est utilisée la possibilité de la concaténation avec *tokoro*, le mot nommé traditionnellement comme „pseudonom“. Bien qu'il ne soit pas un verbe auxiliaire, nous adoptons ce mot comme un cadre. Il démontre une autre phase concernant l'aspect des verbes.

7-1 *ima jomu tokoro da.*

((Je) vais lire maintenant.)

(maintenant) (lire)

2 *ima jonda tokoro da*

((Je) viens de lire.)

3 *ima nieri tokoro da*

((Ils) seront cuits dans un instant.)

cuire

4 *ima nieta tokoro da.*

((Ils) viennent d'être cuits.)

5 \**ima sugureru tokoro da.*

(être excellent)

6 \**ima sirosugiru tokoro da.*

(être trop blanc)

Nous appelons ACCOMPLISSEMENT la propriété qui figure surtout dans la concaténation avec *tokoro*. Ainsi, les verbes sont soit ayant le trait [+Accompl] (ceux qui acceptent *tokoro* après leurs formes de présent et passé finales) soit ayant le trait [—Accompl] (ceux qui ne l'acceptent pas). *jomu* (lire), *taberu* (manger), *deru* (sortir), *kawaku* (secher), possèdent [+Accompl], tandis que *sumu* (habiter), *niru* (pressembler), *fukumu* ( contenir) ont le trait [—Accompl].

4. Comme le troisième cadre, nous prenons les groupes nominaux qui sont obtenus par le schéma suivant:

$_{np}[v_{np} [N\emptyset_1-ga—X-V\emptyset]_{vp} N\emptyset_2]_{np} —_{np} [vp, [X V\emptyset]_{vp},] N\emptyset_2]_{np}$  si  $N\emptyset_1 = N\emptyset_2$

Si  $N\emptyset_2$  n'est pas distinct de  $N\emptyset_2$ , qui est le sujet de  $V\emptyset$ , une règle de transformation s'applique et elle élimine  $N\emptyset_1$  ainsi que la particule *ga*.

Considérons que  $V\emptyset$  soit „*V-te iru*“.

*Ex*[[*musume ga akai joofuku o kite iru*] *musume*] →  
[*akai joofuku o kite iru*] *musume*

Les verbes comme *iru*, *aru*, *irassjaru*, *sirosugiru* sont incapables de prendre la position de *V* ainsi déterminé. Les autres verbes peuvent venir à cette position en montrant deux comportements différents.

8-1 *akai joofuku o kite iru musume*

(rouge) (robe) (mettre) (jeune fille)

= *akai joofuku o kita musume*

(la jeune fille qui porte une robe rouge)

2 *okasi o tabete iru kodomo*

(gâteau) (manger) (enfant)

(l'enfant qui est en train de manger du gâteau)

*okasi o tabeta kodomo*

(l'enfant qui a mangé du gâteau)

3 *niete iru mame*

(cuire) (haricot)

= *njeta mame*

(les haricots qui sont cuits)

4 *nite iru ojako*

(ressembler) (parents et enfants)

= *nita ojako*

(les parents et enfants qui se ressemblent)

Les verbes comme *akeru* (ouvrir), *kiru* (s'habiller), *kawaku* (secher), *nieru* (cuire), *niru* (ressembler) peuvent indiquer un état lorsqu'ils se combinent avec *iru* à cette position. (Les groupes nominaux 1,3 et 4 ont une autre signification dont on ne s'occupe pas ici.) De plus, ils peuvent prendre la forme passée au lieu de la forme „*V-te iru*“ pour exprimer un état qui est le résultat de l'action du verbe. Dans ce cas, la désinence *ta* ne désigne pas le temps passé. „*V-ta*“ est neutre à cette position de la notion de temps bien qu'il indique le même aspect que „*V-te iru*“. Tandis que les verbes comme *taberu* (manger), *miru* (voir, regarder), *mieru* (être visible), *nozomu* (vouloir) ne montrent pas le même caractère. Pour ces verbes-ci une action dans le passé ne détermine pas obligatoirement l'état actuel. Par conséquent, la forme passée ne remplace pas la forme „*V-te iru*“.

Nous indiquons cette propriété qui distingue *taberu*, *miru* etc. de *kiru*, *akeru* etc. par les traits (+Moment] et (—Moment].<sup>6</sup> Ainsi *akeru*, *kiru* — ont le trait [+Moment] et *taberu*, *miru* — ont le trait [—Moment].

Le fait que la forme *V-ta* des verbes avec le trait [+Moment] alterne *V-te iru* peut probablement s'expliquer comme suit. Par exemple *akai joofuku o kite iru musume* et *akai joofuku o kita musume* sont dérivés d'une même structure profonde bien que leur structure de surface soit différente l'une de l'autre.

Dans la grammaire, le temps et l'aspect sont considérés pour faire des constituants. La règle grammaticale qui introduit le temps et l'aspect est par exemple;

AUX → TEMPS (M) (ASPECT)<sup>7</sup>

Ensuite TEMPS et ASPECT sont développés comme d'autres constituants. L'aspect qui apparaît dans la concaténation d'un verbe à [+Moment] avec *iru* peut être appelé par le nom résultatif-duratif. Quand ASPECT est développé en Resultatif-Duratif après un verbe avec le trait [+Moment], il doit être remplacé par *iru*. Tandis qu'il sera remplacé par *aru*, lorsqu'il est développé après un verbe avec les traits [-Moment] [+Activité] [+Accompl].

Dans le premier cas, *V-te iru* peut être facultativement remplacé par *V-ta* dans la structure de surface, lorsque la condition est satisfaite. Les verbes qui indiquent purement l'existence (*aru, iru*) ne peuvent prendre *iru*. Ils sont peut-être caractérisés par l'absence de trait moment, sans distinguer une propriété spéciale.

5. Quatrièmement, nous examinons la concaténation des verbes avec *miru*. Celui-ci est différent de *iru* et de *aru* de façon qu'il se rapporte à la volonté de l'agent. Autrement dit, l'agent de *V* qui précède *miru* est un être qui peut avoir une volonté. Le test de la compatibilité des verbes avec *miru* nous fait remarquer deux sortes de verbes; ceux qui peuvent apparaître avec *miru* et ceux qui ne le peuvent pas, du moins dans des usages habituels. (Nous ne nous occupons pas ici des tournures métaphoriques.)

9-1 <i>juube sasimi o tabete mita.</i> (hier soir) (poisson cru) (Hier soir (j') ai goûté du poisson cru.)	Cf. <i>juube sasimi o tabeta.</i> (Hier soir (j') ai mangé du poisson cru.)
2 <i>zidoosja ni notte mita.</i> (voiture (monter) ((J') ai essayé une voiture.)	Cf. <i>zidoosja ni notta.</i> ((Je) suis monté en voiture.)
3 <i>soko ni ite mita.</i> (là) (être)	Cf. <i>soko ni ita.</i> ((J') étais là.)
4 * <i>oto ga kikoete mita.</i>	Cf. <i>oto ga kikoeta</i> (Un son était audible.)
5 * <i>mame ga nieta mita.</i>	Cf. <i>mame ga nieta</i> (Des haricots sont cuits.)

<sup>6</sup> Cette nomination n'est peut-être pas appropriée pour montrer le caractère en question. Toutefois, nous l'adoptons provisoirement.

<sup>7</sup> Chomsky, N. *Aspect of the Theory of Syntax*. The M.I.T. Press, 1965, p. 107.

Nous considérons que les verbes ayant la possibilité de prendre *miru* ont le trait [+Volonté]. Tandis que ceux qui ne peuvent pas le prendre sont considérés avoir le trait [—Volonté]. Par exemple, *akeru*, *taberu*, *kanzuru* (sentir), *karasu* (vivre), *iru* ont le trait [+Volonté] et *miru*, *niru*, *kawaku*, *sirosugiru* (être trop blanc) le trait (—Volonté). Le fait qu'il y a des verbes avec le trait [+Volonté] et d'autres avec [—Volonté] ne peut être démontré ni par la propriété [ $\pm$ Animé] du substantif qui est le sujet du verbe ni par celle de [ $\pm$ Humain]. Cette sorte de distinction des traits de substantif ne coïncide pas avec les traits verbaux [ $\pm$ Volonté].

Les verbes qui apparaissent avec un sujet ayant le trait [+Animé] ne sont pas nécessairement ceux qui peuvent apparaître avec *miru*.

10-1 *hito ga oozei mieru.*

(gens) (beaucoup) (être visible)  
((On) peut voir beaucoup de gens.)  
Mais, \**hito ga oozei miete miru.*

2 *kodomo ga oja ni niru.*

(Les enfants ressemblent aux parents.)  
Mais, \**kodomo ga oja ni nite miru.*

*hito* et *kodomo* sont catégorisés parmi des substantifs ayant les traits [+Animé] et [+Humain]. Cependant ni *mieru* ni *niru* n'ont le trait [+Volonté]. Par contre, on peut dire qu'un substantif désigne un objet (ou plutôt un être) qui a une volonté, si ce substantif peut prendre la position de l'agent d'un verbe à [+Volonté]. Autrement dit, de tels substantifs sont considérés avoir soit le trait [+Volonté] eux aussi, soit le trait contextuel [+ —ga [+Volonté]].

Les verbes à [+Volonté] montrent un autre comportement commun. C'est qu'ils peuvent former l'impératif (*V-Ø nasai*, *V-ro*, *V-te kudasai*). Ils possèdent également les formes intentionnelles. Par contre, des verbes avec le trait [—Volonté] ne peuvent former ni l'un ni l'autre.

11-1 *tabenasai.* (Mange!)

- 2 *soko ni inasai.* (Reste là!)
- 3 \**mienasai.*
- 4 \**kiniirinasai.*

En outre, les verbes avec le trait [—Volonté] ne peuvent pas apparaître avec les verbes auxiliaires *jaru*, *ageru*, *morau*, *itadaku* — verbes auxiliaires appelés „favorisant“ (deux premiers) et „profitant“ (les deux derniers).

6. Il y a aussi un autre verbe auxiliaire important qui n'a pas encore été mentionné jusqu'ici. C'est *simau* qui est en général considéré pour indiquer l'achèvement d'une action. Comme dans tous les cas précédents, il y a des verbes qui ne sont pas compatibles et d'autres qui sont compatibles avec „simau“. Ces derniers sont encore divisés en deux catégories: ceux qui donnent le sens d'achèvement et ceux qui donnent une nuance d'être géné ou embarrassé ou malgré soi, plutôt que le sens d'achèvement.

Cependant il est vraisemblable que ce comportement peut s'expliquer par les traits que nous avons déjà examinés comme dans les cas de *kuru* et *iku*. En principe, un verbe qui a les traits [—Activité] [—Moment] donne le sens d'être géné lorsqu'il est suivi de *simau*. Si non, il donne un sens d'achèvement.

12-1 *kare o sinzite simatta.*

(lui) (croire)

((Je) l'ai cru (et pourtant il n'aurait pas fallu le faire).)

2 *titi ni nite simatta.*

(père)

((J'ai ressemblé à mon père (malgré moi).)

3 *himitu ga morete simatta.*

(secret) (être trahi)

((Le secret a été trahi.)

4 *sukkari kawatte simatta.*

(complètement) (se changer)

((Quelque chose) s'est complètement changé.)

5 *hana ga zenbu titte simatta.*

(fleur) (tomber)

((Les fleurs sont complètement tombées.)

7. Maintenant nous examinons le cas que nous avons laissé de côté pour voir si nous pouvons l'expliquer par quelques unes des propriétés que nous avons examinées.

Comme nous l'avons vu, la phrase *imooto ga akai joofuku o kite iru* est ambiguë. La première interprétation est que „Ma petite soeur est en train de mettre une robe rouge“ et la deuxième interprétation est que „Ma petite soeur porte une robe rouge“. Ainsi l'une indique une durée indéfinie de l'action de „mettre une robe“, tandis que l'autre un état qui est le résultat de „mettre la robe“.

Citons encore quelques exemples de la même sorte.

13-1 *mame ga niete iru.*

(haricot)

((Les haricots sont en train de cuire.)

2 *mame ga moo niete iru*

(déjà)

((Les haricots sont déjà cuits.)

3 *(ima) to o akete iru.*

(maintenant)

((On est en train d'ouvrir la porte.)

4 *(zutto) to o akete iru.*

((La porte est ouverte depuis un moment.)

Les traits communs à *kiru*, *akeru*, *nieru* sont [+Accompl] [+Moment]. *kiru* et *akeru*

ont encore deux autres traits communs [+Activité] et [+Volonté]. Cependant ces derniers sont indifférents au fait en question.

On pourrait appeler par le nom duratif l'aspect qui figure dans la première interprétation. Celui de la deuxième est résultatif-duratif. Tous les verbes qui ont deux traits [+Accompl] [+Moment] donnent ces deux aspects dans la combinaison avec *iru*. Il y a des cas où un autre élément de la phrase (par exemple adverbes *ima*, *moo zutto* etc.) précise l'aspect employé. Si non, la phrase reste ambiguë. Les verbes „s'habiller“, „se chaussier“, „mettre un chapeau, une broche, une ceinture etc.“ ont ces deux traits. D'autre part, *simau*, *tukeru*, *kawaku*, *nieru*, *otiru* sont des exemples des verbes qui ont le même comportement. Plus précisément, *akeru*, *simau*, *tukeru* sont différents de *kiru*, *kaburu*, *haku* etc. de façon que les phrases qui ont *akete iru*, *simete iru*, *tukete iru* comme prédicat final peuvent être paraphrasées par les phrases ayant respectivement le prédicat final *akete aru*, *simete aru*, *tukete aru*, lorsque leur aspect est en résultatif-duratif. (Dans ce cas l'objet de celles-là sont le sujet de celles-ci.)

#### 14-1 *ano uti wa zutto to o akete iru.*

(maison)

((Ils) laissent la porte de cette maison ouverte.)

*ano uti wa zutto to ga akete aru.*

2 *kinoo kara denki o tukete iru.*

(hier) (lampe) (allumer)

(Les lampes sont allumés depuis hier.)

*kinoo kara denki ga tukete aru.*

3 *akai joofuku o kite iru. akai joofuku ga kite aru.*

Cela pourrait indiquer une autre propriété; une propriété qui fait distinguer les verbes dont la forme *V-te iru* peut être paraphrasée par la forme *V-te aru* de ceux dont la forme *V-te iru* ne peut pas être paraphrasée de la même manière. Si l'on permet cette propriété on pourra facilement former une transformation qui donne *ano uti wa zutto zo o akete aru* en partant de la structure profonde qui est base de *ano uti wa zutto to o akete iru*. Cette transformation signifie que l'on remplace *V-te iru* par *V-te aru* et en même temps on substitue la particule *o* qui suit le groupe nominal à la fonction de l'objet de ce *V* par *ga*. Ce *NO-ga* n'est pas le sujet logique bien qu'il soit le sujet grammatical. Le sujet logique dans des cas pareils (soit sous-entendu soit indiqué par *wa* ou *dewa*) est en principe un substantif facile à être personifié (par exemple, maison, école, magasin etc.). Cependant la décision de cette sorte dépasse la limite de cet article. Nous laissons ce problème de côté.

8. Jusqu'ici nous avons essayé de mettre en relief quelques-unes des propriétés verbales qui se rapportent au système de temps et d'aspect du japonais.

Nous avons examiné surtout des comportements que les verbes montrent lorsqu'ils se combinent avec des éléments auxiliaires d'aspect, notamment *aru*, *tokoro*, *iru*, *miru* et *simau*.

Nous n'avons pas examiné des formes composées par l'adjonction des autres éléments auxiliaires; par exemple ceux de causatif, de passif, de potentiel etc. Dans des cas parails, les propriétés du verbe principal ne jouent plus de rôle pour la détermination de l'aspect. L'aspect est déterminé par les natures de deux éléments auxiliaires.

Nous n'avons pas examiné non plus les cas des auxiliaires combinés; par exemple *simatte iru* — *tabete simatte iru*, *kite iru* — *hakkiri site kite iru* etc. C'est parce que ces auxiliaires combinés montrent les mêmes comportements que ceux du premier auxiliaire.

Les propriétés que nous avons distinguées sont présentées par des traits inhérentes pour la raison de la classification croisée. Ils sont:

[+Activité] contre [—Activité] pour la propriété d'ÉTAT.

[+Accompl] contre [—Accompl] pour la propriété ACCOMPLISSEMENT

[+Moment] contre [—Moment] pour la propriété MOMENTANÉ

[+Volonté] contre [—Volonté] pour la propriété VOLONTÉ

On pourrait dire que la propriété décrite par le trait [+Stative]<sup>8</sup> est indiquée par la combinaison de deux traits [—Activité] et [—Accompl]. Les verbes à [+Activité] indiquent, comme on l'a vu, une durée indéfinie de l'action du verbe, lorsqu'ils sont suivis d'*iru*.

Les verbes avec les traits [+Accompl] [+Moment] indiquent une durée de l'action du verbe quand ils précèdent *tutu aru*.

Les verbes qui ont le trait [+Activité] sont par exemple *akeru*, *tukeru*, *kesu*, *taberu*, *kiru*, *kawakasu*, *kangaeru*.

Les verbes ayant le trait [—Activité] sont par exemple *sumu*, *kawaku kieru*, *nieru*, *nozomu*, *tigau*, *aru*, *fukumu*, *sirosugiru*.

Ceux qui ont le trait [+Accompl] sont par exemple *akeru*, *tukeru*, *kesu*, *kiku*, *kanzuru*, *kangaeru*, *deru*, *kawaku*.

Parmi les verbes avec le trait [—Accompl], il y a *tigau*, *sugureru*, *nozomu*, *kurasu*, *aru*, *sirosugiru*.

[+Moment] est le trait que possèdent les verbes comme *akeru*, *simau*, *simeru*, *kiru*, *caburu*, *kawaku*, *tigau*, *sugureru*.

[—Moment] est le trait commun aux verbes comme *sumu*, *nozomu*, *mieru*, *kikoeru*, *sonzaisuru*.

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<sup>8</sup> Il y en a ceux qui sont d'avis qu'il faut distinguer une propriété indiquée par [+Stative]. D'après Kuno, S. (AND to TO, NI, YA).

1. Les verbes avec le trait [+Stative] n'expriment que le temps présent à la forme *V-te iru*.
2. Les verbes à [+Stative] expriment l'action au présent ou le présent historique, lorsqu'ils sont suivis d'*iru*.
3. Seulement les verbes à [— Stative] peuvent former l'impératif. Pour le moment nous laissons cette opinion de côté.

*Aru, iru, irassjaru, sirosugiru* et les verbes semblables sont caractérisés (du moins pour le moment) par le manque du trait [Moment].

Les verbes ayant le trait [+Volonté] sont par exemple *akeru, kiru, taberu, kangaeru, deru, sumu, noromu, iru* etc.

[—Volonté] est le trait que possèdent les verbes comme *kawaku, nieru, kikoeru, tigau, niau, aru*.

## HYPOTHESIS OF A TRANSITION VALUE OF DEFINITENESS IN ARABIC

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1. It is generally assumed that an Arabic noun can be qualified as either definite or indefinite with no transition stage between these polar values. Until more convincing evidence is available, this assumption will have to be accepted as the most convenient working hypothesis. Although exhibiting a fairly great explicative power, this theory patently failed in providing an integral statement of that part of deixis in Arabic which covers particular definiteness and indefiniteness markers and their working in various syntactic environments. The aim of the present paper is to offer a refinement to this assumption, notably that apart from cases where a clear-cut distinction between definiteness and indefiniteness is possible, and, it should be said, this is the case of the overwhelming majority of syntactic environments in which Arabic nouns usually occur, there are cases which cannot be satisfactorily characterized as either exclusively definite or exclusively indefinite in view of possible implications which a similar bipartite distinction would bring about. One of the most conspicuous structural domains in which this bipartition proves to be fruitless is that of annexion (*status constructus*).

2. Before embarking on details, we find it purposeful to give a brief account of basic syntactic properties of annexion, mainly of those of them which have some bearing on the inflectional category of definiteness. Constructions, usually called annexions,<sup>1</sup> should be identified, in their most typical shape,<sup>2</sup> with attributive nominal phrases which consist of a noun modified by a non-agreeing nominal attribute which,

<sup>1</sup> Basic terminology is perplexingly divergent. Some of the most commonly occurring English variants: annexion, annexation, construct state, construct, etc.; French variants: état d'annexion, rapport d'annexion, état construit; German variants: Genitivverhältnis, Genitivverbindung, Constructusverbindung, etc., apart from the internationally used *status constructus*. The latter term, as well as its derivates, applies sometimes to the non-final terms of an annexion only (viz. below) while, in other instances, stands for the whole construction.

<sup>2</sup> For some of the most important atypical cases viz. § 3 of this paper.

in longer than bicomponental phrases, can in turn be followed by another modifier of the above type, and so on. In synthetic variants of Arabic (viz. Classical and Modern Written Arabic) the attributive modifier is invariably in genitive, the latter corresponding, in analytic structures (viz. particular colloquial varieties of Arabic), to a caseless noun. Theoretically, the number of modifiers is not limited. The most common type, however, is composed of two or even three components. Longer constructions are of less ordinary occurrence. Since the following analysis will be preponderantly concerned with bicomponental phrases we find no reason to discuss some otherwise significant differences between bicomponental and more-than-bicomponental annexions (viz. syntactic properties of the initial and final terms of both types of annexions as distinct from those which are specific to the non-initial and non-final ones of the last type<sup>3</sup>). Much of the exclusiveness of an annexion as a syntactic pattern consists in a quite specific way of handling definiteness. An annexion, while having to be defined, imposes strong inflectional restrictions on the first term (or, in longer than bicomponental constructions, on the whole series of non-final terms): a noun, once representing any of these non-final terms of an annexion, can no longer be inflected for definiteness, the latter category being imposed implicitly by the effect of definiteness explicitly stated with the final term provided that the final term is definite. So far there is no controversy in literature.

This theory inevitably leads to the assumption of two distinct types of definiteness: one explicitly statable in terms of particular definiteness markers, the other implicitly imposed by the mere membership in a specific type construction. As for the latter type of definiteness, all authors agree that there is a linguistically statable relationship between the explicit definiteness of the final term of an annexion and the implicit definiteness of the initial or, more generally, all non-final terms:

Type: *baytu r-rajili*<sup>4</sup> ‘the man’s house’.

But, on the other hand, there are fairly controversial interpretations of the state of implicit definiteness in annexions whose final term is indefinite:

Type: *baytu rajulin* ‘a man’s house’.

The account of this problem, as given by H. Reckendorf, is probably the most representative: “Der status cstr. eines Subst. erhält weder den bestimmten noch den unbestimmten Artikel (Synt. Vehr. S. 168), sondern seine Determ. und Indeterm. wird ausschliesslich an dem von ihm abhängigen Genitiv erkannt. Ist dieser det., so

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<sup>3</sup> For the sake of brevity we shall usually refer to the head and the modifier of a bicomponental annexion as the first (or initial) and the last (or final) term respectively. The use of other units derived from this simplified terminology, especially as applied to longer constructions, is sufficiently self-evident.

<sup>4</sup> In view of possible divergencies in interpreting the particular case values (viz. § 3.3. for instance), we follow in this paper a consistently contextual way of writing.

ist auch der status cstr. det.; ist der Genitiv indet., so ist auch der status cstr. indet.”<sup>5</sup> Although being the most frequently met with in literature,<sup>6</sup> this presentation of facts has found no general acceptance.

Assumptions about the nature of what we call implicit definiteness of the non-final terms of an annexion have led to a rather unfortunate and linguistically inconsistent distinction, proposed by R. Blachère, between (1) a grammatical and semantic definiteness,<sup>7</sup> and (2) a merely grammatical definiteness,<sup>8</sup> with a simultaneous distinction between two basic types of annexions: (1.1) annexion de dépendance (type: *qaṣru malikin* ‘le palais d’un roi’, *qaṣru l-maliki* ‘le palais du roi’), and (2.1) annexion de qualification (type: *fityānu ṣidqin* ‘des hommes de fermeté’ (*Ag.* II, 169).<sup>9</sup> According to this theory, the initial terms of both types of annexions are defined grammatically (détermination grammaticale) irrespectively of the explicit definiteness or indefiniteness of the final terms while the Blachère-said semantic definiteness (détermination sémantique) of the initial terms depends on the inflectionally statable (viz. our explicit) definiteness of the final terms.

The problem is restated in a less sophisticated even if more categorical way by Father Fleisch: a noun, as far as representing the initial (or, naturally, a non-final) term of an annexion is necessarily defined by its modifier (complément déterminatif), irrespectively of whether this final modifier is definite or not.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg 1921, pp. 184—185. Reckendorf’s term status constructus applies, in this context, to the first (or, more generally, non-final) term of the annexion. Reckendorf’s abbreviations cstr., Determ., Indeterm., det., and indet. substitute for constructus, Determination, Indetermination, determiniert and indeterminiert respectively.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, II, Berlin 1913, 235 (GvG hereafter). For Colloquial Arabic viz. T. F. Mitchell, *Colloquial Arabic. The Living Language of Egypt*, London 1962, 49; W. M. Erwin, *A Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic*, Washington 1963, 320, etc. In the latter case, however, Reckendorf’s genitive should be identified with a (caseless) final term of an annexion.

<sup>7</sup> M. Gaudefroy—Demombynes et R. Blachère, *Grammaire de l’arabe classique*, Paris 1952, 322 (GAC henceforward). Viz. “Dans cette annexion (viz. annexion de dépendance), le 1<sup>er</sup> terme est déterminé grammaticalement et sémantiquement par le terme qui suit; il ne prend jamais l’article *al*; le dernier terme ne le prend que si le sens l’exige”.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. ib., 324: „...le premier terme de l’annexion de qualification est grammaticalement déterminé puisque lui non plus ne peut prendre l’article ou la *nūnation*, mais sémantiquement il ne représente pas un objet déterminé.“ And further, „la détermination sémantique s’obtient par *al* devant le second terme“.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. ib. The latter type of annexion, in Blachère’s interpretation, includes also constructions referred to in Reckendorf’s improper annexion (uneigentliche Genitivverbinding) as surveyed in § 3.2 of this study; viz. Blachère’s 2<sup>me</sup> Combinaison: premier terme — mot de valeur adjetivale sans article ni *nūnation*, ou déterminé par l’article; second terme — nom commun au cas indirect déterminé par l’article (GAC, 325).

E.g. *ra'su r-rajuli* ‘la tête de l’homme’  
*ra'su rajulin* ‘la tête d’un homme’.<sup>10</sup>

That the general linguistic background of what we call implicit definiteness in annexion-type constructions is by far more entangled than one might deduce from either of these categorical statements, essentially no matter whether of Reckendorfian or Fleischian orientation, is sometimes recognized in the dialectological field, too. Acknowledgements of this sort, however, have usually a strong intuitive ring and, in most cases, coincide with a vague feeling that something is wrong with the theory of definiteness as presented so far. So, for instance, D. Cohen in his description of the Hassāniyya Arabic annexions, although he seems to follow the main lines of Reckendorf’s account (as far as one may conclude from his rather succinct statement of the problem as well as from the examples quoted<sup>11</sup>), nevertheless, admits that *mənt*, the initial term of a two-term annexion *mənt-häymä kbirä* ‘une fille de grande tente’, is actually definite while *häymä*, the final term of annexion, is not.<sup>12</sup> Naturally, it is not clear anyway whether Cohen imposes some significant limitations on this type of definiteness (viz. est *en fait* déterminé, cf. our fn. 12) or, more generally, on any annexion-featured definiteness (viz. est *en principe* déterminé, cf. fn. 11; in both quotations the italics are mine) as against other types of extra-annexion definiteness.

As evident from this brief account, the theory of definiteness, as applied to the syntactic pattern of annexion, can hardly be found satisfactory. In the most imperative interpretations of this theory two different solutions to the problem are suggested:

(1) the non-final term(s) of only such an annexion should be recognized as (implicitly) definite whose last modifier is definite.

E.g. *mi'danatu l-jāmīci* ‘the minaret of the mosque’  
*mi'danatu jāmīci l-maliki* ‘the minaret of the king’s mosque’ or, of course:  
*mi'danatu jāmīci malikinā* ‘the minaret of the mosque of our king’  
*mi'danatu jāmīci bni tūlūna* ‘the minaret of *Ibn Tūlūn*’s mosque’;<sup>13</sup>

(2) the non-final term(s) of all annexions are (implicitly) definite irrespectively of whether the final modifier is definite or not.

E.g. *mi'danatu jāmīcīn* ‘the minaret of a mosque’  
*mi'danatu jāmīcī malikin* ‘the minaret of a king’s mosque’.

<sup>10</sup> H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*. Vol. I, Beyrouth 1961, 270.

<sup>11</sup> D. Cohen, *Le dialecte arabe hassāniyya de Mauritanie*, Paris 1963, 156. Cf. “Dans ces constructions, le premier nom est en principe déterminé (sans être jamais précédé de l’article — à moins qu’il ne soit lui-même annexé à un troisième nom. Ainsi: *dall-əzzdər* “l’ombre du tronc” mais *dall-żdər-əs-ṣədrāyā* “l’ombre du tronc de l’arbre”.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. ib., viz. „Dans *mənt-häymä kbirä* qu’on peut traduire par „une fille de grande tente“, *mənt* est en fait déterminé et *häymä* ne l’est pas ...“

<sup>13</sup> The pronominal suffix definiteness as well as the proper noun definiteness equal that which is obtained by the affixation of the definite article.

An attempt will be made in the closing paragraph of this paper to answer whether this is so or not.

3. The situation is further complicated by the occurrence of a number of border cases which are sometimes studied under the heading of annexion.<sup>14</sup> Since they reflect basic syntactic properties of the regular annexion-type constructions, as exposed in the preceding paragraph in a somewhat distorted form, we find it of interest to give a short survey of them.

3.1. Annexions frequently alternate with another type of noun-plus-noun phrases which differ from them in two relevant points: (1) by the presence of the definiteness-indefiniteness and case concord (the latter of these categories in synthetic variants of Arabic only), and (2) by the lack of annexing forms in which all non-final terms of any regular annexion occur. Since the distinction between the annexing (or construct) and independent (or non-construct) form has no direct relevance to the study of definiteness as approached to in this paper, no closer attention will be paid to it.<sup>15</sup> These constructions are usually referred to as appositions.

In virtue of this alternation we meet either *šajaru z-zaytūni* 'olive-tree' (viz. annexion, referred to in Reckendorf's *Genitivus epexegeticus* as a particular type of annexion (*Genitivverhältnis*), op. cit., 139) or *aš-šajaru z-zaytūnu* (viz. apposition, referred to in Reckendorf's 'substantivisches Attribut (Apposition)', ib., 65 ff). Despite this alternation, Classical (and presumably other synthetic variants of) Arabic, as distinct from some Colloquial variants,<sup>16</sup> is fairly consistent in observing the definition patterns peculiar to either of these alternating constructions.

3.2. Another type of constructions, in which deviations from the basic definition patterns may occur, is to be identified with annexions whose initial terms are rendered by a non-substantivized participle,<sup>17</sup> e.g. *ad-dāribu l-‘abdi* "der den Sklaven Schlagende" (Reck., 186), *hayru t-ṭālibī t-tirati*, der beste der Bluträcher, *al-hā’idū jama-rāti kulli maniyatin*, die sich in jeden Schicksalstrudel stürzen<sup>18</sup>, *aššātimay cirdī*, die beiden, die meinen Ruf schmähen' (Brockelmann, *GvG* II, 235), etc.

As borne out from the examples quoted, when the initial terms of these construc-

<sup>14</sup> Some of them are treated under this heading mostly in connection with analytic variants of Arabic, the description of some others varies with particular authors irrespectively of the variety of Arabic they refer to (viz., for instance, constructions dealt with in our § 3.3).

<sup>15</sup> For particulars viz. any description of Arabic. English terms 'annexing' and 'independent' are those of Erwin's (op. cit., 373).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. frequent constructional contaminations, in Egyptian Arabic, of the type *il-hittit id-dahab* 'the piece of gold', *il-‘ilibit id-duhhān* 'the tobacco box', *is-sikkit il-hadid* 'the railway', etc. besides either *hittit id-dahab* (annexion) or *hittā dahab* (apposition). Viz J. S. Willmore, *The Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, London 1919, 230. Erwin, for Iraqi Arabic, records an alternation only, as stated for Classical Arabic, viz. *badla harir* 'a silk suit', *l-badla l-harir* 'the silk suit' as against *badlat il-harir* 'the silk suit' (op. cit., 373).

<sup>17</sup> For details viz. Reckendorf, op. cit., 185 f. (uneigentliche Genitivverbindung); Brockelmann, *GvG* II, 235; etc.

tions should be defined, they have to take the definite article with no regard to the definiteness explicitly stated with final modifiers.

The situation is further obscured by the occurrence of those annexion-said constructions the first term of which is expressed by an agreeing nominal stem (viz. adjectives, participles) which in turn, operates as an (agreeing) attributive modifier within larger nominal phrases extending beyond the constructional limits of an annexion.<sup>18</sup> The frequent alternation in the explicit statement of definiteness (viz. the occurrence vs. non-occurrence of the definite article) with the initial (here agreeing) term of the annexion, is due to the twofold syntactic relationship of this term. Because it operates (1) as a postposed attributive modifier relatively to the extra-annexion term it modifies (hence, its concord potentially extending over the whole of inflectional categories subject to agreement), and at the same time, (2) as the head of an annexion-type nominal phrase (hence, the range of agreement being admittedly restricted in the explicit statement of definiteness). Reckendorf's quotations reflect quite unambiguously this type of alternation.

E.g. (re (1)) *ilā l-lāhi r-rafi'i l-marātibi* 'zu Gott, dem an Würden hohen' (*Tab. II, 573,5*);

(re (2)) *at-turku ṣigāru l-a'yuni* ,die kleinäugige Türken' (*Buh. II, 401,18*).<sup>19</sup>

In this connection it should be noted that Blachère's definition pattern (viz. premier terme: mot de valeur adjetivale sans article *ni nūnation* ou déterminé par l'article; second terme: nom commun au cas indirect déterminé par l'article (*GAC, 325*)) seems to imply a strong dependence of the (explicit) definiteness of the initial term of the annexion on that of the (extra-annexion) term it modifies, especially when having in mind the lack of the construction type *al-waladu ḥasanu l-wajhi* among the examples quoted.<sup>20</sup>

3.3. Even more ambiguous are, finally, constructions reflecting certain features which are common to both (1) nominal phrases with postposed agreeing modifiers (i.e. noun-plus-adjective phrases), and (2) those with postposed non-agreeing modifiers (viz. annexions, i.e. noun-plus-noun phrases). These are mainly bicomponental constructions whose modifiers are represented by adjective-type nominal stems agreeing with what they modify in all inflectional categories of Arabic nouns but the

<sup>18</sup> Viz. Reckendorf's uneigentliche Genitivverbindung (Genitiv der Specialisierung), op. cit., 187.

<sup>19</sup> Reckendorf's term coincides with McCarthy—Raffouli's improper annexation (*idāfah*), viz. *tuwīl il-lisān* in *ir-rajjāl it-tuwīl il-lisān* (cf. *Spoken Arabic of Baghdad*, I, 238 f.). Erwin speaks of an 'annexion in which the first term is an adjective' as in *bnayya ḥafīt id-damm* 'a charming girl', *l-ibnayya l-hafīt id-damm* 'the charming girl' (op. cit., 374 f.), etc.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Blachère's annexion de qualification, GAC, 324—325: *ra'a'ytu bintan ḥasanata l-wajhi*, *ra'a'ytu l-walada l-ḥasana l-wajhi*. It is worthwhile noting that Blachère's theory of the relative origin of the definite article with the agreeing modifier cannot account for this type of alternation.

case, the latter being invariably rendered by genitive (which corresponds, in analytic structures, to a caseless noun). Although it is described by some authors, in terms of annexion,<sup>21</sup> some other investigators qualify them as coinciding with regular noun-plus-adjective phrases,<sup>22</sup> e.g. *rabīcu l-awwali* ,der erste *Rabī<sup>c</sup>monat*<sup>c</sup>, *‘āmu l-awwali*, das vorige Jahr<sup>c</sup>, *‘āmu l-qābili* ,das nächste Jahr<sup>c</sup>, *masjidu l-jāmici* ,die Hauptmoschee<sup>c</sup>, etc. (Reck., 140).

Certain authors go even further in emphasizing the noun-plus-adjective character of these phrases by assuming the occurrence of the case-concord, too. Viz. Blachère's reading *rabīcu l-awwali*, *masjidu l-jāmicu*, etc.<sup>23</sup>

Whatever the case may be, this type of constructions is quite productive in some colloquial varieties of Arabic. For Damascus Arabic, for instance, Grotzfeld quotes examples such as *bāb əssar'i* ,Osttor<sup>c</sup> (*Mal.* 260,9), *sənt əlmādye*, *rğif əlyābəs*, *rğif əttari* (*DAT*, 19, 33), etc.<sup>24</sup> Similar cases may be found in other dialects as well, viz. some of the Erwin's Iraqi Arabic examples: *sbūc il-mādi*, *sant ilmādya*, *bnayyt is-samra*, etc.<sup>25</sup>

When considering the definiteness pattern of these constructions as decisive in determining their syntactic status, we believe it possible to identify this type of nominal phrases with annexions.

4. In postulating a transition stage between definiteness and indefiniteness in Arabic we depend on two specific criteria each of which is selected from two rather different structural domains of Arabic. One of them is based on the definiteness-indefiniteness agreement in annexion-type constructions whose non-final term(s), as constituting part of an annexion as a whole, is (are) further modified by a postposed adjectival modifier ('adjectival' includes, in this context, all types of agreeing modifiers). Starting from the assumption that an adjectival modifier in synthetic structures, agrees with the noun it modifies in definiteness, gender, number, and case while agreeing with it, in analytic structures, in definiteness, gender and number, the proof will be based on the range of this agreement. Since the range of agreement has to prove the state of definiteness or indefiniteness of particular terms of an annexion, only such restrictions of the latter will be found significant which affect this inflectional category only. The other criterion is based on the well-known interplay between

<sup>21</sup> Viz. Reckendorf, op. cit., 139—140, § 72, 5: “Reine Adjektive als st. cstr. erscheinen in verschiedenen Genitivkonstruktionen”, § 73. Genitivus epexegeticus.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *GvG* II, 208 f — die Determination des attributiven Adjektivs: *Rabīcu l-awwali* (p. 209), with no attempt, however, to explain the lack of the case-concord with the postposed modifier.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *GAC*, 320: “Il s’agit selon toute vraisemblance d’un empiètement de l’état d’annexion (§ 281) sur l’état appositionnel, ...”

<sup>24</sup> H. Grotzfeld, *Laut- und Formenlehre des Damaszenisch-Arabischen*, Wiesbaden 1964, 88 fn. 1. Grotzfeld considers these examples as a special type of annexion (Constructusverbindung).

<sup>25</sup> Erwin, op. cit., 367.

the definiteness of certain categories of nouns belonging to the two-case-ending declension class (*nomina diptota* (with exclusion of diptotic proper nouns as always definite)) and their conversion to the three-case-ending declension class (*nomina triptota*), on the one hand, as well as between the indefiniteness of these nouns and the lack of such a paradigmatical conversion, on the other.

Nevertheless, it must be recognized that this bipartition of criteria has serious disadvantages of its own, especially while having to be applied to both synthetic and analytic structures. The first of these criteria works well in both cases. The second cannot be applied, in synchronic terms, to any sort of Colloquial Arabic of the post-classical period of the linguistic development of Arabic because here the synthetic category of case is missing. Another weak point of the latter criterion consists in the somewhat restricted selection of *nomina diptota* suitable to this procedure: apart from series *sahrā'u*, *sahrā'a* (indefinite) as against *sahrā'u*, *sahrā'i*, *sahrā'a* (definite), there are some other categories of diptota whose paradigms are morphonologically restricted (viz. *ma'ānin*, *ma'āniya* (indefinite) as against *ma'ānī*, *ma'āniya* (definite) or even *salwā* (indefinite) as contrasting with *salwā* (definite)). Since similar paradigmatical distortions occur on the side of *triptota* as well (viz. *qādīn*, *qādīyan* (indefinite) as against *qādī*, *qādīya* (definite) or, in turn, *hudan* (indefinite) as against *hudā* (definite)),<sup>26</sup> only that category of nomina diptota may be selected for the procedure proposed whose roots contain no 'weak' root-constituting consonants in final positions.

In virtue of the first criterion it is possible to obtain syntagmatical evidence of indefiniteness of the non-final term(s) of an annexion the final term of which is indefinite.

Type: *baytu rajulin kabīrun*, that is:

(( $c_1$        $c_2$ )       $c_3$ ), where  $c_1$  and  $c_2$  correspond to the initial and final terms of annexion respectively, while  $c_3$  to the extra-annexion adjectival modifier; bracketing indicates the general patterning of modificatory dependences.

Examples: (synthetic variants of Arabic):

*safinatu baḍā'i'a ḥattiyyatun* 'cargo-liner' (Ac., 1,80),<sup>27</sup>

*ra'su mālin tābitun* 'fixed capital' (Ac., 1,101) (*ra'su mālin* has to be identified with the syntactic alternant of *rasmāl*), etc.

(analytic variants of Arabic):

(Egyptian Arabic):

*sitti bēt hilwa* 'une jolie maîtresse de maison' (Tomiche, 183),<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> For the examples quoted cf. C. A. Ferguson, *Review of H. Fleisch's L'arabe classique*, Beyrouth 1956. In *Language* 34. 314—321 (1958).

<sup>27</sup> *Scientific and Technical Terms Approved by the Academy. Academy of Arabic Language*, I, Cairo 1957.

<sup>28</sup> *Le parler arabe du Caire*, Paris-La Haye 1964.

*madnit gāmīc ḥalya* ‘the tall minaret of a mosque’ (Mitchell, 49),<sup>29</sup>

*śibbāk tazākir gidid* ‘a new box office’ (Gamal Eldin, 44);<sup>30</sup>

(Iraqi Arabic:)

*bēt dijāj ḥatīg* ‘an old chicken coop’ (Erwin, op. cit., 320), etc. Etc.

It should be noted that these constructions have to be distinguished from those whose final terms are modified by an adjectival modifier.

Type: *baytu rajulin kabīrin* ‘a big man’s house’ or, structurally:

(c<sub>1</sub> (c<sub>2</sub>) c<sub>3</sub>), for the latter type may not be taken as a criterial one with regard to the procedure under consideration.

Needless to say that it would equally be possible to prove, in identical terms, the state of definiteness of the non-final term(s) of an annexion. The proof would be none the less trivial since there is no controversy in this respect.

On the ground of the second criterion paradigmatical evidence of definiteness will be obtained under the same circumstances (viz. the final term of annexion is indefinite). As stated above, only synthetic variants of Arabic can be accounted for in terms of this evidence.

Proof:

N	<i>manāzilu ḥā’ilatin</i> ‘the flats of a family’
G	<i>manāzili ḥā’ilatin</i>
A	<i>manāzila ḥā’ilatin</i>

just as we have:

N	<i>manāzilu l-ḥā’ilati</i> ‘the flats of the family’
G	<i>manāzili l-ḥā’ilati</i>
A	<i>manāzila l-ḥā’ilati</i>

as contrasting with:

N	<i>manāzilu (kabīratun)</i> ‘(big) flats’
G	<i>manāzila (kabīratin)</i>
A	<i>manāzila (kabīratan)</i> .

## 5. Summary

Strong dichotomous distinction between definiteness and indefiniteness cannot be established with all particular terms of an annexion, notably, with the non-final term(s) of such an annexion the final term of which is indefinite. This special case exhibits a twofold grammatical behavior: syntagmatically it behaves as an indefinite noun (viz. the lack of definiteness-concord); paradigmatically, it reflects some relevant features (viz. convertibility from the two-case-ending to the three-case-ending declension class) which fully coincide with those in terms of which a definite noun

<sup>29</sup> Viz. fn. 6.

<sup>30</sup> *A Syntactic Study of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*, The Hague 1967. (Transcription of these and the preceding quotations has been slightly unified.)

may unambiguously be stated. The state of definition, as specific to nouns occurring in the above-described syntactic environment, is conceived in the present paper as a transition stage between both polar values of definition: definiteness and indefiniteness. Alternatively, it would be even possible to speak of a sort of structural bivalence. If the latter interpretation had to be preferred, one would be authorized to accept it only if one agrees, at the same time, to accept the set of restrictions imposed on each of these two polar values recognized on the strength of the latter interpretation.

Basic definition patterns of an annexion (with exclusion, however, of some of the border cases referred to in § 3) may be displayed in the following way:

non-final term(s)	final term
(definite)	(definite)
non-final term(s)	final term
(syntagmatically: indefinite)	(indefinite)
(paradigmatically: definite)	

Where no distinction between the syntagmatically and paradigmatically statable definiteness or indefiniteness is indicated, the respective definition states should be identified with absolute values statable both in terms of the syntactical and paradigmatical evidence, as proposed in the present paper.

STUDIES IN MODERN CHINESE LITERARY CRITICISM:  
III. CH'IENT HSING-TS'UN AND THE THEORY  
OF PROLETARIAN REALISM\*

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1

Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un (1), alias Ah Ying (2) is known in the Sinologist world primarily as an outstanding historian of Chinese literature of the period from the Opium War to the May Fourth Movement (1840—1919) and then as a proletarian critic from the late twenties and early thirties of the present century. As a literary critic he was an enthusiastic propagator of proletarian realism.

The term "proletarian realism" (not socialist realism!) is probably familiar to those doing research in modern Japanese literature. It is not unknown to Sinologists either, but in the Chinese area—because of censorship—it was more frequently referred to as the "new realism" (e.g. hsin hsien-shih-chu-i) (3).<sup>1</sup> However, it will be less familiar to investigators in the area of Russian or Soviet literature. Not because it was not written about, but because the term proletarian realism represented a slogan that failed to be universally used in the Soviet Union or to penetrate into the consciousness of any large section of the critics and the reading public. The interesting fact, however, is that once taken over by the Japanese criticism and later by the Chinese literary criticism, it became in these countries a very important literary slogan.

If we wish to point to the characteristic features of proletarian realism and its essence in the literary critic Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un, one of the most significant literary personages of that period in China, we have to deal with the question of his origin

\*) This study was written during my stay at the Seminar für Ostasiatische Kultur und Sprachwissenschaft, Munich University. My stay was made possible through the courtesy of Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung.

<sup>1</sup> Very important propagator of proletarian realism was also Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai (4). See *Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai wen-chi* (5) *Collected Writings of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai*, II, Peking 1953, p. 853—874. Cf M. E. Shneider, *Tvorcheskiy put' Cui Ciu-bo* (Creative Road of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai), Moscow 1964 p. 108—116.

and analyse his most important principles. This is implied in the nature of the present work as will clearly appear from what follows.

The question of proletarian realism in Japanese and Chinese literary criticism deserves attention on the part of researchers. Its solution will undoubtedly help to characterize in a more precise manner the properties and principles of proletarian literary criticism of these countries.

## 2

A study of the interesting book by Herman Ermolaev, *Soviet Literary Theories 1917—1934*, reveals that the term „proletarian realism“ does not occur in it at all.<sup>2</sup> The author of that work which is based on a knowledge and processing of abundant materials, did not see it fit to use the term. Yet it was precisely this term, this concept of Russian provenience, which made such an impression in Japan and China that no historical work of value of modern Japanese or Chinese literary criticism could afford to ignore its analysis.

In May of 1927, the so-called Moscow Conference of Proletarian Writers was held in that city. On this occasion Aleksander Zonin, a critic, read a paper *Kakaya nam nuzhna shkola (What School We Need)*. The article was first published in the magazine *Na literaturnom postu (On Literary Guard)* in June of the same year, and together with further articles—completed, to a certain extent—in Zonin's book *Za proletarskiy realizm (For A Proletarian Realism)*, in 1928.

But Zonin was not the only one to speak of realism at this conference. In an introductory paper *Tvorcheskiye puti proletarskoy literatury (Creative Roads of Proletarian Literature)* Leopold Averbakh, at the time a foremost representative of VAPP, i.e. All-Russian Association of Proletarian Writers,<sup>3</sup> also spoke of it. Particularly later in 1928 much discussion went on about questions of realism and of psychologism related to it.<sup>4</sup> And thus, for instance, Aleksander Fadeyev's paper *Stolbovaya doroga proletarskoy literatury (The Highway of Proletarian Literature)*, as one of the few critical works of the time has survived its period and is still published today.<sup>5</sup>

Practically all the sections of Russian literary life agreed in 1927 that Russia or the Soviet Union needs realistic art. This was the outcome of several years of struggle. Soviet Russia after the revolution was a stronghold of modern avant-garde trends. But in the tenth year of victory, the process of “demodernization” of literature and

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<sup>2</sup> University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963.

<sup>3</sup> The article was first published in the journal *Na literaturnom postu (On Literary Guard)* 10, May 1927, p. 5—16; and later in the collection *Tvorcheskiye puti proletarskoy literatury (The Creative Roads of Proletarian Literature)*, 1st Vol. Moscow 1928.

<sup>4</sup> For ex. L. Averbakh, *K zadacham proletarskoy literatury (To the Tasks of Proletarian Literature)*, Oktyabr (October), 4, 1928; or *Protivniki-li my psikhologizma (Are We the Opponents of Psychologism)*, in the collection *O zadachakh proletarskoy literatury (On the Tasks of Proletarian Literature)*, Moscow 1928.

<sup>5</sup> A. Fadeyev, *Za tridsat' let (In Thirty Years)*, Moscow 1957, p. 13—44.

art progressed rapidly and the days of the opponents of realism were counted. Averbakh, Zonin, Fadeyev and others asked the question: Why precisely realism? They did not ask it for themselves, they saw things clearly. They put the question on behalf of others to convince them. Thus Zonin in his paper referred to above, took as the subject of his investigation three great literary trends of the 19th century: naturalism, romanticism and realism, and endeavoured to prove that proletarian realism was heir to 19th century realism, the greatest literary art of a bourgeois epoch. According to Zonin, modern -isms represent "a product of the bourgeois decay"<sup>6</sup> and as such event cannot be a guarantee of any further healthy development. An assurance of a healthy development may be given solely by the new proletarian art. Zonin strives to comprehend the development of realistic art dialectically. In reality, however, this was but very primitively understood dialectics since his considerations gave him ultimately the unequivocal deduction that the new proletarian literature would create greater works of art than those of Balzac or Tolstoy.<sup>7</sup> "Taking support from the historical role of our class" Zonin, at the time a foremost literary theoretician, did not hesitate to write, "we may categorically state that the true expansion of realistic literature is ahead. Classical realists have written but the introductory chapter to literature which will begin in our times".<sup>8</sup> In his paper Zonin devotes considerable space to psychological analysis and its place in literary works. His deductions are based on Chernyshevsky's work, particularly on his explanation of L. Tolstoy's psychological method. In psychology too, "we have to go further than Chernyshevsky" declares Zonin, "further than the bourgeois realists. They were masters of psychological analysis thanks to an advanced social consciousness. Our writer must not forget that he can and must achieve a higher degree of objectiveness through a study of the real life process, such precision as was inaccessible to the bourgeois writer."<sup>9</sup> Naturally, this statement, like the majority of those that precede, is but a puffed-up phrase. "Real life process" is a rather broad-meaning term that may encompass everything. Psychologic depths may be attained through the study of the human interior or by observing inter-human relations.

In this work Zonin practically leaves aside the term "proletarian realism". The same is true of his other articles. Nevertheless, what he has written enables a certain picture to be formed which, as will be seen presently, overlaps to a certain extent with that of proletarian realism as we know it in China and Japan. In his paper he devotes no more than two sentences to an elucidation of this term: "Proletarian realism is a method of class artistic reproduction of the real life process and true characters of our times on the basis of a dialectical-materialist understanding of society."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> A. Zonin, *Za proletarskiy realizm* (*For Proletarian Realism*), p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>8</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>10</sup> Loc. cit.

And further: "In the proletarian realism an artist achieves a harmonic unity between world outlook and the artistic method which must lead him to new forms of socialist art".<sup>11</sup> The first of these is evidently a definition of proletarian realism.

In the article *Na pereputi (At the Crossroads)* he writes that proletarian realistic literature develops on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, that it must be an art founded on a wide basis, that its psychologism must be closely bound to social phenomena: a clear-cut class characteristic is inevitable for representing heroes in a work of art. Reality has to be pictured dialectically, in motion, with the ultimate ends of proletariat being shown or understood. Much space should be devoted in works of art to the question of mutual encounters of social forces.<sup>12</sup>

In his article *Eshcho ob uslovyi rosta proletarskoy literatury (Once More About the Conditions of Growth of Proletarian Literature)* he urges artists to help "in correcting" and re-processing reality and to show the prospects for further development.<sup>13</sup> And finally his article *O starykh lozungakh i novykh zadachakh (On Old Slogans and New Tasks)*, shows that from the earlier representatives of "proletarian realism" Zonin valued most the work by A. Fadeyev, who by means of the psychological method, i.e. by the typical Tolstoy's way created the novel *Razgrom (The Nineteen)*. He considers this method as successful and one that "opens the widest scope for a proletarian literary movement".<sup>14</sup>

Proletarian realism in Japanese and Chinese literary criticism is associated with the so-called dialectical-materialist method in literature. Today, it is not clear when the term "dialectical-materialist method" in relation to literature was first used. According to Ermolayev, the dialectical-materialist method was first announced officially in the *Resolution of the First All-Union Congress of Proletarian Writers*.<sup>15</sup> The Congress was held one year after the Moscow Conference of Proletarian Writers, referred to above, hence, in May of 1928. In China and Japan this method was first written of later—in 1929. Zonin did speak about the necessity of a dialectical-materialist understanding of reality, but in the works referred to above he made no mention of a "dialectical-materialist method" in relation to literature.

On April 8, 1928, the Japanese literary critic Kurahara Korehito (6) (born in 1902), who had shortly before spent two years studying in the U.S.S.R., completed an article *Puroretariya riarizumu e no michi (7) The Road Towards Proletarian Realism*, which appeared in the first issue of the magazin *Senki* (8) (*The War Flag*). The Japanese proletarian-oriented criticism appreciates it as a valuable contribution. If we take up Kurahara's article and Zonin's paper, we see that they are similar: but also

<sup>11</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 19 and 25.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>15</sup> H. Ermolayev, op. cit., p. 67—68.

different! Kurahara only recalls romanticism, but devotes all the more attention to an analysis of naturalism. This has perhaps to do with the needs of Japanese literary criticism and literature itself, where the naturalist trends were stronger than romantic traditions. Similarly as Zonin, he too, devotes attention to the question of bourgeois realism. True, Kurahara does not mention that Zonin's paper was a stimulus for his article, but it appears probable that he used it and that he was well acquainted with the situation in the Soviet literary world, first in 1927 and also later in 1928.

The analysis of the term "proletarian realism" interested Kurahara in his article more than it did Zonin in the paper referred to here. Kurahara writes in it, for instance, "Proletarian writers must have, first and foremost, clear class outlooks. This, in the ultimate analysis of things, means that a writer must take up his stand on the positions of fighting proletariat... Only when he has these outlooks and enforces them consistently in his works, he alone can be a thorough realist".<sup>16</sup> Or, "Petty bourgeois and proletarian writers, though occupying an equal position in society, have different views... petty bourgeois realists try to solve all questions from the position of an abstract justice and humanism, their social platform rests on class compromise. But the moving force in the development of society does not reside in compromise among classes, but in an open or hidden struggle among them..."<sup>17</sup> Or further: "Proletarian writers do not choose their themes solely from the milieu of the fighting proletariat. They describe workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, soldiers, capitalists—all that is related to the liberation of the proletariat. But they describe them by means of social criteria, the only objective criteria at present. The issue lies within the writer's views, not in the theme he processes."<sup>18</sup> And finally: "Proletarian writers must at all cost have an objective and a realistic attitude towards reality. In their observation and description, all subjective constructions must be foreign to them."<sup>19</sup>

Kurahara's analysis is more systematic, but the ideas are similar. Nevertheless, Kurahara in this article does not express all that Zonin outlined in his paper: he takes no notice of psychologism, nor of the questions of Fadeyev's works as examples of proletarian realism. But he takes this up later.

Sinologists will probably be further interested to know that this article by Kurahara was very promptly translated into Chinese and appeared in the July 1928 issue of the journal *T'ai-yang yüeh-k'an* (11) *The Sun Monthly*, under an altered title *Tao hsin*

<sup>16</sup> Kurahara's article is known from Noma Hiroshi's collection (9) and others, *Nihon puroretariya bungaku taikei* (10) (*Great Treasury of Japanese Proletarian Literature*), 3rd Vol., Kyoto 1954, p. 283. We are greatly indebted to Prof. Saito Minoru for his translation of the most important passages.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 282.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 283.

<sup>19</sup> Loc. cit.

*hsieh-shih-chu-i-chih lu* (12) *The Road Towards New Realism.*<sup>20</sup> The Editor-in-chief of this journal was Chiang Kuang-tz'u (13), a friend of Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un. During his stay in Tokyo Chiang and Kurahara met regularly.<sup>21</sup>

In the area proletarian realism another of Kurahara's articles entitled *Futatali puoretariya riarizumu ni tsuite* (16) (*Once More on the Road Towards Proletarian Realism*), is of more significance. This appeared in Japanese in the *Asahi Shimbun* (17) (The *Asahi News*) in August of 1929, and in Chinese in the first issue of the journal *T'o-huang-cho*, in January of 1930.

The article was written more than a year after the First All-Union Congress of Proletarian Writers. At the time of writing it Kurahara Korehito had available, probably, all the material of this congress. In it he takes note of all the questions that had escaped his attention in the first article or which he had not judged necessary to mention.

Here, he speaks of three basic traits of proletarian realism.

The first is: Take reality as the starting point. However, reality was the starting point for every art, primarily realistic art. Kurahara was conscious that such a formulation is inadequate. Therefore, proletarian realism "makes use of the method of observation of reality. This is the so-called dialectical-materialist method. Materialist-dialectical method teaches us to know how society marches forward, teaches us to recognize what is essential in it and what accidental... Proletarian realism has for its aim only to describe in an artistic way, hence by means of the speech of images, what is going on in this society and how it inevitably marches on towards the victory of proletariat".<sup>22</sup>

The second trait is: To describe social phenomena from the positions of social and class outlooks. A proletarian realist standing on the platform of dialectical materialism is convinced that the essence of man, his thinking, his will, are not given abilities, but are determined by the times, the society and the class in which an individual lives. From this point of view Kurahara, like Zonin, not only highly appreciates Fadeyev's novel *The Nineteen*, but he considers it as the "greatest work of art" of proletarian realism.<sup>23</sup>

The third trait is: To describe characters in all their psychological complexity and their relations, connections, (and therefore also in the psychological connection) with the society in which they live and move. Similarly as the members of RAPP (Russian Association of Proletarian Writers), Kurahara Korehito also admitted the

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<sup>20</sup> We have not succeeded in obtaining the Chinese translation.

<sup>21</sup> It happened at least twice on October 20 and 30, 1929. See (Chiang) Kuang-tz'u, *Tung-ching-chih liu* (14) *Pilgrimage to Tokyo*, *T'o-huang-cho* (15), *Pioneer*, 1, 1930, p. 259—261 and 269—270.

<sup>22</sup> *T'o-huang-cho*, 1, p. 324—325.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 326.

simultaneous existence of the conscious and the subconscious in man's psyche. "Therefore, when portraying people", he wrote in the article, "we cannot describe them in concrete, living pictures if we depict only their conscious action and fail to note their subconscious dealings".<sup>24</sup> It should be observed that both Kurahara and Fadeyev understand the subconscious in the sense of Marx-Leninism and not in that of Freudianism.<sup>25</sup>

### 3

Lu Hsün's words (18) (1881—1936), according to which Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un quoting Kurahara Korehito, paragraph after paragraph, attacks Mao Tun (19), (born 1896), characterize indirectly but truthfully, the essential aspect of Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un's literary theory. This theory,—at least as regards the area of proletarian literary criticism—is deduced, dogmatic and very aggressive. Had it not been for Mao Tun,—this very prominent figure in Chinese literature and literare criticism—Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un would probably have hardly become the most prominent propagator of proletarian realism in China.

Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un deals with the question of proletarian realism for the first time in his article *Ts'ung Tung-ching hui tao Wu-han* (20) *From Tokyo to Wu-han*,<sup>26</sup> which was a reaction to Mao Tun's article *Ts'ung Ku-ling tao Tung-ching* (23) *From Ku-ling to Tokyo*.<sup>27</sup> In this article Mao Tun described the progress of his work on the novel trilogy *Shih* (25) *The Eclipse*, and expressed his views on proletarian literature. In the fifth, the last section of his article, Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un ridicules Mao Tun's exposition of the term "new realism". And partly by right, for at the time of writing *From Ku-ling to Tokyo*, Mao Tun was not acquainted with Soviet literature and literary criticism. But also unjustifiably, for Mao Tun at that time (this was in July 1928), could as yet know nothing of proletarian realism in the Zonin—Kurahara interpretation. In order to brief him, Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un informs Mao Tun that the new realism is nothing but proletarian realism, and in order to satisfy his own method of criticism, he places on the writing desk in front of him, Kurahara's article *The Road Towards Proletarian Realism* and in four concise points describes that which is essential in Kurahara's comprehension of proletarian realism.

First, proletarian realists stand for a consistent, objective attitude towards reality. They observe it to the exclusion of every subjective construction.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 329.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. ibid., p. 328—329 and A. Fadeyev, *The Highway of Proletarian Literature*, p. 38—39.

<sup>26</sup> See Fu Chih-ying (21), (Ed.), *Mao Tun p'ing chuan* (22) *Mao Tun's Life and Works*, Shanghai 1931, p. 255—314.

<sup>27</sup> Published originally in *Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao* (24) *The Short Story Magazine* 19, 10th Oct. 1928, p. 1138—1146. See also Fu Chih-ying (Ed.), op. cit., p. 341—369. We shall quote from this edition.

<sup>28</sup> Fu Chih-ying (Ed.), op. cit., p. 310.

1. 鐘杏邨
2. 阿英
3. 新現實主義
4. 龜叔白
5. 龜叔白文集
6. 藤原惟人
7. プロレタリア・リリズムの道
8. 戰方集
9. 野間光
10. 日本プロレタリア文學大集
11. 太陽月刊
12. 到新寫實主義之路
13. 薦光慈
14. 東京之旅
15. 拓荒者
16. 雨乞プロレタリア・リリズム
17. 朝日新聞
18. 雷風
19. 莊周
20. 從東京回到武漢
21. 伏志英
22. 莊周評傳
23. 從物語到東京
24. 小説月報
25. 色空
26. 中國新文學文學中的幾個具體問題
27. 中國左翼作家聯盟
28. 創造月刊
29. 傅克興
30. 許茅周君底 從物語到東京
31. 讀  
倪煥之
32. 文學週報
33. 寫在野葛微的前面
34. 物語之秋
35. 莊周短篇小說集
36. 黑幕
37. 仁  
城
38. 莊周與現實
39. 青年
40. 抱素
41. 慧
42. 陳獨秀
43. 胡適
44. 周作人
45. 吳虞
46. 司力子
47. 陳定山
48. 鄭振金
49. 佩羣
50. 性別問題的道德
51. 異性
52. 民國日報
53. 王晴雲
54. 性別的道德
55. 謝才野晶子
56. 袁操論
57. 新青年
58. 袁操
59. 袁
60. 我之節烈觀
61. 董女士
62. 論婦女們應該剪頭髮
63. 晨報
64. 老飛
65. 揚柳朝聲
66. 男女社交公開
67. 對于青年的一忠告
68. 雜談倫
69. 大學應當為女了開故
70. 男女同校學議員
71. 男女同學問題
72. 美國的男女同校教育
73. 慈生
74. 社會改造與自由戀愛
75. 世德行
76. 自由戀愛是危險的嗎?
77. 李鍾
78. 婚姻何以當廢
79. 朱木丸著
80. 惠林工政局

女权制度下的婦女 81. 晨報副刊集 82. (臺)楚儂  
83. 我之所見尼姑意見 84. 金枝 85. 同女生結婚  
問題的研究 86. 郵摺 87. 評四五六月的創作 88.  
追記 89. 章叔柳 90. 王詩陶 91. 趙赤珠 92. 草原  
文集 93. 動搖 94. 胡國光 95. 方羅蘭 96. 梅麗  
97. 強聲陽 98. 平林太之 99. 在施療室 100. 文藝  
批評集 101. 丁玲 102. 在黑暗中 103. 雅歌 104. 素雅  
感 105. 文學旬刊 106. 郁達夫 107. 急進季刊 108.  
雨來談一次創作座談會 109. 鄭沫若 110. 瓦特。  
悲德的批評評論 111. 藝術的評價 112. 傅東華

Second, in contrast to bourgeois realists or naturalists, they must become familiar with social criteria and form the habit of observing all that refers to an individual through these social criteria. Proletarian realists must recognize that the force driving development forward, does not reside in a class compromise, but in an open or hidden class warfare. They must not stand on a platform of compromise like the adherents of petty bourgeoisie.<sup>29</sup>

Third, (and we must quote this verbatim, for it is very important for our further exposition), proletarian realists "must acquire clear class outlooks and stand on a fighting proletarian platform. They observe the world through the eyes of the proletarian avant-garde (i.e. through the eyes of communists, M.G.) and describe it".<sup>30</sup>

Fourth, (this too, has to be quoted) proletarian realism, "in its choice of topics, casts off everything that is unnecessary, and irrelevant to the cause of liberation of the working class and selects all that is needful and essential. His theme are workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, capitalists—everything that is related to the liberation of the proletariat".<sup>31</sup>

If we compare these four points with Kurahara's first article on proletarian realism, we find a complete agreement: if we compare them with Zonin's articles, we observe that they differ in one point: Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un makes no allusion whatsoever to the significance of psychological description for writers of proletarian realism. But neither does Kurahara, and hence, Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un had nothing to take it from: but Kurahara lays great stress on the need of psychologism in his second article on

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 310—311.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 311.

<sup>31</sup> Loc. cit.

proletarian realism, as has been seen above. Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un read this article and quoted from it, but failed to emphasize the importance of describing characters in their psychological complexity—what is more, he did not even mention it. It should be noted, that the need of psychologism was greatly stressed particularly by Soviet literary criticism of that time.

The first issue of the journal T'o-huang-cho, besides Kurahara's second article, carried also Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un's extensive article entitled *Chung-kuo hsin-hsing wen-hsüeh chung-ti chi ko chü-t'i wen-t'i* (26) *Some Concrete Questions from Chinese Proletarian Literature*.<sup>32</sup> The article had been written on 22nd December, 1929, hence, over two months before the Chung-kuo tso-i tso-chia lien-meng (27) *The Left League of Chinese Writers* had been officially founded.

Following the publication of Mao Tun's trilogy *The Eclipse* and his article *From Ku-ling to Tokyo*, an article appeared in the journal Ch'uang-tsao yüeh-k'an (Creation Monthly), by the Chinese critic and playwright Fu K'o-hsing (29), entitled *P'ing Mao Tun chiün-ti "Ts'ung Ku-ling tao Tung-ching"* (30) *A Criticism of Mr. Mao Tun's Article "From Ku-ling to Tokyo"*.<sup>33</sup> The editors appended a remark to Fu K'o-hsing's article to the effect that Mao Tun in his article "raised many real and concrete questions" and they called upon their friends to take part in the discussion.<sup>34</sup> Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un's article referred to just now, was a contribution to the discussion. Even the title itself implies that the author intends to speak on some concrete questions raised by Mao Tun in his critical article. He did not write about all of them for lack of time, and later, when the Chinese Communist Party leadership insisted that the criticism of Lu Hsün and Mao Tun be finally dropped and Chinese writers unite in the Left League, as a communist he had to comply with party discipline. He did not write any more about Mao Tun, though he had intended to.

From the questions which he analyses there, only one is of interest to us: viz. that of "reality" as an artistic object in the programme of proletarian realism. Let us place it side by side with Mao Tun's understanding of it to better bring out the antagonistic solutions.

In 1928—1929, Mao Tun, besides the above article, wrote also an extensive review *Tu Ni Huan-chih* (31) *After Reading the Novel Ni Huan-chih*,<sup>35</sup> and a preface to the book of his stories under the title *Hsieh-tsai Yeh ch'iang-wei-ti ch'ien-mien* (33) *A Preface to Wild Roses*.<sup>36</sup> In all the three writings he touched upon the problem of "reality" and expressed in it his own attitude.

<sup>32</sup> P. 341—382.

<sup>33</sup> Fu Chih-ying (Ed.), op. cit., p. 217—242.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 242.

<sup>35</sup> The review was originally published in *Wen-hsüeh chou-pao* (32) *Literary Weekly*, 8,20, 12th May, 1929, p. 591—614. Likewise Fu Chih-ying (Ed.), op. cit., p. 371—402. We shall quote from this edition.

<sup>36</sup> 7th ed., Shanghai 1933, p. I—VII.

"I really went to live", Mao Tun wrote in his article *From Ku-ling to Tokyo*, "and lived the most complex scenes in the life of confused China (he alludes to his participation in the Northern Expedition of 1926—1927, M.G.). In the end, I experienced the sadness of frustrated hopes and waverings, the contradictions of human life. In feelings of a deep sorrow and life abandonment, and though much persecuted yet I wanted in this confused, grey human life to light a spark from the remnant of the living force that still remained in me. Therefore, I began to write".<sup>37</sup> Mao Tun has written his works on the basis of a fresh, immediate knowledge. This, Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un did not and could not deny him. Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un (and likewise the other proletarian critics) did not assert that Mao Tun fails to describe reality, or to describe it realistically, but he was convinced that the reality which he depicted in his collection of stories *Wild Roses* and in his trilogy, is not the reality of "the programme of proletarian realism", is not the reality that would drive society forward.<sup>38</sup>

Here too, Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un calls to his aid Kurahara Korehito's work. As a matter of fact, Kurahara saw the basic difference between the old bourgeois and the new proletarian realism to reside in the fact that the former describes "insignificant trifles of realities arranged without any principles whatsoever",<sup>39</sup> while the latter makes use of the dialectical-materialist method as a method of observation of reality: "The dialectical-materialist method teaches us how society marches forward, teaches us to know what is essential in it and what is accidental..."<sup>40</sup> Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un quotes those words which we quoted from Kurahara's second article when we spoke of the first of three traits of proletarian realism in Kurahara's interpretation. This implies that for Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un that reality alone is worthy of a literary and artistic portrayal which in its ultimate consequences, leads to the victory of the proletariat.<sup>41</sup> True, Mao Tun never said that such reality should not be described, but in the years 1928—1929 he did not see such reality.<sup>42</sup> Elsewhere we showed that Mao Tun was in contact with the forces of Chinese revolution since 1920.<sup>43</sup> In 1927 he left revolutionary Wu-han only three days before the final catastrophe.<sup>44</sup> But he did leave it. He suffered from what psychologists call a sense of guilt. He abandoned his

<sup>37</sup> Mao Tun, *From Ku-ling to Tokyo*, p. 342.

<sup>38</sup> Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un, *Some Concrete Questions from Chinese Proletarian Literature*, p. 360.

<sup>39</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>40</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 361.

<sup>42</sup> Mao Tun, *From Ku-ling to Tokyo*, p. 348.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. M. Gálik, *From Chuang-tzu to Lenin: Mao Tun's Intellectual Development*, Asian and African Studies, III, 1967, p. 107—109.

<sup>44</sup> Mao Tun, *Ku-ling-chih ch'iu* (34) *Autumn in Ku-ling*, *Mao Tun tuan-pien hsiu-shuo chi* (35), *Mao Tun's Short Stories*, 5th Ed. Peking 1951, p. 113.

friends. He did not go to Ku-ling to recover his health<sup>45</sup> and he did not reach Nan-ch'ang, though he could have done so, where the revolution in which he still believed, was to continue. Under those circumstances what else could he describe as frustrated hopes, waverings, and searchings? He himself says how shameful it is to sit in a room and write while others fight with weapons in the hands.<sup>46</sup> But at that time when he was sitting in Shanghai he could do nothing else. He only had to write. But "to write a little more bravely" was against his consciousness. He did not want to delude himself and others.<sup>47</sup>

Mao Tun's fundamental conviction, according to which literature is to be the most objective and also artistically expressed picture of objective reality, implicitly embodies an understanding of a work as a projection of the spirit of the age or of the reality described. It is not enough—according to him—to fill in the work solely with the atmosphere of the times.<sup>48</sup> A work of art must, in addition, both affect the reader and cause through the joined efforts of human collective, the achievement of the age to move forward.<sup>49</sup> In this he acknowledges his opponents' viewpoint, especially that of Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un, that literature should help to create life. He differed, of course, with him over the concept "how to create life". While Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un idealized the atmosphere of the age,<sup>50</sup> Mao Tun was essentially for depicting the dark sides of life of that period and saw in that the method for awakening to activity, a means to influence the readers and lead them on the right road.<sup>51</sup>

There is no doubt that proletarian realism represented for the Chinese writers and critics a power to which they often submitted dogmatically. But there was here something else besides that exerted its action. Mao Tun wrote that satirical works are not understood in China (this was related to the low level of the readers) and hence, description of the dark sides of life could also be taken as deficiencies in literary works of art. It was the duty of the critics to unveil the meaning of these descriptions and not to reassure the readers in their errors.<sup>52</sup> In China, descriptions of the dark sides of life belonged to the light and artistically valueless type of literature.<sup>53</sup> Consequently, not only conscious efforts alone, but also the situation prevailing among the Chinese readers led Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un to assert that it is not enough "to describe" reality,

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<sup>45</sup> This is evidently from the remark which Mao Tun added to our non published biography of Mao Tun, p. 16.

<sup>46</sup> Mao Tun, *From Ku-ling to Tokyo*, p. 347.

<sup>47</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>48</sup> Mao Tun, *After Reading the Novel Ni Huan-chih*, p. 390—391.

<sup>49</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>50</sup> Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un, *Some Concrete Questions ...*, p. 326—363.

<sup>51</sup> Mao Tun, *After Reading the Novel Ni Huan-chih*, p. 398—399.

<sup>52</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>53</sup> For ex. works of the Hei-mu group (36) Black Screen at the time before the May Fourth Movement.

“to reveal” darkness and evil, but that it is necessary to show up what is active; and strong in it, what moves forward.<sup>54</sup> In a word, the reality of proletarian realism, a reality underlined by Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un was fundamentally different from that to which Mao Tun pointed in his works.

According to Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un, as also according to Kurahara and the members of the RAPP, every proletarian realist or adherent of proletarian literature must be convinced of the truth of the proletarian world outlook, must understand the dialectical-materialist method and know how to manipulate with it, observe reality by its means, collect material, analyse and describe. In 1929 when proletarian realism was the subject matter of writings in China, Mao Tun had been for nearly ten years a Marxist and in all probability agreed also with the dialectical-materialist outlook. However, he was simultaneously a literary critic and for some years a successful writer, and as such he was of the opinion that for story or novel writing, i.e. for literary creation, it was not enough to have a slight knowledge of sociology (and in China of that time, young writers could not have any other), nor of dialectical method, nor of enthusiastic speeches at mass meetings.<sup>55</sup> He declared quite openly that he was not afraid of those who tried to get the better of him with a little bit of dialectics, and admonished all who wished to devote themselves to literature, to learn to observe and analyse the reality around them, not to satisfy themselves with the role of passive trumpets to which primitively conceived dialectics would subjugate them, to analyse before taking up writing, the hum among the masses, to learn to listen in silence to the sounds of earthly springs and on this basis to create the mental pictures of the characters involved.<sup>56</sup>

In this respect Mao Tun as a critic showed himself to be more reasonable than the official Soviet literary criticism. There, they abandoned the “dialectical-materialist method” as fruitless for art, as late as 1932 only. Then the same was done in other proletarian literatures.

In February of 1928, that is shortly after the publication of Mao Tun's first novel *Huan-mieh* (37) *Scattered Illusions*, Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un wrote the first part of his article *Mao Tun yü hsien-shih* (38), *Mao Tun and Reality*. He begins with these words: “In the most recent Chinese literature we are witnesses to a very comforting event. Many writers have recognized the social mission of literature and expressed in their works the overall spirit of the times.”<sup>57</sup> And further he writes this: “Since we speak of expressing the present times, we have seen in the psychology of people of our contemporary epoch over the past two years, very interesting psychological phenomena (this should be particularly noted, M.G.) the most important of which is the

<sup>54</sup> Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un, *Some Concrete Questions ...*, p. 363.

<sup>55</sup> Mao Tun, *After Reading the Novel Ni Huan-chih*, p. 393.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 393—394.

<sup>57</sup> See Fu Chih-ying, ed., op. cit., p. 161.

psychological change of a certain section of the petty bourgeois youth... We may observe a ridiculous and changeable behaviour of numerous young people towards diverse matters. They may be seen how they stagger between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, their revolutionary spirit is stunted in growth, they have an inadequate knowledge on the stages of the political warfare. If the struggle does not end in immediate victory, feelings of frustrated hopes awake at once in them. They wriggle about between the right and the left and the centre, once they are for revolution, then against it, once they join one political party, then another, once they work like party members, then like non-members... Of late many writers have come to describe these phenomena".<sup>58</sup>

One fact of interest stands out in Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un's observation. In the course of his analysis he gives only once a concise description from *Scattered Illusions* which at that time appeared as a serial in the journal *Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao*. It deals with the heroine Ching (39), who on rising in the morning, "saw as if a human head would dart across the terrace and peep in into her room. As if she saw an evil spirit she quickly drew the blanket up to her face. Subconsciously she thought: 'I must certainly and at once shut off the upper part of the window with a white sheet'. This fancy would not leave her. After lunch it came back to her mind and she felt she was afraid."<sup>59</sup>

Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un explains this little episode thus: "This psychology of fear is not proper only to Ching, it is in reality typical for Chinese women from the petty bourgeois milieu. Because they are weak, a villain Pao Su (40), (a classmate of Ching's, M.G.) can make use of his technical skill and within a short time gets Hui (41) (Ching's room-mate, M.G.) and later also Ching".<sup>60</sup> This is one explanation, though not the correct one.

The other explanation seems the more probable. Instructed by modern psychological theories of the time, a critic would have seen in Miss Ching's behaviour, a reaction of the subconscious to external stimuli. To state that the psychology of fear was typical for Chinese women from the petty bourgeoisie is to simplify matters unduly. Similar psychic states are a general phenomenon, a product of the environment and the mental disposition of the individual, a manifestation of conscience. The fear felt by Miss Ching occurs, naturally, most commonly in young girls. Until her twentieth year, Miss Ching lived in a conservative Chinese village and had been educated in the spirit of strict traditional Confucian morals. Then she went up to one of Shanghai universities. Chinese universities of that time were the centre of an emancipatory, revolutionary movement. Following the May Fourth Movement magazines appeared by the hundreds, many of which were devoted to the propagation of the ideas of a social revolution and questions of feminism. Questions of ethics and of

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 162—163.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 162—163.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 165.

relations between the sexes were at that time among those most discussed. They roused interest not only among the debating youths, but also among their leaders: Ch'en Tu-hsiu (42), Hu Shih (43), Lu Hsün, Chou Tso-jen (44), Wu Yü (45), Mao Tun and many others. Even the American philosopher John Dewey and his wife Alice participated personally at these discussions. We shall point here very briefly only to those that were directly concerned with Chinese women, in particular the younger ones. For example, the discussion ran on sexual ethics,<sup>61</sup> the need of revising the traditional Chinese views on chastity and marital fidelity of women,<sup>62</sup> short-cut hair for women as one sign of emancipation,<sup>63</sup> the urgency of permitting free relations among men and women in public life,<sup>64</sup> the urgency of authorizing girls to study at all the types of schools,<sup>65</sup> coeducation.<sup>66</sup> Discussion embraced even such topics as free love,<sup>67</sup> abolition of marriage,<sup>68</sup> "the freeing of prostitutes",<sup>69</sup> "the freeing of nuns"<sup>70</sup>

<sup>61</sup> In this and the following remarks we mention only some of the contributions to the discussion, E.g. P'ei Wei (49), (i.e. Mao Tun), *Liang hsing chien-ti tao-te kuan-hsi* (50) *Ethical Relations Between the Sexes*, Chüeh-wu (51) *The Consciousness, A Supplement to Min-kuo jih-pao* (52) *Republican Daily*, 18th—19th July, 1920; Wang Ch'ing-ni (53) (perhaps a pseudonym of the writer Wang T'ung-chao), *Liang hsing-ti tao-te* (54) *Sexual Ethics*, ibid., 26th June 1920.

<sup>62</sup> The discussion was started by Chou Tso-jen's translation from the work of the Japanese author Yosano Akiko (55) *Chen-ts'ao lun* (56) *On Chastity*, Hsin ch'ing-nien (57) *New Youth*, 4, 5 (15th May, 1918); further see Hu Shih, *Chen-ts'ao wen-t'i* (58) *The Problem of Chastity*, ibid., 5, 1 (15th July, 1918), p. 92—101.

<sup>63</sup> Huang nü-shih (61), *Lun fu-nü-men ying-kai chien tou-fa* (62) *Women Must Shorten Their Hair*, Ch'en-pao (63) *Morning Paper*, 5th December, 1919; Mao Fei (64) *Once More About Women's Short Hair*, Chüeh-wu, 30th March, 1920.

<sup>64</sup> Yang Ch'ao-sheng (65), *Nan-nü she-chiao kung-k'ai* (66) *Free Intercourse Between the Sexes*, Hsin ch'ing-nien, 6.4 (15th April, 1919); Cheng Chen-to (67), *Tui-yü ch'ing-nien-ti i-ko chung-kao An Honest Counsel to Young People*, Ch'en-pao, 16th—17th July, 1920.

<sup>65</sup> Lo Chia-lun (68), *Ta-hsüeh yin-tang wei nü-tzu k'ai-fang* (69) *High Schools Must Open To Women*, Ch'en-pao, 11th May, 1920.

<sup>66</sup> (Ch'en) Tu-hsiu, *Nan-nü t'ung-hsiao yü i-yüan* (70) *Coeducational Schools and Members of Parliament*, Hsin ch'ing-nien, 8, 1; J. Dewey, *Nan-nü t'ung-hsüeh wen-t'i* (71) *Coeducational Questions*, Chüeh-wu, 2nd June, 1920; A. Dewey, *Mei-kuo-ti nan-nü t'ung-hsiao chiao-yü* (72) *Coeducation in America*, ibid., 3rd Sept. 1920.

<sup>67</sup> Hui Sheng (73), *She-hui kai-tsao yü tzu-yu lien-ai* (74) *Reform of Society and Free Love*, Chüeh-wu, 24th June, 1920; Shih Heng (75) *Tzu-yu lien-ai shih wei-hsien-ti ma* (76) *Is Free Love Dangerous?*, ibid., 17th April, 1920.

<sup>68</sup> Li Chu (77), *Hun-yin ho-i tang fei* (78) *Why Should Marriage Be Destroyed?* Chüeh-wu, 22nd May, 1920.

<sup>69</sup> Chu Ch'en-hsiu (79), *Tsen-yang ch'ü chiu-ch'i mai-ying mu-chih-tu hisia-ti fu-nü* (80) *How To Free Women From the Slavery of Prostitution*, Ch'en-pao fu-chien (81) *Supplement to the Morning News*, 16th Febr., 1924.

<sup>70</sup> (Yeh) Ch'u-ts'ang (82), *Wo-chih chieh-fang ni-ku i-chien* (83) *My Views on the Liberation of Nuns*, Chüeh-wu, 30th March, 1923.

and marriage among people of the same surname.<sup>71</sup> We find in the journals of this period an enormous number of letters from readers on these questions and many shorter essays. These discussions found a considerable reflection in the literature, too. Mao Tun who made a study of the literary production in China in the second quarter of 1921 (over 120 stories and 8 plays) wrote that more than 50 % of them were love stories.<sup>72</sup> It is possible that had he studied literary works from the year 1920, the percentage would have been even higher. Chinese youth of that period was much influenced by translations: Hu Shih's translation of Ibsen's play *A Doll' House*, and Kuo Mo-jo's of Goethe's novel '*Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*'. From Mao Tun's novel we may see that students too, discussed pre-marital love and "pre-marital triangles". Miss Ching was able to understand much in these discussions, but it may be surmised that everything related to pre-marital sexual life was taboo to her. So long as she lived in a Chinese village, this did not present any problem to her. However, once in the city, all this produced in her something which the Viennese psycho-analyst A. Adler named "an inferiority complex". Miss Ching feared to do anything similar because it was against her conscience, it was connected with feelings of guilt: it was contrary to her views, contrary to her mother's views, whom she loved. When, however, Pao Su succeeded for a brief period in convincing her of his love, his understanding, of a justification for his way of acting, she submitted to him without a word. All she wanted from him was to leave her without anybody seeing him. Fear remained, the inferiority complex was for a moment overcompensated by the strength of love.

In this little episode Mao Tun, right at the beginning of his activity as a writer, in the second of the fourteen chapters of his very first work, pointed to the connection of extensive psychic factors with the subconscious. He did not wish to point only to Miss Ching as such, he wanted to point thereby to a considerable section of the young of his generation. He did not argue only rationalistically, for man, as Mao Tun was well aware, is not only a rationalistic being, but also the creator and the product of his own subconscious, a conglomerate of biological factors. This was something new in Chinese literature, and in the world literature, writers like James Joyce, Thomas Mann, Franz Kafka, Robert Musil, D. H. Lawrence and some American (e.g. S. Anderson, F. S. Fitzgerald) and Russian writers (e.g. Leonid Leonov) created their literary works in a like manner, naturally, with varied strength of intensity and creative orientation.

Observations with such orientation are more frequent in Mao Tun's works. In

<sup>71</sup> (Ch'en) Wang-tao (Shao), Li-tzu (Wei), Chin-chih (84), *T'ung-hsing chieh-hun wen-i i-ti yen-chiu* (85) *A Study of the Questions of Marriage Between Persons with the Same Family Name*, Chüeh-wu, 10th and 24th May, 1920.

<sup>72</sup> Lang Sun (86) (Mao Tun's pseudonym), *P'ing ssu wu liu yüeh-ti ch'uang-tso* (87) *Criticism of the Production of the Second Quarter of 1921*, Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao, 12, 8, 10th Aug. 1921, p. 1—4.

the same novel he describes Miss Hui's dream in which she and Pao Su are attacked by a man, her lover from the times she studied in Paris. The dream is written in the "language of the night", it is the so-called "manifest dream" as Freud would have designated this phenomenon. It is illogical, highly condensed and laconic. The jealous man breaks Hui's head, she feels how the blood and the grey brain matter bespatters Pao Su's face and sees the man laugh. She then grasps the stone at her feet, lifts it up with both hands and wants to hurl it at the assailant. At that she wakes up.<sup>73</sup> Or another example: in the third part of this trilogy—the novel *Chui-ch'iu* (88) *Pursuit*, Mao Tun described Chang Ch'iu-liu (89). In the seventh chapter, which is one of the most powerful in the whole trilogy, Miss Chang talks to a future, unmarried mother, the revolutionary Wang Shih-t'ao (90). Miss Wang does not know what to do. Her lover and father to her child was killed during the Nan-ch'ang operations (as a member of the communist troops); she does not want to marry, after all, she has always fought against the old Chinese family system! At first she wanted to get rid of the fruit of her womb, but then she decided to keep it as a memory to her love. She knew she would be despised in her society, incapable to stand economically. She told herself she had better sell her body on the Shanghai streets, similarly as her one-time classmate Chao Ch'i-chu (91), likewise a participant of the Wu-han stage of Chinese revolution. Reasons for such a course of action were not difficult to find: many Chinese women-revolutionaries do the same (this is stressed in the novel),<sup>74</sup> and it is always better and freer to carry on as Miss Chao, than to marry and be an object of fixed prostitution. These facts had a depressive effect on Miss Chang Ch'iu-liu. Not indeed, because her friends had prostituted themselves in the interest of the freedom of the spirit and the cause of the revolution, but because they had to. She had not realised this before. When she returned home it seemed to her she would have to hate the whole world, the whole universe. Everything about her impressed her as repugnant: her thoughts, memories, things about her. She forgot she was acting subconsciously: "Slowly she went to the dressing-table, took up a copper soap-case that had the shape of an egg and all besides herself she thought: 'If it were a bomb. It would suffice for me to drop it lightly and all the hated, the loved, the indifferent, people, I, things, all would turn to dust.' With her right hand she reached for the case, raised her left arm and bent body as a discus-thrower. She was about to hurl her fancied bomb when suddenly she looked back and saw on the window which was pressed open against the wall, her ludicrous image..."<sup>75</sup>

Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un writes with recognition of Mao Tun's ability for psychological description not only in the case of Miss Ching, but he does it also in the case of Pao Su

<sup>73</sup> Mao Tun, *Scattered Illusions*, in *The Eclipse*, 2nd ed., Shanghai 1930, p. 35.

<sup>74</sup> Mao Tun, *Pursuit*, ibid., p. 167. This statement is not found in *Mao Tun wen-chi* (92) *Collected Works of Mao Tun*, I. Peking 1958.

<sup>75</sup> *Pursuit*, ibid., p. 170.

and Miss Hui. When he latter analyses the second part of the trilogy—the novel *Tung-yao* (93) *Waverings*, he speaks with approval of the psychological portrayal of Hu Kuo-kuang (94), one of the principal personages of the novel. He specially underlines Mao Tun's abilities in the area of love psychology. He even includes two long quotations: conversations of Fang Lo-lan (95), also one of the main characters of the novel, with his wife Mei-li (96). One refers to their own relations and the other to Fang Lo-Lan's relations to his secret mistress Sun Wu-yang (97). In analysing the third part of the trilogy, he writes this: "If we stand on our platform (i.e. on the proletarian platform, M.G.) *Pursuit* is not a revolutionary work. Even the culmination is weaker than in *Scattered Illusions* and in *Waverings*. But as regards description, considerable progress is seen in comparison with *Waverings*. He analyses the psyche of the young in such detail as when a physician listens to the pulse or dissects a corpse. Particularly in the sphere of the relations of both the sexes, the author's expression is very deep".<sup>76</sup>

Earlier we were witnesses of the application of the principles of proletarian realism to Mao Tun and of his condemnation. Why then did Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un—an enthusiastic adherent of proletarian realism—fail to put into effect the requirement of psychologism, which in the literary sense is the most progressive component of proletarian realism? It alone linked the efforts of Russian proletarian authors with their classic writers (e.g. Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky) and with the most eminent literary authors of world literature. The reasons for it may have been numerous, but there were three principal ones. It is possible that Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un became acquainted in some way with the so-called rationalist trend in Soviet literary criticism represented by the LEF group (Left Front), the constructivists and the critic Vladimir Friche. It is possible to some extent that it was Friche whose works were translated into Chinese and who was among those people preferred by Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un.<sup>77</sup> All these people declared that modern man lives in a rationalist world, surrounded by the successes of a technical age, therefore the human psyche, too, is rationalistic and it is senseless to immerse oneself into its depths. The second reason was likewise rationalistic: True, Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un admired Mao Tun's abilities in psychologic descriptions, but when he had read the third part of the trilogy, and had written that in the whole book "there are only abnormal people, abnormal thinking, abnormal acting, everything is abnormal, everything is unhealthy",<sup>78</sup> it occurred to him—and he wrote it down—that "art ought not only to express life, but also to create it, and besides being an expression of life it ought also to be a propaganda",<sup>79</sup> then we shall under-

<sup>76</sup> Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un, *Mao Tun and Reality*, p. 189.

<sup>77</sup> A. Fadeyev, *The Highway of Proletarian Literature*, p. 30—40. The first issue of T'o-huang-cho carries a necrology devoted to V. Friche.

<sup>78</sup> Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un, *Mao Tun and Reality*, p. 189.

<sup>79</sup> Loc. cit.

stand that he considered as useless a psychological analysis and a description in Mao Tun's comprehension.

The third reason was his study of Japanese and Chinese literature written by women. More than three months before the article *Some Concrete Questions from Chinese Proletarian Literature*, Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un had written a review of Hsia Yen's translation of stories by a Japanese proletarian woman writer Hirabayashi Taiko (98) which appeared in Chinese under the title *Tsai shih-liao-shih* (99) *In a Hospital Room*. He was but little satisfied with the female characters in these works: "Hirabayashi Taiko has created a new type of woman, but not one that would lead to a bright future, a healthy, fighting type. If they could leave the place they have already won in the fight and reach the front lines in the struggle, if they overcame all that is sickly, all that is in their minds, and could alter the abnormal, melancholic states by utilising the fighting spirit achieved so far and the class consciousness, they could fulfill this hope. That would be a really modern type of woman—a new portrait of a woman."<sup>80</sup> Similar thoughts assailed Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un also when he wrote in December of 1928 a review of Ting Ling's book (101) entitled *Tsai hei-an chung* (102) *In the Darkness*. Ting Ling's characters stagger between life and death, reason and feeling, happiness and emptiness, freedom and its curtailment. They hasten towards greyness, sadness, annihilation. There are none among them such as would strive to find a road ahead, an active way out.<sup>81</sup> In a word, Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un was vexed at everything that was of literary value. In all the literature he wished to see nothing but schemas.

#### 4

Modern Chinese literary criticism has been all along rather too much under the hold of sociologism and often even dogmatism. At the end of the twenties and beginning of the thirties, it easily came by a standard to measure its own possibilities and capabilities: dialectical materialism was imported to it. Its object of investigation was likewise clear: literary, or artistic work and its relation to objective reality which, unfortunately, was being interpreted far too subjectively. A deficiency of this approach resided in the area of judgment. Sentences were pronounced that praised or blamed works of art according to the merits of their social significance and often also according to the greater or lesser knowledge, conviction or bias of the critic.

When studying the history of modern Chinese literary criticism in the twenties we must take note of two remarkable events: L. Tolstoy's book *What Is Art?* appeared in translation in 1921, and later, in 1925 a translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* was published.

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<sup>80</sup> Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un, *Wen-i p'i-ping-chi* (100) *Critical and Literary Articles*, Shanghai 1930, p. 67.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 89—96.

It would seem that the whole 2500-year old evolution of Chinese literature prepared Chinese readers to understand Tolstoy's work *What Is Art?* In writing this work Tolstoy wished to condemn, morally also, modern art, primarily that of his own period. However, when Chinese critics read it, they could—either consciously or unconsciously but generally with justification—apply Tolstoy's views to the greater part of both the new and the old art and condemn it likewise, which of course was their chief endeavour. This has been mentioned in another of our studies and hence we shall not dwell upon it here.<sup>82</sup> But there is something that we must underline here. "Art is not," writes Tolstoy, "as the metaphysicians say, the manifestation of some mysterious idea of beauty or God: it is not, as the aesthetical psychologists say, a game in which man lets off his excess of stored-up energy: it is not the production of pleasing objects: and above all, it is not the pleasure: but it is a means of union among men, joining them together in the same feeling, and indispensable for the life and progress towards well-being of individuals and humanity."<sup>83</sup> These are very nice words and we can agree with much of what they say. But why has art to join men "in the same feeling" and why should it not be a "pleasure"? Why should there exist only two types of art, religious art expressing a relation of man towards God and other fellow-men, and universal art interpreting simple, common feelings proper to all mankind? Why should art have to be an art of obvious social usefulness and yet understood in so narrowly specific a manner as Tolstoy understood it?

In the first few years after 1921 Chinese literary criticism distances itself from Tolstoy or keeps aloof. Mao Tun, who in 1919 had expressed unbounded admiration for Tolstoy, wrote in 1923 the following words: "Naturally, we do not want to learn from village teachers and look with a stiff moral face at love novels as at pornography, nor are we prepared fully to believe Tolstoy's literary views and consider as poison all literary works which do not take as their aim the reform of human life. What we do wish is to read and comprehend with an entirely unbiased and disinterested mind the most diverse forms of real literature."<sup>84</sup> In 1922 when Yü Ta-fu (106) first appeared as a critic before the Chinese public, he introduced himself with a translation of the *Preface to The Picture of Dorian Gray*, by Oscar Wilde.<sup>85</sup> Yü Ta-fu liked to read G. Moore, likewise a notable adherent of art for art's sake.<sup>86</sup> Kuo Mo-jo (109) found

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<sup>82</sup> M. Gálik, *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism: I. Mao Tun in 1919—1920*, Asian and African Studies, III. 1967, p. 114—117.

<sup>83</sup> L. N. Tolstoy, *What Is Art?*, London 1899, p. 50.

<sup>84</sup> Yen-ping (103) Mao Tun's courtesy name, Tsa-kan (104) *Various Feelings*, Wen-hsüeh hsün-k'an (105) *Literary Decade*, 76, 12th June, 1923, p. 4.

<sup>85</sup> Ch' ung-tsao chi-k'an (106) *Creation Quarterly*, 1, 2, 1922, p. 2.

<sup>86</sup> Yü Ta-fu, *Tsai lai t'an i-tz'u ch'uang-tsao ching-yen* (108) *Once More About Creative Experience*, in the collection of *Ch'uang-tso-ching-yen* (*Creative Experiences*), Shanghai 1935, p. 14.

interest in W. Pater,<sup>87</sup> O. Wilde's teacher, further in German expressionists and activists,<sup>88</sup> and also in Tolstoy.<sup>89</sup>

Was the translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* a matter of chance, or did Mao Tun's friend Fu Tung-hua (112),<sup>90</sup> the translator, wish to provide Chinese readers with a serious counterweight to Tolstoy's book? If we were to give a concise characteristic of the chief drawback of Tolstoy's book, we should say that he underestimated the pleasure-value of literature and at the same time overestimated its social, didactical or thought impact. Something similar, but on a larger scale, had been done by Plato, Aristotle's teacher. Aristotle corrected Plato's theory precisely in this respect. Aristotle's *catharsis* is in fact a recognition of the pleasure-value of literature—in Aristotle's case, of the tragedy. *Catharsis* signifies purgation of emotions. When Plato condemned art because it reinforces emotions, Aristotle defended it precisely on this account. F. L. Lucas, the well-known English critic, sees in Aristotle's *catharsis* "a real truth, confirmed by modern psychology" and cites several cases from modern practice in proof of it. "So true, up to a point, is Aristotle's *catharsis*, that literature and drama have been used in treatment—Cocteau's *Les Enfants Terribles* for a patient entangled in a brother-sister relation, Hauptmann's *Vor Sonnenuntergang* for an ageing woman tortured by rivalry with her own daughter. In this way the sufferer may live out his emotions in the realm of phantasy."<sup>91</sup>

Plato reproached poets for recounting immoral episodes from the life of the gods, condemned Homer for having painted a gloomy picture of the world beyond. He expelled poets from his *Republic* and left only those who would sing Hymns to the gods and praises of good men.

As far as we know, Chinese critics did not translate Plato's views on literature. They were conscious that literature is necessary to revolution, sometimes even more so than arms. Leftist Chinese critics probably did not read Plato, but when they wrote something, it was often nothing but a certain metamorphosis of ideas which Plato defended in his works. They did not wish literature to be imaginative, but to illustrate, to portray, they made no account of any future life but wanted the present one to be portrayed according to their notions, not according to reality: reality, as has been shown earlier, was but a dreamed-out world.

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<sup>87</sup> Kuo Mo-jo, *Wa-t'e Pei-te-ti p'i-p'ing-lun* (109) *Criticism of Walter Pater*, *Mo-jo wen-chi* (110) *Collected Works of Kuo Mo-jo*, X, Peking 1959, p. 128—133.

<sup>88</sup> See M. Gálik, *The Expressionistic Criticism of Kuo Mo-jo*, Bulletin of the Tokyo Sinological Society, 13, 1967, p. 231—243.

<sup>89</sup> Kuo Mo-jo, *I-shu-ti p'ing-chia* (111) *Evaluation of Art*, *Collected Works of Kuo Mo-jo*, X, p. 79—82.

<sup>90</sup> The translation appeared first in series in *Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao* 16, 1—2 (January and February, 1925), and then in book form, edited by Commercial Press, Shanghai.

<sup>91</sup> F. L. Lucas, *Literature and Psychology*, London 1951, p. 278.

Chinese literary criticism—proletarian criticism—was very leftist or orthodox, dogmatic. Somehow, it forgot that besides its social mission, literature has also other duties. It forgot also, for instance, what Aristotle had in mind when he formulated his concept of *catharsis*: the psychological approach to literature. Many in the world literary criticism had recourse to the Marxist methods during the thirties, but many of them had, in the twenties, armed themselves with a study of modern psychology to investigate literary works of art. Hence, in our view, to use only the sociologic approach in an analysis of Mao Tun's works, is absolutely inadequate. A psychological or a formal approach would, to our mind, be very useful.

And before closing, just one final remark; Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un did not proceed the way Belinsky had done when judging Dostoyevsky's first work, or Chernyshevsky when appraising Tolstoy's work from the fifties of the last century, or Chou Tso-jen when writing the defence of Yü Ta-fu. All three supported something that had not been present in Russian or Chinese literature before.

Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un did see the new, but refrained expressly to point it out. For the sake of his dubious literary creed he decided to deprive the concept of proletarian realism of the only thing that made literary works created on its foundations, real literature and differentiated them from mere propaganda.

EIN UNBEKANNTES AUTOGRAPH „QISAS AL-ANBIYĀ“  
VON AHMAD IBN ABĪ UDAYBA<sup>1</sup>

JÁN PAULINY, Bratislava

Die *Hālidīya*-Bibliothek von Jerusalem besitzt unter der Nummer „23 *Sīra*“ ein unbekanntes Autograph „*Qisās al-anbiyā*“ betitelt, dessen Autor *Ahmad ibn Abī Udayba* heisst. Die Handschriftenabteilung der Arabischen Liga in Kairo hat aus dieser Handschrift eine Photokopie anfertigen lassen und deswegen ist auch dann die erste Notiz über dieses Werk im Katalog der erwähnten Institution erschienen.<sup>2</sup>

Die Beschreibung der Handschrift im Katalog der Arabischen Liga ist mangelhaft. Der Autor des Kataloges hat dieses Autograph einem gewissen „*Ibn Abī Adasa*“ zugeschrieben. Dieser *Ibn Abī Adasa* ist aber im arabischen literarischen Kontext unbekannt und wird nirgends erwähnt. Die fehlerhafte Anführung des Verfassernamens beruht wahrscheinlich darauf, dass die Handschrift sehr schwer zu lesen ist, so dass es bei einer knappen Katalogisierung sehr leicht zum unrichtigen Lesen kommen konnte.

Der Namen des Verfassers ist auf dem Kolophon der Handschrift erwähnt (fol. 161<sup>a</sup>), welchen Text wir folgendermassen lesen:

*Intahā ḥalā yad mu'allifihi al-faqīr ilā rahmat rabbihī al-qadīr Ahmad ibn Muham-mad ibn ʿUmar al-Qudsī al-Šāfi ʿī al-mašhūr bi-Ibn Abī Udayba-laṭaf allāh ta'ālā (?) al-ḥamd li-Allāh rabb al-ṣālamīn rahmat allāh wa ni'am al-wakīl.*

So gelesen stimmt dann der Namen des Verfassers mit Angaben über den Gesamt-namen des Verfassers überein, wie er in *Mućğam al-mu'allifin*<sup>3</sup> oder in *al-Dau' al-lāmi*<sup>4</sup> vorkommt.

<sup>1</sup> Mein verehrter Freund Herr *Raššād Abd al-Muṭṭalib* von der Handschriftenabteilung der Arabischen Liga in Kairo hatte die Güte, mir die Photokopie dieser Handschrift zur Verfügung zu stellen. Ihm möchte ich an dieser Stelle für seine Hilfe, sowie sein Verständnis herzlichst danken.

<sup>2</sup> Fu'ād Sayyid, *Fihris al-maḥṭūṭāt al-musawwara*, II: „*Ta'rih*“ 3 (Kairo 1959), 236, (Nr. 1170).

<sup>3</sup> ʿUmar Ridā Kahhāla, *Mućğam al-mu'allifin, tarājim muşannafī al-kutub al-ṣarabiya* (XV Bde, Damaskus 1957—61), II, 139.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Saḥāwi, *al-Dau' al-lāmi* li ahl al-qarn al-tāsi (XII Bde, Kairo 1353—55), II, 162, 163, (Nr. 461).

Nach *Mućam al-mu'allifin*<sup>5</sup> ist *Aḥmad ibn Abī ḫUdayba* am 3. ša‘bān 819 A.H./1416 A.D. in Jerusalem geboren, wo er auch am 15. rabī‘ al-āḥar 856 A.H./1452 A.D. starb. Er hatte zuerst in Jerusalem bei dortigen Lehrern studiert. Dann ging er nach Damaskus und Kairo, wo er Kontakte mit verschiedenen Wissenschaftlern, meistens aber mit Historikern, aufnahm. Er widmete sich dann überwiegend dem Schreiben historischer Kompilationen, die durch keine besondere Originalität oder Präzision gekennzeichnet sind.<sup>6</sup> Aus seinen Werken merkt man sehr oft das Große und das Kleine *Ta’rīh*.<sup>7</sup>

Es ist aber nirgends erwähnt, dass *Aḥmad ibn Abī ḫUdayba* auch ein Werk „*Qīṣāṣ al-anbiyā'*“ verfasste. Das Werk war wahrscheinlich dem breiteren Kreis der damaligen Wissenschaftler völlig unbekannt. Das Autograph ist mit einem sehr schwer lesbaren *Nashī* geschrieben, wobei noch der Umstand hinzukommt, dass die Handschrift mit Randglossen und Bemerkungen im Text überfüllt ist. Sie umfasst 161 Folien mit circa 25 Zeilen je Seite. Das Werk enthält Sagen und Legenden von den im *Qur’ān* erwähnten Propheten und von manchen biblischen Personen. Von anderen Werken *Qīṣāṣ al-anbiyā'* unterscheidet sich aber dieses Werk dadurch, dass *Aḥmad ibn Abī ḫUdayba* in seiner Kompilation die Passagen vom Leben des Propheten *Muhammad* eingegliedert hat und sein Werk mit einem Lobgedicht auf den Propheten *Muhammad* (ff. 159<sup>a</sup>—161<sup>a</sup>) beschloss.

Die Quellen, welche *Aḥmad ibn Abī ḫUdayba* für seine Kompilation benützte, sind verschieden. Neben der sehr oft vorkommenden anonymen Anführung der „*ahbār*“ durch die Formeln „*wa qīla*“ oder „*wa qāla ba‘dūhum*“ oder „*wa qāla ahl al-ahbār*“ — was an und für sich noch keinen konkreten Quellennachweis bedeutet — stützte sich *Aḥmad ibn Abī ḫUdayba* hauptsächlich auf das Werk von *al-Ta‘labī*.<sup>8</sup> Das gilt vor allem für die Kapitel, welche „Vita“ der vorislamischen Propheten schildern. Die Art und Weise, in welcher *al-Ta‘labī* dieses Thema behandelte, übte dann auch einen gewissen Einfluss auf die formelle Gestaltung der Kompilation *Aḥmad ibn Abī ḫUdaybas* aus. Bei der Anführung einiger wichtiger Fakta zitiert *Aḥmad ibn Abī ḫUdayba* auch bekannte Historiker. Neben dieser Orientierung auf die seriösen Quellen wendet sich *Aḥmad ibn Abī ḫUdayba* aber auch an die Werke, die einen typischen populären Charakter tragen. In diesem Zusammenhang müssen wir manche im Autograph vorgefundene Hinweise, die auf *Qīṣāṣ al-anbiyā'*, die dem *Kisā'iṣ*<sup>9</sup> zugeschrieben sind, erwähnen. Der Einfluss von Sammlern von den populären Prophetenlegenden erweist sich gleichfalls darin, dass die alten Überlieferer der islamischen

<sup>5</sup> S. 139.

<sup>6</sup> *Al-Daw’ al-lāmi‘*, II, 163.

<sup>7</sup> *Mu‘jam al-mu'allifin*, II, 139. Vgl. auch ‘Abbās al-‘Azwī, *Mağallat al-mağma‘ al-‘ilmī bi-Dimaṣq*, XXI, 306—316.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibn Hallikān*, Kairo 1948—49, Nr. 30; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber* Nr. 185; Lidzbarski, Diss., 15—20.

<sup>9</sup> Lidzbarski, Diss., 20—25; EI, II, 1037.

Interpretation des biblischen Materials — vor allem *Ibn Abbās* — im Werk sehr oft zitiert sind. In Passagen, welche *Aḥmad ibn Abī ḫUdayba* dem Propheten Muḥammad widmete, stützte er sich aber meistens auf *al-Wāqīdī* und auf den bekannten spätislamischen Kommentator der „*Sīra*“ *al-Suhaylī* (*Abd al-rahmān ibn ḫAbdallāh*).<sup>10</sup> In den Schlusskapiteln seines Werkes beruft sich der Verfasser auch auf sein Werk das Grosse *Ta’rīh*, was sonst seine Autorschaft dieser Kompilation bestätigt.

*Aḥmad ibn Abī ḫUdayba* hat sich für einen Historiker gehalten und daher wollte er seinem Werk *Qīṣāṣ al-anbiyā’* wenigstens der formellen Seite nach das Gepräge eines „erudite work“ geben. Seine unskrupulöse Orientierung auf die Volksliteratur, namentlich auf das Werk von *al-Kisā’ī* — welches ein Produkt der mittelalterlichen Märchenerzähler (*qāṣṣ*, *quṣṣāṣ*) ist weist aber eindeutig auf die breit gefasste Kompilationstendenzen des späteren islamischen Mittelalters hin.

Die älteren Werke *Qīṣāṣ al-anbiyā’* (unter denen das *Kitāb qīṣāṣ al-anbiyā’ al-muṣammā bi-l-ṣarā’is* von *al-Taclabī* verfasst, am bekanntesten ist), welche Traditionen der *Qur’ān* Kommentare und historischen Werke entsprungen sind, haben sich der Zitierung von unbeglaubigten „*ahbār*“ nicht entziehen können. Die Verfasser dieser Werke distanzierten sich aber von fantastischen Ausmalungen mit denen die *quṣṣāṣ*-Klasse die Prophetenlegenden ausgeschmückt hat.

Auf der anderen Seite in Werken von Märchenerzählern, und das gilt vor allem für die Sammlung *al-Kisā’īs*, finden wir nirgends direkte Hinweise auf die „gelehrte Vita“ von Propheten. Die populäre Bearbeitung der Prophetenlegenden ist außerdem durch eine zusammenhängende narrative Darstellung der Thematik gekennzeichnet, welche diesen Werken ein ausschliesslich literarisches Gepräge verleiht.<sup>11</sup> Diesen Charakter hat sich *al-Kisā’īs* Werk durchaus beibehalten und blieb praktisch in bezug auf die Darstellungsmethode im ganzen Mittelalter unabhängig von äusserlichen Einflüssen.

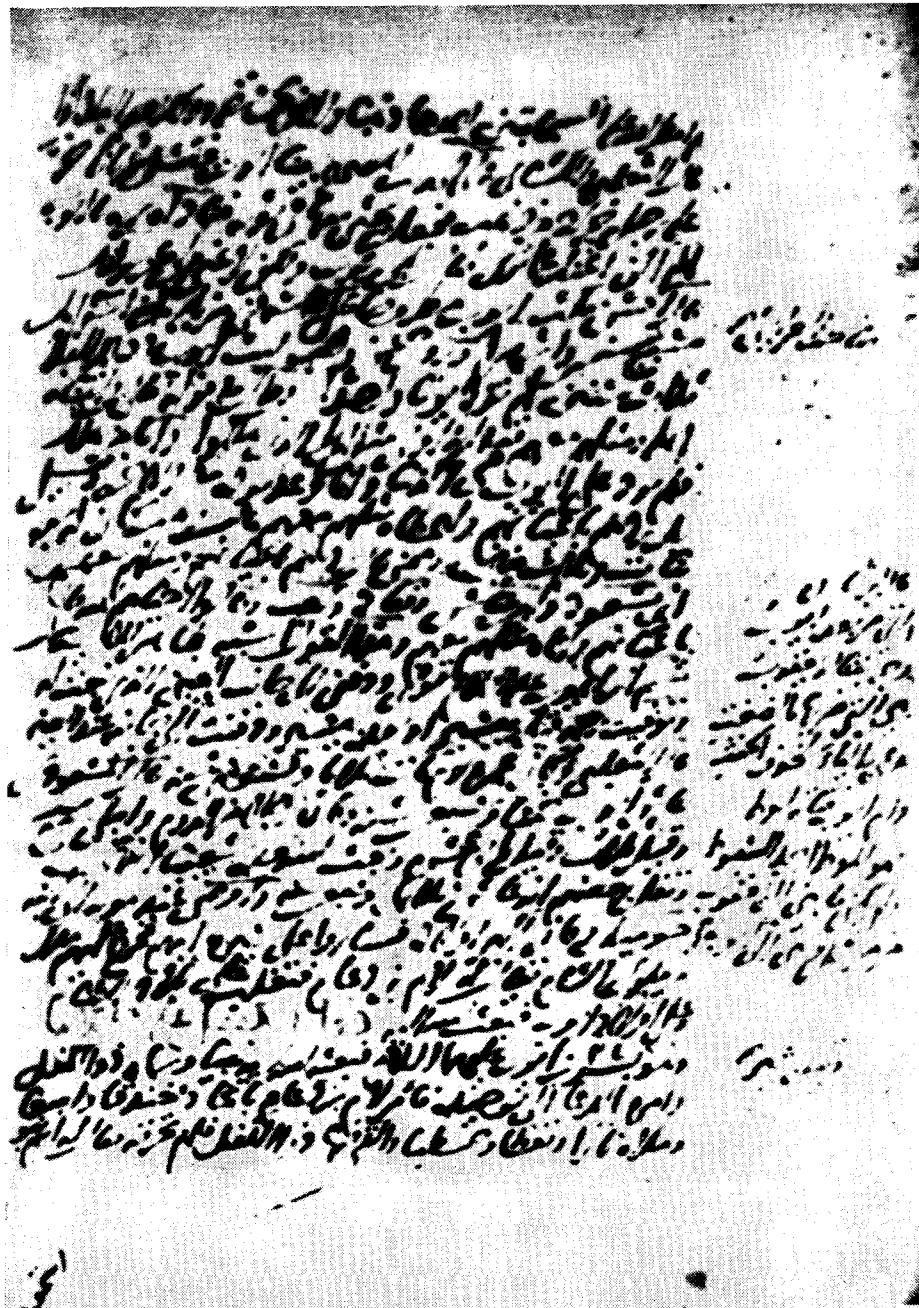
Das Schreiben von meist anonymen Kompilationen aus den Werken von *al-Taclabī* und *al-Kisā’ī* ist vielleicht alten Datums, macht sich aber für die Dekadenzperiode des islamischen Mittelalters besonders charakteristisch bemerkbar. In jener Zeit ist die ursprüngliche Differenzierung der Darstellungs- bzw. Überlieferungsmethoden bei verschiedenen *Qīṣāṣ al-anbiyā’* schwächer geworden. Dies ist indirekt darauf zurückzuführen, dass die Tendenz der gelehrteten Überlieferung der Prophetenlegenden ihren Höhepunkt im Werk von *al-Taclabī* erreichte, während der „popular trend“, durch die Sammlung *al-Kisā’īs* representiert, und in ununterbrochener Weise genährt, durch die Schöpfungsaktivität der Märchenerzähler weiterlebte, und im späten Mittelalter kulminierte. Zu dieser Vermischung der beiden Tendenzen kam es daher nicht nur angesichts der Oberflächlichkeit und Dekadenz dieser Periode, welche

<sup>10</sup> *Ibn Ḫallikān*, Kairo 1948—49, Nr. 344.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. Lidzbarski, Diss., 20—25.

وَجَعْدَ الْمُصْلِحِ عَامِنِ الْمُتَبَرِّزِ، وَضَنْتَ الْمُفْرِضِيَّ تَمْرَ،  
وَعَسْرَانِ الْمُضْنَى وَهُنْيَ لِلْأَبْرَجِ، وَمُحَمَّدَ الْمُهَارَانِ وَالْأَنْ مُغْسَنِ،  
وَعَجَّلَهُمَا اِحْدَانِ، وَإِذَا هَذِهِمَا شَهَراً مُسْكَنِ،  
وَمَغْلِقَ حَيْثُ الْمُشَدَّدُ انْتَهَرَ، وَضَنْتَ عَلَمَ بِعَدَانِ،  
وَمُجَزَّانَةَ مَلَكَ الْجَنِّيَّنِ بِرَبِّهِ لِمَعْصِيَتِهِ سَلَادَرَةَ،  
وَلَلَّهُ وَحْدَهُ كَافِرَةَ، وَرُوقَ عَلَى اِدْرَاقَهِ تَكْبِرَةَ،  
تَكْرَرَ عَلَى مَدْرَفَةِ النَّفَرِ الْمُلَاهَمِ، وَالْمُعَرَّفَةِ كَجَبَ عَلَى  
الْمُدَكَّرِ، وَلَوْلَهُ لَمْ يَلْهُ عَدَسَةَ الْمُطَنَّدَةِ سَلَامَ، وَهُوَ  
وَالْمُهَمَّسَ لِلْمَعَالَةِ،  
وَصَاحَبَ الْمُسَبَّبَةِ.

Das Kolophon (fol. 161<sup>a</sup>) der Jerusalemer Handschrift „*Qisāṣ al-anbiyā*“ von *Aḥmad ibn Abī ʿUdayba*.



Folio 41<sup>a</sup> der Jerusalemer Handschrift „*Qisāṣ al-anbiyā'*“ von *Aḥmad ibn Abī ʿUdayba*, welches den Schluss der *Ayyūb* Legende enthält.

sich mit wertlosen Kompilationen zufrieden stellte, sondern auch in bezug auf den immer grösseren Einfluss, welchen die Sammlung *al-Kisā'īs* im späteren Mittelalter auf die mittleren Schichten der islamischen Bevölkerung ausühte.

Die Kompilation *Aḥmad ibn Abī ḫUdayba* ist natürlich nicht vereinzelt. Die gleiche Orientierung auf verschiedenartige Quellen finden wir auch bei anderen Autoren dieser Zeit, z. B. bei dem bekannten Historiker *Ibn Iyās*.<sup>12</sup> Unser Autograph liefert uns daher ein typisches Beispiel dafür, wie die spätislamische Periode dank ihrer Schöpfungssterilität keine Kraft fand, die gelehrte „Vita“ von Propheten in einer positiven, schöpferischen Weise zu bereichern.

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<sup>12</sup> *Badā'īc al-zuhūr*, (Kairo, *Isā Bābī Halabī*), 52 etc., wo *al-Kisā'ī* mehrmals zitiert ist.

## L'ANALYSE SOCIOLOGIQUE DU SOCIALISME TUNISIEN

MARCELA SALIVAROVÁ, Praha

### 1. *Hypothèses de travail*

L'étude que nous présentons ici est en principe le volet théorique de l'enquête menée à Tunis par les étudiants en sociologie de l'Université de Tunis au printemps 1967, destinée à apprécier jusqu'à quel point il convient de parler de classes sociales en Tunisie. Ce thème qui suscite de nombreuses polémiques doctrinales et pratiques et qui mérite l'attention de la sociologie engagée comme tout ce qui oppose les hommes, a été ainsi pour la première fois exploité par les sociologues tunisiens.

Cependant, l'itinéraire de l'enquête se contentait de s'interroger sur l'existence des classes sociales; le fait qu'en réalité l'idéologie officielle-même ne conteste plus.<sup>1</sup> Il aurait été beaucoup plus intéressant et engageant de montrer jusqu'à quel point les individus appartenant à une situation de classe expriment la conscience de classe et des intérêts de classe.

Ce que le questionnaire a permis de voir, c'est tout de même le fait que plus on monte dans la hiérarchie sociale, plus se précise le sentiment d'appartenance sociale. Les gros industriels sont conscients de leur niveau de vie, adoptent un style de vie plus moderne, envisagent leur avenir ainsi que celui de leurs enfants avec plus de réalisme. Par contre, le sous-prolétariat fortement déraciné vit sa situation sur le mode de la privation, considère la société comme régie par le piston, il est donc porté vers une conscience quasi-magique de la société. L'enquête a révélé le bouleversement complet de la société, l'impact des nouvelles réformes en matière d'éducation, de santé, de développement économique.

Néanmoins, les résultats de l'enquête ont confirmé notre hypothèse concernant le caractère fondamental de la stratification de la société tunisienne: la polarisation des classes sociales autour du pouvoir. Car, en fait, le questionnaire, combinant deux méthodes de l'analyse—marxiste, qui examine le mode de distribution des biens, d'emploi, des prestations économiques et — weberienne, qui porte sur les classes sociales par le billet des évaluations sociales spécifiques et par la distribution du prestige —

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<sup>1</sup> *Le séminaire national sur la coordination des secteurs économiques.* Tunis, 1965, p. 17.

n'a pas aboutit à l'entrecroisement et aux définitions des classes les unes par rapport aux autres, mais plutôt à une référence constante de l'ensemble des classes par rapport aux hiérarchies supérieures. La possession des biens, condition d'appartenance aux diverses classes, n'est pas une condition suffisante. Des individus appartenant à des classes différentes ne valorisent qu'une seule chose: le pouvoir. Pour la majorité de ceux qui ont été interviewés seul le pouvoir constitue l'incarnation de la puissance, des avantages matériels et du prestige. Ainsi l'industriel et la bourgeoisie traditionnelle regardent ils d'un mauvais oeil l'intervention de l'Etat contre leurs intérêts; le prolétariat reprochant l'embourgeoisement de la petite bourgeoisie se trouve, par sa faiblesse, impuissant pour imposer ses exigences, le sous-prolétariat disponible pour accueillir dans la confusion les idéologies millénaristes. L'enquête est ainsi plutôt un témoignage des classes sur le pouvoir que sur leurs situations.

Notre étude s'est proposée d'aller plus loin et de définir le mode de stratification de la société tunisienne actuelle ainsi que la façon dont les classes existantes articulent leurs consciences et intérêts de classe qui peuvent impliquer les conflits de classe. Car si l'accord est total quant à l'objectif — la construction de l'Etat national indépendant — des divergences existent portant sur la méthode d'approche, l'itinéraire à suivre en vue de la réalisation de cet objectif. C'est pour cette raison que nous avons étudié la méthode actuelle de croissance économique — le socialisme destourien en théorie et en pratique, c'est-à-dire, dans la mesure où il représente officiellement les intérêts communs des différentes classes sociales au sein de la société tunisienne<sup>2</sup> et en tant qu'il représente à nos yeux l'enjeu fondamental des forces sociales qui déterminent et infléchissent le cours que prend la société tunisienne.

Ainsi notre étude soutient les trois hypothèses suivantes:

1. si les différentes classes sont plus portées à se situer par rapport au pouvoir que les uns par rapport aux autres, c'est que *le problème n'est pas tellement les classes entre elles que l'Etat et la société: la perception des différences sociologiques est alors plus verticale qu'horizontale.*

Cette polarisation- l'Etat — la société- ne signifie nullement que la politique économique de l'Etat ne poursuit que les intérêts de l'élite au pouvoir. Cette opposition est due aussi à la situation compliquée d'un pays en voie de développement dont les objectifs à atteindre exigent énormément de capitaux, du travail, bref des sacrifices de la part de la génération actuelle au profit des générations à venir. Les buts de la Nation portent plus loin que les buts individuels immédiats.

2. *la centralisation de la société sur le plan politique signifie sur le plan sociologique que les conflits de classe se trouvent transposés au sommet; ces conflits deviennent actuellement manifestes dans le domaine le plus important de l'économie nationale — dans*

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<sup>2</sup> Habib Bourguiba, *Eternelle jeunesse de notre Parti, discours à Bizerte, 1964*, pp. 38—39.

*l'agriculture.*<sup>3</sup> Car ce n'est en effet que *l'agriculture qui offre une solution réelle à ces deux problèmes de clé de la société: le sous-emploi et la sous-alimentation.*

3. finalement nous proposons de voir dans le sort du secteur coopératif l'indicateur de la puissance de l'élite actuelle au pouvoir et de sa capacité de faire prévaloir son alternative de développement; en plus nous considérons le rôle qui est assigné à ce secteur dans le cadre de l'économie nationale comme le témoignage de l'effort exercé par l'Etat tunisien (et il en est de même pour d'autres pays en voie de développement) en vue de trouver une méthode de développement nouvelle, authentique, qui ne serait ni capitaliste ni socialiste, mais qui conviendrait entièrement aux besoins de leurs sociétés.

Les trois hypothèses de base dégagées, nous passons maintenant à l'analyse socio-logique du socialisme destourien, analyse qui les démontre et développe.

## 2. Double aspect de la stratification de la société tunisienne

Le socialisme destourien ne doit pas échapper à une analyse sociologique. C'est pourquoi nous ne partons pas de la position doctrinale selon laquelle il n'existe pas de conflits de classe en Tunisie;<sup>4</sup> en effet la position officielle revient à se réclamer des fins ultimes de toutes les sociétés socialistes (égalité des opportunités, justice sociale, libération de l'homme) mais a se prononcer pour ce qui a trait aux moyens d'y parvenir des seules méthodes adéquates aux conditions objectives et subjectives, spécifiques et appropriées à la société tunisienne.<sup>5</sup>

Ainsi elle ne retient pas des expériences socialistes d'Europe ni les choix idéologiques ni les choix économiques reposant sur l'analyse marxiste de la société, surtout non pas le principe du conflit des classes.<sup>6</sup> Sa démonstration que nous jugeons simpliste repose sur un syllogisme logiquement inacceptable:

1. elle refuse la théorie marxiste comme inadaptée à sa propre société,<sup>7</sup>
2. l'inadaptation de cette théorie la conduit à conclure à l'inexistence pure et simple des conflits de classe en Tunisie.

Outre le fait que l'unanimité politique (l'unité nationale) ne constitue pas un critère en soi, le sociologue ne peut, supposant qu'il parte des mêmes prémisses, aboutir aux mêmes conclusions.

Posons 3 propositions:

1. le socialisme destourien comme tous les systèmes de socialisme prend son point de départ à partir d'inégalités réelles entre les classes<sup>8</sup> — il promet la distribution des richesses nouvelles et non celles actuelles — ce qui suppose une différenciation écono-

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<sup>3</sup> Ben Salah, *Vers un Avenir Meilleur*, interview à Paris, 1966, pp. 43—44.

<sup>4</sup> Le séminaire déjà cité, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Habib Bourguiba, *Vers un socialisme authentique*, discours à Tunis, 1963, pp. 18, 26.

<sup>6</sup> Habib Bourguiba, *Le Socialisme Destourien*, discours au Caire, 1965, pp. 13—15.

<sup>7</sup> Le séminaire déjà cité, p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> H. Bourguiba, *Notre voie vers le socialisme*, discours à Sfax, 1964, pp. 10—11.

mique dès l'origine. Ne voulant pas mettre un terme de manière radicale à cette différenciation il cherche un accommodement par la collaboration des classes différentes tantôt par la persuasion, tantôt par la contrainte,<sup>9</sup>

2. le socialisme destourien prôné par les élites politiques constitue une position d'envergure dans le champ social des relations de classe que ces relations soient marquées par la coexistence ou par la lutte,

3. le destin de ce socialisme dépend et dépendra dans l'avenir de la confrontation de ces forces sociales différentes et du sens dans lequel elles parviendront à l'infléchir. La position du pouvoir, position idéologique au sens de K. Mannheim<sup>10</sup> n'est nullement définitive ni inexorable, elle est l'enjeu des forces qui animent et se disputent la prédominance au sein de la structure sociale.

Avant de passer à l'analyse des classes et des groupements sociaux nous pensons qu'il existe deux modes de structuration de la société tunisienne:

1. une structuration fondamentale, celle de l'Etat d'une part et de la société d'autre part

2. une structuration d'avantage économique et culturel au sein de la société globale: celle des groupements sociaux.

Il existe en effet des „situations de classe“ en Tunisie en fonction de la répartition des revenus et des biens. Que cette répartition inégale soit à l'origine des conflits entre les différentes classes est certain et toute l'idéologie agitant au nom de la solidarité nationale en est la meilleure preuve.<sup>11</sup> Mais le poids fonctionnel de ce conflit n'est pas décisif; c'est la conséquence du faible développement de l'économie et de l'industrie dans le pays. Ainsi l'échelle des valeurs de la structure sociale n'est pas dominée par le statut économique seulement mais aussi et surtout, par le degré de l'accès au pouvoir. Le pouvoir constitue l'incarnation de la puissance, des avantages matériels et du prestige pour la majorité de la société.

Si les différents groupes sont plus portés à se situer dans la structure sociale par rapport au pouvoir et non par rapport les uns aux autres, c'est que le problème de la société tunisienne, société peu différenciée économiquement d'une part, mais d'autre part hautement centralisée sur le plan politique, ne relève pas tant des relations mutuelles des classes que des rapports entre l'Etat et la société. C'est dire que la perception des différences sociologiques n'est pas tant horizontale que verticale.

Ceci ne doit pas entraîner des conclusions hâtives comme celles selon lesquelles dans ce cas il n'y a pas de conflits de classe; bien au contraire, les classes sociales ont la ferme conviction que plus on est proche du pouvoir plus on est puissant et distingué par rapport aux autres classes. La centralisation signifie donc, sur le plan sociologique,

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<sup>9</sup> H. Bourguiba, *Aspects de la lutte de la Nation Arabe, discours à Beyrouth*, 1965, p. 31.

<sup>10</sup> Karl Mannheim, *L'idéologie et l'utopie*.

<sup>11</sup> H. Bourguiba, *Vers un socialisme authentique*, p. 34—35; *Le Socialisme Destourien*, pp. 13—14; *Sous le signe de la planification, discours à Tunis*, 1963, pp. 22—23.

que les conflits de classes se trouvent transposés au sommet. L'ensemble de l'enjeu social (classes, conscience, conflits entre les classes) se trouve confisqué, maîtrisé par le pouvoir.

Si les caractéristiques des différentes classes sociales dépendent non seulement de leurs positions différentes dans la structure sociale mais également du poids fonctionnel de chaque classe dans la structure globale, nous nous appercevons que la scène des classes en Tunisie est dominée par la petite bourgeoisie qui fournit les cadres administratives de l'Etat et l'immense sous-prolétariat (travailleurs intermittants des villes et des paysans déracinés) et que le poids fonctionnel, de la bourgeoisie traditionnelle (agraire et commerciale) et du prolétariat est faible.

### *3. Pouvoir et la société*

Le heurt des classes étant faible, c'est la petite bourgeoisie qui constitue le véritable candidat au pouvoir. L'Etat s'efforçant à inculquer le sentiment de la solidarité nationale conteste l'appartenance de l'élite au pouvoir à une classe déterminée en démontrant que cette élite est issue de toutes les couches sociales.<sup>12</sup> Mais la mobilité sociale qui est la preuve d'existance des classes sociales n'empêche nullement la création des classes nouvelles. Ce qui détermine aujourd'hui cette élite, c'est une manière de conduite commune qui fait d'elle un groupe homogène par le genre de vie, formation, éducation, mode de penser. La définition de l'élite au pouvoir comme une simple couche administrative dont la charge est d'administrer et de diriger les affaires publiques dissimule sa capacité de profiter de son pouvoir pour se renforcer économiquement.<sup>13</sup>

D'après Lukacs (Existencialisme ou marxisme) la vocation d'une classe à la domination signifie qu'il est possible, à partir de ses intérêts de classe, à partir de sa conscience de classe, d'organiser l'ensemble de la société conformément à ses intérêts.

Or quelles sont les principales activités de cette élite:

1. assurer sa domination dans l'unité nationale en minimisant les divergences entre les classes sociales, en évoquant l'unanimité que la lutte contre l'opresseur ait pu cimenter pour un moment.<sup>14</sup>

2. légitimer le pouvoir par la mise en mouvement de la société, par la refonte sociologique de la Nation tunisienne; ré-enracinement de la paysannerie par les coopératives, stimulation de l'initiative économique parmi les industriels et les commerçants, animation du cadre social et mobilisation de toute la société aux fins du développement.<sup>15</sup>

L'élite au pouvoir qui tenait une place dirigeante dans la lutte pour l'indépendance et qui a accédé au pouvoir politique se rend compte que si la force politique est un

<sup>12</sup> Le Séminaire cité, p. 17.

<sup>13</sup> Le Séminaire cité, p. 24; Habib Bourguiba, *Le Socialisme Destourien*, p. 16.

<sup>14</sup> Le séminaire, p. 17; H. Bourguiba, *Le Socialisme Destourien*, pp. 13—14.

<sup>15</sup> Le séminaire, pp. 13—14; H. Bourguiba, *Le Socialisme Destourien*, p. 17.

facteur important pour détenir les conflits de classe, c'est le facteur économique qui se fera prévaloir à long terme. Sa position économique moyenne provenant du fait qu'elle n'était pas possédante avant la prise du pouvoir la met en garde devant la bourgeoisie possédante. De l'autre côté elle se voit „assaillie“ par la marée d'hommes de plus en plus prenant conscience de leur misère.<sup>16</sup>

A cette situation se réfère l'orientation de la politique économique actuelle en Tunisie et les rôles que l'élite au pouvoir assigne aux différentes classes dans le cadre du socialisme destourien.

Ainsi ayant dégagé le niveau politique de la stratification, passons au niveau économique.

#### *4. Les classes d'un point de vue économique*

##### *a) l'Etat et le secteur public*

Dirigé par l'Etat le secteur public fait face au secteur privé à la fois inefficace et plein de mauvais desseins et aux structures sociales instables et d'un potentiel explosif.<sup>17</sup>

Cependant l'intervention de l'Etat dans les affaires revêt un double caractère; elle est permanente dans les activités traditionnelles du secteur privé en attendant que celui-ci étant une fois assimilé, le nouvel esprit puisse assumer ses responsabilités.<sup>18</sup>

Il serait érronné de voir dans le secteur public le secteur-clé du socialisme destourien; l'Etat qui manque de capitaux et de cadres compétents ne demande mieux que la relève par les entrepreneurs privés et va soutenir leur initiative.

##### *b) La bourgeoisie traditionnelle et le secteur privé*

Les intérêts de la bourgeoisie traditionnelle (d'origine commerçante et agraire) se trouvent affectés par l'orientation politique du régime. L'adhération aux principes fondamentaux du socialisme destourien est la condition „sine qua non“ de la survie du secteur privé.<sup>19</sup> L'Etat soucieux de changer les structures d'accueil essaie d'introduire les structures socialisantes au sein des entreprises privées en vue de créer un schéma unique d'organisation des entreprises, ainsi qu'il entreprend une conversion de la bourgeoisie commerçante en bourgeoisie industrielle.<sup>20</sup>

Toutefois elle n'est pas directement combattue d'autant plus qu'elle a fourni des cadres et des ressources à la lutte nationale. Certaines catégories de la bourgeoisie ont su se convertir aux impératifs de la planification. Elles connaissent d'une part un grand développement du côté des Offices. Sociétés d'économie mixte, industrie de transformation, tourisme. Elles fournissent de l'autre part de grands gestionnaires de l'Etat.

<sup>16</sup> Moncef Guen, *La coopération et l'Etat en Tunisie*, Tunis, 1964, p. 44.

<sup>17</sup> Le séminaire, p. 13.

<sup>18</sup> Le séminaire, pp. 29—30.

<sup>19</sup> Le séminaire, p. 35.

<sup>20</sup> Le séminaire, pp. 36—37.

Les termes du dilemme qui l'opposent à la technocratie du Plan sont les suivants: contre une croissance insoucieuse de l'inflation elle propose une croissance sans inflation (les investissements rentables par exemple). Cette bourgeoisie trouve un appui dans une fraction d'un vieux leadership national et de la part des banquiers. Ce débat se situe quotidiennement sur le plan des affaires économiques, il a ses répercussions jusqu'au sein des débats de la Commission idéologique du Parti (controverse opposant Ben Salah (Plan) et Hedi Mira (directeur de la Banque Centrale de Tunisie — B. C. T.)

#### c) *Les salariés et le sous-prolétariat*

Les salariés sont une classe réalisant le même rôle dans tous les secteurs de l'économie nationale dans les conditions presque identiques.

Cette classe peu nombreuse, quoique renforcée depuis l'indépendance, représente une catégorie privilégiée par rapport aux paysans mais pourtant mécontente dans l'ensemble, malgré leur changement de condition. Elle connaît une promotion objective mais demeure insatisfaite de sa condition (situation anomique créée par la manière ostentatoire de vivre propre aux élites politiques).<sup>21</sup>

Cette classe a sa propre organisation — les syndicats. Malgré ce fait, et cela vaut autant pour la bourgeoisie traditionnelle, elle est trop faible pour organiser la société conformément à ses intérêts. Malgré leurs contestations de l'embourgeoisement de l'élite, les syndicats n'ont jamais pu imposer un programme politique de revendications et leurs tentatives dans ce domaine ont toujours échoué.<sup>22</sup> Les cadres ont été intégrés dans le mouvement national d'abord et dans l'Etat ensuite et les syndicats se trouvent aujourd'hui réduits à une „courroie de transmission“ entre la base et le sommet.<sup>23</sup>

Le rôle demandé aux syndicats c'est de réaliser une compression des salaires en vue de bloquer la consommation et de valoriser la production.<sup>24</sup>

Le sous-prolétariat n'intervient pas effectivement dans l'économie nationale, mais n'en constitue pas moins l'opinion. Son problème est celui du sous-emploi qui finalement ne peut pas être résolu immédiatement par l'industrialisation mais par la mise en valeur des terres en friche et par la création de nouveaux emplois dans l'agriculture.

L'existence de cette classe instable est embarrassante pour l'Etat et sa disparition totale signifiera le véritable décollage économique.

#### d) *La paysannerie et le secteur coopératif*

Le secteur coopératif couvre les branches d'activités traditionnellement réservées à l'initiation privée — en particulier l'agriculture, le commerce et l'artisanat, les

<sup>21</sup> *Précondition sociale de l'industrialisation*, publication C. E. R. E. S., Tunis.

<sup>22</sup> Ben Salah, *Vers un Avenir Meilleur*, p. 55. A. M. Hermassi, *Le mouvement ouvrier en société coloniale: l'exemple de la Tunisie*. Thèse, non publiée, Paris, 1966.

<sup>23</sup> H. Bourguiba, *Sous le signe de la planification*, p. 12.

<sup>24</sup> H. Bourguiba, *Entre le Parti et les Syndicats, une communauté de destin, discours à Bizerte*, 1965, p. 41.

activités qui se sont découvertes les plus retardataires dans l'ensemble de l'économie et dont le retardement économique est lié à une structure mentale arriérée de ses exécuteurs.<sup>25</sup>

Un changement du mode de production et de vie est donc nécessaire aussi bien du point de vue économique que stratégique.

Le bouleversement en question concerne surtout l'agriculture à laquelle est accordé le rôle primordial dans le processus de développement. Le rapport entre le progrès de la production et la croissance démographique exige d'assurer aux hommes la nourriture et échapper une fois pour tout à la sous-alimentation.<sup>26</sup>

Ensuite en ce qui concerne le commerce, sa structure était telle qu'elle constituait le danger d'avaler la plus grande partie de l'accroissement de la production dans une chaîne d'intermédiaires s'interposant entre le stade de la production et celui de la consommation.

La formule permettant de sortir de cette situation, trouvée dans la création des coopératives, ne suit pas le principe de non-attachement à une option d'ordre idéologique et de l'efficacité avant tout. La coopération est une pièce maîtresse dans la réforme des structures prévue par le Plan parce que l'esprit qui l'anime est étroitement lié à la philosophie socio-politique de laquelle s'inspire le socialisme destourien.<sup>27</sup>

La coopération est un système qui permet de donner une force économique considérable aux groupements des individus qui, séparés, ne peuvent pas accéder à la viabilité économique. Elle correspond le mieux à l'objectif visé de la promotion économique et sociale de l'homme en permettant de diffuser le progrès technique et d'élever de cette façon le rendement et le niveau de vie des coopérateurs tout en leur laissant l'initiative et la responsabilité de la gestion.<sup>28</sup>

Si ces grandes idées n'ont pas encore connu l'impact souhaité sur la société, c'est qu'à côté des obstacles d'ordre institutionnel et économique se range une réaction sociale considérable.<sup>29</sup>

La création des coopératives est rentrée dans le jeu des gros propriétaires qui auraient autrement intégré des petits et moyens producteurs. Ils décèlent dans ce mouvement ses traits doctrinaux et ne cessent pas d'entraver l'expérience coopérative en prévoyant que son succès remettrait en cause la question de la réforme agraire.<sup>30</sup>

Mais ce ne sont pas seulement des gros propriétaires qui voient dans les coopératives l'ennemi de leurs intérêts. Il en est de même pour une partie de ceux qui sont visés

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<sup>25</sup> Moncef Guen, *La coopération et l'Etat en Tunisie*, p. 31.

<sup>26</sup> Ben Salah, *Vers un Avenir Meilleur*, p. 43.

<sup>27</sup> Moncef Guen, l'ouvrage cité, pp. 8, 90.

<sup>28</sup> Le séminaire cité, pp. 39—40.

<sup>29</sup> Guen, l'ouvrage cité, pp. 27, 68—69.

<sup>30</sup> Journal *L'Action*, l'article publié le 17/5 1967.

comme les prochains coopérateurs — la petite et moyenne paysannerie.<sup>31</sup> Déjà la caractéristique de la paysannerie comme une classe conservatrice qui n'aime pas des expériences nouvelles fort alléatoires dans ce domaine où les résultats ne sont appréciables qu'après une longue période, montre les structures mentales inadéquates à une telle expérience. D'où, la fidélité aux pratiques des générations précédentes. Toutes les campagnes menées pour la diversification des cultures, l'éclaircissement des forêts etc.<sup>32</sup> sont très éloquentes et prouvent que la conversion de la petite paysannerie n'est pas plus facile que l'affrontement des gros propriétaires.

Une autre raison qui ne soulève pas l'enthousiasme à l'encontre des coopératives est l'intervention de l'Etat dans les affaires des coopératives qui, quoique provisoire, fait néanmoins penser à une main-mise déguisée de l'Etat sur l'activité privée.

Malgré les difficultés rencontrées par l'expérience coopérative tunisienne, malgré son caractère de réforme agraire partielle, le fait que ce système ait eu l'avantage d'intégrer plus de 250 000 coopérateurs en quelques années, qu'il ait permis la fructification des terres riches, jadis animées par les colons européens, c'est à notre connaissance la seule expérience valable de fixation des paysans au sol, la promesse d'un plus grand accroissement de la production agricole. Bien menée, cette expérience pourrait contenir l'enjeu-même du destin du développement de ce pays.

La politique du soutien et de la protection de ce secteur hybride, engendré par l'Etat démontre la position ambiguë de l'élite au pouvoir à la fois dans la société tunisienne et dans le courant de l'évolution mondiale, car la coopération représente dans les pays en voie de développement une synthèse de la démocratie occidentale et du socialisme soviétique,<sup>33</sup> une formule intermédiaire entre le capitalisme et le socialisme,<sup>34</sup> qui constitue pour certains l'amorce d'une éventuelle troisième voie qui devrait nous inciter, sociologues et économistes, à étudier de plus près ces formes transitoires d'organisation sociale.

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<sup>31</sup> Le séminaire, p. 42.

<sup>32</sup> H. Bourguiba, *Dépasser les conceptions individualistes, discours à Gabès*, 1963, pp. 16—17; *Le décalage économique, discours à Tunis*, 1965, p. 15.

<sup>33</sup> Guen, p. 40.

<sup>34</sup> Guen, p. 95.

**REVIEW ARTICLES**

SOME REMARKS ON C. F. AND F. M. VOEGELIN'S  
"LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD: INDO-PACIFIC  
FASCICLE THREE"\*

HARRY SPITZBARDT, Jena

In recent time the Melanesian strip from coastal areas of New Guinea to New Caledonia and the Fijian islands immediately bordering the Polynesian triangle has become one of the chief concerns of Pacific anthropological studies including those of linguistics. We might mention Cowan's contribution "On Melanesian and the Origin of Austronesian" to Current Anthropology No. 2, 1965, p. 217ff., or Capell's "Oceanic Linguistics Today" (*ibid.* No. 4, 1962, p. 371ff.), Dyen's "Lexicostatistical Classification of the Austronesian Languages" (New Haven 1963), Murdock's "Genetic Classification of the Austronesian Languages: A Key to Oceanic Culture History" (*in: Ethnology* 3, 1964, p. 117ff.). Outstanding problems are those of ethnic overlapping in the so-called Polynesian outliers of eastern Melanesia, of relocating Polynesian communities to Melanesian areas such as those from Tonga to the Fijian island of Vanua Mbalavu (data collected by Alexander and Phyllis Lessin from the University of California, Los Angeles), and those of general urbanization and Westernization among the natives. The growing interest in Melanesian studies may furthermore be seen from the fact that the 1964 index of the *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica* lists alone 17 films on Melanesian ethnography. At the time when C. F. and F. M. Voegelin were publishing their joint "Indo-Pacific Fascicle Three", Čestmír Loukotka from the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague, was engaged in lexicostatistical and glottochronological research on all non-Melanesian languages of Melanesia. Of late A. A. Haudricourt from the French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique spent June and July of 1966 in New Caledonia doing linguistic research on Gomen and Belep and collecting texts in other languages of the north of New Caledonia, and D. C. Laycock from the Australian National University spent November 1966 to April 1967 in Southern Bougainville,

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\* C. F. and F. M. Voegelin, *Languages of the World: Indo-Pacific Fascicle Three*. In: Anthropological Linguistics Vol. 6, No. 9, December 1964. III and 125 pp.

Solomon Islands, editing a dictionary and gathering materials for a grammar of the Buin language.

In view of these activities a synopsis over the whole spectrum of Melanesian languages and dialects with a brief description of their respective sound systems as given by C. F. and F. M. Voegelin appears not only highly welcome, but rather as an indispensable prerequisite for all those concerned with Pacific languages.

Dr. Florence M. Voegelin, editor of Anthropological Linguistics (AL), is in charge of publications of the "Archives of Languages of the World" at the Anthropology Department, Indiana University, Bloomington. The publisher's note on the inside cover mentions one of the aims of AL, viz. "the immediate publication of data-oriented papers for which attestation is available in the form of tape recordings on deposit in the Archives of the World". Thus, AL Volume 6 contains, among other papers of ethnolinguistic interest, the following contributions to the "Languages of the World" Series issued by C. F. and F. M. Voegelin:

- No. 3 — Sino-Tibetan Fascicle One
- No. 4 — Indo-Pacific Fascicle One
- No. 5 — African Fascicle One
- No. 6 — Native America Fascicle One
- No. 7 — Indo-Pacific Fascicle Two
- No. 8 — Ibero-Caucasian and Pidgin-Creole Fascicle One
- No. 9 — Indo-Pacific Fascicle Three.

The last of the above-mentioned series will be discussed in the present report. "Indo-Pacific Fascicle Three" is subdivided into four sections:

- 3.1. Unified list of Austronesian Languages in Melanesia (pp. 1—33)
- 3.2. Sample of sound systems in Melanesia (pp. 34—68)
- 3.3. Bauan dialect of Fijian (structural description, pp. 69—109)
- 3.4. Rotuman sentence profiles (pp. 110—125).

In their introductory remarks about the difficulties encountered in bringing some order into the diversity of languages spoken in the Melanesian area, the authors briefly state their own objective, viz. "to bring together all the language names known for Melanesia that are neither Papuan nor Polynesian", using to a certain extent, the materials brought forth by Dyen, Capell, and Grace. They do not include in their register the languages of Irian Barat (West New Guinea), as those have been planned to appear in Indo-Pacific fascicles dealing with Indonesia. The authors' listings are oriented from west to east, slanting from north to south—a geographical chart, however, drawn by hand, would have been very helpful for the non-specialist reader to get a quick and easy impression of the different locations of the main centers in the order indicated above, beginning with Schouten Islands and continuing over the Admiralty Islands on to New Guinea territory and off-shore islands—New Ireland—New Britain—Bougainville—Solomon Islands—Santa Cruz Islands—Fiji Islands—

New Hebrides—Loyalty Islands—New Caledonia. It seems to be of a methodological value to point at the very onset, to the geographical position of different Melanesian areas in relation to the Polynesian triangle.

The 67 sound systems as described in the second section display a large variety among the Melanesian languages. Here, too, the observable common trend in language development indicating a relatively active consonantism on the one hand and a rather rigid stability among vowels on the other, can be verified again. The authors describe the vowel system that can be found among the majority of samples by means of the formula

$$2(FB) \text{ over } N$$

which means: two linear arrangements “front” and “back” over a neutral vowel (a). Another frequent pattern is 3 (FB) for

$$\begin{array}{ll} i & u \\ e & o \\ \alpha & a \end{array}$$

Consonants are described in a linear arrangement according to the different ways of sound production: stops, fricatives, nasals, liquids, semivowels. Thus, just to give one example, the phonematic inventory of Marau, Solomon Islands, could briefly yet, quite exhaustively be determined by these formulations:

### Consonant System

- 4 S (stop linear distinctions)
- 2 F (fricative linear distinctions)
- 2 N (nasal linear distinctions)
- 2 L (liquid linear distinctions)
- 1 Semivowel (labial)

### Vowel System

$$2 (FB) \text{ over } N$$

These formulas may render the following phonemic elements:

$$\begin{array}{cccc} p & t & k & ? \\ & s & & h \\ m & n & & \\ & r, l & & \\ w & & & \end{array}$$

## Vowels

<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>a</i>	

Under the abbreviation SGC is to be understood a “series generating component” as e.g. prenasalization plus voicing. The languages of New Caledonia, for instance Iai with 30 consonants and 11 vowels (not mentioning the 11 corresponding but phonematically different vowel lengths), show the highest degree of phonological complexity and diversity. Besides the Polynesian outliers Uvea and three languages from the Loyalties, there are both Efate in the south central New Hebrides and Rotuma with Fiji from the easternmost part of Melanesia which obviously have a somewhat closer structural relation to the Polynesian languages, forming in Dyen’s terminology the so-called “Heonesian Linkage”. These Melanesian-Polynesian linkages are of particular interest to Pacific anthropologists, above all to linguists. That is why sections 3.3 and 3.4 are exclusively dealing with Bau, a Fijian dialect, and Rotuma respectively, their phonemic inventories having been described already in the foregoing section (3.2). Yet a systematic and alphabetic arrangement mapping graphemes on to morphemes would have been very handy, since it is by no means evident at first sight that the digraph “dr” stands mostly for prenasalized [n̪r], or that “f”, “p”, “j” occur in English loan words only such as *polo* = ball, occurring in sentence No. 84 of the sample list as against the Fijianized form *veleti* = “plate” in other instances. Consequently, we could design the following letter per phoneme system for the Bauan dialect of Fijian:

<i>Aa, Bb, Cc, Dd, Ee, Ff,</i>	<i>Gg, Ii, Jj,</i>
<i>[a] [nb] [ð] [nd] [e] [f]</i>	<i>Eng. [η] [i] [dʒ] Eng.</i>
<i>Kk, Ll, Mm, Nn, Oo, Pp,</i>	<i>Qq, Rr, Ss, Tt,</i>
<i>[k] [l] [m] [n] [o] [p]</i>	<i>Eng. [ng] [r] [s] [t]</i>
<i>Uu, Vv, Ww, Yy,</i>	
<i>[u] [v] [w] [y]</i>	= semivowel generally transcribed [j].

From this it may be seen that the voiced stops [b] [d] [g] will have to be prenasalized in most positions and that “q” stands for [g] and “g” for [η].

The analysis of Fijian and Rotuman sentence profiles can be said to comply with the well-known structuralistic requirements of simplicity, consistency, and exhaustiveness, even without any application of mathematical accessories. The authors differentiate the usual syntactic phrases, such as [*Vt phrase*], [*Vp phrase*], [*S phrase*], [*O phrase*], [*IO phrase*], [*L phrase*], [*T phrase*], [*P phrase*] etc. where

*Vt* = transitive verb, *Vp* = passive verb, *S* = subject, *O* = (direct) object, *IO* = indirect object, *L* = location, *T* = time, *P* = possessive.

On the morphological level they introduce no more than two symbols, i.e. *M* for “major morpheme” (in the description of the Maori system by Bruce Biggs called “base”), and *m* for “minor morpheme” to designate the class of function words or grammatical affixes. Somehow or other one feels tempted to examine whether this, or at least a similarly simple method of structural description could also be applied to language systems of other families, perhaps even to the morphological analysis of Indo-European languages. At any rate the two authors have developed a clever and sufficiently powerful means to describe what V. N. Jarceva in her morphology of the English language once designated as II<sup>1</sup> morphemes, viz. those that still very closely resemble root-morphemes of the I type (e.g. O. E. suffixes *-full* or *-bora*). Such functional and semantic ambivalencies (cp. also Indonesian words like *baik*, being both adjective, and adverb just as the English *well*) are symbolized for the present purpose by  $\frac{m}{M}$  when they are supposed to function grammatically and as

$\frac{M}{m}$  when they will turn their full lexical content into the foreground. The common Polynesian and sub-Polynesian “modified-modifier” order would then be represented by the plain succession of *MM*.

The Bauan sentence profiles are classified from I... VI with subject and object expansions of profiles II and IV. Just to give an example: Profile I sentences have the structure [V phrase] [S phrase], whereas Profile II consists of [Vt phrase] and [O phrase].

The first profile type may be represented by such sentences as

(2) *The net is short*

e	leka-leka	na	lawa
[is]	(short-short)]	[the]	net]

As may be seen from this instance, the authors give a normal English rendering in the first line, the original specimen in the middle, and a word-by-word translation in the third line of each example. In their explanatory notes they state that sentence (2) can symbolically be represented as

[*m(M-M)*] [*m M*]

For profile II there is only one instance, No. 28, out of the whole sample list of 110 sentences:

(28) *He has taken the book*

a	sa	taura	na	aivola
[past]	[is]	(take hold of it)]	[the]	book]

To this example the following explanation is given by the authors (p. 83):

"The phrase interior of the first or [Vt phrase] is [m m (M)], with two minor morphemes preceding the phrase nucleus (M)", in other words [a] is marking past tense and [sa] serving as a phrase introducer.

Of particular linguistic interest are sentences expressing progressive action by means of the grammaticalized lexeme *tiko* = "(to) sit", as in the following example:

(45) *I'm drinking right now*

au	sa	gunu	tiko
[I]	is	drink	progressive]

Here, the morpheme *tiko* is of the  $\frac{m}{M}$  type, whereas in cases like No. 45: *I live in this house (where I am)* = au sa tiko e na vale oqō it has retained its entire semantic value of "to sit, stay, dwell". Accordingly it can here be symbolized by  $\frac{M}{m}$ , with the potential "m" function, as it were, slumbering inherently under its lexical value as characterized by its subscript position under the line. Cp. in this respect also Nos. 20 ( $tiko = \frac{m}{M}$ ) and 21 ( $tiko = \frac{M}{m}$ ). The fact that a lexeme meaning "sit, dwell, rest, stand, etc." is used to express progressive action is reflected by participial constructions with "come, go, keep, remain", and —last not least—"sit (!)" in English, which have contributed to the development of what has become known as the Expanded, Periphrastic, or Progressive Form in English Grammar. Moreover, we have similar constructions with the lexical equivalent of "stand" + Present Participle in Spanish and Italian and, of course, there are progressive constructions in Malay contrived by means of the word *dok*, a contracted form of *dudok* = "sit":  
e.g. Bila dia sampai, saya dok makan nasi = "I was eating rice, when he arrived." That Fijian has not only the usual grammatical Numbers of singular, dual and plural, but also a "paucal" for the expression of paucity of "few-ness" may be demonstrated by such instances as

(62) *The children go to sleep*

eratou	laki	moce	na	gone
[(they few)]	(go	sleep)]	[the	child].

Not only in structural respect—e.g. as to the retention of exclusiveness and inclusiveness in the pronominal paradigm or the general syntactic rule of "determining element behind determined element" and the common sentence arrangement of Verb Phrase before Subject Phrase etc.—but also in the lexical field does Fijian resemble very strongly the Polynesian languages, more, at least, than does Rotuman. Thus, among the samples collected from Bau we find such Malayo-Polynesian words as *tamata* = man, *vanua* = place, *vale* = house, *kana* = food, *ika* = fish, *mate* =

= die, *au* = I, *ko* = you, *rua* = two (cp. Bahasa Indonesia respectively: *tamah* = friendly, *benua* = continent, *balai* = house, *makanan* = food, *ikan* = fish, *mati* = die, *aku* = I, *engkau* = you, *dua* = two).

However, the student of Pacific linguistics must be careful and always have in mind the mechanism of phonematic correspondence as described e.g. through the well-known LRD law established by van der Tuuk, for he will have to realize that Fijian *dua* = "one" is *satu* in Malay and not *dua* which, according to our law, must appear as *rua* in Fijian.

Another interesting point at issue can be seen in the grammatical functioning of consonantal infixes in the verbal system. In the Bauan dialect of Fijian transitivity (or "transitive voice", as the authors have it), is marked by different consonant expansions of different major (verbal) morphemes before the transitive suffix [-a]. Thus the M (major morpheme or lexical base) *qoli* = "(to) fish" is expanded by [-v-] to form a Vt: *qoliva*. The M for "sit", (*dabe*), is expanded by [-c-]: *dabeca* = "sit on Object"; the M for "good" [*vinaka*], is expanded by [-t-]: *vinakata* = "like or want Object"; the M for "day", [*siga*], is expanded by [-n-]: *sigana* = "dry Object (viz. in the daily sun)", etc.

Section 3.4 deals with the language of Rotuma. A comparison of its phonology with that of Fijian reveals a rather strange juxtaposition: Whereas the Rotuman consonant inventory resembles that of the Polynesian languages and the Fijian consonant inventory that of Melanesian languages, it is vice versa when it comes to the vowel systems of both languages under consideration. The sentence profile [V phrase] [S phrase], most frequently to be met with in Fijian and Polynesian, is inverted in Rotuman and many other Melanesian languages. Rotuman sentence profiles are, moreover, un-Polynesian "in that many phrases are closed by minor morphemes glossed *the* (definite) and *a* (indefinite)", as the authors say, p. 111. All in all Fijian can be said to be more Polynesian and Rotuman more Melanesian with regard to their structural and lexical features. Nevertheless, we are justified in assuming that both Fijian and Rotuman as some kinds of Polynesian affiliations belong to an extensive "Sprachbund" formed by the Melanesian-Polynesian neighbourhood.

So far the authors have given with their lists and samples nothing but linguistic facts. They have not touched upon any theoretical problems of genealogical, ethnolinguistic consequences. In today's Austronesian (AN), or Pacific, or Oceanic linguistics we usually find ourselves confronted with two opposite theories:

(1) AN Languages represent a more or less uniform element introduced by migration and invasion into an area of previously existing non-AN languages, with a west-east direction of movement (Capell, Uhlenbeck, Kähler and many others)

(2) AN Languages have spread from a central area in various directions, i.e., west, north, and east of some region in present-day Melanesia (Dyen).

Arthur Capell remarks on this opposition in theoretical outlook (Current Anthropology 2, 1965, p. 225): "In the former theory (1) a substratum of NAN (= non-AN)

languages is accepted, and the AN languages regarded as coming in various forms of pidginisation into their present locations; in the latter (2), substratum theories and pidginisation are both rejected. My own support goes to the former theory.” It remains to be seen to which of the two theories C. F. and F. M. Voegelin’s own opinion and scientific support will go.

## SOME RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS ON EAST AFRICA

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*National Unity and Regionalism in Eight African States.* Ed. by Gwendolen M. Carter, New York, London, Nairobi, Cornell Univ. Press, 1966. Pp. 557, maps. D. E. Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda.* Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1967. Pp. 498; H. F. Morris and J. S. Read, *Uganda: The Development of its Laws and Constitution.* London, Stevens and Sons, 1966. Pp. XVI + 448; The Kabaka of Buganda, *Desecration of My Kingdom.* London, Constable, 1967. Pp. 194.

Each of these four books will be reviewed here separately and then an attempt will be made to draw a broader and more general conclusion.

Apart from *National Unity and Regionalism in Eight African States*,<sup>1</sup> the three remaining books are devoted exclusively to Uganda, Apter and Kabaka's books, in fact, essentially to a part of it, the kingdom of Buganda.

*National Unity and Regionalism in Eight African States* is the third and final volume of a series of essays on individual African States prepared under the same editorship and published by Cornell University Press. Following the same general outline this volume similarly as the previous two is "designed to provide a broad coverage of historical, economic and political information and a basic understanding of the sources of action and distinctive features of the particular countries considered".<sup>2</sup> In these three volumes as many as nineteen African countries are described and analyzed, selected in most instance to fill in the gap provided by a non-existence of easily accessible published studies or to complement the already published basic studies as

<sup>1</sup> Uganda, however, was the topic of one of the five essays, each running to about a hundred pages. The countries described are Nigeria, Niger, The Congo, Gabon, Central African Republic, Chad, Uganda and Ethiopia, contributors are Richard L. Sklar, C. S. Whitaker, Jr., Virginia Thompson, John A. Ballard, Donald Rothschild, Michael Rogin and Robert L. Hess.

<sup>2</sup> See *Preface*. The two earlier volumes, *African One-Party States and Five African States: Responses to Diversity*, appeared in 1962 and 1963 respectively. In 1964, *African One-Party States* was reissued in an expanded and updated form.

in the case of Nigeria and Uganda.<sup>3</sup> To prepare the essays the same general outline was used with slight modifications and variations in treatment in particular cases where the long history as in the case of Ethiopia, or the ethnic diversity as in Nigeria and Uganda may have required it.

In respect to its objective as stated above, the book is sufficiently informative and successful as a whole, though in the case of Uganda it partly fails to complement Apter's book for more than a couple of years as the description of events after the mid-1963 is hardly sufficient. The short introduction by Gwendolen M. Carter and the concluding review written by the editor herself in collaboration with Professor Hess indicate some of the common problems facing African States and place the essays in perspective.

David E. Apter's *Study in Bureaucratic Nationalism*, as the subtitle says, was first published by Princeton University Press in 1961. The title itself may be a bit misleading because the study "focuses primarily on the most important political group in Uganda, the people of Buganda." To contemplate processes of change in Africa, the author maintains, we need a set of abstractions which will help us find our way through the exciting multiplicity and complexity of change (Chapter 1, p. 3). Thus the term "a modernizing autocracy" was adopted for Buganda as a type of authority "indicating some of the cleavages and ambiguities of the system and the dualism running through that society" alongside other terms such as "the mobilization and consociational systems", for different types of authority. As Professor Ingham said in his review of the book some years ago,<sup>4</sup> "the extent to which the concept of a modernizing autocracy contributes to the understanding of Buganda remains debatable",<sup>5</sup> however, the clear-headed analysis of many aspects of the Kiganda so-

<sup>3</sup> These two sections, on Nigeria and Uganda, consider these countries after they achieved their independence thus complementing the well-written basic study on Nigeria: *Background to Nationalism*, by James S. Coleman. University of California Press, 1958 and in many respects stimulating David E. Apter's *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, Princeton University Press, 1961, 2nd ed. 1967.

D. A. Low's *Political Parties in Uganda*, Published for the Institute of Commonwealth Studies by University of London, Athlone Press, 1962 and Low and R. C. Pratt's *Buganda and British Overrule, 1900—1955*, London 1960 could also be mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> See Kenneth Ingham, *Journal of African History*, vol. III, 1963, pp. 150—152.

<sup>5</sup> The key hypothesis as expressed by Apter is that "the modernizing autocracy can adapt and adjust institutions without great difficulty until the point is reached where the principle of kingship is itself challenged. At that point, either modernization and change are halted, or the entire system shifts to a different principle of authority, conforming to either a consociational or mobilization type". *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, p. 21. Other Apter's terms are instrumental-hierarchical and consummatory-pyramidal type of traditional political system. For the definition see Apter, D. E., *The Role of Traditionalism in the Political Modernization of Ghana and Uganda*, *World Politics*, Vol. XIII, 1960, pp. 45—69. Reprinted from *World Politics* as an essay on *Independent Black Africa* edited by W. J. Hanna, Chicago, Rand McNally, 1964, pp. 257—277.

cietiy and especially the very detailed account of Buganda's historical development full of names of personalities illustrated by their educational and social background is invaluable. The use of official publications, questionnaires and even vernacular records whenever available as well as personal interviews provided a mass of information which was approached with comprehension and masterly handled in a valuable conspectus.

Though published in 1966 Morris and Read's Uganda is today partly out of date. Uganda no longer "enjoys a constitutional form without precedent in the continent, derived in part from the strength and resilience of traditional political institutions", (Chapter 1, p. 3). As it proved, Uganda could not "combine modern African nationalism and the mechanism of an independent democratic state with loyalty to ancient African constitutional offices and form" (p. 3). The book which is the thirteenth volume in the series *The British Commonwealth: the Development of its Laws and Constitutions*, is, however, one of the best. Its authors, both lecturing at present at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, divided it into three parts.

The first part entitled *The Development of the Constitution of Uganda* (pp. 3—83) is concerned with the *Establishment and Development of the Protectorate* (pp. 3—24 and 24—57 respectively) and the *Advance to Independence* (pp. 57—83), thus describing the various stages of the British-Ugandan relationship and providing especially in the first sub-section a historical background against which the Constitution of Uganda can only be understood.

In the second part of the book, *The Law of the Constitution of Uganda* (pp. 87—233), the salient features of the independence Constitution itself are considered with the stress laid on those aspects which make for its unusual characteristics such as "quasi-federal" structure of the constitutional system and the unique position of the President of Uganda.

In the remaining part of the book (pp. 237—411) entitled *The Laws of Uganda*, the authors tried to trace the evolution of law, its sources and present in outline the aspects of the laws of Uganda.

Sir Edward Frederick Mutesa II. became the Kabaka of Buganda at the age of fifteen when in 1939 he succeeded his father Kabaka Daudi Chwa. The former ruler "King Freddie" begins his story entitled *Desecration of My Kingdom* with a hair-rising description of his flight from the royal palace besieged by Dr. Obote's troops in May 1966. Then a long flashback to the history of Buganda follows beginning with the reign of Kabaka Mutesa I. and the arrival of the first European, Captain Speke to his court and the country of what according to the author were "the most advanced people south of the Sahara" (p. 30); through the reign of the rebellious Kabaka Mwanga who "fought to free himself and his country of the intruders for all of his reign" (p. 58) and through the period of religious upheavals and civil wars the story proceeds to the twentieth century when in 1900, March 10, Sir Harry Johnston "who had green eyes like a lion, which impressed the Baganda and a squeaky voice

which did not”, and who “knew a lot about Africa, but virtually nothing about Uganda” (p. 60) concluded “a long, rambling document which was amateur and vague and the basis of the relationship between Buganda and Britain for sixty years” (p. 62). And in this “charter of rights, almost a constitution”, imprecision of which, however, as the author admits allowed flexibility and its generalizations were open to interpretation (p. 62), “the integrity and superiority of Buganda were fully recognised, but unfortunately, not fully laid down” (p. 64). Though “referred to as one of equal provinces, no one doubted that we — here the Kabaka seems to speak on behalf of all Baganda—were primus inter pares. Our position was clear in the spirit of the Agreement, even if the lettering turned out to be a little indistinct” (p. 64).

The historical part is followed by a description of the Kabaka’s childhood and education, first in Uganda, at the King’s College, Budo, then at Makerere College, and later at Cambridge.

The rest of the book deals with the Kabaka’s hobbies, personal and social life and the subsequent history of his country until the time he was forced to leave it in such a dangerous and adventurous way.

The publication gives an interesting picture of what happened in Uganda from the viewpoint of the person most involved in the jungle of events and who had hardly anticipated the precipitous changes; it abounds in black and white photographs but unfortunately also in irritating misprints and transliterations.

Though, based on the Westminster model of parliamentary democracy Uganda’s constitution as bequeathed by the British was by all means a very interesting one representing not its pure form but modified by features of federalism, a delicate compromise between the unitary and federal State and providing also for a detailed listing of fundamental rights and rigid amending procedure. Uganda attempted “constitutionally to reconcile the needs of the central government with the demands of local nationalists by guaranteeing both traditional units and their leaders a place in the life of the nation”.<sup>6</sup> Such a compromise between local and national power, attempt to heal the conflict between local and territorial nationalists springing from the twentieth century history of Uganda was unusual in African context.

Buganda’s sense of separatism from the rest of the country, roots of which can be traced back to the late nineteenth century Ugandan history, British-Baganda relationship and the Baganda’s conviction that the kingdom’s relationship with Britain was based on the 1900 Agreement “which was not unfair to either nation” and which secured them “the special relationship with Britain they deserved”,<sup>7</sup> was never eradicated. As D. E. Apter put it elsewhere, The Uganda Agreement became a legal

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<sup>6</sup> Carter, *National Unity*, p. 337.

<sup>7</sup> As the Kabaka himself put it, see *Desecration*, p. 62—63.

bulwark of ethnic nationalism and political parochialism.<sup>8</sup> The Kabaka argues in his book "While we stood alone, we were accepted as the most civilised and powerful of the kingdoms. Does this justify our being totally dominated by our neighbours, unnaturally yoked to us as they were by Britain?" And emphasizing the alleged superiority of Buganda often pointed out, he adds "It was through the qualities of the Baganda that Europeans were attracted to the country, hurrying through Kenya and Tanzania to reach the "pearl of Africa", as Stanley called Buganda. Our pride is legitimate".<sup>9</sup>

Basing their claims on this assertion Baganda leaders felt free to act independently of central leadership on many occasions.

When, despite Mwanga's desperate effort to restore the traditional social and political order at the close of the last century the kabakaship was preserved, the extraordinary devotion to the king whose hierarchical authority was the very basis of the traditional system proved essential to preserve it and this can easily be understood because the instrumental values of the system and the hierarchical principle of authority proved to be flexible enough to innovate with considerable ease providing ample room for ambitious individuals successfully to pursue their own interests.<sup>10</sup> The fortunate fact that the first missionaries made their base in Buganda was one of those external circumstances which helped to create the well-established tradition of Baganda's pre-eminence. Baganda were "destined to play the principal role in the future of the Uganda Protectorate" as Johnston believed and Captain Lugard had foreseen, not because of any "inherent qualities" which other Bantu people of this region did not possess. It would be silly to try to imagine what would have happened if the British, keen to control the strategically important access to the Upper Nile, had established their rule in Bunyoro, which was anyway the cradle from which the Kiganda State sprang into existence, and though temporarily in decline towards the end of the eighteenth century owing to their own weak Omukamas and a series of able and militant Kabakas, during the reign of the efficient and victorious Omukama Kabarega it regained most of the lost territories. The wheel of fortune acted against the Banyoro. Once the Baganda were made the allies of the British, profiting from the admiration of the British<sup>11</sup> with an unusual zeal set on learning and spreading the British administration to other parts of the Protectorate. The zeal with which they set out on their task, often called "the sub-imperialism" of the Baganda reaped rich rewards at the expense of their neighbours, especially their traditional enemy, the Banyoro. Impressed by the Baganda's skill and ability in administering not on-

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<sup>8</sup> Apter, D. E., *The Role of Traditionalism*, p. 54.

<sup>9</sup> *Desecration*, p. 59.

<sup>10</sup> See an unpublished paper by Michael Twaddle: *The Bakungu Chiefs of Buganda under British Colonial Rule, 1900—1930*, to a Staff Seminar at Makerere University College, February 1968.

ly their own country but other parts of Uganda due to the export of Kiganda institutions and Baganda agents<sup>12</sup> and in order to avoid heavy financial commitments in this part of her empire, Britain for nearly a quarter of a century left the Baganda with a surprisingly free hand.

It proved all the more difficult later when Britain's determination to mould a unitary system and accommodate within the same framework centralized as well as decentralized political systems, met with the strongest opposition on the part of Buganda and became one of the reasons why Buganda often "desired to go it alone".<sup>13</sup>

Though in other countries "the overriding objective of transferring political power from the imperial nation to local hands held together many disparate groups" as did also the insistence of the colonial power, particularly that of the British, that it would not transfer political control unless one national leader or group held a pre-eminent position throughout the country,<sup>14</sup> whatever were the later failures to keep the national unity against the threats of "intranational or supranational regionalism". In the case of Uganda, the kingdom's determined opposition to integration with the rest of the country during the negotiations concerned with the transfer of power and the introduction of the representative form of government, which also threatened to supplant hierarchical authority with the representative one in Buganda, led to serious clashes, postponement of the date of granting independence and finally resulted in Buganda's relationship with the centre.

However, this unusual compromise, attempt to reconcile constitutionally the needs of the central government with the demands of local nationalists<sup>15</sup> worked against the interests of a unified control the primary objective of which, as elsewhere in Africa, has been to build a unified strong nation-State in the process of social mobilization around the symbols of the new order, which no matter what they are seem universally to mean in new nations the goal of increased economic activity and

<sup>11</sup> Sir Harry Johnston described the Baganda as "the Japanese of the Dark Continent, the most naturally civilized, charming, kindly, tactful and courteous of black peoples". See *Johnston to Salisbury*, July, 10, 1901, (Gen) Report by Her Majesty's Special Commissioner on the Protectorate of Uganda, with map. Africa No. 7 (1901), Cd. 671.

<sup>12</sup> See Roberts, A. D., *The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda*, Journal of African History, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 435—450. Twaddle, M., *Politics in Bukedi*, 1900—1939: an historical study of administrative change among the segmentary peoples of Eastern Uganda under the impact of British colonial rule. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London 1967.

Also D. J. W. Denoon, *Agents of Colonial Rule*, Kigezi 1908—1930, unpublished paper presented to The University of East Africa Social Science Conference, Dar es Salaam, January 1968.

<sup>13</sup> See *A Memorandum to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II* submitted by members of the Lukiko of the Kingdom of Buganda, appended to *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*. It was supposed to abrogate the 1900 Agreement and terminate the British-Baganda relationship by 31st December 1960, after which date Buganda should have been independent.

<sup>14</sup> Carter, *National Unity and Regionalism*, p. 4—5.

<sup>15</sup> Also The Toro Rukurato in a resolution of May 1960 started to press for federalism.

a higher standard of living. The strong sense of national unity could not flourish in an environment where in order to accommodate Uganda's ethnic pluralism, Uganda had to make political and constitutional adjustments.

An uneasy relationship between a unitary form of government and elements of federalism,<sup>16</sup> growing steadily worse and worse, led to the break up of the coalition between the UPC and the Kabaka Yekka in August 1964 and culminated in the series of precipitous changes early in 1966, when a new Uganda constitution of 15 April 1966 was given to the nation by a method later described by the Uganda High Court as one of successful revolution, and when after the attack on his palace on 24 May 1966 the Kabaka was forced to flee from the country.

A mortal blow to any form of separatism, "intranational regionalism" was given by the new Uganda constitution of 8 September 1967<sup>17</sup> which seeking to take the Uganda successful revolution into its second stage, abolished the kingdoms so as to administer Uganda in future as a republic with a uniform system of local administration.<sup>18</sup> As President Obote has often stressed when addressing Ugandan people, the aim is "one country, one Parliament, one destiny".

And this policy dictated by reasons of finance and administrative convenience seem to have been adopted by the majority of African leaders struggling to maintain stability and order, rapidly modernize and, defying "supranational and international regionalism", achieve through political centralization whithin the confines of discrete territorial systems, which are the most unfortunate heritage of the colonial era, national unity as a prerequisite to economic growth and prosperity. However, as the conclusion to National Unity and Regionalism in Eight African States says: "Perhaps the economic returns from larger groupings may develop bonds of communication and association among contiguous African States that sufficiently bridge political divisions to stimulate economic growth and thereby combine it with national unity within existing boundaries."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> The kingdoms of Buganda, Ankole, Bunyoro and Toro and the territory of Busoga were federal States, the former enjoyed full others just semi-federal status, the rest of the country administered centrally was divided into districts of Acholi, Bugisu, Bukedi, Karamoja, Kigezi, Lango, Madi, Sebei, Teso and West Nile.

<sup>17</sup> The Government Proposals for a new constitution were published on 9th June 1967 and thus almost three months were reserved for public discussions, criticisms and amendments. See Transition No. 32 and 33, 1967 and 34, 1968. The Uganda Argus, People etc.

<sup>18</sup> The whole Uganda was divided into 18 districts, Buganda itself into four—Masaka, Mubende, West and East Mengo, each district to be administered by a District Council, Secretary General, responsible to the Minister for Regional Administration and the Government.

<sup>19</sup> Carter, *National Unity and Regionalism*, p. 555.

**BOOK REVIEWS**

*Working Papers in Asian Studies.* The University of Western Australia, Centre for Asian Studies, Nedlands, Western Australia. No. 1—3, June—July 1967.

This new sociological series, published in Australia, is intended to present the papers in sociology and culture and social anthropology.

The first number (June 1967) presents the Wahab Alwee's Rembau: *A Study in Integration and Conflict in a Village in Negri Sembilan, Malaya.* The author deals with the social change in the Malay rural community, investigates the role of the interference of the native and foreign culture. In the author's opinion, the most important conflict in a Malay village is one of generations, which results from too conservative views of old people. The results of the Alwee's study are an interesting parallel to the Josselin de Jong's work, entitled *Adat versus Islam in Negri Sembilan* (Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 116/1960. Anthropologica pp. 158—203).

I. Bowen's *Seven Lectures on Manpower Planning, with Special Reference to Thailand* (No. 2, June 1967) is an important contribution to the field of economic anthropology. The author deals with the economic and social implications of demographic growth in Thailand (I.), relations between manpower structure and economic development (II.), nature and principles of manpower assessments (III.), current employment and unemployment situation in major sectors of Thailand's economy (IV.), the nature of the planning process (V.), wages and other incentives as a factor in manpower supply and distribution (VI.), and organisation of national employment services (VII.). The papers were presented in the U.N. Asian Institute of Economic Development and Planning in 1965. The author's sociological approach to the subject makes it easier for him to overcome the lack of exact statistical data for developing countries. Yet in spite of this it is necessary in the opinion of the reviewer to take a critical stand towards results of a research of this type in South-East Asia, where the subsistence economy still predominates.

In the third number of the WPAS (July 1957) M. A. Jaspan investigated the Aspects of Indonesian Political Sociology in the Late Soekarno Era. There he deals with three

main social problems of contemporary Indonesia: I. *Leadership and Elite Groups in Indonesia: A Study in Unstable Social Symbiosis*, II. *Tolerance and Rejection of Cultural Impediments to Economic Growth: A South Sumatran Case*, and III. *Indonesia: Counter-Revolution and Rebellion—an Interpretive Analysis of Events in the Period September 1965—June 1966*. In these three essays Jaspan analyses the political development of Indonesia from the point of view of a sociologist. The work is completed by an extensive list of bibliography. Very few of the more important works are missing from the list. Among them we can recall:

Abdurachim, Iih, *Dasar 2 Anthropologi Kebudajaan Indonesia*. Bandung, Penerbit Widjaja 1962.

Anderson B. R., *Indonesia, United Against Progress*. Current History, 2/1965, 75 to 81.

Dienstbier J., *Noc začala ve tří ráno*. Praha, Vydavatelství časopisů MNO 1967.

Ghazali, Dato Mohd., *Confrontation. A Manifestation of the Indonesian Problem*. Kuala Lumpur, Dept. of Information 1964.

Grant B., *Indonesia*. Melbourne, Melbourne University Press 1964.

Hughes J., *Indonesian Upheaval*. New York, David McKay 1967.

*The Indonesian Revolution. Basic Documents and the Idea of Guided Democracy*. Djakarta, Dept. of Information 1960.

Jankovec M., *Bibliography of the Documents Concerning Indonesian Internal and Foreign Policy*. Praha 1967 (Unpublished manuscript).

Jankovec M., *Indonésie 1945—1965*. Praha, Svoboda 1966.

Jankovec M., *Texts of the Selected Documents Concerning Indonesian Foreign Policy 1945—1967*. Praha 1967 (Unpublished manuscript).

Wertheim W. F., *East-West Parallels. Sociological Approach to Modern Asia*. The Hague, W. van Hoeve, Ltd. 1964.

Some of these works were of course not available to the author. This refers specially to those published in 1967.

As it appears, WPAS will be an attractive series of monographs, concerning the social structure of contemporary Asia.

R. Raczyński

D. J. Tugby, *Ethnological and Allied Work on Southeast Asia, 1950—1966*.

E. Tugby, *The Distribution of Ethnological and Allied Work in Southeast Asia, 1950—1966*. Brisbane, University of Queensland, 1967. Pp. 89.

The present effort of D. Tugby and E. Tugby is called "A Summary Report on a Word Survey of Field Problems and Practices." The countries concerned are Burma, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Formosa, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines and parts of India-Pakistan and China. The book brings an introduction about the aims, methods, aids, problems, persons, participation of states, etc. in the fieldwork

in Southeast Asia (1—19) and then yields an excellent analysis of several aspects of this research by means of 19 tables. Added is a list of publications arising out of field-work, 1950—1966. The second part by Mrs. Rugby shows the geographical location of the respective fieldwork.

The aim of the survey is determined as follows: "It is hoped to outline the 'Problemstellung' and fieldwork style of workers from different parts of the world and thereby highlight in what way work traditions limit the advancement of knowledge. It is hoped to reveal unsaturated field areas and untackled problems, and thereby provide a basis for planning of future research" (1). The analysis is, really, revealing; the knowledge of past problems and weak points will help to overcome future difficulties. The main problem is the planning of research, co-ordination and the organization of teamwork. The time of great discoveries in anthropology made by individuals is gone; today, an individual can contribute only with fragments to the enormous width of any scientific discipline. Professor Rugby doubts—and for good reasons—that extensive teamwork could be organized in the near future. However, many problems can be removed only in this way. The initiative is to be awaited from the U.S.A. where the financing of research is better than in other parts of the world. To find research workers ready to perform fieldwork is easier than to obtain financial means. The most organized attack at the linguistic problems of Southeast Asia known to me is that of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Nevertheless, much time could be spared, if specialists in other anthropological disciplines would join their teams of two. The linguists can be useful to all the others and vice versa.

The meritorious work by the Rugby team does not end with this survey. Professor Rugby continues publishing information on research in a new journal "Man in Southeast Asia" which was launched in 1968. We wish him much success in his fundamental but complicated work.

L. Renko

*Jazyki Jugo-vostočnoj Aziji* (The Languages of Southeast Asia). Edited by J. A. Gorgonijev, L. N. Morev, N. V. Solnceva. Moscow, Nauka 1967. Pp. 374.

The present volume contains reports and lectures delivered at the first conference on the languages of Southeast Asia which took place at Moscow in November 1964.

The preface is followed by an article in memoriam of the late Professor G. P. Serdučenko, a prominent Soviet specialist in the languages of Southeast Asia. The rest of the contributions can be classified into three groups: 1. reports of research activities, 2. review articles, 3. studies in particular linguistic problems.

Three papers can be included under 1., namely, G. P. Serdučenko: *Investigation of the Southeast Asian Languages—A New Branch of Soviet Linguistics* (pp. 20—29); J. A. Serebriakov—J. M. Osipov: *Investigation of the Southeast Asian Languages at the Oriental Faculty of the Leningrad University* (pp. 30—37); J. N. Mazur: *Investigation*

*of the Southeast Asian Languages at the Moscow State University* (pp. 38—43). These articles are of interest especially to foreign scholars. Unfortunately, outside East European countries there are few specialists in the Southeast Asian languages who can read Russian and the rest would certainly appreciate to have such information in English.

The second group of papers is intended mainly for Russian scholars. P. J. Pučkov in his review article (*Systems of Classification of the Oceanic Languages and the Ethnolinguistic Classification of the Peoples of Oceania*, pp. 44—59) discusses both the early and the more recent attempts at classification of the Austronesian languages of Oceania. The author does not propose any classification of his own. Neither does he prefer obviously any mentioned grouping. He just observes that the Soviet linguists and anthropologists cling to the traditional quaternary classification of the Malayo-Polynesian languages (p. 58). Perhaps it should be added here that R. Green<sup>1</sup> and A. Pawley<sup>2</sup> have suggested some modifications in the generally accepted classification of the Polynesian group. Many Oceanists will appreciate the clear way in which Pučkov explains the principles of Dyen's lexicostatistic classification of the Austronesian languages.<sup>3</sup> G. G. Stratanič (Domestic Ethnolinguistic Classifications of the Peoples of Indo-China, pp. 60—72) might perhaps have confronted the local classifications with an exhaustive classification covering the whole geographical region. A separate article is devoted to the linguistic situation in the Philippines, and namely, M. Cruz' *Languages and Dialects of the Philippines and Their Distribution* (pp. 73—80). Finally, J. C. Sirk's paper *On the Classification of the Austronesian Languages* (pp. 81—107) ought to be mentioned in this connection. Before proceeding to the problem of classification of the Austronesian languages, the author touches upon some theoretical questions. According to him, a genealogical classification cannot be based only upon one language level (which is usually the phonological one). It ought to be based both upon the structure of the whole language and upon the shared innovations.

An overwhelming majority of papers deals with some particular linguistic problems. Some authors view language as a social phenomenon (e.g., N. F. Aljjeva in her article *Some Aspects of the Development of the Bahasa Indonesia As an Official Language of the Indonesian Republic*, pp. 108—116) while others try to apply either a typological (e.g., V. D. Arakin, M. G. Glazova, N. J. Čapkina) or a descriptive approach (e.g., A. P. Pavlenko, L. J. Škarban, J. V. Podberežskij). Geographically, the collection covers the whole Southeast Asia (including Chinese, Thai, Vietnamese, Khmer, Burmese,

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<sup>1</sup> Roger Green, *Linguistic Subgrouping within Polynesia: The Implications for Prehistoric Settlement*. JPS 75, No. 1 (1966): 6—38.

<sup>2</sup> Andrew Pawley, *Polynesian Languages: A Subgrouping Based on Shared Innovations in Morphology*. JPS 75, No. 1 (1966): 39—64.

<sup>3</sup> Isidore Dyen, *A Lexicostatistical Classification of the Austronesian Languages*. IJAL 1965, Memoir 19.

Indonesian, Tagalog, Malagasy but excluding all Australasian and Oceanic languages East of Indonesia).

Quite a few interesting theoretical problems are raised in the following three articles: N. V. Solnceva: *Grammatical Categories in Isolating Languages* (pp. 135—146); J. J. Šutova: *On Some Typological Aspects of Phrase Generating*, pp. 307—313); and J. J. Plam: *On the Criteria of Defining Some Types of Grammatical Categories in Morphology and Syntax of the Isolating Languages* (pp. 363—372).

N. V. Solnceva states, in accordance with the prominent Prague typologist Vladimír Skalička, that morphological categories manifest par excellence the typological features of a language or of a group of languages. In her opinion the central object of the typological study of a language is the word. As far as this is concerned, there seems to be no controversy between traditional linguistics and modern typology represented, say, by Greenberg. Another noteworthy achievement of N. V. Solnceva is an apt analysis of grammatical oppositions.

J. J. Šutova defines the phrase structure as consisting of 1. a kernel member, 2. a dependent member, and 3. a function sign. Each phrase is, by definition, dyadic. Phrase structures are identical if their function signs coincide. Otherwise they are different. Šutova's approach can be characterized as an item and arrangement model (cf. examples *strana svobody* and *portret ženy* on p. 309).

The most important passage in J. J. Plam's article is that containing his classification of auxiliary morphemes into 1. morphemes expressing relations between the words in sentence (= syntactic morphemes) and into 2. morphemes modifying grammatical meaning of autosemantic words (= morphemes belonging to the morphological level). This means that we can distinguish morphological and syntactic levels even in the so-called isolating languages.

In addition to the articles mentioned here, there are many other interesting papers. However, the reviewer does not feel competent to discuss all of them.

*Viktor Krupa*

Chai Hon-Chan, *The Development of British Malaya 1896—1909*. London—Kuala Lumpur — New York, Oxford University Press 1964. Pp. 364 + 5 maps.

Chai Hon-Chan's work is a detailed study on the economic, political and social transformations of Malaya in the late era of the British expansion in the Peninsula. The author's approach to the subject-matter, which in the reviewer's opinion is not easy explain, manifests his excellent erudition in history and economics. Also his list of bibliography shows that this work, projected on a large scale rests on solid foundations.

The "Introduction" (1—42) deals with the political and economic background to the British colonial expansion until 1896. That year, in the author's opinion, represents the beginning of a new stage in the history of Malaya. This period ended in 1909

by the British occupation of the North-Malay States—Kedah, Kelantan, Perlis and Trengganu, which had been the original aim of the British policy in Southeast Asia. As the main reasons for these British moves in Malaya the author states

1. British—French rivalry in Siam,
2. Pressure of British and Chinese capitalists,
3. Desorganisation in the Malay States under native rulers.

As regards Chai Hon-Chan's periodisation, the reviewer was criticized some years ago for such a kind of "europocentric" interpretation of Malayan history, implied in his study "*Malajzia*" (Bratislava 1965. Diss., unpublished manuscript). In spite of it, the reviewer must support the author's views: British influence was the main factor in the internal political development of Malaya, therefore, the present periodisation seems to be correct.

The political development of Malaya 1896—1909 is the subject-matter of the 1st chapter "*Federation*" (43—83).

The author deals mainly with the Federated Malay States and marginally with Johore. Remarks on the history of the Unfederated Malay States are unfortunately very rare. Although the author's analysis of the situation in the F.M.S. is quite detailed, his geographically-limited approach cases the larger connexions to be obscured and even lost at times.

Further chapters, "*Currency Reform*" (84—97), "*Immigration and Labour*" (98—142), "*Economic Development*" (143—179), "*Railways*" (180—196), "*Health and Medical Research*" (197—225), and "*Education*" (226—281) have economic and social aims. All these chapters are supported by numerous statistical data.

The author's leading idea may be followed throughout the book: The civilizing message of the British Empire, British culture and British civilisation in Malaya. In many respects we can agree with the author. On the other hand, it should be noted that many of the problems and conflicts within the contemporary Malayan society have their origin in the period described by Chai Hon-Chan. All the nationalistic and numerous social antagonisms in Malaysia of today have been caused intentionally by the British Colonial Administration the better to dominate the country. The reason for the presence of the British Malaya was to exploit, not to civilize. The civilisation was only a secondary product of colonialism. The chief task of the British civilisation in Malaya was, without any doubt, to break down the sterile Malay subsistence economy, which was unable to provide any surplus products, i.e. was unable to be exploited. The second task was to weaken the Malay feudal system, which was the greatest obstacle to the recruitment of manpower for estates and mines. After a total failure of both these aims, the British Colonial Administration encouraged the administration of Chinese, Indian and Javanese workers into Malaya. The deep-rooted Malay feudalism was in consequence petrified and slightly adapted to the British conception of indirect rule.

In the "*Conclusion*" (282—287) the author says: "British capitalists were believed

to have forced the hand of the British Government in abandoning the policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the Malay States. If it is true, it is curious that there was no immediate inrush of British capital to the Malay states soon after the establishment of the Residential system. The facts seem to suggest that Chinese capitalists in the Straits were the most clamorous for British intervention, and after the restoration of law and order they were the first to move into the open field of enterprise."

Chai Hon-Chan's work is an important contribution to the field of the new history of Malaya.

R. Raczyński

V. D. Arakin, *Indonezijskije jazyki*. Moscow, Nauka 1965. Pp. 150.

To write a book on Indonesian languages is a task which, at the present state of their knowledge, surpasses the possibilities of any single person. Therefore, in the present book, a selection of languages was made, which was the only possible way of writing a book of this sort. The selection itself was in no way easy since there are some 300 Indonesian languages and the number of facts which were to be mentioned was overwhelming. Some of them were necessarily just introduced with an example. Besides, the majority of Indonesian languages are described insufficiently. Older Dutch works do not comply with present-day requirements. The most valuable are the collections of texts, for certain problems also vocabularies can be used, but grammars must be rewritten.

It is quite natural that every author would have written this book a different way, if he had written it at all. After Brandstetter who described in detail several phenomena of Indonesian languages, there was no attempt to write any informative introductory manual about these languages. Its appearing in Russian documents the rapid development of this discipline in the USSR where almost no tradition had existed. The book contains all the facts that should be familiar to every student of these languages. It could be used as a basis for writing a more extensive text-book. It must be noted that its bias is neither comparative nor typological. It is a survey of the most spread phenomena of the Indonesian languages.

In the *Introduction* (7—36) there is a classification of the Indonesian languages with their short history and a survey of previous classifications by Ferrand, Gonda and Sholmov. The author says that all of them use geographical criteria without a linguistic background. Unfortunately, the only linguistic classification, that of I. Dyen which is generally accepted, has not been taken into account. Further, there is a fine survey of the study of genetic relationships of Indonesian languages. The author only seldom assumes an attitude towards several theories though, for a student, it would be useful to know which of them is considered correct. So, e.g., Labberton is criticized but Matsumoto whose linguistic method had been entirely that of a layman is admitted. There is a short but very good chapter on the history of the study of Indonesian languages. The last year mentioned is 1963. Since that time Indonesian

studies have made great progress. Many new scholars are working in this area, extensive field work is in progress especially in the Philippines, new methods penetrate into the description, conferences are being held and the number of States undertaking research along these lines increases.

The chapter on phonetics (38—56) includes a description of the most current vowels and consonants, Van der Tuuk's law, the pepet law, structure of the syllable, assimilation, accent. The description of sounds is phonetic, not phonemic. It should be added that phonemically diphthongs are mostly interpreted as sequences of two phonemes. The syllables in Indonesian languages are of only a few types. In some languages clusters of three consonants within the same syllable occur. Indonesian languages differ also as to the number of clusters: In the Philippine languages almost all sequences of consonants occur, whilst some other languages have a very poor inventory of clusters. The most common syllable is CV and CVC. Indonesian languages can be classified also according to the regularity of the sequence of vowels and consonants.

The book contains numerous hints at typologizing but our possibilities to do it are, for the time being, restricted. There are also several generalizations in the book which are not always correct, here e.g. "Sonorants can occur in the final position in the word in all Indonesian languages except Malagasy" (53). A selection of languages permits only a statistical inference to be drawn, categorial judgements are rarely valid.

The next chapter on vocabulary (57—96) brings morphological processes (prefixation, suffixation, infixation, confixes = discontinuous affixes, reduplication, compounding) and borrowings. The author seems to consider as typological features only those which are very expressive in the language (cf. «Из всех типов аффиксального словоизделия префиксация бесспорно занимает первое место, что дает основание считать ее одним из типологических признаков словообразовательной системы индонезийских языков.»—57), though, in fact, all features are typological and languages differ typologically by the frequency of occurrence of individual features. Further, the author seems to believe that typology concerns only grammar. As a matter of fact, the aim of typology is (1) to ascertain the variability of *all* features of the human language and on this basis to classify the languages and (2) to ascertain the mutual relationships of these features.

The assertion on p. 57 that in *all* Indonesian languages there are tens of prefixes is somewhat exaggerated. The influence of foreign languages upon several Indonesian ones was considerable. The author brings examples of borrowings from eleven languages (Chinese, Sanskrit, Prakrit, Arab, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English, French, Persian, Suahili). As far as Chinese is concerned, one must proceed here with the utmost care since in a monosyllabic language one can always find a word which is similar both formally and semantically to a word in some Indonesian language. The part dealing with borrowings is relatively extensive.

The chapter on grammar (97—120) brings a survey of grammatical categories of particular parts of speech. The complicated problem of their determination is postponed to the chapter on syntax (121—131). It is one of the most crucial problems of Indonesian linguistics. The last attempt mentioned here is that of Teselkin in Javanese. Specimens of Indonesian scripts and a selected bibliography are added to the book.

The work as a whole provides a short, and suitable introduction into Indonesian linguistics. In future it should be enlarged to cover all the phenomena the student may encounter when studying any of these languages. And last but not least, it should be translated into English since the majority of Indonesian scholars do not read Russian. It will render good services to university teachers. The author attempted to give a clear picture of the present-day state of Indonesian linguistics which in several places necessarily lead to a somewhat traditional attitude and minor errors.

L. Renko

N. A. Holmer, *Oceanic Semantics. A Study in the Framing of Concepts in the Native Languages of Australia and Oceania* (= Australian Essays and Studies 5). Uppsala, A.—B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1966. Pp. 76.

Since the time of R. Brandstetter semantics was no favorite subject of study in Oceanic linguistics. There were more important tasks to be fulfilled, first of all to describe the languages formally. The decisive factor here was the relative ease with which morphology could be described as compared with semantics. It has discrete and, consequently, easily segmentable elements (besides border cases), whilst the semantic elements mapping the continuum of reality (or of concepts) into linguistic forms have vague contours and their segmentation always presents difficulties. Nevertheless, it is feasible. It appears essential to elaborate some general semantic categories, etic systems covering all possibilities and to locate within them the place of individual emic systems. These etic systems will represent only isolated parts of the reality but their totality is what may be called the semantics of language. Until now only few efforts have been made along these lines, e.g. in kinship terms, pronouns, colours, spatial relations, etc.

It is not the aim of the author to elaborate here isolated semantic microsystems, but merely to give "an illustration of some of the more prominent and typical differences in conceptual structure between European languages and those of Australia and the Pacific" (11). The author attained his aim, as he has shown the function of several words in concept building, e.g. that of eye, white, love, kinship terms, etc. However, this kind of nonsystematic analysis and comparison is not the one with which Oceanic semantics is expected to start. Instead of comparing languages one should begin with detailed analyses of particular concepts in order to describe their spectra and the system within which they are located, and then one could make any

of comparison. The merit of the work lies in its pointing out an entirely neglected field of investigation which cannot progress without previous descriptions.

L. Renko

*Polynesian Culture History. Essays in Honor of Kenneth P. Emory.* Edited by Genevieve A. Highland, Roland W. Force, Alan Howard, Marion Kelly, Yoshihiko H. Sinoto. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 56. Honolulu, Bishop Museum Press, 1967. Pp. XVI + 594.

The reviewer gladly admits that this is a publication which attracts the reader's attention right from the beginning and this is due not only to the fact that books of similar value are published rather seldom, but also to the considerable amount of information on the current state of research in Polynesian anthropology. It is evident that no single person would be able to give a fair evaluation of such a bulky volume containing contributions to practically all areas of Polynesian anthropology and if the review is sketchy about some aspects of the present book, it should be ascribed largely to incompetence on the part of the reviewer to encompass fully such a wide range of topics.

The *Foreword* (V—XIV) has been written by Roland W. Force, director of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. It contains brief information about the scientific carrier of Kenneth P. Emory and surveys the situation in Polynesian studies, with respect both to past and future. A *Preface* follows (XV—XVI) which is devoted to the preparatory work for the present publication. Bengt Danielsson's *Kia Ora Keneti* (pp. 1—36) is in fact a detailed and yet interesting curriculum vitae of Kenneth P. Emory. On pp. 37—41 the reader can find Emory's bibliography covering the time span of some fifty years from 1916 on.

The rest of the contributions have been divided into seven sections which run as follows: 1. *General Polynesia* (pp. 43—253), 2. *Linguistics* (pp. 255—338), 3. *Archaeology* (pp. 339—396), *Hawaii* (pp. 397—435), *East Polynesia* (pp. 437—500), *West Polynesia* (pp. 501—536), *Outliers* (pp. 537—589).

The first section is opened by Alan Howard's "*Polynesian Origins and Migrations*" (pp. 45—101). It gives a detailed survey of all the main hypotheses concerned with the origin of the Polynesians. Howard draws our attention to the fact that the three major possibilities of the origin of Polynesians had been postulated before the middle of the 19th century. The first of them to be rejected was Moerenhout's hypothesis according to which the Polynesians must be considered autochthonous to Oceania. As far as the other two are concerned, almost all serious scholars have accepted the hypothesis of a west to east migration. It is true that some adherents of the theory of the western origin of the Polynesians have been searching for their home rather naively somewhere in Southeast Asia, while others have assumed that the Polyne-

sians have established themselves as a group in the southeastern corner of Melanesia, which is no doubt a more realistic variant.

Dorothy B. Barrère in her article "*Revisions and Adulterations in Polynesian Creation Myths*" (pp. 103—119) sees the basis of ancient Polynesian mythology in the concepts of "void", "source", and "night" which are regarded as developing and giving birth to sky, land, gods, men, etc. Subsequently, as religious rituals developed, Tane, Tu, Tangaroa, and Rongo began to be taken as major gods. This stage is found in most parts of Polynesia but the gods fulfill different functions in different island groups. D. Barrère shows in a very instructive manner how the Christian influence distorts the Polynesian mythology. Many investigators, especially in the past, were not aware of this important part. In this connection, the Maori conception of Iho as a supreme creator is rather suspicious.

Margaret Mead's article "*Homogeneity and Hypertrophy*" (pp. 121—140) is highly interesting from a theoretical aspect because it points to some regularities in the development of introvert communities. According to her, there has been an attempt in Polynesia to conserve a culture which was developed elsewhere and brought to each particular empty island by migrants... (p. 126). Another Polynesian feature is the recurrent tendency toward hypertrophy or efflorescence which is due to the fact that the Polynesian cultures are limited territorially.

In his paper "*New Perspectives on Polynesian Voyaging*" (pp. 141—166) Ben R. Finney supports the view that the Polynesian voyages were planned voyages of exploration or colonization. Finney tries to prove that a return voyage from Hawaii to the Marquesas was impossible, which does not hold for a return voyage from Hawaii to Tahiti.

H. D. Skinner in "*Cylindrical Headdress in the Pacific Region*" (pp. 167—189) does not see any ground for abandoning the connections of the Easter Island masonry with Polynesia (in favour of South America).

The aim of T. Barrow's article "*Material Evidence of the Bird-Man Concept in Polynesia*" (pp. 191—213) is to establish the existence of bird-man images in several Polynesian areas. The evidence shows that the human and avian elements recur frequently in Oceanic art from Australasia through Melanesia to Polynesia. Besides, the association of birds with the supernatural can be found in any part of the world. Bird-men carvings have a marginal distribution in Polynesia (Hawaii, New Zealand, Easter Island) and a true bird-man cult has developed only in the Easter Island.

Another article of wide interest is R. C. Green's "*The Immediate Origins of the Polynesians*" (pp. 215—240). The author examines three of the many theories about the origin of the Polynesians (Micronesian, American, and Melanesian). Proceeding from archaeological, anthropological, and linguistic data, Green arrives at the conclusion that the immediate home of the Polynesians is to be sought in Eastern Melanesia. Green's view is in full agreement with linguistic evidence. Some languages

spoken in Fiji and New Hebrides are closer to the Polynesian languages than any other Melanesian languages.

Alexander Spoehr (in his article "*A Commentary on the Study of Contemporary Polynesia*", pp. 241—253) examines the following patterns of changes in the Polynesian societies: population increase and migration, urbanization, economic development, education, and political development. For future research, the author recommends social structure and especially the nature of cognatic descent groups and bilateral kinship organization. Another intriguing topic is the social stratification in towns as correlated to the ethnic diversity.

Linguistics is represented by four articles (S. H. Elbert, G. W. Grace, B. Biggs, and R. G. White). Samuel H. Elbert devotes his study "*A Linguistic Assessment of the Historical Validity of Some of the Rennellese and Bellonese Oral Traditions*" (pp. 257—288) to the origin of an outlier language, and namely that of Rennell and Bellona. He examines it in relation to other Polynesian languages. The linguistic findings do not support East Uvea as the Rennell-Bellona homeland, but point to East Futuna and Tikopia. On the other hand, the traditions of Rennell and Bellona imply an East Uvean origin. According to Elbert, this is credible if one accepts the East Uvean traditions of an early people on their island before it had been settled from Tonga.

George W. Grace (in "*Effect of Heterogeneity in the Lexicostatistical Test List*", pp. 289—302) proceeds from the assumption that lexicostatistics can be efficiently used in linguistics, provided certain modifications are carried out. He proposes changes analogous to those suggested by Nicholaas J. van der Merwe.<sup>1</sup> These modifications consist in dividing the test list into two groups of items, namely into those that are stable and into those that are less stable. In the present article Grace carries out several tests which indicate that his modifications yield more reliable results than the classical lexicostatistical techniques.

There are still regions in Polynesia where descriptive work will be necessary in future. According to Bruce Biggs (*The Past Twenty Years in Polynesian Linguistics*, pp. 303 — 321), they are East Futuna, East Uvea, the Marquesas, and the Tuamotus. Languages spoken in these areas might be of multiple origin and the assumed dialect differences might amount to language boundaries. Biggs is of the opinion that "it seems likely that basic grammatical descriptions and extensive vocabularies, if not full lexicons, will be available for all of the Polynesian languages within the next few years" (p. 305). This does not mean that the investigation of the Polynesian languages will be completed. Very little has been done in typological comparison of the Polynesian languages and almost nothing in statistical description. Further, the author discusses comparative and typological studies, especially those by Pawley, Elbert,

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<sup>1</sup> N. J. van der Merwe, *New Mathematics for Glottochronology*. Current Anthropology 7 (1966), pp. 485—488.

Green, and Dyen. In the paragraph "Comparative Problems" the question of outlier languages is touched upon. The article is complemented by a bibliography of Polynesian linguistic studies (pp. 318—321).

Ralph Gardner White (in "Onomastically Induced Word Replacement in Tahitian", pp. 323—338) discusses tabooization of words in Tahitian. He criticizes some popular interpretations of this phenomenon and suggests that new terms might have been borrowed from Tuamotuan. He points out the fact that it was basic vocabulary that was most affected in this way, to the detriment of Swadeshan lexicostatistics. However, the effects of tabooization were not always durable, and the old expressions often reappeared in the speech. Obviously, the so-called non-Polynesian lexical layer in Tuamotuan is also due to tabooization.

The section *Archaeology* includes three articles, namely, a comparative study *Artifacts from Excavated Sites in the Hawaiian, Marquesas and Society Islands* (pp. 341—362) by Yoshihiko H. Sinoto, further, a methodologically interesting article *Archaeology on Coral Atolls* (pp. 363—376) by Janet Davidson, and a descriptive paper entitled *Archaeology and the Society Islands* (pp. 377—396) by José Garanger.

In the section "Hawaii" Marion Kelly evaluates critically the first descriptive statements of Hawaiian culture and helps the scholars in discovering the distortions characteristic of the early reports on Hawaiian culture (*Some Problems with Early Descriptions of Hawaiian Culture*, pp. 399—410). The other two papers deal with "Hawaiian material culture" (J. Halley Cox: *The Lei Niho Palaoa*, pp. 411—424, and Mary Kawena Pukui: *Poi Making*, pp. 425—435).

The next three papers are concerned with East Polynesia. They are as follows: "Friendship Facts in Ancient Hawaii" (pp. 439—450) by Douglas Oliver, *Early Ati of the Western Tuamotus* (pp. 451—482) by Paul Ottino, and "Observations on Methods Used in Assembling Oral Traditions in the Marquesas" (pp. 483—500) by H. Lavondès. The last article would be of interest to any field-worker.

The only paper dealing with West Polynesia is Adrienne L. Kaeppler's study "Preservation and Evolution of Form and Function in Two Types of Tongan Dance" (pp. 503—526).

The last section is devoted to the Polynesian outliers in Melanesia. Raymond Firth's contribution is a structural analysis of the folk classification of the major sea creatures known to the Tikopians (*Sea Creatures and Spirits in Tikopia Belief*, pp. 539—564). Firth has found that they are classified on the basis of the following three criteria: their edibility, their capacity to harm man, and their sexual suggestiveness. There can be no doubt that all folk taxonomies are based on analogous pragmatic principles. Finally, there is Torben Monberg's paper "An Island Changes Its Religion" (pp. 565—589). The data for this article have been gathered by the author during his field work on Rennell and Bellona and they are certainly known to the readers of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.

In conclusion it ought to be said that the present publication more than attains its object and every scholar interested in Polynesia should have it on his desk.

*Viktor Krupa*

Gerd Koch, *Südsee — gestern und heute. Der Kulturwandel bei den Tonganern und der Versuch einer Deutung dieser Entwicklung*. Braunschweig, Albert Limbach Verlag 1955. Pp. 360, XI Tables.

The present book has been published as the seventh volume in the series *Kulturgeschichtliche Forschungen* edited by Professor Georg Eckert and Professor Hermann Trimborn. This is a detailed and well documented monograph with occasional use of descriptive and illustrative statistics. It deals with the cultural changes in the Polynesian community of Tonga. The book has been written as a result of Gerd Koch's field work in Tonga.

The monograph consists of three main parts. In the first part (pp. 15—283), Koch analyzes the cultural changes in the various fields of Tongan life. Considerable space is devoted to changes in personality pattern, in clothing, health, social order, family life, community life, state organization, economic life, religion, art, etc. Neither does the author leave unnoticed the attitude of the Tongans themselves to changes in their own culture.

In the second part (pp. 284—331) the author tries to evaluate the course of the cultural change in general, comparing it with the acculturation in Samoa, Fiji, and Buganda.

Finally, the third part (pp. 332—351) contains a description of the culture changes caused by European influences. In the same part of the book, Koch discusses methods used in the investigation of acculturation processes.

It should be noted that an informative bibliography is added at the end of the book, a list of Tongan words occurring in the text, a map of Tonga and 20 black and white photographs.

In conclusion it should be said that books of this sort are highly useful for scholars interested in Polynesian anthropology. Let us hope that such monographs will become available for all main island groups of Polynesia in the near future.

*Viktor Krupa*

V. Krupa, *Jazyk maori*. Moskva, Nauka, 1967. Pp. 78.

In the series “Jazyki narodov Aziji i Afriki” (The Languages of Asian and African Peoples) which started in 1959, Krupa's book is already the eighth publication on

Austronesian languages<sup>1</sup> and it may be safely affirmed that it is the most original one. With the exception of the works by Bruce Biggs and some dictionaries which conform to modern requirements and could, therefore, be exploited as sources, the majority of the synchronic investigations had to be done by the author himself. Within the Polynesian languages Maori is relatively well described but the way it had been done differs considerably from Krupa's approach. The author was forced to confine himself to the size and data usual in this series, nevertheless, he succeeded in inserting in the book many valuable data which are not contained in the other publications (under Note 1). The author tends to characterize the phenomena also quantitatively, e.g. the efficiency of the phonological system (15), the measure of homonymity and polysemy (35), association and dissociation of phonemes and phoneme classes (33—35), the typological character of words (43—46), the probabilistic prediction of the passive suffix (55) or to give the morphological and syntactic rules by means of formulas (40—41; 70—71). The majority of the original contributions are extracts from Krupa's older works, which, unfortunately, are not quoted by him here.<sup>2</sup> For the quantitative morphological typology he uses in the present work the older "smooth" classification with four classes (4 equal intervals between 0 and 1) which was later replaced by the relational classification working with confidence intervals.<sup>3</sup> Especially valuable is the analysis of the word structure where an illustration of frequencies of particular types would be of great advantage.

The book includes an Introduction (8—14), Phonetics (15—20), Vocabulary (21—27), Morphology (28—58), Syntax (59—74) a Specimen text (75—77) and a short Bibliography. The number of mistakes or misprints is minimal, e.g. the formula for the computation of the number of word types (40) or some Proto-Austronesian correspondences with Maori (mata, turi) which can be easily corrected. It is really

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<sup>1</sup> The works previously published in this series include: (1) Teselkin, A. S., Alieva, N. F., *Indonezijskij jazyk*, 1960; (2) Teselkin, A. S., *Javanskij jazyk*, 1961; (3) Arakin, V. D., *Malgašskij jazyk*, 1963; (4) Teselkin, A. S., *Drevnejavanskij jazyk (kawi)*, 1963; (5) Arakin, M. S., *Indonezijskije jazyki*, 1965; (6) Pavlenko, A. P., *Sundanskij jazyk*, 1965; (7) Krus, M., Škarban, L. M., *Tagal'skij jazyk*, 1966.

<sup>2</sup> On the Category of Possession in Maori. Bulletin of the School of Asian Studies 27, 1964, 433—435; On Relations of Structure and Inventory in Linguistic Systems. Jazykovědný časopis 15, 1964, 97—100; On Quantification of Typology. Linguistics 12, 1965, 11—30; Morpheme and Word in Maori. The Hague, Mouton, 1966; Rules of occurrence of the passive suffix allomorph in Maori. Asian and African Studies 2, 1966, 9—13; Some Aspects of Morpheme Structure in Polynesian Languages. Journal of Polynesian Studies 75, 1966, 458—497; Dissociations of Like Consonants in Morphemic Forms. Asian and African Studies 3, 1967, 37—44; Impact of English Grammatical Categories of Present-Day Maori. Asian and African Studies 3, 1967, 45—49.

<sup>3</sup> Relations Between Typological Indices. Linguistics 24, 1966, 29—37.

a pity that Krupa could not include more of his research into this nice book. The interested reader can refer to his works quoted under Notes 2 and 3.

L. Renko

Bhartrihari, *Poems*. Translated by Barbara Stoler Miller. New York and London, Columbia University Press, 1967. Pp. 156.

The present book belongs to the series “*Translations from the Oriental Classics*”, prepared by the Committee on Oriental Studies for the Columbia College Program. This series is to transmit to Western readers representative works of the major Asian traditions in thought and literature. The book has been accepted in the Indian Series of the Translation Collection of UNESCO.

Bhartrihari is the earliest Indian poet to become well known to the Western world (in the 17th century). The oldest preserved version of his work *Śatakatrayam* (Three hundred stanzas) took form in the 11th or 12th century, but it must have existed in an amorphous state long before this. The author lived probably about 600—650 A.D. but next to nothing is known about him.

Bhartrihari's stanzas are thematically collected in *Nītiśatakam* (A Century about Morals), *Śringāraśatakam* (A Century about Love) and *Vairāgyaśatakam* (A Century about Renunciation). Each “śatakam” is a century of detached stanzas which are not closely knit by a common thread of narrative. Each independent verse is to convey a single sentiment or thought and to stand on its own as aesthetic entity. B. S. Miller compares them to the miniature paintings which illustrate the manuscripts of medieval India (p. XXVII).

Like other books of the above mentioned series, the present book is a translation of the whole work of the poet, based on a scholarly study, but written for the general reader rather than the specialist. Besides the translation, it includes a foreword by W. T. de Bary, an introduction by the translator, a glossary of Sanskrit names and terms and the transliterated Sanskrit text of Bhartrihari's *Śatakatrayam*, which was critically edited by D. D. Kossambi in Bombay, 1948 and entitled “*The Epigrams Attributed to Bhartrihari*”.

The translator has succeeded in reproducing the meaning, tone and texture of the original Sanskrit by using analogous syntactic forms and rhetorical devices in English. Because of the metrical and structural differences between Sanskrit and English verse, she did not try to use regular English metres and stanza forms. Some favourite techniques in Sanskrit (such as puns) are almost impossible to render adequately in English.

In her introduction the translator points out that in terms of Bhartrihari's verses man's life is an intricate web of conflicting moments and attractions and that Bhartrihari is one of those Sanskrit poets who do express social discontent, e.g. in his frequent references to the degradation of life in the service of a king, to the haughtiness of

kings or to the humiliation of servitude. She characterizes Bhartrihari as follows: "Bhartrihari is acutely sensitive to the poet's poverty and his failure in a cruel materialistic society" (p. XVII), but she does not mention another specific quality of Bhartrihari's poetry, i.e. its lack of religious colour.

In our view, many of Bhartrihari's stanzas present not only a general social discontent, but also a very critical view from below at the despot. Deep disappointment by his superiors and surroundings can be read, for instance, in the verse 4 (d. 4—5), where Bhartrihari declares to keep his eloquence to himself, because "wise men are consumed by greed, kings are defiled by haughty ways, the people suffer from ignorance". He did not know any way out of nor any alternative to this court-life but renunciation of the world. But as he, however, loved life, he could not quite make up his mind to give up its joys even at the price of many sorrows. Thus it is not surprising that his poetry is full of contradictions, based on the tragic situation of the poet.

D. Ansari

*Who's Who in Communist China.* Hong Kong, Union Research Institute 1966. S. V + 754.

Aus dem vom A. Doak geschriebenen Vorwort erfolgt, dass das besprochene Buch ein sehr zweckmässiger Beitrag zur biographischen Literatur, die das kommunistische China betrifft, ist, und dass es besonders von den Wissenschaftlern, Journalisten und allen den, die sich für China interessieren, begrüßt wird. Es ist keine Übertreibung. *Who's Who in Communist China* ist tatsächlich die beste und am besten informierende Publikation ihrer Art. Sie enthält 1.200 biographische Notizen über chinesische Politiker, Ökonomie, Wissenschaftler, Künstler, Schriftsteller, Repräsentanten der Jugend, Frauen, Nationalitätsminderheiten, Religionsgruppen, usw.

Auch wenn das besprochene Buch bisher die beste und am besten informierende Publikation ihrer Art ist, bedeutet das nicht, dass es den Leser voll befriedigen kann. Es ist nämlich nicht ganz verlässlich, was die biographischen Angaben vor dem Jahr 1949 anlangt. Die Kompilatoren erklären die Gründe dieses Nachteils. Obwohl sie ziemlich schlagfertige Gründe anführen, hätten sie, wenn sie den Biographien der einzelnen Persönlichkeiten vor dem Jahr 1949 mehr Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet hätten, viele Fehler im Buch vermieden können. Z. B. die Kompilatoren des in Amerika, unter der Leitung H. L. Boormans, herausgegebenen *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, zeigten, dass es möglich ist, eine ähnliche Aufgabe zu meistern, ohne die historischen Tatsachen zu verletzen. Die Benutzer des rezensierten Nachschlagwerkes müssen bei dessen Verwendung vorsichtig sein.

Einige Fehler, event. Mängel, soweit wir sie erfasst haben, bringen wir wie folgt: Z. B. der Mann, der gemeinsam mit Lin Shu der neuen kulturellen Bewegung, zur Zeit der Bewegung des 4. Mai 1919 opponierte, hieß nicht Hu Hsien-ch'ü, sondern Hu Hsien-su (S. 32). Der Artikel von Ch'eng Fang-wu, *Von der literarischen Revolu-*

*tion zur revolutionären Literatur*, wurde nicht im Jahre 1926, sondern am Ende 1927 (S. 100) publiziert. Wen-hsin tiao-lung ist nicht „das alte chinesische Buch der Kenntnisse,“ sondern das berühmteste Werk der chinesischen Literaturkritik (S. 176). Die Werke Ping Hsins: *Übermensch* (Ch'ao-jen), *Vergangene Geschichten* (Wang shih), *Das erste Banket* (Ti-i-tz'u yen-hui) sind keine Romane. Hsieh Ping-hsin hat nie einen Roman geschrieben. Ebenso hat sie eine Gedichtssammlung: *Wasserbetrachtung* (K'an shui) weder geschrieben noch herausgegeben. Ihre Gedichtssammlung hieß *Frühlingswässer* (Ch'un-shui) (S. 229). Meistens wird angegeben, dass Kuo Mo-jo 1892 geboren wurde. Mao Tun besuchte nie die Ho-hai — Technische Hochschule in Nanking. Dort studierte sein Bruder Shen Tse-min. Im September 1939 ging er nicht nach Ch'ung-ch'ing, sondern wohnte in der Stadt Urumchi, im chinesischen Turkestan. Von Ch'un-ch'ing ging er nach Hong Kong nicht im Jahre 1940, sondern im Jahre 1941. Leiter des Lehrstuhls für Literatur des Hsing-chiang Instituts und Mitglied der Leitung der Zweigstelle der chinesisch-sowjetischen Freundschaft in Hsing-chiang war er nicht im Jahre 1945, sondern in den Jahren 1939—1940 (S. 502). Der Schriftsteller Lao She heisst Shu Ch'ing-ch'un, sein Höflichkeitsname (tzu) ist She-yü (S. 511).

Als einen Nachteil betrachten wir auch, dass wir in dem besprochenen Buch die Namen so bedeutsamer Persönlichkeiten vermissen, wie des Schriftstellers Ai Ch'ing und der Literaturkritiker Hu Feng und Feng Hsüeh-feng.

Ein Mangel ist auch, dass bei den Schriftstellern die chinesischen Titel ihrer Werke nicht angeführt werden. Die englischen Übersetzungen bezeichnen nicht immer klar den Titel des Originals. Darin waren sich die Komplatauren nicht einig.

Trotz der Mängel und Fehler ist es ein Buch, das alle, die sich für das moderne China interessieren, schon längst erwartet haben.

*Marián Gálik*

Y.C. Wang, *Chinese Intellectuals and the West: 1872—1949*. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1966. 557 S.

Das besprochene Buch ist das Ergebnis der langjährigen Arbeit Y. C. Wangs, des Dozenten für Geschichte an der Universität, wo es herausgegeben wurde.

Es ist nicht möglich, mit China näher bekannt zu werden und es genügend zu verstehen, ohne die westliche Welt und ihren Einfluss auf die Bildung der politischen, kulturellen und wirtschaftlichen Physiognomie Chinas kennen zu lernen. Dr. Wang stellte sich die Aufgabe, die Beziehungen der Intellektuellen Chinas mit denen der westlichen Welt, einschliesslich Japans, zu studieren. Wenn auch Japan gebietsweise weder zu Europa noch zu Amerika gehört, war es in den Jahren, von welchen in diesem Buch die Rede ist, mehr „westlich“ orientiert als andere Länder ausserhalb Europas oder Amerikas und hat China in vielen Gebieten beeinflusst.

Das Objekt des Studiums Dr. Wangs sind lebende Menschen, die gewöhnlich in Amerika, Europa oder in Japan studierten und dann in China zu bedeutenden Philo-

sophen, Schriftstellern, Wissenschaftlern, Ingenieuren, Unternehmern und Bankiers wurden. Nicht inbegriffen blieben nur Diplomaten, weil es zur Einschätzung ihrer Tätigkeit kein greifbares Material gibt, sowie Militaristen und professionelle Politiker. Über die Militaristen schrieb er, dass sie meistens die Militärausbildung in Japan bekommen hatten obwohl wenige von ihnen die japanische Sprache beherrschten, und dass sie sich die japanische Kultur nur oberflächlich angeeignet haben. Was die professionellen Politiker anbelangt, schreibt er nur, dass die, welche für Kuomintang arbeiteten, nicht im Ausland studierten und die, die Mitglieder der Kommunistischen Partei waren, meistens eine längere Zeit in der Sowjetunion verbracht haben. Über ihren Aufenthalt ausserhalb Chinas steht wenig Material zur Verfügung.

Das eigene Buch besteht aus zwei grossen Teilen: Der erste Teil „*The Genesis of a New Elite*“ behandelt die einzelnen Perioden, die für dieses Thema relevant sind, und den Einfluss der neuen Erziehung in den Jahren 1872—1949. Der zweite Teil trägt den Titel „*Facets of the Impact on China*“ und behandelt mehrere Themen: das politische Denken Yen Fus und Liang Ch'i-ch'aos, sowie die Intellektuellen und ihren Beitrag zur Verwirklichung der Revolution 1911, ferner besonders Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Sun Yat-sen und die Bewegung des 4. Mai 1919. Sehr schön und für den Rezessenten sehr interessant, ist das Kapitel „*The Changing Intelligentsia*,“ wo der Autor von einer grösseren Anzahl Intellektueller aus den Reihen der Wissenschaftler und Literaturmitarbeiter spricht. Den Ingenieuren, Unternehmern und Bankiers sind die zwei vorletzten Kapitel gewidmet.

Zum eigentlichen Buch gehören noch Anhänge, Bibliographie, Index und ein umfassendes Vorwort mit dem Titel „*Ideas and Men in Traditional China*“.

Dieses Vorwort soll vor allem den Nichtsinologen behilflich sein. Es soll ihnen die Kräfte zeigen, die die verschiedentliche Entwicklung und dadurch auch die verschiedentliche Gestaltung Alchinas im Vergleich mit Europa verursacht haben. Es betrachtet vor allem gewisse Grundideen, die das Benehmen der Zugehörigen der Gentry-Klasse beeinflusst hatten. Es sind Gedanken, die meistens aus der Sphäre der konfuzianischen Philosophie und Ideologie ausgehen, die ein orthodoxes und vorgeschrriebenes Kredo für alle ist, die in der modernen Zeit als Zugehörige der intellektuellen Schichte der Gesellschaft betrachtet werden können. Dieses Vorwort ist stellenweise problematisch. Es ist schwer zu glauben, dass im alten China „Kenntnisse eine Tugend waren“ (S. 4). Eher kann man mit Feng Yu-lan übereinstimmen, welcher behauptete, dass in der chinesischen Philosophie ein viel grösserer Wert auf das gelegt wurde, was der Mensch ist (d. h. auf seine moralischen Qualitäten), als auf das, was er hat (d. h. auf seine intellektuellen Fähigkeiten und materiellen Möglichkeiten). (Feng Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, I, Princeton University Press 1952, S. 2). In China waren reine Kenntnisse nie wichtig, deshalb blieb die chinesische Wissenschaft in ihrer Entwicklung weit zurück. Es ist aber nicht anzunehmen, dass in China die Angehörigkeit zum Konfuzianismus Frieden und Wohlstand und seine Vernachlässigung hingegen Chaos und Armut zur Folge hätte (S. 6). Das ist nur ein

leerer Schein. Dr. Wang ist sehr gut, wenn er das Material, mit dem er arbeitet, auch häufig anwendet. Doch mit den Schlüssen, die er aus dem Material manchmal zieht, kann man nicht immer einverstanden sein. Z. B. mit dem Gedanken, dass die chinesische traditionelle Intelligenz moralisch war und die neue moderne amoralisch ist.

Im ganzen kann das Buch positiv eingeschätzt werden und man muss darin einen Beitrag für das Erkennen der Geschichte des modernen Chinas sehen.

Marián Gálik

Zbigniew Slupski, *The Evolution of a Modern Chinese Writer. An Analysis of Lao She's Fiction with Biographical and Bibliographical Appendices*, Prague, Academia 1966, 168 S.

Dr. Z. Slupsks Arbeit repräsentiert eine Neuheit unter den Studien, die der modernen chinesischen Literatur gewidmet sind. Während die bisherigen Bücher und Artikel es versucht haben, vor allem den Inhalt der Werke der modernen chinesischen Literatur, d. h. ihre geistige Sendung zu analysieren, versucht Z. Slupski die künstlerischen Methoden, die Arbeitsvorgänge sowie die Aufbauarten des literarischen Werkes zu erforschen und ist somit um die formale Analyse bestrebt.

In dem Buch *The Evolution of a Modern Chinese Writer* betrachtet er die Entwicklung der schöpferischen Methode Lao Shehs (geb. 1899) von seinem ersten Buch, dem Roman *Lao Chang ti che-hsüeh* (Lao Changs Philosophie), bis zum Roman *Lo-t'o Hsiang-tzu* (Kamel Hsiang-tzu), das in der englischen Welt unter dem Titel *Rickshaw Boy* in Evan Kings Übersetzung bekannt ist. Ganz kurz betrachtet er die Werke und das Leben Lao Shehs auch nach der Schaffung des *Kamels Hsiang-tzu*, d. h. nach dem Jahre 1936 bis 1960. Im Mittelpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit Slupsks stehen die Romane Lao Shehs und zahlreiche Erzählungen aus den Jahren 1924 und 1936. Den zwei obenerwähnten Romanen widmet er den meisten Raum. Er wollte damit zeigen, welchen Weg Lao She in seiner Entwicklung in den ersten 12 Jahren seiner schriftstellerischen Karriere wählte.

Lao She schrieb in dieser Zeit zwei Arten von Werken. Solche, aus denen zu ersehen ist, dass sie mehr oder weniger zur Unterhaltung bestimmt sind und andere, die sich mit der menschlichen Natur globaler befassen, sie auch psychologisch studieren und den einzelnen Menschen in seiner Beziehung zur Umgebung zeigen. Die ersten schrieb er in den zwanziger Jahren, die anderen in den dreissiger Jahren.

Am Anfang seiner Schöpfung war Lao She von der alten chinesischen Tradition im Unterbewusstsein beeinflusst (Z. Slupski weist auf den Zusammenhang mit den chinesischen *pi-chi hsiao-shuo* und *chang-hui hsiao-shuo* hin) und übernahm bewusst einige Elemente aus den Romanen von Dickens oder Conrad. Die unterbewussten Kräfte kamen stärker zum Ausdruck, als das bewusste Bestreben. Besonders im Roman *Lao Changs Philosophie* scheint die traditionelle Auffassung die neue zu überwiegen: die zentrifugale Tendenz ist so stark, dass der Schriftsteller nicht im

Standes ist, eine starke, kompakte Romanstruktur, die für europäische Romane typisch ist, zu bilden.

Z. Slupski konzentriert seine Aufmerksamkeit bei allen Werken Lao She's auf die literarischen Einfälle, auf die Technik, auf die Art der Beschreibung, auf die Bildung der Verwicklung, auf die verschiedenen Methoden der chronologischen Inversion, auf die Charakterisierung der Gestalten, auf psychologische Beschreibung usw.

In der ersten Hälfte der dreissiger Jahre löste sich Lao She von den traditionellen Fesseln, seine Werke werden den Werken europäischer Typs ähnlicher, er konzentriert sich auf das wichtigste Element des literarischen Werkes — auf die einzelnen Gestalten und betrachtet besonders ihre Beziehung zur Umwelt und den Einfluss der Umwelt auf sie. Besonders in den letzten Werken dieser Periode ist die Verwicklung einfacher aber die Struktur kompakter, die Betonung liegt nicht so auf der Aktion, sondern mehr auf dem Seelenleben der teilnehmenden Gestalten. Die Beschreibungen der Szenerien sind nicht Selbstdarstellung, sondern sie stehen im Einklang mit anderen Elementen des Werkes. Jede Gestalt ist auf eine andere Art beschrieben, gewöhnlich auf eine solche, die ihr am besten entspricht. Der Schilderung des menschlichen Inneren, der Psychologie der Seele ist verhältnismässig mehr Raum gewidmet.

Das besprochene Buch besteht aus dem Vorwort, aus sieben Kapiteln der eigentlichen Arbeit, die der Analyse der Romane Lao Sheh's gewidmet sind, aus vier Anhängen und zwar aus den bedeutendsten biographischen Angaben und einer kurzen Schilderung der Werke Lao She's, einer Liste der kurzen Erzählungen Lao She's, einer Bibliographie der Werke Lao She's (aller Werke, auch der, die in der Arbeit nicht analysiert wurden), einer Liste der Werke über Lao She und der Ergänzungsliste der im Buch erwähnten Werke, sowie Bemerkungen und eines Registers.

Das Buch ist ein Ergebnis einer langen Forschung. Es ist zu Händen derjenigen bestimmt, die sich für das Werk Lao She's interessieren, und zwar nicht nur wegen seiner kritischen und literarisch-historischen Qualitäten (Z. Slupski zeigt die Entwicklung Lao Sheh's im Zusammenhang mit der ganzen Entwicklung der modernen chinesischen Literatur der zwanziger und dreissiger Jahre), sondern auch wegen des Materials, das er zur Verfügung stellt. Es enthält eine kritische Bibliographie aller erreichbaren Werke She's und Arbeiten, die über ihn geschrieben und herausgegeben wurden. Nur eine Ausnahme ist dem Autor dieser Besprechung bekannt: in dem bibliographischen Material fehlt das japanische Buch von Suzuki Nowake, *Ro Sha Kenkyū* (Lao She's Studien), The Tokyo Shina Gaku ho (Bulletin of the Tokyo Sinological Society), 13, 1967, 134 S. Den Autor dieser Besprechung stört ein wenig, dass Dr. Slupski Lao She's Übersetzungen aus dem kritischen Werk E. Nitchie, *The Criticism of Literature*, New York 1928, die in den wissenschaftlichen Schriften der dreissiger Jahre, z. B. in Chi-ta chi-k'an und Chi-ta yüeh-k'an veröffentlicht wurden, keine Aufmerksamkeit widmet. Es hätte vielleicht den Weg der Entwicklung Lao She's näher erklärt.

Natürlich können diese zwei Kleinigkeiten den Wert dieses Pionierwerkes, das unsere Kenntnisse auf dem Gebiet der modernen chinesischen Literatur beträchtlich bereichert, nicht einschränken.

Marián Gálik

Timoteus Pokora, *Čchin Š-chuang-ti* (Ch'in Shih-huang-ti). Praha 1967. 218 S.

Der bekannte tschechische Sinologe, Autor zahlreicher Studien über alte chinesische Philosophie und Geschichte, widmet diese Monographie der grossen Persönlichkeit des chinesischen Altertums, dem ersten Vereiniger Chinas und gleichzeitig ihrem ersten Kaiser. Das Buch kommt in der Edition „Porträts“ heraus, was schon seinen Charakter in gewissem Masse kennzeichnet. Es beschreibt das Leben und Werk einer Persönlichkeit, die in der Geschichte Chinas tiefe Spuren hinterlassen hatte.

Die Arbeit besteht aus drei Teilen: Aus der eigenen historischen Abhandlung über die Persönlichkeit Ch'in Shih-huang-ti, über seinen Kanzler Li Ssu, sowie über die politische, wirtschaftliche und kultur-philosophische Situation des damaligen Chinas. Der zweite Teil bringt ursprüngliche Quellen sowohl über ihn, als auch über die Angelegenheiten und Ereignisse, die zu ihm eine unmittelbare Beziehung hatten. Der dritte Teil enthält alte und moderne Einschätzungen Ch'in Shih-huang-ti. Vor allem sind es lange Passagen aus dem Werk O. Frankes, J. Průšeks, W. Eberhards, J. Needhams, T. V. Stepuinas, Yang K'uans, K. A. Wittvogels, Tomonobu Kuriharas und L. Lanziottis. Dieser Teil zeigt eben am besten, wie die Persönlichkeit dieses Mannes, sowie sein Beitrag zur Geschichte Chinas verschiedentlich eingeschätzt werden. Das Buch enthält noch weiter die Chronologie der Ereignisse im dritten Jahrhundert v. u. Z., die Übersicht der chinesischen Dynastien, die Bibliographie und ein Register mit Erklärungen.

Das Buch ist für den tschechischen oder slowakischen Leser, nicht für das sinologische oder internationale Publikum bestimmt. Für den tschechischen Leser ist es nicht nur deshalb interessant, weil es eine ihm bisher unbekannte Persönlichkeit analysiert und bewertet, sondern auch aus dem Grunde, weil es die Analyse und Bewertung mit dem ursprünglichen chinesischen historischen Material ergänzt: mit den ursprünglichen Inschriften, mit Briefen, mit einer grossen Anzahl von Dialogen zwischen den einzelnen Personen, die an dem historischen Prozess, in dem der erste Kaiser der Dynastie Ch'in eine entscheidende wenn auch nicht Hauptrolle spielte, teilgenommen haben. Aus diesem Grund stellt Dr. Pokoras Buch auch einen interessanten historiographischen Versuch dar.

Marián Gálik

David Hawkes, *A Little Primer of Tu Fu*. Clarendon Press — Oxford University Press 1967. VIII + 243 S.

Nach dem Buch von James J. Y. Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry*, Chicago 1962, erschien in der 2. Hälfte 1967 auf dem Buchmarkt das besprochene Buch, als eines von den wenigen, die (unter anderem) die technische Seite der alten chinesischen

Poesie zeigen. Der Autor selbst erklärt, er habe dieses Buch geschrieben, weil er es denjenigen, die chinesisch überhaupt nicht oder nur ganz wenig kennen, ermöglichen wollte, sich eine Vorstellung machen zu können, wie die chinesische Poesie eigentlich ist und wie sie auf die Menschen wirkt. Das ist aber eine zu bescheidene Behauptung.

Der Inhalt des Buches ist einfach. Prof. Hawkes nahm 35 Gedichte des grossen chinesischen Dichters Tu Fu (712—772), ordnete sie chronologisch, transliterierte sie, erklärte ihre Form, ihren historischen Hintergrund, ihre Bedeutung und übersetzte sie in die englische Prosa. Warum er gerade Tu Fu und nicht einen anderen chinesischen Autor, oder mehrere Autoren gewählt hat, erklärt Prof. Hawkes ebenso. Der Grund für diese Wahl war, dass die Übersetzungen der Gedichte Tu Fu's nicht sehr gelungen waren, so dass es viel günstiger und zweckmässiger war, ihn im Original zu studieren. Die zweite war die historische Ursache. Tu Fu lebte in sehr ereignisreichen Zeiten, was er in seinen Gedichten oft zum Ausdruck brachte. Prof. Hawkes konnte seine Erklärungen mit zahlreichen historischen Ereignissen begleiten und ergänzen, sowie die Atmosphäre der damaligen Zeit und der damaligen Gedichte in der Vorstellung des Lesers plastisch gestalten.

Das sind bestimmt seriöse Gründe für die getroffene Wahl und es ist unbestreitbar, dass das Buch interessant und belehrend ist. Es besteht nur die Frage, ob es nicht zu desillusorisch wirken wird. Wir sind auf keinen Fall der Meinung, dass Illusionen immer überflüssig oder stets Metamorphosen des Betruges sind. Aber Prof. Hawkes ging zu wissenschaftlich an die Sache heran. Wenn man Tu Fu so darstellt, wie er es getan hat, scheint er kein Dichter zu sein, sondern ein stiller erniedriger Diener, ein begabter und höflicher Versmacher und Schmeichler derjenigen, die ihm etwas gegeben haben, weil er sehr arm und ein geschickter Essayist war. Tu Fu ist zweifellos einer der grössten chinesischen Dichter, neigte aber übermäßig zu der am meisten verbreiteten orthodoxen chinesischen Ansicht, dass die Poesie kritisch und didaktisch sein soll (und meistens mehr didaktisch als kritisch). Deshalb kann uns seine Poesie als schwer verständlich und schwer verdaulich vorkommen. Sie kann aber auch anders wirken, wenn eine gute Auswahl gemacht wird und wenn sie ein Europäer durchführt. Die in *A Little Primer of Tu Fu* übersetzten und analysierten Gedichte wurden aus der Sammlung *T'ang shih san-pai shou* (Drei Hundert T'angs Gedichte) übernommen, die vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts stammt und ausschliesslich den Geschmack der alten konfuzianischen Wissenschaftler repräsentiert. Für ein ähnliches Ziel, das sich Prof. Hawkes gestellt hatte, wäre vielleicht besser gewesen, sich eine kleinere Gruppe von Dichtern, oder den Freund Tu Fus, Li Po, auch einen grossen Dichter, zu wählen. Eine eventuelle Desillusion der Leser wäre bestimmt geringer gewesen.

Nach der hervorragenden Übersetzung *Ch'u Tz'u, The Songs of the South* kommt in die Hände der Leser ein weiteres Buch von Prof. Hawkes. Trotz des Vorbehaltens, den wir uns erlaubt haben, hier anzuführen, rückt dieses Buch die Grenze unserer Kenntnisse der alten chinesischen Poesie bestimmt weit voraus.

Marián Gálik

Merle Goldman, *Literary Dissent in Communist China*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1967. Pp. XVII + 343.

In the field of modern Chinese literature considerable attention has come to be devoted of late to literary criticism. And this is all for the good. Literary criticism in modern China has had a great influence on literary writings, brought them to life or led to their destruction. In addition, it had other functions besides literary ones, and it is important to know them thoroughly, too. As far as a study of literary criticism among non-Chinese scholars is concerned, primacy goes to Dr. D. W. Fokkema and to his book *Literary Doctrine in China and the Soviet Influence, 1956—1960*. A. Tagore writes about literary discussions in China in the period 1918—1937 and the book under review presents a detailed account of the course of Chinese literary discussions in the forties and fifties of this century.

It is made up of eleven chapters, notes, bibliography, glossary, and also an index is provided.

The book is introduced by concise biographies of the most important representatives of Chinese creative and critical literature. Mrs. Goldman divides these prominents into two opposing groups. In the first are the so-called revolutionary writers: Ai Ch'ing, Feng Hsüeh-feng, Ho Ch'i-fang, Hsiao Chün, Hu Feng, Ting Ling and Wang Shih-wei, while in the second group we find the so-called bureaucrats: Ai Szu-ch'i, Ch'en Po-ta, Chou Yang and Kuo Mo-jo. She calls the above authors "revolutionaries", because "they criticised the régime in power, whether the KMT or the CCP". Although they criticised the CCP, yet they pronounced themselves in its support, all were Marxists, occasionally they got into conflict with the party on account of their literary theories or views. The CCP made efforts not to leave the leadership in literary matters with these people and endeavoured "to replace the intellectual leadership of vague, humane, literary visionaries to Communist ideals with disciplined, obedient administrators committed to an organization". The second group is formed by literary bureaucrats who were led, until his fall in 1966, by Chou Yang. Besides those whose biographies Mrs. Goldman sketches, there were also Shao Ch'üan-lin, Lin Mo-han, Yüan Shuai-p'o and some other less significant authors.

It must be observed, however, that this division does not quite correspond to reality. Chinese writers and critics cannot be brought down to so simple a division. The difference between the revolutionary writers and revolutionary bureaucrats was not as great as is implied in Goldman's categorization. Thus, for instance, Ho Ch'i-fang should be termed a revolutionary writer only in the years 1942 and 1959: otherwise he ought to be permanently assigned among literary bureaucrats! Ting Ling did not belong among literary bureaucrats for so long a period, but neither had she much in common with revolutionary writers, in the sense Mrs. Goldman understood it, at the time she enjoyed Mao Tse-tung's favour. A hard struggle for power was apparent between the various groups of Chinese writers, whether it was the group led by Chou Yang, Ting Ling or Hu Feng. There were but relative differences

between the literary bureaucrats and the revolutionary writers! Ultimately, as Mrs. Goldman repeatedly and clearly implied, what was involved were not so much differences of outlook, thought or ideology, as rather personal sympathies and antipathies. Chou Yang was busy for the most part settling his own accounts or protecting his personal power. Had Ting Ling succeeded in gaining power over Chinese literary world and destroy Chou Yang, the history of modern Chinese literary criticism would probably have been different, though not necessarily less pitiful. Perhaps, creative literature would look somewhat better. In our view, Goldman could very well have done without this markedly artificial and not too convincing division.

The first chapter, *The Conflict Between the Party and Revolutionary Writers* describes the thirties and the efforts of CCP to gain control over and assure for itself the leadership of the literary sphere. It begins with a very fitting idea according to which, throughout the history of China, "every ruling group has sought to gain the allegiance of the intellectual class and to impose upon it an orthodox doctrine guiding all its activities. The Chinese communist régime is no exception. In the manner of the past Chinese governments, the communist leadership has sought to utilize the skills of the intellectuals and to indoctrinate them with an all—embracing ideology—the ideology being Marxism-Leninism, rather than traditional Confucianism".

This may be said to be the basic idea of the work. On it, Mrs. Goldman has built up the whole book.

It seems possible to agree with Mrs. Goldman's view according to which Mao Tse-tung's literary theory is at least partially indebted to the literary creed of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai and Chou Yang. The question of the provenience of Mao Tse-tung's literary theory which, supported as it is by power, had and still has an enormous influence, would deserve particular attention. It suffices briefly to consider Chou Yang's literary philosophy in the thirties in order to understand what kindred spirits Mao Tse-tung and his chief exegete Chou Yang had been for nearly a whole quarter of a century. According to Chou Yang the content of a work of art is primary and the form is secondary. The content created the form of art. The content of art and literature is "the real struggle of life" and "many new forms" can be created out of it. The primacy of content determines at the present time the principal task of proletarian literature: to describe "the life of struggle of the proletariat". The subject-matters are as abundant as life itself, but if they are to be artistically treated in the interest of proletariat, they should not be described or depicted on the basis of an above-class or above-party attitude. According to Chou Yang, it is not sufficient to observe life objectively and then express the results of this observation in the works of art. The main task of proletarian literature can be fulfilled solely by writers directly participating in the real struggle, by those who are close to the masses, writers and poets standing on the class and party platform. "Real life", or "real life struggle" represents to him not only an inexhaustible fountain-head of new forms and contents, but also the place where the test of the effectiveness and value of individual works

is proved. In it he saw the remedy against schematic literary heroes. This drawback can be remedied, in particular, if writers will "go among the masses and learn from them." This manner of "implementing the idea of mass literature not only will not lower the standards of literature, but on the contrary, it will uplift it, i.e. raise the fighting spirit and class character of literature". This would imply that according to Chou Yang these qualities—the fighting spirit, class character and party spirit are the most important criteria of the value of a literary work. (See the works of Chou Yang in the thirties, written under the pseudonym of Chou Ch'i-ying in the collection *Wen-i tzu-yu lun-pien-chi* (*Articles on Literary Freedom*), Shanghai 1933, p. 100—111, p. 345—356).

Among Chinese literary critics of the thirties, none came closer to Mao Tse-tung's comprehension of literature than Chou Yang.

In the second chapter called *Literary Opposition During the Yenan Period*, Mrs. Goldman writes on the literary conditions prevailing in Yenan, on criticism of Ting Ling, Luo Feng, Wang Shih-wei, Hsiao Chun, Ai Ch'ing and Ho Ch'i-fang.

In the third chapter entitled *Conflicts Between Left-Wing Writers in the KMT Area and the CCP*, the authoress of the book deals with the clash between Hu Feng, Feng Hsüeh-feng and their pupils, and the philosophical and literary policy of the CCP.

The fourth chapter bears the title of *Resumption of Thought Reform Drives in 1948*, and is concerned with the criticism of Hu Feng's group and of Hsiao Chün. Therefore, the criticism of what had been criticised in Yenan and the territory occupied by KMT, was revived.

The title of the fifth chapter is not fully expressive of the content. It is called *Re-emergence of Literary Factions, 1949—1952*, but embodies far more. In addition to the rivalry between Chou Yang's and Ting Ling's groups, it also describes the party policy toward the intellectuals, the so-called Wu Hsün Campaign (The campaign against the film 'The Story of Wu Hsün') a rather hard course on the efforts for a thought reform.

The heading of the next, the sixth chapter, likewise fails to reflect its content: *The Relaxation of 1953 and the Campaign Against Feng Hsüeh-feng in 1954*. During 1953—1954 the check on the intellectuals was somewhat relaxed, but by the end of 1954 the controls were again re-imposed and re-inforced. The target of the criticism this time was Yü P'ing-po and his interpretation of the Chinese classical novel *Hung-lou-meng*, and then Feng Hsüeh-feng, who as the editor-in-chief of the most influential journal of the Union of Chinese Writers, the *Wen-i pao*, and deputy chairman for this Union, was at that time at the peak of his career.

The seventh chapter, *The Hu Feng Campaign of 1955*, is wholly devoted to Hu Feng's case. This case has so far been the most frequent topic in the relevant literature. Hu Feng and his friends represented the most significant opposition to Mao Tse-tung's and Chou Yang's literary line of thought.

The eighth chapter, *Writers Bloom in the Hundred Flowers Movement*, describes this philosophical and literary movement, known the world over, and at the time received with marked sympathies: it shows its course, its promising results and its failure.

The ninth chapter, *The Antirightist Drive Against the Writers, 1957—1958*, describes the reprisals against the writers for their part in the Hundred Flowers Movement. Among those condemned and removed from the literary arena were Ting Ling and her group, then Feng Hsüeh-feng, Ai Ch'ing and others.

In the tenth chapter, *The Great Leap Forward and Ho Ch'i-fang*, the authoress shows up the writer and critic Ho Ch'i-fang in his fight against the artistically poor poetry of the Great Leap Forward.

The last chapter, *The Significance of Literary Dissent* constitutes a conclusion to the whole book. It opens with these words: "The lives of the revolutionary writers have more importance than their literary works. Despite the party's determination to eliminate them as a distinct group and to incorporate all intellectuals into the state of bureaucracy, they were an amorphous, yet independent island in the vast sea of bureaucracy. Like the Russian intelligence whom they so admired, this handful of writers held true to the values they imbibed at an early stage. At times, they compromised and even betrayed their former friends. Yet essentially, they remained alienated intellectuals who found themselves as alienated from the institutions and values of the new society they helped to establish as from the old ones they helped to destroy".

These statements are, however, a matter of taste. If anyone is interested in the question of literary dissent as one of relationships among people, their philosophical attitudes, or eventually struggle for power, then it is possible to agree with Mrs. Goldman. If, however, one is interested in literary theory, views, then literary works take precedence.

Merle Goldman's book is a significant contribution to our knowledge of Chinese literary criticism after the year 1942 and deserves the attention of Sinologists and investigators doing research in this field.

Marián Gálik

Klaus Mäding, *Chinesisches traditionelles Erbrecht unter besonderer Berücksichtigung südostchinesischen Gewohnheitsrechtes vom Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Neue Kölner Rechtswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen, herausgegeben von der Rechtswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität zu Köln. Heft 40. Berlin, W. de Gruyter & Co., 1966. SS. xi, 110.

Das zur Besprechung stehende kleine Buch fasst zum ersten Mal klar und gründlich das im chinesischen Rechtskreis mehr oder weniger noch geltende traditionelle Erbrecht in einer solchen Weise zusammen, dass auch dem Laien die komplizierten aber wichtigen Grundprinzipien klar werden. Obzwar das Thema richtig gewählt

worden ist, ist seine Bearbeitung keineswegs einfach. Wie im ganzen Gebiet des chinesischen Privatrechtes, herrschte doch auch im Erbrecht meistens die lokale Rechtsgewohnheit, während nur ein Teil gesetzlich geregelt war.

Was gilt aber in dieser Hinsicht als das „Gesetz“? Chronologisch ist das erstens, das Ch'ing-Codex *Ta Ch'ing lü-li* von 1646, erweitert in 1740 und in der Fassung von 1890 auch in einer französischen Übersetzung von G. Boulais zugänglich. Zweitens das Bürgerliche Gesetzbuch vom 5. 5. 1931, das aber zu radikal in seiner Abneigung gegen das traditionelle Element war, um allgemeinen Respekt zu finden. Drittens das Ehegesetz der Chinesischen Volksrepublik von 1950, das die untersuchte Problematik zum Teil auch regelt; sonst ist aber das Bürgerliche Gesetzbuch von 1931 in Volkschina seit langem nicht mehr gültig und in dem in dieser Weise teilweise geschaffenen rechtlichen Vakuum kommen dann manchmal wieder Elemente des traditionellen Rechtssystems sowie die Rechtsgewohnheiten zum Vorschein.

Für einen Rechtswissenschaftler ist aber die Sache noch viel mehr kompliziert, wenn man bedenkt, dass in Hongkong oder in Malaysia das traditionelle Recht noch in einer teilweisen Koexistenz mit dem englischen Recht lebt oder, besser, überlebt. Prinzipiell wichtig ist dann also der zweite Anhang des besprochenen Buches, wo der Verfasser die Geltung des chinesischen traditionellen Rechtes in Hongkong studiert und in dem dritten Anhang es mit der verhältnismässig effektiven fortlaufenden Liquidation der traditionellen Rechtselemente in T'ai-wan vergleicht. Ein amerikanischer Beitrag über ähnliche Situation in Singapore und Malaysia wird von uns unten zitiert und man kann also noch die Frage stellen, ob es nicht ratsam war — wenn auch nur flüchtig — die Frage der Tradition und der Modernisierung des Rechtssystems in Japan, Korea und anderen Ländern des Fernen Ostens zu berühren.

Allerdings schildert der Verfasser schon in der Einleitung das seltsame Verhältnis des geltenden, sowie auch des schon geschichtlichen Erbrechtes, das ihn zu einer knappen Definition des Normensystems wie auch zu einer Übersicht des zugänglichen Materials führt. Dabei hebt er im Einklang mit H. McAleavy die Wichtigkeit der sehr umfangreichen japanischen Sammlung des gesamtchinesischen wie auch des lokalen t'aiwanesischen Gewohnheitsrechtes *T'ai-wan shihō* hervor. Auch die soziale Grundlage des Erbrechtes, nämlich die Rolle der Familie und des Geschlechtes (auch als Clan oder grosse Familie bezeichnet), wird vom Verfasser untersucht.

Die eigentliche Untersuchung ist dem vierten umfangreichsten Kapitel zu entnehmen, wo ausschliesslich das Sakral- und Vermögenserbrecht studiert wird. Bei beiden Fragen sind alle wichtigen Umstände beachtet, so z. B. die Bestimmung der Sakralerben oder deren Enterbung, sowohl wie die Unterschiede in der Erbfolge in das Familienvermögen oder in das Privatvermögen. Zu unterstreichen ist die grundsätzliche Wichtigkeit der Erwägungen von seiten des Verfassers über die Stellung des Sakralerbrechtes im chinesischen gesellschaftlichen Leben, die auch für den allgemeinen Historiker anregend sind.

Das Literaturverzeichnis (Ss. VII—XI) ist sehr reich und es scheint dem Rezen-

senten, dass nur ein Beitrag der Erwähnung noch wert war: Chen Yuvoon, *Zum chinesischen Ehegesetz von 1950*, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe 9 (1959—1960), Heft 3, Ss. 447—452. Wir können noch einige andere wichtige Publikationen erwähnen, die wegen des späteren Datums der Veröffentlichung vom Verfasser nicht mehr gesehen sein konnten: Eduard J. M. Kroker, *Die amtliche Sammlung chinesischer Rechtsgewohnheiten. Untersuchungsbericht über Gewohnheiten in Zivil- und Handels-sachen I—III*, Pp. 282, 280, 162. Bergen-Enkheim b. Frankfurt/M., Verlag Gerhard Kraffke, 1965. Vermier Y. Chiu (Chao Ping), *Marriage Laws and Customs of China*. Institute of Advanced Chinese Studies and Research, New Asia College, Hong Kong 1966. David C. Buxbaum, *Chinese Family Law in a Common Law Setting. A Note on the Institutional Environment and the Substantive Family Law of the Chinese in Singapore and Malaysia*. The Journal of Asian Studies XXV (1966), 4, Ss. 621—644. Auch das vom Verfasser erwähnte Buch von Ch'ü T'ung-tsü *Law and Society in Traditional China* wurde in 1966 neu und verbessert aufgelegt. Fung Yu-lans und Boddes *A History of Chinese Philosophy* hat zwei Bände, deren zweiter zum ersten Mal in Princeton in 1953 erschienen ist. Das Wort Chukoku in dem Titel des Buches von Niida Noboru über die Geschichte des chinesischen Rechtssystems soll Chūgoku transkribiert werden.

Das Buch ist mehr wichtig als man es dem langen, aber etwas einschränkenden Titel entnehmen könnte, denn es bearbeitet eine ziemlich bedeutsame Institution, deren juristische Regelung zwar schon zum Teil der Geschichte gehört, aber für ein richtiges Verstehen nicht nur Chinas unentbehrlich ist.

*Timoteus Pokora*

Gabriele Crespi Reghizzi, *Legal Aspects of Trade with China: The Italian Experience*. Reprinted from Harvard International Law Journal, Vol. 9, No. 1, Winter 1968. S. 85—139.

In der Einleitung finden wir eine kurze Übersicht des bisherigen Aussenhandels mit China in den letzten 18 Jahren, hauptsächlich im Verhältnis zu Westdeutschland, Grossbritannien, Frankreich und Italien. Besonders wird der italienisch-chinesische Vertrag und die aus ihm erfolgende Verantwortlichkeit der Partner untersucht. Interessant sind die Lösungen bei den Streitigkeiten. Ein besonderes Gewicht wird auf den Schutz des industriellen und Handelseigentums gelegt. Es wird hier auch die Rolle des ausländischen Kapitals bei der chinesischen Industrialisierung geprüft.

Der Autor vermeidet nicht einmal die Frage des Einflusses der Kulturellen Revolution und einer Abschätzung der Zukunft im Aussenhandel der genannten Staaten mit China. Seine Ansichten stützt er an reichliche Literaturquellen aus den wissenschaftlichen Zeitschriften und aus der Tagespresse (173 Fussnoten auf etwa 50 Seiten des Textes).

*L. Bianchi*

Gabriele Crespi Reghizzi, *Lo studio del sistema giuridico cinese contemporaneo*. Separatabdruck aus *l'est*, Nr. 3, vom 30. September 1967, S. 165—205.

Der Autor, ein Assistent der Mailänder Universität, gibt uns in diesem Beitrag eine Übersicht der Forschungen auf dem Gebiet des geltenden chinesischen Rechtes. Als die wichtigsten Zentren betrachtet er in dieser Hinsicht die amerikanische und die japanische Rechtssinologie.

Er beschreibt die Ergebnisse der Konferenz, die über dieses Thema auf den Bermuda-Inseln im Mai 1967 abgehalten wurde. Weiters können wir erfahren, auf welchen Universitäten und juristischen Schulen das chinesische Recht in den Vereinigten Staaten vorgelesen wird. Die Studie befasst sich mit den Quellen des geltenden chinesischen Rechtes, mit den Schwierigkeiten der juristischen Terminologie und weist auf einige bibliographische Angaben, die uns in die Problematik der Lehre über Verträge einleiten könnten, hin.

Das Studium des chinesischen Rechtes in Japan hat natürlich eine viel ältere Traditionen und weniger Sprachschwierigkeiten. Man kann sogar behaupten — schreibt Reghizzi — dass im chinesischen Recht des XX. Jahrhunderts ein dauernder Einfluss des japanischen Denkens und der japanischen Terminologie auffindbar ist.

Interessant sind die Ansichten über den Vergleich zwischen dem sowjetischen und dem chinesischen Recht, über die Auswirkungen der Benützung des sowjetischen Modells in China, sowie die Wertung der sowjetischen Rechtssinologie. Das letzte Kapitel ist dem Studium des chinesischen Rechtes in Europa gewidmet. Von den tschechoslowakischen Autoren werden hier T. Pokora und K. Laco erwähnt (S. 201).

Wir betrachten diese Bearbeitung als eine gelungene und nützliche Zusammenfassung der bisherigen Bestrebungen auf diesem Gebiet. Die Schlussfolgerungen des Autors sind äusserst originell.

L. Bianchi

*Hystoria Tartarorum C. de Bridia Monachi*. Edidit et anotationibus instruxit Alf Önnerfors (= Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, 186). Berlin, W. de Gruyter et Co., 1967. Pp. X + 44 + Mappe.

Der unerwartete mongolische Einsturz, der die Staaten Osteuropas zerschmettert hat, hat auch im Westen eine berechtigte Angst hervorgerufen. Auch wenn die mongolischen Heere bald darauf wieder zurückgekehrt sind, doch sind die Angst und das Entsetzen, die durch immer genauere Berichte aus den verwüsteten Gebieten entfacht wurden, nicht verschwunden. Die Besorgnis vor dem wiederholten Angriff hat eine Untersuchung des Tatbestandes im mongolischen Reich erzwungen. Der Papst, das Haupt des westlichen Christentums, schickt Boten nach Osten, um die weiteren Absichten der Mongolen zu erforschen und im günstigen Fall, sie in den Schoss der Kirche zu gewinnen.

Der erste, der auf den mongolischen Hof gelang, war Frater Ioannis de Plano Carpini, dessen Werk, *Ystoria Tartarorum*, bereits im Mittelalter bekannt war und

bis heute in verschiedene Sprachen übersetzt wird. Das Werk des Franziskaners C. de Bridius, „*Hystoria Tartarorum*“, ist auf Grund der Erzählung aller Teilnehmer Carpinis Botschaft im Jahre 1247 verfasst worden. Dieses Werk wurde unlängst mit einer Landkarte des sog. Vinland von den Forschern der Yale Universität entdeckt und von G.D.E. Painter unter dem Titel „*The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*“ (New Haven-London, Yale Univ. Press. 1965) herausgegeben.

Önnerfors neue Ausgabe dieses Textes mit pädagogischen Zielen, versehen mit Bemerkungen und Korrelationen zum Carpinis Bericht, ist eine Musterausgabe des mittelalterlichen Textes. Wertvoll sind auch die linguistischen und paleographischen Bemerkungen.

V. Kopčan

Werner Ekschmitt, *Das Gedächtnis der Völker (Hieroglyphen, Schrift und Schriftfunde auf Tontafeln, Papyri und Pergamenten)*. Berlin, Safari-Verlag 1964. 445 S. + 120 Fotos, 33 Textabbildungen und 5 Karten.

Dem grossen Denker Maxim Gorkij wird der Satz zugeschrieben: „Wie stolz klingt der Name Mensch.“ Und wenn wir die Leistungen des Menschen im Verlaufe der Jahrtausende der menschlichen Kultur betrachten, können wir wahrlich stolz sein, den Namen Mensch zu tragen, abgesehen von verschiedenen Untaten, für welche auch der Mensch verantwortlich ist. Doch trotz all dem har det Mensch wahrlich Grosses geleistet.

Dieser Stolz widerhallt schon in der Bibel. So lesen wir im I. Könige 2,2: „... so sei denn stark und zeige dich als Mann!“ Wenn hier nicht der Ausdruck Mensch, sondern Mann gebraucht ist, ist dies darum, dass diese Worte an Salomon, einen Mann gerichtet sind, dem Sinne nach könnte hier aber Mensch stehen.

Allgemein wird die Vorrangstellung des Menschen unter den Lebewesen anerkannt und seinen besonderen Fähigkeiten zugeschrieben, namentlich seinem Verstand und seiner Sprachfähigkeit (Verständigungsvermögen).

Wenn auch früher diese Tatsachen allgemein unbestritten anerkannt wurden und den Tieren nur in Fabeln und Märchen die Fähigkeit der Sprache gegeben wurde, so belehrt uns die Wissenschaft der letzten Jahrzehnte vom Gegenteil. Zahllose Forschungen und Versuche haben bewiesen, dass auch andere Lebewesen ein Gedächtnis und ein Verständigungsvermögen (in gewissem Sinne und bei einigen Tieren eventuell auch eine Sprache), ja teilweise auch etwas wie Vernunft haben. Bei einigen Arten sind diese Fähigkeiten mehr, bei anderen weniger oder fast gar nicht entwickelt, aber ganz gelegnet können sie heute nicht werden.

Wenn wir also heute den Menschen als den ersten unter den Lebewesen charakterisieren wollen, können wir uns nicht nur einfach auf seine Intelligenz berufen und als Beweis sein Verständigungsvermögen anführen, denn dies besitzen zum Teil, wenn auch nur im geringeren oder sogar unbedeutendem Masse, auch andere Lebewesen. Ich würde den Beweis in der Kunst des Schreibens sehen. Nur der Mensch hat die

Kunst des Schreibens entwickelt, die es ihm ermöglicht, seine Erkenntnisse und Wahrnehmungen der Nachwelt nicht nur direkt und unmittelbar, sondern auch indirekt und mittels der Schrift der Nachwelt zu übergeben.

Mensch und Tier sind von Natur aus mit Instinkten ausgerüstet, die sie für ihre Lebensfristung und Fortpflanzung benötigen. Sie können sich verständigen, sie können Erfahrungen sammeln, die ihnen nützlich sind und die sie auch verwerten. Und trotz diesen gemeinsamen Faktoren ist zwischen Mensch und Tier ein grosser Unterschied. Denn das Tier kann seine Erfahrungen nur unmittelbar der Nachwelt überliefern, der Mensch jedoch kann dies auch indirekt.

Und wenn wir auch in die weiteste Vergangenheit des Menschen zurückgreifen, wo er noch keine Schrift kannte (oder wenigstens wir keine Beweise für eine solche haben), so haben Archeologen Zeichnungen gefunden, die bis in die Steinzeit hineinreichen, und die uns beweisen, dass der Mensch schon damals, wenn auch auf diese unvollkommene Art, seine Erfahrungen zu überliefern suchte.

Die Zeichnungen des Menschen in den Höhlen der Steinzeit kann und muss man als ersten Schritt der Zivilisation betrachten, der einen deutlichen und definitiven Scheidungsstrich zwischen Mensch und Tier setzte. Sie widerspiegeln die ersten Wahrnehmungen des Menschen, die dieser der Nachwelt überliefern wollte, und beweisen, dass der Mensch schon damals die Erfahrungen seiner Epoche der Nachwelt zu vermitteln verstand. Diese primitive Art, Erfahrungen der Nachwelt zu überliefern, ermöglichte es, verschiedene Wahrnehmungen des Menschen für die Nachwelt aufzuspeichern und diese konnte sie dann weiter entwickeln und bereichern und musste nicht immer aufs neue von vorne beginnen.

Und wenn wir unsere Zivilisation betrachten, so müssen wir zugeben, dass diese ohne der emsigen Vorarbeit vieler und unzähliger Generationen unvorstellbar wäre. Mit anderen Worten könnten wir also sagen, wenn der Mensch keine Schrift, und zwar durch alle ihre Stufen der Entwicklung (Felsenmalerei, Bildschrift, Hieroglyphen, Keilschrift und Lautschrift) gehabt hätte, hätte er kaum die Stufe erklimmen, auf welcher er sich heute zu weiteren Vorstössen ins Unbekannte vorbereitet. So gesehen ist dann die Schrift nicht nur das Unterscheidungsmerkmal zwischen Mensch und Fauna, sondern auch eine der Vorbedingungen des menschlichen Fortschrittes überhaupt.

Man könnte also sagen, dass es die Schrift ist, die den Menschen zum Menschen gemacht hat und auch heute macht. Wenn wir in einem der ältesten Kulturschätze des Menschen, der Bibel, lesen (Gen. 5, 1): „Das ist das Buch des Menschengeschlechts“, könnten wir dies auf Grund des Gesagten auch so deuten, dass das Buch (oder die Schrift, vielmehr beides!) die Geschichte des Menschen prägte und kennzeichnete. Und für wahr, wie hätte der Mensch ohne Fähigkeit seine Erfahrungen weiterzugeben gegen die Fauna bestehen können, die ihm in vielen Beziehungen überlegen war.

Ein Buch über die Schrift in allen Phasen ihrer Entwicklung ist deshalb nicht nur eine lehrreiche, sondern auch eine sehr interessante Lektüre. Dass der Verfasser

Werner Ekschmitt das Buch „Gedächtnis der Völker“ nennt ist nur allzu richtig, denn dies ist ja die Schrift in erster Linie.

Ekschmitt enthüllt in diesem Buch die Geheimnisse eines der unbekanntesten Kapitel unserer Kulturgeschichte. (Er beschränkt dabei das Problem auf die Entwicklung der europäischen Schrift und lässt z. B. die chinesische Schrift ausser acht.) Es ist wohl keine systematische Untersuchung der Schriftentwicklung als solcher, jedoch an Hand der Erfindung der bedeutendsten Schriften (sumerisch, ägyptisch und mykenisch) erfahren wir auf welchen Prinzipien gearbeitet wurde. Wir erfahren auch gleichzeitig verschiedene Einzelheiten über das Material, das für die Schrift verwendet wurde (Tontafel, Papyrusrolle und Pergamentcodex) und auch viel Wissenswertes über antike Bibliotheken (Ninive, Alexandria...).

Das Buch teilt der Verfasser nach den grossen Schriftfunden des Altertums und zusammen mit den Umständen dieser Funde schildert Ekschmitt die Funde selbst und erklärt die einzelnen Schriftsysteme.

Das Buch beginnt mit Babylonien und Assyrien, und führt über Ägypten, die Hethiter, Ugariter, Mykener, Griechen und Römer, über die Papyri, die Schriftrollen des Toten Meeres, dem Papyrusfund von Nag-Hamadi zum Codex Sinaiticus.

Jedes Kapitel ist fast eine Monographie, die jedes Detail des Problems beleuchtet. Die Schilderung ist lebhaft und spannend, dabei aber exakt und verlässlich.

Sehr wertvoll ist eine umfassende Bibliographie. Die Orientierung im Buch und eine Benutzung als Nachschlagewerk ermöglicht ein ausführliches Namen- und Sachregister.

Ich kann dieses Buch jedem aufrichtig empfehlen, denn es bietet viele Anregungen zur Lösung der verschiedensten Probleme in alten Büchern und Handschriften.

Mir selbst wurde zum Beispiel die Erklärung über die Kustoden (S. 27) ein Hinweis für die Klärung der sogenannten Sedarim, eines schon fast unlösbar Rätsels der Bibeleinteilung.

Über die Sedarim wurden und werden die unmöglichsten Theorien zusammengestellt (siehe z. B. Dr. A. Berliner: Über den Einfluss des ersten hebräischen Buchdruckes, Berlin, 1896, besonders S. 36). Wenn man jedoch Ekschmitts Ausführungen über die Bibliothek Assurbanipals liest und die Anmerkungen des Verfassers akzeptiert und auf die Sedarim — mutatis mutandis — akzeptiert, so ist die Erklärung der Sedarim einfach, logisch und unbestreitbar. Sie sind ein Analogon der in den mittelalterlichen Handschriften benützten Kustoden. Wie Ekschmitt beweist, kannten schon die Tontafeln der Bibliothek Assurbanipals „Fangzeilen“, mit denen — durch einen Strich deutlich vom Text getrennt — jede Tafel schloss. Diese Fangzeile war eine Vorwegnahme der ersten Zeile der folgenden Tafel und diente der Sicherung der Reihenfolge, da man ja damals keine Paginierung kannte, die ja verhältnismässig erst wirklich sehr spät eingeführt wurde. Bei Einführung der Rollen wurde ein ähnliches System angewendet, das der Sicherung der richtigen Folge der Rollen diente. In den Codices wurden dann später die einzelnen „Lagen“ durch die Kustoden gekennzeichnet

(siehe darüber auch in meinem Machsor Lipsia, Leipzig, VEB EDITION, 1964). Später wurden die Kustoden für jede Seite eingeführt. Diese Tatsache bietet eine logische Erklärung (Sedaram ist die Pluralform von Seder) des geteilten Seder, über den die 32 hermeneutischen Regeln der Haggada sprechen. Wenn nämlich ein Seder (Buch oder Rolle) geteilt werden musste — man war nämlich am Ende des Materials (der Pergamentrolle oder Pergamentlage), so wurde ein Wort vom Satze getrennt. Dies geschah aber nicht aus Willkür, sondern aus praktischen Rücksichten, um nämlich — ohne Paginierung, die man ja nicht kannte — die richtige Reihenfolge sicherzustellen.

Dies ist nur ein Hinweis, wie man aus dem angeführten Buch Nutzen ziehen kann. Das Buch ist eine unversiegbare Quelle der Belehrung über das Schrifttum als solches.

*Elias Katz*

Gerhard Rudolf Meyer, *Altorientalische Denkmäler im Vorderasiatischen Museum zu Berlin*. Leipzig, VEB E. A. Seemann, 1965. 44 S. + 185 Abbildungen auf Tafeln.

„Duo non sunt idem!“

Das Erhalten alter Denkmäler ist ein äusseres Zeichen der Zivilisation, ja man kann es ohne Übertreibung als einen Massstab der Kulturstufe eines Volkes betrachten. Wir sehen dann, dass je weiter die Zivilisation voranschreitet, das Bedürfnis alte Denkmäler zu konservieren und, der Möglichkeit nach, der Nachwelt zu erhalten, immer grösser, deutlicher und bewusster ist.

Primitive Völker kennen keine Museen, sie sind ihnen ein fremder Begriff und dies ist logisch, auch wenn sie oft in ihrem Naturzustand ein Museum im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes sind.

Völker hingegen, die schon den Berg der Zivilisation erklimmen haben, können sich heute ihre Kultur ohne Museen gar nicht vorstellen. Es sind dies dabei Museen der verschiedensten Richtung, oft von der eigenen Zivilisation weit entfernt und in die Zivilisation anderer Völker eingreifend. In dieser Hinsicht wurde viel Aufmerksamkeit namentlich der vorderasiatischen und der klassischen Kultur gewidmet, auch ethnographische Museen sind häufig. Sie sollten jedoch nicht nur der Neugier der Menschen, sondern vor allem der Belehrung dienen.

Objektiv ist ein Museum eine Sammelstätte dimensionaler (vor allem dreidimensionaler) Dokumente. Zumeist sind die Museen laut ihrem Sammlungsbereich der Vergangenheit gewidmet. Sie sind jedoch der Gegenwart bestimmt und sollen zu deren Belehrung dienen. Nur so erreichen sie ihr Ziel.

Das vorliegende Buch wurde von einem hervorragenden und international anerkannten Museumsfachmann Prof. Dr. Gerhard Rudolf Meyer zusammengestellt. Es bietet eine Übersicht der schönsten altorientalischen Objekte des Vorderasiatischen Museums zu Berlin. Der Besitzer dieses Buches kann sich als Besitzer eines kleinen

Heimmuseums fühlen, das ihn über die Jahrtausende zurückliegende Kultur Vorderasiens belehrt. Diese Kukturschätze sind das Ergebnis heute schon historischer deutscher Ausgrabungen in Vorderasien und ermöglichen eine Orientierung in der damaligen Kultur.

Ich möchte dieses Buch hier nicht als Museologe beurteilen. Es bietet auch anderen Fachmännern viel Belehrung. Deshalb wählte ich auch als Motto den Spruch: Duo non sunt idem. Denn das Blättern in diesem Buche brachte mich zu Schlüssen, die der Verfasser gar nicht ahnen konnte. Diese Tatsache vermindert jedoch nicht den Wert des Buches, sondern hebt ihn noch höher.

Über das Buch selbst nur soviel, dass es sowohl sachlich, als auch technisch bestens ausgestattet ist. Es bringt Reproduktionen verschiedener Gegenstände der vorderasiatischen Kultur aus der Zeitspanne vom 4. Jahrtausend vor u. Z. bis zum 2. Jahrhundert u. Z. Die Auswahl ist mannigfaltig: Metallgegenstände, Steinskulpturen, Reliefs, Tongeräte und Keramik, emaillierte Ziegel usw. Auch nach der Zweckbestimmung ist die Auswahl vielseitig: Kultgegenstände, Gebrauchsstücke, Prunksachen, Hausgerät, Schmuckstücke usw.

Wie gesagt will ich hier dieses Buch nicht mit dem Auge des Museologen oder Kunstgeschichtlers beurteilen, obzwar es vor allem diesen Zielen bestimmt wurde. Ich betrachte es vom Standpunkte eines Hebräologen und Biblikers und auch von diesem Standpunkt hat es mich vieles gelehrt und manche mir bisher undeutliche Stelle des hebräischen Bibeltextes erklärt.

Meine Behauptung möchte ich im folgenden an Hand einiger Beispiele beweisen.

Auf Tafel 47 und 48 bringt Meyer die Bronzefigur eines knieenden Gottes mit Nagel, der eine Inschrift des Gudea von Lagasch trägt. Er datiert diese Figur in das Jahr 2050 v. u. Z. Auf Tafel 55 und 56 zeigt er uns eine Gründungsfigur aus Bronze mit Inschrift des Kudur-Mabug und des Rim-Sin um 1760 v. u. Z. Solche Figuren dienten sowohl dem Zwecke, der Nachwelt den Namen des Erbauers zu erhalten, als auch diesen den Göttern, denen er den Bau errichten liess, zu empfehlen. Zur Beschreibung selbst glaube ich, dass die Bezeichnung Bronzefigur mit Nagel nicht glücklich ist, ich würde es eher „mit Keil“ (Pflock) bezeichnen. Bei der Beschreibung von Tafel 55/6 handelt es sich wiederum kaum um einen Ziegelkorb, aber wahrscheinlich um einen Mörtelkorb. Dies jedoch nur nebenbei, denn auch meine Ansicht ist diskutabel.

Beide Darstellungen erklärten mir jedoch herrlich die Jessajastelle 22, 23 ff: „Ich schlage an einen festen (dauerhaften) Ort ihn als Pflock ein...“

Das an einen „festen Ort“ ist die allgemeine Übersetzung. Das hebräische Wort dafür ist aus dem radix „Amen“ abgeleitet, welches mit „Wahrheit“ zusammenhängt, und hier in diesem Zusammenhang soll es wohl auf das Gotteshaus, als ein Haus der Wahrheit, hinweisen.

Die in diesem Zusammenhang von mir angeführten Tafeln lassen uns den Sinn der Redewendung klar verstehen. Vers 24 ist dann nur eine Fortsetzung der in Vers

23 begonnenen Allegorie und nicht wie manche Kommentatoren (z. B. Orelli) meinen, eine Erklärung des vorangehenden Verses.

Das Bild auf Tafel 69, welches auch in dem hebräischen Buche P'ne olam ha-nukra, II. Bd., S. 214, angeführt ist, kann man als bildliche Erklärung des Bibelverses, I. Kön. 8, 54 — mutatis mutandis — benützen. Es zeigt uns nämlich die Zeremonie des Opfers in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jh. v. u. Z. in einem heidnischen Tempel. Interessant ist die wiederholte Darstellung des Opfernden, die so die Ausführung der Bewegung darstellt. Es ist eine sehr gut verständliche Illustration zum angeführten Bibelvers: „Als Salomon dieses flehentliche Gebet zum Herrn vollendet hatte, erhob er sich von dem Platze vor dem Altar des Herrn, wo er gekniet hatte...“

Das Bild auf Tafel 75, das eine Frau mit einem runden Spiegel darstellt, könnte zur Klärung des hebräischen Wortes für Spiegel „gilljon“, welches Jessaja in 3, 23 benutzt, beitragen. Die Rundform der Spiegel, könnte ein Beweis sein, dass das Wort vom radix „g'l'l“ abzuleiten ist und nicht von „g'l'h“, das aufgedeckt bedeutet.

Auf vielen Bildern des hier besprochenen Buches wiederholt sich das Motiv einer geflügelten Sonne (so z. B. Tafel 79, 84, 90 u. a.). Dieses Bild entspricht den poetischen Vorstellungen des Orients. Sie ist der Natur entnommen und will die Sonnenstrahlen wie Fittiche darstellen.

Das Bild ist eine klare Darstellung der Redewendungen in Psalm 139, 9: „Nehm ich mir auch des Morgenrots Schwingen“ und Hosea 6, 3: „Wie die Morgenröte sicher ist sein Aufgang“. In beiden Fällen ist die Morgenröte nur als Bild der Sonne selbst genommen, die ja wirklich Strahlen wie Fittiche hat. Hosea führt dann sein Bild auch im Regen weiter und erweitert so sein Bild auf das ganze Jahr, da ja der Orient nur die Regenzeit und den Sommer kennt.

Tafel 178 und 85 sind eine Illustration des guten Hirten (dieser Erklärung würde ich den Vorrang vor „Opferbringer“ geben). Das Motiv des guten Hirten ist den Hirtenvölkern des alten Orients sehr gut bekannt und deshalb in ihrer Sprache oft gebraucht. Auch die Bibel benutzt es häufig. So z. B. in Jessaja 40, 11, Ps 23, 11 oder im Neuen Testament in der Parabel vom Guten Hirten (Joh. 10, 11). Wenn wir das zuerst angeführte Jessaja-Zitat näher betrachten, sehen wir einen kleinen Widerspruch, denn der Vers zeigt eine immer steigende Gradation der Güte des guten Hirten und fällt dann auf einmal auf das „leitet die Schafe“ zurück, obzwar er diese schon „an seinem Busen trug“. Ich glaube, dass der Text nicht gut übersetzt ist und dass man dieses „leiten“ im Sinne dieses Bildes „auf den Schultern tragen“ auffassen sollte.

Tafel 93 bringt eine sehr ausdrucksvolle und leicht erkennbare Illustration zum Bibeltext Exodus 25, 31 über den Leuchter im Heiligtum, denn der Text ist sehr schwer verständlich: „... sein Fuss und sein Schaft, seine Kelche, seine Knäufe und seine Blüten.“ Diese Aneinanderreihung schildert das Aussehen des Leuchters so, dass viele Möglichkeiten offen bleiben. Das Bild gibt eine sehr annehmbare Lösung.

Tafel 111 und auch 113 und andere bringen wieder eine Erklärung zu Exodus 14, 7: „Sechshundert Wagen und was er sonst an Wagen auftreiben konnte...“ Diese Stelle

lässt uns über das Aussehen dieser Wagen im Zweifel. Es wird vieles darüber geschrieben. Man meint, dass es Kriegswagen mit zwei Pferden und drei Kriegern waren, das Bild belehrt uns, dass es Wagen mit zwei Kriegern aber drei Pferden, also Dreigespanne waren.

Die Bilder auf Tafel 139, 140, 141 illustrieren wieder den Psalmvers 32, 9: „Seid nicht wie Pferd und Maultier ohne Verstand, die Zügel und Zaun ihren Schmuck verschlingen...“ Die Darstellungen von Zügel und Zaun aus dem biblischen Zeitalter belehren uns, dass diese nicht nur Gebrauchsgegenstände waren, sondern als Schmuck ausgeführt wurden (wenn auch selbstverständlich nicht immer!).

Die Bilder sind nicht nur für das Verständnis der Bibelsprache, sondern auch für die Mischna und Talmud und wahrscheinlich auch andere alte orientalische Handschriften nützlich. Abschliessend noch ein Beispiel aus dem Traktat Jom tow 29, a, welches vom Gewichte „Uzja“ spricht. Viele Kommentatoren bringen es mit dem lateinischen Sextans, also einem Sechstel, in Zusammenhang. Die Erklärung ist aber nicht überzeugend. Wenn wir aber anstatt Uzja Awsja lesen würden, was Gans bedeutet, und uns an die Gewichte in Form von Tieren erinnern würden, wie diese uns Tafel 129 zeigt (und wie wir sie auch aus dem alten Ägypten kennen), so hätten wir eine leicht verständliche Gewichtseinheit: Awsja. Dies würde ein Zeugnis vom Schönheitssinne der alten Orientalen sein, welches wir schon in den kunstvoll geformten Saumzeug bewundern könnten.

Ich könnte vielleicht noch weitere Beweise finden, diese genügen aber um mein Motto: Duo non sunt idem zu rechtfertigen, auch wenn es vielleicht besser Duo non vident idem heissen sollte. Wenn Prof. Dr. Gerhard Rudolf Meyer vom Standpunkt des Museologen nur wertvolle Objekte aus dem Altertum sieht, sehe ich als Hebräist interessante Möglichkeiten zur Deutung und zum Verständnis der Bibelsprache und des alten Hebräisch überhaupt. Wie gesagt ist dies aber kein Vorwurf für den Verfasser, sondern eher eine Anregung für Wissenschaftler anderer Gebiete.

Wenn ich an diesem Buche etwas zu tadeln habe, ist es das Vorsatzblatt, welches uns eine Mappe des alten Orients (Vorderasiens) bringt. Durch zwei verschiedene Schrifttypen sind dort die historischen und heutigen Namen der Staaten angeführt. Leider muss ich dort Israel vermissen. Ich will nur hoffen, dass dies nicht absichtlich geschah, denn dies würde gegen die Objektivität dieses sonst wertvollen Buches sprechen.

*Elias Katz*

*Die Biblische Welt, I—II.* Herausgegeben von P. J. Cools OP. Für die deutsche Ausgabe vorbereitet von P. Dr. Theodor Schwegler OSB. Olten und Freiburg im Breisgau, Walter Verlag 1965. Pp. 661 + 354.

The book under review is intended to serve as an encyclopedic manual which should enable the reader to acquire deeper understanding of the Bible and which can provide necessary guidance in complicated problems of this unique work. It has been

compiled to meet mainly the needs of Catholic students of theology, preachers and educated laymen. It is very significant that such a book should appear just now when a back-to-Bible movement in the Church is stronger than ever and the obstacles standing in the way of more wide-spread Bible-reading are being removed.

The work does not claim to be an introduction to the study of the Scriptures, in fact it is far from being systematic enough to suit this purpose. It concentrates on problems which can puzzle an attentive reader looking for scholarly explanation and guidance. The authors rightly maintain that no understanding of the Scriptures is possible without adequate knowledge of the world of their origin. To provide such a knowledge is the task that they do their best to fulfil. In its original Dutch version the work has been a success and the German translation makes it accessible to a far larger audience.

The authors have divided their work into three parts. The first (*Das göttliche und menschliche Buch* pp. 27—211) specifies the place of the Bible as one of the foundation stones of Christianity. With regards to their confessional adherence the authors had to be careful when dealing with groups of problems connected with official dogmas of the Church, such as the question of inspiration, veracity and sense of the Scriptures. To other topics of this character belong the problem of the canon, of apocrypha, the problem of the text and its translations, etc. The last chapter (*Kirche und Bibel*) gives a short account of the development of the attitudes of the Church towards the Bible since the Council of Trent.

The second part of the book is dedicated to the Old Testament (215—661). To start with, the authors introduce the reader into the world of its origin, giving the most important geographical data and a short survey of history of each of the countries involved. The basis for the actual evaluation of the text is provided by the analysis of literary forms and styles, a method which has been adopted by Catholic scholars comparatively late. The condemnation of the pioneer work of Richard Simon did not fail to have a retarding effect here. A comparatively smaller space is allotted to the history and religion of the Old Testament.

The third part, coinciding with the second volume, deals with the New Testament. The authors divide it into four thematic groups. The first of them (*Die Frohbotsschaft*) treats of the synoptic gospels, seen against the complicated background of contemporary society whose political and religious aspects are emphasized. The detailed account of the Epistles and the History of the Apostles is preceded by a statement of the growth of the Christian community to the universal Church. As the last item the works of John are dealt with in all their complexity and peculiarity.

Being a work of several authors, the book in many ways reveals inconsistencies in treating various items which are due to individual approach of particular scholars, some of whom give us a generally accepted picture of the problem while others try to promote new views and solutions.

*Jarmila Drozdíková*

Heinrich A. Mertens, *Handbuch der Bibelkunde. Literarische, historische, archäologische, religionsgeschichtliche, kultuskundliche, geographische Aspekte der Heiligen Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testamentes geboten für Unterricht und Predigt von...* Düsseldorf, Patmos-Verlag, 1966.

Ein altes Sprichwort lehrt: *Tempora mutantur et nos cum illis!* Dies bezieht sich nun vielleicht nicht nur auf den technischen Fortschritt, auch wenn man dies dort am deutlichsten sehen kann. Nein, dies betrifft alle übrigen Lebensgebiete, ja auch die Lebensanschauung des Menschen. Alles was von Raum und Zeit determiniert ist, ist von diesen abhängig und deshalb einer ständigen Verwandlung unterworfen.

Es ist ja so, wie wir dies in der Natur im Ablaufe eines Jahres sehen. Die weissen und kurzen Tage des schneieigen Winters mit den langen und finsternen Nächten, die heissen und langen Sommertage mit ihren hellen Nächten. Die langen Polartage und -Nächte und die regelmässigen 12-Stunden-Tage und -Nächte des Äquators. Und nicht nur astronomisch ändert sich die Natur um uns im Laufe des Kalenders, sondern mit ihr auch Flora und Fauna, und zwar nicht nur kalendarisch, sondern auch geographisch. Diese Tatsache ist auch dem nicht Geschulten nicht ganz unbekannt, dem Gebildeten ist sie ein Axiom.

Den letzteren ist auch das bekannt, dass sich sowohl die Flora, wie auch die Fauna im Vergleich mit der Urzeit wesentlich geändert hat. Vieles erzählen uns darüber Fossilien, die unsere Erkenntnis in dieser Hinsicht wesentlich bereichert haben. — Unterschiede können wir aber nicht nur im Verhältnis zur Urzeit, sondern auch im Verhältnis mit näheren Jahrhunderten und Jahrtausenden feststellen.

Wenn wir von diesen Feststellungen ausgehen, müssen wir auch alte Bücher von diesem Gesichtspunkte gesehen lesen. Und dieser Forderung gerecht zu werden ist nicht leicht.

Von dieser Regel dürfen wir auch die Bibel nicht ausschliessen, obzwar diese die Kontinuität mit dem Menschen durch alle Zeitalter aufrecht erhielt. Trotzdem verursacht ihre Sprache, namentlich in ihrem hebräischen Original, dem Leser manche Schwierigkeit, denn der ursprüngliche Wortlaut wurde fast eifersüchtig gehütet und blieb uns deshalb mit allen seinen Archaismen und ungewohnten Wörtern und Wortwendungen erhalten. Auch die farbenreiche Sprache der Parabeln und Beispiele ist dem heutigen Menschen bereits fern und nur schwer verständlich. Die historischen, geographischen, biologischen Verhältnisse haben sich im Laufe der Zeit weitgehend geändert. Und so kann man sich nicht wundern, auch wenn man den religiösen Aspekt ausser Acht lässt, dass man die Bibel nur mit einem entsprechenden Hilfsapparat verstehen kann. Sie ist nämlich dem heutigen zivilisierten Menschen eine Konfrontation mit dem Naturmenschen der biblischen Zeit, oder im besten Fall, mit einem Menschen um die Wende der Zeitrechnung, der jedoch auch unter ganz anderen Verhältnissen lebte, wie wir. Darum treffen beim Lesen der Bibel zwei sich fremd gegenüberstehende Welten aufeinander, zwei Menschen die — um ein Bild zu benutzen

— sich ohne Dolmetscher nicht verstehen können, denn sie sprechen zwei verschiedene Sprachen.

Und auch geschulte Menschen stehen beim Lesen der Bibel gar oft vor Problemen, denn selten vereinigt ein Mensch in sich die Kenntnis aller Hilfswissenschaften, die das Lesen der Bibel erfordert.

Deshalb kann man verallgemeinernd sagen, dass das Lesen der Bibel, ähnlich wie das Lesen anderer archaischer Bücher, ein begleitendes Kommentar erfordert, und dies im gesteigerten Masse.

Kommentare sind also erforderlich, jedoch sie erschweren gar oft das Lesen, denn sie arbeiten leicht in Weitschweifigkeit aus. So geht dann oft der eigentliche Kern oder Sinn des Textes verloren und der Leser verliert die Geduld. Mit den Kommentaren ist es fast wie mit einer Luxusjacht, ohne Wasser kann sich diese nicht bewegen, und wenn wieder die Wellen hochschlagen, drohen diese die Jacht zu verschlingen.

Man suchte diesen Nachteil der Kommentare durch Lexica zu beseitigen. Diese jedoch haben den Nachteil, dass sie oft zu bündig sind und so nur dem gebildeten Leser weiterhelfen. Auch gestatten die Lexica, wegen ihrer notwendigen Allgemeinheit, Fehlschlüsse.

Heinrich Mertens suchte in dem vorliegenden Handbuch der Bibelkunde einen Mittelweg einzuschlagen und die Vorteile des Kommentars mit den Vorteilen eines Lexikons zu verbinden. Man könnte dieses Handbuch als ein lexikalisches Kommentar zur Bibel bezeichnen.

Mertens betrachtet die Bibel objektiv in erster Reihe als historisches Sprachdokument, für welches dieselben Regeln gelten, wie für andere geschichtliche Dokumente. Dazu gehören: Textkritik, Literarkritik, Formgeschichte, Entstehungsgeschichte, Altertumskunde, Kenntnis der Geschichte, Geographie, Naturgeschichte, Kenntnis der Masse, Landwirtschaft, Handel, Bauwesen usw.

Das Handbuch Mertens bietet uns dies alles in gedrängter Form soweit wir dies im Zusammenhang mit der Bibel benötigen. Die einzelnen Themen sind mit den betreffenden Bibelstellen verbunden. So stellt Mertens die Ergebnisse langjähriger wissenschaftlicher Forschungen praktisch in den Dienst der Bibelkunde und löst die verschiedensten religiösen, politischen, sozialen, kulturgeschichtlichen, wirtschaftlichen, geographischen und alle anderen Probleme, auf die wir beim Lesen der Bibel stossen könnten.

Es würde den Rahmen einer Rezension überschreiten, die einzelnen Hauptkapitel des Buches zu analysieren. Ich will diese jedoch anführen, um eine bessere Orientierung über das Buch selbst zu ermöglichen. Es sind folgende:

- Zur Literaturgeschichte der Bibel,*
- Zur biblischen Zeitgeschichte,*
- Religionsgeschichtliches zur Bibel,*
- Zur Kulturgeschichte der Bibel,*
- Geographisches Lexikon.*

Im zweiten Teil folgen Perikopen der Bibel (sowohl altes wie neues Testament).

Das Buch schliesst mit einem Stellenregister und einem ausführlichen Verzeichnis der Personen, Orte, Wörter und Sachen.

Mertens bemüht sich um eine aufrichtige und achtungswürdige Objektivität (wenn auch sein religiöses Bekenntnis erkennbar ist).

Man muss anerkennend sagen, dass dieses Buch auf einem gedrängten Raum dem Leser den inneren Inhalt der Bibel aufschliesst.

Man könnte auf verschiedene kleine Mängel (wenigstens diskutabel Unzulänglichkeiten) hinweisen, doch sind diese wahrscheinlich der Gedrängtheit der Zusammenstellung zuzuschreiben. Sie stören jedoch den Gesamteindruck auf keinen Fall.

In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich hier z. B. nur auf das Fehlen der Zahl Fünf in Verbindung mit der Zahlsymbolik hinweisen. In der Bibel sehen wir, dass ein Fünftel der Ernte abgegeben werden musste (Gen. 41, 34), Benjamin erhielt von Joseph fünf Kleider (Gen. 45, 22), Fünf Brüder mussten zur Audienz vor Joseph kommen (Gen. 47, 2), Jessaja erwähnt 5 Städte (Jess. 19, 18), Joseph schickt dem Vater  $2 \times 5$  Esel (Gen. 45, 23). — Auch wenn die 5 im Zusammenhang mit Joseph ein ägyptischer Einfluss sein könnte, denn in Ägypten gehörte die 5 von jeher zu den heiligen Zahlen, hätte sie eine Erwähnung verdient. Die Hervorhebung der 5 beim Menschen ist leicht verständlich: der Mensch hat den Kopf, zwei Hände und zwei Füsse — also fünf Ansätze an seinem Körper, er hat auch an den Händen und Füßen je 5 Finger. Auf die Bevorzugung der 5 weist auch der Umstand hin, dass das Dekalog auf 2 Tafeln zu je Fünf Geboten geschrieben war.

Dies ist jedoch nur eine kleine Ungenauigkeit. Vielleicht könnte ich noch einige anführen, doch auch diese würden den Wert dieses Buches nicht beeinträchtigen. Denn dieses Buch hat den unbestreitbaren Vorteil, dass es den wissenschaftlich orientierten und interessierten Leser in die Höhe hebt, und so diesen die Bibel aus weiter Sicht und als Ganzes in ihrem weitesten Zusammenhang verstehen lässt. Um ein Talmudwort dafür anzuwenden, ist dann der Leser, wie ein Zwerg auf dem Halse eines Riesen und kann das Ganze überblicken, was ihm sonst nicht möglich wäre.

Und wenn ich anfangs sagte, dass Mertens hier die Vorteile des Lexikons den Vorteilen des Kommentars anreicht, so ist dies ein Vorteil, denn beim Benützen dieses „Lexikons“ droht dem Leser keine Gefahr Fehlschlüsse zu ziehen, wie dies bei der Allgemeinheit der Lexica sonst leicht möglich ist. Ich glaube jeden, der zu diesem Buche greifen wird, versichern zu können, dass er dem Verfasser dankbar sein wird.

*Elias Katz*

Hellmuth Frey, *Das Buch der Anfänge*, Kapitel 1—11 des ersten Buches Mose; *Das Buch des Glaubens*, Kapitel 12—25 des ersten Buches Mose; *Das Buch des Kampfes*, Kapitel 25—35 des ersten Buches Mose; *Das Buch der Führung*, Kapitel 36—50

des ersten Buches Mose. Stuttgart, Calver Verlag; 1958, 170 S.; 1964, 207 S.; 1964, 191 S.; 1964, 232 S.

Die angeführten Bücher untersuchen alle das erste Buch Mose. Dies war auch der Grund, warum ich um ein Rezensionsexemplar ansuchte, da dieses Buch einen Hebräisten immer interessieren muss.

Nun kann man über die Bibel und ihre einzelnen Bücher von den verschiedensten Standpunkten ausschreiben. Man kann den Text untersuchen, man kann eine wissenschaftliche Übersetzung bringen, man kann die historischen Tatsachen werten, man kann die Bibel philosophisch auswerten, man kann sie theologisch untersuchen, homiletisch erklären, usw.

Es ist sicher, dass einen Hebräisten nicht all diese Aspekte gleich interessieren können. Ein Buch soll man aber vor allem vom Gesichtspunkte des Verfassers gesehen bewerten, wenn man es gerecht rezensieren will.

Hellmuth Frey stellte sich eine schwere Aufgabe, die Bibel als Ganzes, also in ihrem inneren Zusammenhang dem heutigen Menschen zu erklären. Er will aus und durch die Bibel eine einheitliche Haltung des gläubigen Menschen zum Leben gewinnen, eine Antwort die aus dem Worte Gottes abgeleitet ist.

Bei seiner Arbeit legt er den Schwerpunkt

1. auf eine theologische Auslegung des Textes
2. auf eine theologische Besinnung mit einem Blick in die Gegenwart
3. auf einen biblischen Ausblick, um die so erreichten Erkenntnisse für eine Gesamtschau der biblischen Offenbarung zu verwerten.

Wie Frey selbst betont, rechtfertigt diese Zielsetzung einen Verzicht auf wissenschaftliche Einzelbelege und Untersuchungen. Auch auf textkritische Fragen und in ihrem Zusammenhang auf eine Kritik der Übersetzung verzichtet Frey und benützt meist den Luthertext (mit Ausnahmen einiger Stellen, wo er besondere Gedanken hervorheben will).

Diesen Zielen unterordnet Frey sein ganzes Streben, wie dies aus den einzelnen seiner Bücher hervorgeht.

Im Buche der Anfänge, welches er in 6 Abschnitte (Schöpfung, Paradies und Sündenfall, Kain und Abel, Die Auswirkung des Fluches, Sintflut, Die Völker und die Geschichte) teilt, sucht er über die Schöpfungsordnung hin, durch die Fluchordnungen und durch die Beweise der erhaltenden Geduld Gottes auf das All und das Leben im Lichte einer lebendigen Gottesbeziehung hinzuweisen.

Das Buch des Glaubens will auf Abrahams Beispiel und Leben, auf das Wesen des Glaubens hinweisen. Es ist ein Ringen eines höchst menschlichen, ja allzu menschlichen Menschen um das Erkennen Gottes, der sich selbst nicht verleugnen kann. Dieses Buch hat vier Abschnitte (*Glaube als Aufbruch*, *Glaube als Gewissheit*, *Glaube als Umgang mit Gott*, *Glaube als Erfüllung*), welche den Glauben als wagenden Aufbruch des Gehorsams, als unwahrscheinliche Gewissheit des Kommenden, als reden-

den Umgang mit Gott und als begnadende Erfüllung für die sich Hingebenden behandeln.

Das Buch des Kampfes schildert eigentlich das Leben Jakobs. Der Verfasser teilt Jakobs Kampf in drei Abschritte (Kampf als Vermessenheit, Kampf als Knechtschaft, Kampf als Bekehrung). Am Beispiel Jakobs erklärt Frey ein Urbild des Kampfes zwischen Gott und Mensch. Er weist auf Jakobs vermessenen Griff nach dem Erstlingssegen hin. Damit beginnt eine Auflehnung wider Gottes Gedanken. Gott straft ihn mit Knechtschaft. Doch in einer völligen Übergabe an Gott kommt der Streit zwischen Gott und Mensch zur Ruhe und Jakob kämpft weiter nicht gegen, sondern im Dienste Gottes. Diese Auslegung bringt die viel angegriffene Jakobs-Geschichte und bemüht sich, auf verschiedene tiefe Wahrheiten Gottes aufmerksam zu machen.

Das Buch der Führungen schildert den letzten Teil der Genesis. Frey unterstreicht dabei die wunderbare Art, mit der Gott sein Volk zu den ihm bestimmten Zielen führt. Er teilt den Kern des Buches in vier Abschnitte (*Führung als Kreuz*, *Führung als Seelsorge*, *Führung als Versorgung in der Fremde*, *Führung als Segensplan*) und hebt plastisch durch die Handlungen der Josephsgeschichte die ewigen Linien des göttlichen Weltplanes hervor. Er zieht dabei Parallelen zur Gegenwart und zum Christentum und beweist, wie Gott auf verschiedene Art (durch Kreuz, Seelsorge, Begegnung mit Gott und durch seinen Segensplan) das Geschehen machtvoll zum Zielen führt. Das Buch endet mit einer eschatologischen Vision des Ruhebringers und Freudenkönigs, dem alle Völker zufallen. In diesem löst sich jeder Fluch, er erfüllt alle Verheissungen und an Stelle des Kampfes kommt der siegreiche Friede.

Diesem schematischen Inhalt kann man entnehmen, dass die vorliegenden Bücher Freys meine Erwartung als Hebräisten nicht erfüllten. Ich muss jedoch trotzdem dem Verfasser meine Anerkennung ausdrücken, auch wenn ich seine Ansichten nicht vorbehaltlos teile und auch nicht teilen kann.

Frey behandelt nämlich das erste Buch Mose nicht vom rein wissenschaftlichen Standpunkte aus, sondern vom Gesichtspunkte eines christlichen Theologen und darüberhinaus mit einer abgekreisten exegetisch-homiletischen Zielsetzung.

Allgemein kann man sagen, dass jedes Werk sein Werkstattgeheimnis hat. Dieses stempelt dann anderseits das Werk und macht es als Produkt jener Werkstatt erkennbar. Dies gilt auch für die geistlichen Produkte des Menschen, für das Wissen und für die Bücher, der Krone des menschlichen Strebens.

Diese Tatsache ist jedoch noch kein Mangel und bei einer gegenseitigen Anerkennung gestattet sie auch einen Vergleich entgegengesetzter Ansichten.

Schwerer wird dies jedoch dort, wo der rein wissenschaftliche Aspekt nicht mehr im Vordergrund liegt. Dort werden dann oft auch solche Dinge hervorgehoben, welche nicht alle bejahen oder verneinen können oder wollen.

In solchen Fällen entscheidet für eine positive oder eine negative Wertung der Aspekt des Kritikers. Ein einseitiger Kritiker betrachtet dabei nur seinen Standpunkt

ein objektiver Kritiker versucht sich in den Ausgangspunkt des Verfassers einzuleben.

Deshalb hielt ich es für notwendig, gleich anfangs den Ausgangspunkt Hellmuth Freys zu betonen, denn wenn ich auch von meinem Standpunkt aus gesehen nicht in Alem mit einverstanden sein kann, so will ich hier betonen, dass Frey die Aufgabe, die er sich stellte, erfüllt hat und dass also der Leser, dem er diese Buchreihe bestimmte, mit dem Buche zufrieden sein muss.

Anderseits möchte ich auch darauf hinweisen, dass über die Bibel und ihre einzelnen Bücher zu schreiben, eine sehr schwere Aufgabe ist. Wenn man sie nämlich historisch betrachtet, verliert man leicht an Aktualität, wenn man sie wieder aktualisiert, behandelt man oft die historischen Momente stiefmütterlich.

So betrachtet handelte Hellmuth Frey wohl richtig, denn da er das Buch den weitesten Kreisen unserer Mitmenschen bestimmt hat, sucht er in der Bibel Aktualität und den Kontakt mit der Gegenwart. Eine wissenschaftliche Analyse und Untersuchung des Buches Genesis überlässt er Fachbüchern, die einem engeren Kreis berufener Fachmänner vorbehalten sind. Und von diesem Gesichtspunkt gesehen muss man Freys Bücher als gelungen betrachten.

*Elias Katz*

D. Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, herausgegeben von D. Dr. Hugo Gressmann, mit einem Vorwort von Eduard Lohse. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1966<sup>3</sup>. XV + 576 S.

Wie schon der Titel des Buches ankündigt, ist das vorliegende Buch keine Analyse der jüdischen Religion als solche, sondern die Untersuchung einer Stufe der israelitisch-jüdischen Religion im Verlaufe ihrer langen Geschichte, und zwar gerade in einer sehr interessanten Epoche um die Wende unserer Zeitrechnung.

Es ist ein sehr wertvolles Buch, dies beweist schon die Tatsache, dass es nach rund 40 Jahren (von der dritten Ausgabe) in einer unveränderten photomechanischen Ausgabe wiedererscheint. Bousset ist es mit dem sicheren Blick des Historikers gelungen, die treibenden Kräfte der Entwicklung der jüdischen Religion aufzuzeigen und das ganze Geschehen im Verlaufe dieser Epoche mitzuerleben. Er unterstreicht dabei mit Recht die Grösse der jüdischen Religion, die bei einem Vergleich mit der weitverzweigten Kultur des Hellenismus und dem bunten Gewebe der Religionsgeschichte alter Völker klar hervortritt.

Bousset beginnt seine Untersuchung mit einer Zusammenfassung der literarischen Quellen über die jüdische Religion. Darauf folgt eine Untersuchung über die Tendenzen der Religion und über ihre Formen (Kultus, Bibelkanon, Theologen, Kirche und Laien usw.). Viel Platz widmet er den religiösen Hoffnungen der jüdischen Religion. Einen beachtenswerten Abschnitt bildet die philosophische Untersuchung der jüdischen Religion (Monotheismus, Angelologie, Dämonologie usw.). Daran schliesst sich ein Abschnitt über Gott und Mensch (welches ethische Probleme behandelt).

Es folgen Abschnitte über Nebenformen der jüdischen Frömmigkeit und über das religionsgeschichtliche Problem.

Das Buch ist wirklich sehr belehrend und mit einem seltenen Überblick zusammengestellt, wie es die Benützung der Literatur beweist. Sehr wertvoll sind namentlich auch die Anhänge und das Vorwort von Eduard Lohse, dass auf Qumran hinweist und aus den neusten Forschungen Schlüsse zu dem gestellten Problem stellt. Umfangreich sind das Personen- und Sachverzeichnis, das Stellenverzeichnis und eine Zusammenstellung der wichtigsten Literatur.

Ich könnte hier meine Rezension abschliessen und das Buch Religionshistorikern, Hebräisten und allen, die dieses Gebiet interessiert, wärmstens anempfehlen. Bevor möchte ich jedoch ausführlicher einiges zu dem Kapitel Monotheismus sagen, welches sich auch weitgehend mit dem Gottesnamen befasst, über den ich selbst mehreres in meiner Studie HUAHA (Bratislava, SAV, 1967) geschrieben habe.

Im Zusammenhang mit dem Gottesnamen verdient der Name selbst eine Beobachtung. Allgemein spricht man, dass das Judentum verschiedene Gottesnamen kennt und benützt. Jedoch als eigentlichen Gottesnamen kann man nur das Tetragramm JHW'Η ansehen. Dies darum, weil andere Namen, auch wenn sie keine Beinamen sind, auch von anderen Religionen verwendet wurden. Bloß der vierbuchstabige Name findet bei anderen Völkern keine analoge Verwendung, so dass er als eine eigentliche jüdische Prägung des Gottesnamens gewertet werden kann und muss.

Die übrigen Gottesnamen, die das Judentum im Laufe einer Jahrtausende umfassenden Zeitspanne benützte, könnte man in drei Gruppen zusammenfassen:

1. Namen, die auch auf andere Götter verwendet wurden,
2. Beinamen,
3. Decknamen.

Eine logische Folge dieser Feststellung ist, dass der jüdische Eigenname Gottes eine bevorzugte Vorrangstellung einnahm. Damit hängt dann zusammen, dass dieser Name mit einem besonderen Geheimnis umwoven wurde, von dem Bousset als dem Mysterium tremendum spricht. Diese Tatsache spiegelt sich auch in der Bibel selbst wider und ist durch alle Bibelbücher leicht zu verfolgen (in späterer Zeit führt dies dann zur Vermeidung des Tetragrammes auch in der Schrift, wie wir dies noch sehen werden).

An der Tatsache dieses Mysterium tremendum lässt sich nicht rütteln, doch bin ich mit der Begründung Boussets nicht voll einverstanden.

Bousset (S. 307) bringt dieses Mysterium mit der Stärkung und Wurzelfassung des Monotheismus bei den Juden in Zusammenhang. Er meint, dass die ausschliessliche Herrschaft des monotheistischen Gottesglaubens dadurch zum Ausdruck kommt, dass das Tetragramm allmählich verlorengeht. Dass bei den Juden das Tetragramm gemieden wurde, betrachtet er als Folge des Monotheismus, den Eigennamen für

Gott braucht nur der Polytheismus, um die einzelnen Götter voneinander zu unterscheiden.

Es stimmt, dass die Juden mit der Zeit die Aussprache des Tetragrammes immer mehr einschränkten und in der späthellenistischen Zeit fast ganz mieden, jedoch in der Schrift setzte sich dies erst allmählich durch. Und dies ist schon ein Grund der gegen Bousset spricht, denn wenn allein das Durchgreifen des Monotheismus hier mitgespielt hätte, hätte man das Tetragramm in gleicher Weise sowohl in Wort als auch in der Schrift gemieden.

Weiter kann der Monotheismus nur dann einem Eigennamen für Gott entsagen, wenn der Monotheismus sich auf der ganzen Welt durchgesetzt haben wird und der Polytheismus ganz verdrängt sein wird. Dies traf aber für die späthellenistische Zeit durchaus nicht zu und deshalb brauchte auch der Monotheismus einen Eigennamen für Gott und dies, wenn auch nicht aus inneren Gründen, so aus äusseren, um den monotheistischen Gott von den polytheistischen zu unterscheiden. Nur wenn alle Menschen unter dem Begriff und Namen Gott, den einzigen und alleinigen Gott verstehen werden, also sozusagen Gott kat exochen, nur dann wird man auch auf einen Eigennamen Gottes verzichten können. Wenn dies aber nicht der Fall ist, braucht man einen Eigennamen, um den Begriff Gottes zu präzisieren.

Schön spricht für diese These der Zachariasvers 14,9: „Und es wird geschehen an jeden Tagen ... und es wird J'HWH zum König sein über die ganze Erde; am selben Tag wird Gott einer sein und sein Name ein einziger.“

Dieses Zitat beweist, dass es nicht genügt, wenn nur ein Teil der Menschheit den Monotheismus bekennt, aber auch, dass in eschatologischer Zukunft, wenn der Monotheismus alleinig sein wird, ein Gottesname, und zwar JHW' H, bestehen bleiben wird.

Das Entstehen des Mysterium tremendum ist nichts übernatürliches. Etwas analoges sehen wir schon bei berühmten Männern und wir müssen, um die Tatsache zu erklären, nicht einmal auf die Theologie und Theosophie zurückgreifen. So berichtet zum Beispiel Philo über Pythagoras (Quod Deus sit immutabilis, ed. Ps. 2, 449): „Wenn man von Grossen spricht, nennt man nicht deren Namen, sondern spricht respektvoll „Er“. Es wird bei dieser Gelegenheit in Erinnerung gebracht, dass die Schüler des Pythagoras von ihrem Lehrer das Respektvolle „Er hat es gesagt“ gebrauchen!“ — Dieses Nichtnennen des Namens ist also schon bei Menschen wie andere, die aber besonders geehrt sind, eine Art der Ehrerbietung.

Praktisch kann ich also Bousset nicht recht geben, im absoluten Sinne jedoch ist für eine alleinige monotheistische Weltanschauung ein Eigename für Gott nicht notwendig. Darauf wies ich auch in meinem schon erwähnten HUAHA hin, wo ich bewies, dass Gott beim Urangfang nur mit einem schlichten „Er“ bezeichnet wurde und dies genügte, denn damals hatte dieser „Er“ noch keine Nebenbuhler.

Ich muss aber darauf hinweisen, dass dieses „Er“ des Urangfangs von dem „Er“,

das man als Folge des Mysterium tremendum betrachten muss, streng zu unterscheiden ist.

Im Uranfang ist es eine Konsequenz der facta, die noch keinen Eigennamen für Gott fordern, ja diesen überflüssig machen, später — als Folge des Mysterium tremendum, ist es der Ausdruck der monotheistischen Heiligung des Gottesnamens.

Für diese Auffassung spricht die Bibel selbst. In Genesis 1,1 lesen wir schlicht: „Am Anfang schuf Gott den Himmel und die Erde.“ Hier wird also kein Eigenname benutzt, denn bei der Erschaffung der Welt war der totale Monotheismus eine Tatsache.

In Exodus 20, 2 jedoch lesen wir: „Ich bin J'HW'H, dein Gott, der dich aus Mizraim, aus dem Sklavenhaus herausgeführt hat.“ Hier, in der Umklammerung der polytheistischen Völker, legt sich Gott selbst seinen Eigennamen bei, um das historische Ereignis zu unterstreichen und um keine Zweifel aufkommen zu lassen.

Dies kommt auch beim Dekalog zum Ausdruck. Im Laufe der Zeit hatten sich die Menschen verschiedene Götter geschaffen und deshalb musste der wahre Gott einen Eigennamen sich zufügen. Diese Feststellung ist die klare Antwort auf die Verwunderung des Philosophen Juda Lewy (in seinem Chusari u. a.), warum das Dekalog stillschweigend über die Erschaffung der Welt hinweggeht und nur die Befreiung aus Mizraim betont. Dort wurde nämlich Gott ohne Eigennamen, hier jedoch mit seinem Eigennamen erwähnt.

Die Benützung eines Eigennamens für Gott war also Folge der Entwicklung und setzte sich erst später durch. Darauf weist auch Exodus 3, 13—15 hin: „Moses fragte Gott wiederum: Wenn ich zu den Israeliten komme und ihnen sage, der Gott eurer Väter sendet mich zu euch und wenn sie mich fragen: Wie heisst er denn? Was soll ich antworten? ...“ Gott antwortete dem Moses: Ich bin, der ist... Der Herr, der Gott eurer Väter, der Gott Abrahams, Isaaks und Jakobs, hat mich zu euch gesandt. Dies ist mein Name in Ewigkeit und meine Benennung von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht.“

Diese Stelle betont eindeutig, dass bis zu dieser Stunde Gott keinen Eigennamen hatte.

Wie dies selbst Bousset zugibt und wie ich dies im HUAHA ausführlich bewies, wurde der Gottesname zuerst in der Aussprache gemieden. Dass in gleicher Art nicht auch das Schreiben gemieden wurde, ist die Folge des Mysterium tremendum und ein Beweis gegen Bousset, der dies dem Umgreifen des Monotheismus zuschreibt. Wenn dies der Fall gewesen wäre, hätte man den Eigennamen in gleicher Weise in Wort und Schrift gemieden.

Ich meine, dass das Mysterium tremendum in erster Reihe die Frucht der religiösen Ehrfurcht ist. Im weiteren und indirekt ist es die Folge des Monotheismus, denn erst dieser brachte eine Ehrfurcht erregende Vorstellung von Gott mit sich. Im gewissen Sinne hängt also das Vermeiden des göttlichen Eigennamens doch mit dem Umgreifen des Monotheismus zusammen. Der Weg führt also vom Hua, über den Eigennamen zum ehrfurchtvollen Huaha zurück.

Dieser Zusammenhang lässt sich dann verstehen, warum z. B. die Qumraner mit Vorliebe das Huaha benützen. Dieses entwickelte sich, wie ich dies bewies, aus dem Schema, dass gewissermassen als Parole des Monotheismus betrachtet werden kann— und deckt sich phonetisch mit dem altvertrauten Hua, der monotheistischen Anfangsperiode. So vereinigt es in sich auch die Schlichtheit und Einfachheit, welche den Qumranern im hohen Masse eigen war und durch welche sie den Essenern nahe standen.

Abschliessend möchte ich noch bemerken, dass bei der Frage der göttlichen Namen Bousset richtig auf die verschiedenartige Benützung in den einzelnen Bibelbüchern hinweist. Dies hängt aber nicht so sehr mit der Verbreitung des Monotheismus, welcher ja das charakteristische Merkmal des Judentums ist und dem Mysterium tremendum, dass sogar im Dekalog verankert ist, zusammen, sondern ist vom Verfasser abhängig und von dem Kreis und der Epoche, denen dieser das betreffende Buch bestimmte. So beweise ich in HADAROM (1968), dass die Esterrolle und das I. Makkabäerbuch gemeinsam den Gottesnamen umgehen (das eine mehr, das andere weniger) und den Eigennamen ganz meiden. Dies muss man wahrscheinlich auch damit begründen, dass diese Bücher nicht ausschliesslich für Juden bestimmt waren, sondern sich auch an Leser ausserhalb des Judentums wendeten. Die Verfasser wollten so der Verunehrung des göttlichen Eigennamens Schranken ziehen. Und so waren es dann hier wahrlich monotheistische Tendenzen, die dazu führten und deren Verwirklichung die Verfasser auch sahen.

Soviel zu einem Teilproblem in Boussets „Die Religion des Judentums“. Andere würden vielleicht auf Anderes aufmerksam machen, aber nur dann, wenn sie ein gewisses eng umgrenztes Problem wirklich intim beherrschen. Dem wissbegierigen Leser ist aber der Beitrag Boussets eine wahrliche Fundgrube und eine aufschlussreiche Belehrung.

Elias Katz

Arthur J. Arberry, *Modern Arabic Poetry. An Anthology with English Verse Translations.* (Cambridge Oriental Series No. 1.) Cambridge University Press 1967. Pp. 8 + 72 + 72.

Arberry's Anthology appears now in reprint edition having been published for the first time in 1950. It is a record of a series of weekly discussions held at the School of Oriental and African Studies during the academic year 1946—47 when the author was supervising the advanced studies of a group of students originating from various Arab countries. Poems included in the Anthology have been composed by Arab poets in a period posterior to 1920.

The book is divided into two parts: English translation of the poems incorporated (1—72) and their Arabic originals (1—72). The selection of poets made by A. J. Arberry, is skilful indeed, and so is the English translation.

Geographically, the following countries are represented in the Anthology: Bahrain,

Hejaz, Aden, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, and Morocco. Furthermore, some attention is paid to literature of the Arab emigration in the United States and South America.

The author has largely succeeded in selecting items that faithfully reflect general tendencies of modern Arabic poetry. Apart from being an excellent manual for students of Arabic, the book will be a real discovery of a new world of thought for the common reader.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

A. Murtonen, *Early Semitic. A Diachronical Inquiry into the Relationship of Ethiopic to the Other So-Called South-East Semitic Languages* (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, Edited by G. F. Pijper). Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1967. Pp. X + 74.

The present study of Murtonen's<sup>1</sup> advances a somewhat audacious counter-argument to the widely-accepted thesis that Ethiopic and South Arabic form a dialectal unity within the Semitic family, since the Proto-Semitic period.

On the ground of his investigation of the early history of some North-West Semitic languages, Murtonen comes to the conclusion that many characteristics, which have been regarded as specific to Ethiopic and South Arabic, are shared by North-West Semitic as well. In accordance with this general assumption, Murtonen examines a number of phonological and morphological features of Ethiopic and South Arabic and concludes 'that South Arabic, Soqotri, and Ethiopic have been developing independently of each other since the Proto-Semitic period, and that the connection between North and South Ethiopic also has been minimal from those days until less than a millennium ago and that at least some of the modern South Arabic languages do not derive from the epigraphically attested ancient South Arabic dialects' (73—4).

Murtonen's hypothesis will, no doubt, provoke a wide scholarly discussion which is very likely to provide more evidence on the matter.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Wolfdietrich Fischer, *Die demonstrativen Bildungen der neuarabischen Dialekte. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Grammatik des Arabischen.* 's-Gravenhage, Mouton et Co. 1959. Pp. VIII + 221.

It is generally known that written records of the old Semitic languages are preserved in a form that answers the needs of linguistic analysis in a rather unsatisfactory way only. In view of the prevailingly consonantal graphic systems of Semitic, scholars of Semitic, mainly those concerned with historical and contrastive studies, that is

<sup>1</sup> Murtonen is predominantly concerned with the early history of Hebrew, and he is now preparing a book "Hebrew in Its West Semitic Setting." Apart from his Semitologic research work (see also *Broken Plurals*, Leiden 1964), Murtonen has also been associated with investigations of Central Australian languages.

those for whom the written records are often the last rescue, invariably face two kinds of problems: their sources are either 'vowelless' at all or provided with a more or less conservative voweling, no matter whether a sort of scriptio plena or other sort of secondary vocalization is involved. In this atmosphere of vagueness and uncertainty the systematic study of spoken vernaculars provides useful parallels and in many cases largely participates in clearing up some problems. The study of the modern Arabic dialects is of particular importance. Since the present stage of their linguistic evolution parallels in many respects that of the old Aramaic dialect cluster (striking similarities in phonology, morphology, etc.), the comparative study of particular colloquial variants of Arabic is highly relevant not only to the study of the linguistic history of Arabic but, in some respects, to the comparative study of Semitic.

In spite of all this, there is no comparative account of the modern Arabic dialects available so far. Fischer's work is such an attempt, focussed on various types of demonstrative formations and their distribution in particular colloquial variants of Arabic.

The book includes a preface (*Vorwort*, V—VIII), an exhaustive bibliography which contains, besides the author's sources, also a great number of items supplementing Cantineau's bibliography<sup>1</sup> (*Bibliographie*, 7—31), key to transcription (*Transkription*, 33—34), an introduction (*Einleitung*, 35—39), and the following chapters: A. Demonstrative Adjectives and Pronouns (*Die nominalen Demonstrativa*, 41—114); B. Local Demonstratives (*Die lokalen Demonstrativa*, 115—131); C. Modal Demonstratives (*Die modalen Demonstrativa*, 132—142); D. Temporal Demonstratives (*Die temporalen Demonstrativa*, 143—156); E. Demonstrative Sentence Introducers (*Demonstrative Satzeinleitungspartikeln*, 157—201). As evident from the examples quoted, the sections B-E deal with various types of what is usually called particles or adverbs in grammars of Arabic (viz. *hina*, *dilwa't*, etc.). At the end of the book there are three dialect maps and a very useful survey of all quoted items throughout the book.

The book includes an amazingly vast range of data on demonstratives extracted from all that was published on the subject by that time. On the ground of this wide evidence the author was able not merely to provide a nearly complete account of demonstratives in terms of their genetic relationships as well as their actual geographic distribution, but he was able to venture a number of new generalizations, too. Thus, for instance, it was frequently assumed that the Aramaic *hāy* 'that' (sg. masc.) and *hāj* (sg. fem.) are etymologically related to the modern Lebanese *hay* 'these' (plur. com.), *hai* 'this' (fem.). Nevertheless, in the light of a sufficiently wide compara-

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<sup>1</sup> J. Cantineau, „*La dialectologie arabe*“, (originally published in *Orbis*, iv, 149—169 (1955); reprinted in *Études de linguistique arabe*, Paris 1960, 257—278.

tive material Fischer managed to prove that these forms do represent an internal Arabic development (\**hā-ū*, \**hā-ī*, cf. 54 ff).<sup>2</sup>

The author's belief that it is purposeful to assume a discoverable interdependence between the modern vernaculars and the Old Arabic dialects, although mitigated by recognizing the extremely involved linguistic situation which was due to the widespread mingling of the original Old Arabic dialects in the period of the great Arab conquests (cf. p. VII), does not seem to harmonize with the more recent views on this point. After the appearance of Ferguson's stimulating paper '*The Arabic Koine*'<sup>3</sup> and particularly in the light of Blau's works,<sup>4</sup> it seems to be more in accordance with the actual possibilities not to go beyond that sort of Arabic—in seeking a really discoverable and linguistically analyzable ancestor of the modern (sedentary) dialects—which originated among the urban population in the course of the great Arab expansion in the Seventh and later centuries A. D.<sup>5</sup> This being true, one is likely to accept some specific traits of exactly this linguistic stage of Arabic (referred to in Ferguson's Koine and Blau's Middle Arabic) as relevant to the study of modern Arabic dialects as well. When having in mind the typological distinction between Urban and Bedouin varieties of Arabic at this stage of linguistic evolution of Arabic, the validity of the afore-mentioned relationship will have to be accepted for the modern sedentary dialects at least. When viewed from this point of view, one may find it of interest to draw some parallels between data collected by Fischer and their counterparts in Middle Arabic. One of a number of common features is apparently the frequent merger of genders with types of demonstratives (viz. some dialectal genderless reflexes of the Semitic \**dā*, \**dī*, cf. Fischer, 57, 71, etc.) in both Muslim and Jewish (presumably also Christian<sup>6</sup>) varieties of Middle Arabic. On the ground of the evidence provided by Blau, *hādā*, in early Muslim Middle Arabic, is used to designate not only masculine, but also feminine, e.g. *wa hādā l-cašara d-danānīr* 'and these 10 dinars' (Grohmann, *Pap. Eg. Libr.*, i. 109.4 (A.D. 847)), *hādā d-dār* 'this house' (ib., ii. 3.5 (A.D. 932-3)), *hādā l-asmā* 'these names' (Ibn Wahb, 7.8), etc. And vice-versa, the use of *hādihi* instead of *hādā*, e.g. *hādihi n-nisf faddān* 'this half an acre' (Dietrich, *Briefe*, 50.6 (ninth century)), etc.<sup>7</sup> Much the same situation was in Judaeo-Arabic, viz. *hādā t-tawārih*, *hādā s-ṣūra*, on the one hand, and *li-hādihi l-makān*, on the other.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For etymology of these Aramaic forms cf. C. Brockelmann, *GvG* I, 57.

<sup>3</sup> In *Language*, 35. 616—630 (1959).

<sup>4</sup> J. Blau, *A Grammar of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic*, Jerusalem 1961 (in Hebrew); *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic. A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic*. Oxford U. P., 1965.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Blau, *Emergence*, 4; Ferguson, op cit., 617 ff.

<sup>6</sup> For further evidence viz. Blau's *A Grammar of Christian Arabic* which is appearing just now in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Louvain).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Emergence*, 130.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. ib., 112; the examples are quoted from *A Grammar of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic*, 62.

Fischer's material, carefully collected from a very large sample of literature, may be considered exhaustive relatively to the investigations carried on up to the date of the issue of the book. There is, however, at least one important dialect area our knowledge of which has been markedly furthered since that date: the Eastern Arabian dialects of the oil-producing countries lying along the Persian Gulf. On the ground of data provided by T. M. Johnstone after his field research in Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and Trucial Oman,<sup>9</sup> it is possible to offer an important refinement to the geographical distribution of demonstrative formations as traced by Fischer. While this area is represented in Fischer by some rather vaguely defined Omani data only,<sup>10</sup> with no Kuwaiti material at all, Johnstone's monograph (viz. fn. 9 above) offers exact information on particular members of the Eastern-Arabian group: *Kuwaiti* (*Dōsiri*), *Bahraini*, *Qaṭari* (with further distinction: coastal *hadari* dialects as opp. to South-Eastern Bedouin dialects), and the dialects peculiar to the Trucial Coast (*Dubai*, *Abu Zabi*, and *Buraimi*).

Recent years of dialectological investigations in the domain of Arabic have laid renewed stress on exploring linguistic features specific to religious communities within some regionally statable dialect areas. Remarkable results of Blanc's work,<sup>11</sup> applied to Mesopotamian dialect area (Baghdad and some other 'comunally'<sup>12</sup> mixed towns of Lower Iraq) seem to speak in favor of the general validity of this procedure. That these 'communal' aspects may be of value to the treatment of demonstratives as well, is clearly shown in Blanc's study. Demonstratives organized along the Muslim-Jewish-Christian tripartition (viz. (M)*hāḍa*, (J)*hāḍa*, (C) *hāda* "this" (msc.); (M) *hāy*, (J)*hāyi*, (C)*hāyi* "this" (fem.), cf. CDB, 138 f) present a maximally realistic picture of this morphological domain in the area under description.

Naturally, these remarks are free from any disappreciative ring relatively to the way-giving depth-analysis of Fischer (a good deal of 'comunally' differentiated material is incorporated). They should rather express the present reviewer's hope that these and other procedural innovations, achieved recently, will participate in producing descriptions that will enable the future analysts to work with even more minute classificatory criteria than it was possible hitherto.

Fischer's book is the first fully successful attempt to give a comparative account of a deliberately restricted morphological domain of the modern Arabic dialects.

<sup>9</sup> „Some Characteristics of the *Dōsiri* Dialect of Arabic as spoken in Kuwait“, BSOAS, xxiv. 2 (1961), 249—97; „Further Studies on the *Dōsiri* Dialect of Arabic as spoken in Kuwait“, BSOAS xxvii. 1 (1964), 77—113; „The Affrication of "kāf" and "gāf" in the Arabic Dialects of the Arabian Peninsula“, JSS, viii. 2 (1963), 210—26; and quite particularly Johnstone's monograph *Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies*, Oxford U. P., 1967.

<sup>10</sup> Judging from the literature quoted Omani data are drawn from the coastal dialect (Jayakar) and the Bani Ḥarūṣ dialect (Reinhardt).

<sup>11</sup> H. Blanc, *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*, Cambridge, Mass., 1964.

<sup>12</sup> The term is used in the sense of Blanc's monograph.

The completeness of Fischer's data is that of the sources evaluated. The work is of first-rate importance for scholars of Semitic, Arabists and dialectologists.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

William A. Shack, *The Gurage. A People of the Ensete Culture*. London—New York—Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1966. Pp. XII + 222.

The study under review is based on the author's field research among the Gurage who occupy a part of Shoa Province in South-West Ethiopia, forming a small ethnographic enclave. It is a study of the social institutions and modes of life of the Gurage. The people speak a Semitic language and settle in numerous small kin-group villages in the southernmost range of the Central Ethiopian Plateau. The Gurage are sedentary agriculturalists intensively growing banana-like plant called "ensete", properly Ensete edulis. The cultivation of ensete constitutes the most characteristic feature of the whole South-West Ethiopia which the author terms "Ensete Culture Complex Area". This plant is of utmost importance for Gurage Society, moulding all its livelihood and dominating its structure.

As far as racial relations are concerned the author describes the Gurage as basically of Sidamo stock. The Sidamo possess a significant Negroid strain and speak a Cushitic language. During the centuries the Sidamo and Semitic Ethiopians, probably Christians who had invaded them in several ways from the Northern highlands, intermarried to produce the present Gurage.

Having traced back the principal formatives of the Gurage origins, the author gives us a survey of what is known about their history till the final establishment of the Amhara domination, resulting in the installation of a system of rule dependent upon the peasant labour and termed by the Amhara gäbär. This system, little different from serfdom, rested on complicated division of land into several categories, which had to support corresponding categories of official and dignitaries, both secular and religious. The gäbär system ended with the Italian occupation and was replaced by a more centralized system of government.

The actual aim of the book, the analysis of contemporary Gurage modes of life, naturally concentrates round two principal themes: the way of food production and the impact it imposes on Gurage society, and the system of the social organisation of the Gurage.

The minute account of the first topic is given against a wide background of exhausting geographical and ecologic information. All the aspect of ensete cultivation are treated with accuracy and all the components of Gurage economy evaluated. Besides the complicated system of ensete cultivation it is the cash-crop farming, the market system in connection with intertribal relations, and the labour migration.

The intricate system of kinship structure and the social organisation of Gurage required adequate methods of analysis. Here the author's attitudes are in many respects consistent with the thoughts of leading British scholars and the so-called

Manchester school. After a deep examination he classifies Gurage society as lacking centralized institutional leadership and, at the same time, as a society with a low degree of specialization of roles. The Gurage are patrilineally organized. On the whole, all sorts of relations within the social frame correspond to the principles of ties between local agnatic kin-based groups. The author characterizes the political system of the Gurage as segmentary, the religious system as centralized and dominating over the former. The basic territorial unit of the political organization being the clan district, the Gurage religious system cuts across its structure at all levels of lineage. Generally Shack's analysis of Gurage religious system supports the theory of a correspondence between the form of religion and the form of social structure, and the idea that social order is supported and strengthened by religious rites and sentiments. With the Gurage the ritual fulfills this role by overcoming the two main oppositions which are inherent to their society, namely the opposition of sexes and the segmentation of lineages.

The volume makes a substantial contribution towards the understanding of one segment of Ethiopian society and to the more general question of the existence of a land system such as Gurage and its integration with other economic and cultural systems.

The book is illustrated and richly provided with diagrams and schemes.

*Jarmila Drozdíková*

Emanuel Marx, *Bedouin of the Negev*. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1967. Pp. XV + 260.

The appearance of the volume under review is connected with the University of Manchester which has so far proved to be extremely rich in generating new ideas, concepts and works in the field of anthropology. It is the contemporary life of the Bedouin of the Negev that is the subject of this study. The argument is based mainly on the data collected during the author's field research in 1960—1961, but some corrections were made owing to the additional field work in 1963.

The author's aim is to treat his subject so as not to present human society as little more than a series of interdependent functions and links, but, on the contrary, to deal with it systematically. The author does not mean to sacrifice individuals to groups and institutions. He wants to show how the interests of the people are furthered and secured by mutual interaction between individuals and groups. The author observes every member of a tribe as standing in many varied and interlinked positions to other members of the group and tries to define and classify these relations. Only such an analysis can give us some insight into how this system works as a whole and what are the relations between its different aspects (ownership of land, annual movements of the Bedouin, organization of tribes, marriage patterns etc.). The main merit, however, consists in pointing out how a system, which has grown out of the

traditional background, is being adapted to meet changing conditions of life. This is demonstrated by many facts, though, on the whole, the author presents the Bedouin population of the Negev as an almost completely isolated ethnic group and abstains from giving more detailed information about their relations to the surrounding world above some essential data concerning administration, opportunities of employment, etc. The author's attention concentrates chiefly on the structure of a tribe and on problems connected with marriage. According to Marx it is the family which provides a frame for carrying on economic activities among the Bedouin. The tribe or sub-tribe functions as a political and territorial unit. A tribe is usually composed of people coming from different stocks who are divided into three traditional categories: Arabs (*carab*), peasants (*fallāhīn*) and 'slaves' (*cabīd*). There exists, within a tribe, a group of kinsmen which shares some characteristic features of both a family and a tribe or sub-tribe and for which the author coins the term 'co-liable group'. The term is meant to stress the main function of the group,— the mutual responsibility of the members of this group in matters of blood. The larger co-liable groups are composed of agnatic kinsmen and it is this group that provides a functional frame for each member of a tribe. After that the author follows the annual movements of the co-liable groups of both the Bedouin (Arabs) and the peasants and concludes that the contrasting camping habits of the respective groups are not due to ecological or economic factors but rise from the unequal distribution of landownership and show some influence of ideology.

The chief merit of the book consists in the analysis of marriage patterns. The crucial topic of marriage is dealt with in all its complexity. The marriage patterns are classified both according to the structure and position of the marriage in the group as well as to additional aims it has to fulfil. The Bedouin of the Negev exploit marriage very systematically. It is possible mainly because of the impossibility of pre-marital sexual experimentation and because, usually, neither men nor women can have a say in their future unions. Here again the author shows the differences between the marriage patterns among the Bedouin (Arabs) and the peasants. He deduces that the peasants use marriage within their groups as a means which can help them to overcome the insufficiency of their land-base. Constant intermarriage creates a network of mutual moral obligations that is effective in the struggle for survival and in the competition for land.

The Bedouin, on the other hand, use the marriage links predominantly to strengthen their political connections and only some of them are intended to serve economic purposes (the use of cisterns, the pasture, etc.). When analyzing marriage patterns, the author has introduced the term of section for a small group of close agnates who arrange a marriage after mutual consultation, following their common interest. In the last chapters of the book a more detailed characteristic of a section is given and the structure and function of a section and a co-liable group are compared. The author asserts that the existence of these groups is due to the administrative patterns valid

in the Negev today. To obtain help in the case of necessity, the Bedouin are induced to organize for political purposes. This organization takes the form of corporate sections and co-liaible groups which function on a basis of mutual responsibility for each member of the group. The membership is determined by common descent in the main line of one ancestor. These groups are not presented as perpetual units, but as groups undergoing change in connection with reproduction and replacement of their members.

The book is richly provided with diagrams and statistical data.

Marx's work is the kind of book which will be read with profit by sociologists, ethnographers and anthropologists.

*Jarmila Drozdíková*

Werner Keller, *Und wurden zerstreut unter alle Völker. Die nachbiblische Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*. München/Zürich, Droemer Knaur, 1966. 544 S., 210 Abbildungen und 10 Karten.

Das Buch, das wir in die Hände nehmen, hat sich das Ziel gesteckt, den breiten Kreisen der Leser das fast unbekannte Gebiet — die Geschichte der Juden in Diaspor zu nähern.

Ausser dem engen Kreis der Sachkenner wurde die ganze Problematik der Existenz der jüdischen Nation nach dem Untergang des jüdischen Staates mehr zum Gegenstand der feindseligen Angriffe und Vorurteile als der objektiven Würdigung. Diese Situation hat, ausser einigen Faktoren, vor allem die hundertjährige feindliche Stellung der Tochterreligion — des Christentums verursacht. Der Autor des Buches reagiert auf das grosse Interesse für die jüdische Problematik, das die Nachkriegsjahre gebracht haben. Es scheint, dass eine gewisse Wendung im Denken der europäischen Öffentlichkeit eingetreten ist, und dass die Kirche auch ihre Stellung geändert hat.

Das Buch umspannt den grossen Zeitabschnitt von der Zeit der Beherrschung von Palästina durch die Römer bis zur Zeit der Entstehung des neuzeitlichen Staates Israel. Es beachtet das Schicksal des jüdischen Volkes in der ganzen Welt, jedoch konzentriert sich auf die Geschichte der Juden in Europa, vor allem in Deutschland. Als Hauptfaktoren der jüdischen Geschichte jener Zeit betrachtet der Autor den Gegenstand der einheitlichen Judengemeinschaft und die religiöse, rassische, eventuell nationale Verschiedenheit des Millieus; fast während der ganzen Zeit des Lebens in Diaspor ist das jüdische Volk ein politisch passives Objekt der Geschichte. Der Widerstand der jüdischen Stämme gegen Mohammed ist bis jetzt der letzte Versuch dieser Art. Keller stellt vor uns die jüdische Gemeinde als eine gründliche Einheit, die sozial und ideologisch undifferenziert ist, er befasst sich viel weniger mit der Analyse der Bewegungen inmitten des Judentums (das Karäertum, Chassidismus). Bestimmt wäre es interessant festzustellen, in welchem Masse sich der Judaismus seine innere

Einheit aufbewahren konnte und welche Faktoren hier gewirkt haben. Es ist schade, dass das Buch mit solchem informativen Charakter keine ausführliche Erklärung der jüdischen Religion und Philosophie, sowie ihre Wirkung auf das europäische Denken gibt. Auch die jüdischen Riten, der Sinn einzelner Feste und die äusseren Weisen hätten allgemein eine ausführliche Verarbeitung erhalten können. Unserer Meinung nach könnten gerade solche sachliche Informationen helfen, viele Vorurteile und unterbewusste Antipathie zu beseitigen, die oft aus der unbekannten und ungewöhnlichen Situation entstehen.

Was die innere soziale Struktur der jüdischen Gemeinschaft betrifft, geht der Autor durch diese Struktur mit kleiner Beachtung. Wenig sagt er uns über die jüdische Familie, über die Stellung der jüdischen Frau, über die Gettoverwaltung usw. Auf der anderen Seite gibt er ein umfangreiches Material über die Verfolgungen der jüdischen Bevölkerung und darüber, was die einzelnen Angehörigen des jüdischen Volkes für die Entwicklung der europäischen Zivilisation auf den Gebieten der Wirtschaft, sowie im Geistesleben, in der Naturwissenschaft und Technik geschaffen haben. Besonders interessant für die Leser ist das Kapitel über das Zusammenleben des Judentums mit dem Islam und ihre gemeinsamen Verdienste an der Vermittlung der antiken Zivilisation an das mittelalterliche Europa.

Der Autor hat wohl absichtlich die Schilderung der Geschehnisse der Jahre 1933—1945 aufgegeben. Das ersetzt die grausame Tafel von der Abnahme der jüdischen Bevölkerung in den von Hitler besetzten Ländern. Das Werk endet mit der Schilderung der Geschehnisse, die mit der Gründung des modernen Staates Israel zusammenhängen.

Das Buch umfasst eine Menge von Illustrationen und Karten, die Übersicht der jüdischen Geschichte, die Auszüge aus Talmud und Midrasch, das Kurzlexikon und das Literaturverzeichnis. Beigelegt sind Personen- und Sachregister.

*Jarmila Drozdíková*

E. Werner, *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht — Die Osmanen. 1300—1481. Ein Beitrag zur Genesis des türkischen Feudalismus* (= Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte, Bd. 13). Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1966. 358 S. + 7 Karten.

Die Entstehung des Osmanischen Reiches, sein gewaltiger Aufstieg und in der letzten Zeit auch die Problematik des sogenannten osmanischen Feudalismus, sind schon vor Jahrzehnten das Forschungsgebiet und Interessensphäre der Osmanisten, Byzantinisten und der Historiker der allgemeinen Geschichte geworden. Den Aufschwung des Interesses um diese Problematik bezeugt auch die Tatsache, dass neben den Ländern mit grosser Forschungstradition auch in den Ländern ohne Tradition, auf diesem Gebiet neue Arbeiten zu erscheinen beginnen und thematische Konferenzen zu dieser Problematik veranstaltet werden.

Die Arbeit des Leipziger Professors E. Werner stellt einen Beitrag der deutschen

Wissenschaft zu diesen Fragen dar und bemüht sich, an die alte Tradition der balkanistischen Forschung in dieser Stadt anzuknüpfen. Das Buch trägt den Untertitel „*Ein Beitrag zur Genesis des türkischen Feudalismus*“, womit der Verfasser betonen wollte, dass es sich hier vor allen Dingen um die Darstellung und Lösung theoretischer Probleme der Entstehung des osmanischen Staates und seiner Begleiterscheinungen und nicht um einen Beitrag neuer Quellen und Materialien handelt. Obwohl die osmanische Geschichte nicht das Hauptgebiet der Forschungstätigkeit des Verfassers ist, beruhen die Vorzüge des Buches auf den Verallgemeinerungen eines weitsehenden Historikers, der nicht an den Details einzelner Erscheinungen und an dem Mikrokosmos der oft widersprüchigen Quellen haftet, sondern bemüht sich, der Arbeit einen synthetischen Charakter zu geben. Er benützt überwiegend Monographien und Studien, aber auch Quellen, insbesondere westliche. Er betrachtet vor allem die Probleme, die zu der Hauptfrage führen: Was war die Ursache des schnellen und stetigen Aufschwungs des winzigen Grenzbeylik der Osmanen?

Mit der bisherigen Forschung und Literatur hat sich der Verfasser in der Einleitung kritisch auseinandergesetzt. Hier bringt er eine kurze Übersicht der herausgegebenen türkischen Quellen, der westlichen Berichte und der slawischen und byzantinischen Quellen.

Es scheint uns, dass beim kritischen Bewerten der Beiträge einzelner Historiographien zu der gegebenen Problematik der Verfasser zu der türkischen Historiographie eine hyperkritische Stellung eingenommen hat. Es ist bekannt, dass man in der türkischen historischen Literatur, insbesondere in der neuen, viele Werke findet, die mit reichem Material ohne irgendwelche Tendenzen belegt sind. Er selbst stellt aber fest, dass man die türkische historische Literatur keinesfalls ignorieren darf. Der Schluss der Literaturübersicht gehört den französischen und deutschen Schriften, die für diese Problematik neben der türkischen Literatur zweifellos die wichtigsten sind.

Bei dieser Gelegenheit betrachtet der Verfasser auch die Aufgaben der internationalen Osmanistik und Balkanistik. Es sind nicht nur Herausgaben neuer Quellen, sondern vor allen Dingen ist es eine neue Interpretation der herausgegebenen Quellen mit einem Blick auf die bisher vermiedenen Gebiete (sozial-ökonomische Verhältnisse). Er betont auch die Wichtigkeit der Untersuchung der Staatswerdung primitiver Gesellschaftsformationen, als einer bedeutenden Aufgabe der Weltgeschichte.

Die zwei nächsten Kapitel „*Das seldschukische Erbe*“ (23—77) und „*Niederlage und Aufstieg. Die anatolischen Beylikler*“ (78—115) bilden die Einführung zu dem Hauptthema: Aufstieg der Osmanen. Ohne sie wäre es aber schwer zu erklären, wie die Osmanen in so kurzer Zeit ihr Staatswesen auf die Beine gestellt haben und es trotz verschiedener politischer Verwirrungen lange Jahrhunderte erhalten haben. Die politische und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung, die dortigen Staatsformen spiegeln sich dann auch in der Entwicklung des osmanischen Staates wider, und auch wenn nicht einseitig, doch bilden sie einen bestimmten Teil des Mauerwerks des späteren

osmanischen Bauwerks. Den Titel des Kapitels „*Das seldschukische Erbe*“ finden wir deshalb sehr treffend. Die einzelnen Entwicklungsperioden schliesst der Verfasser im Unterkapitel ein: „*Grenzkampf und Reichsgründung: Der Weg von Mantzikert nach Sivas und Konya*“, „*Staat und Gesellschaft im Sultanat Konya*“, „*Die Seldschuken und Byzanz*“, „*Äussere und innere Krise: Turkmenen, Mongolen, Sūfis, Bābā'is und Ahis*“. Das Ende des konyischen Sultanats, der ein Vasallenstaat des Ilchanreiches geworden ist, und das innere Sieden, vor allem die Infiltration des Sufismus und anderer Strömungen, haben die unselbständige Konya insofern abgeschwächt, dass die wirkliche Macht durch die Grenzfürstentümer übernommen wurde.

Das dritte Kapitel „*Niedergang und Aufstieg: Die anatolischen Beylikler*“ behandelt die Entstehung der Grenzbeylikler und ihre Entwicklung. Was die Regierungsform betrifft, handelte sich um ein Wiederaufleben vor— und frühfeudaler Formen, die sich so in der politischen Regierungsform (die herrschende Familie verwaltet die Provinzen) wie auch im Bodenbesitz und anderen Merkmalen äusserte. Die Grenzbeylikler haben von allen Seiten die Überreste des abgeschwächten byzantinischen Imperiums zernagt und der Hauptzweck ihrer Existenz war die Ghāzī-Idee. Die wichtigste Rolle in der weiteren Entwicklung hat aber Osmans Beylik gespielt.

Der Verfasser betrachtet die Ansichten auf die Entstehung des Osmanischen Reiches. Er lehnt methodisch die einseitige Erklärung dieser Erscheinungen ab und betont eine Vielzahl von verschiedenen Ursachen. Ausführlicher analysiert er die Ansicht M. Akdağs und G. Stadtmüllers, als eine einseitige Lösung dieser Frage. Er stimmt mit der Ansicht des türkischen Historikers Ö. L. Barkan überein, der „die osmanische Staatsgründung als Kolonisationsbewegung, besser vielleicht Landnahme, bezeichnet und in den Nomaden das konstituierende Element des entstehenden Staates sieht“ (S. 95). Eingehend betrachtet er auch das Problem von Ahis beim Entstehen des Reiches und setzt die Anschauungen der Forscher, die sich damit näher befasst haben, auseinander. Er selbst nennt sie „die ersten Vertreter eines gemässigten Hochislams am Hofe der Osmanen..., ein erstes Gegengewicht gegen die auf Bekehrung oder Tod erpichten Ghāzī und deren radikale Bektaşı-Derwische“ (S. 102). Er widmet sich auch den Militärfragen und in Beziehung zu ihnen den Anfängen der Staatsorganisation. Am Schluss des Kapitels fasst E. Werner die Reihe der äusseren und inneren Faktoren, die den Osmanen den Sieg gebracht haben, zusammen:

1. Die geographische Lage an den Ufern des Sangarios, wo er sich am weitesten dem Marmarameere näherte.
2. Die Nähe zu Byzanz und der dadurch verursachte byzantinische Widerstand (Verteidigung der Hauptstadt), wodurch sich das Expansionstempo verlangsamte und Osman und Orhan gezwungen waren, militärische Reformen und administrative Überlegungen einzuführen bzw. anzustellen, die die Eroberungen dauerhafter machten.
3. Die frühzeitige Einschaltung „ulemisierte“ Elemente als Gegengewicht zu dem

fanatischen Ghāzitum und damit die schöpferische Übernahme seldschukischen Kulturgutes.

4. Die rasche Erschöpfung der Ausdehnungsmöglichkeiten der Nachbaremirate gegen die „Ungläubigen“ und der Zustrom von beschäftigungslos gewordenen Ghāzis, die das Kriegspotential der Osmanen auf kleinem Raum unverhältnismässig anschwellen liessen.

5. Das Auffangen des turkmenischen Druckes an den Westgrenzen und die Einbeziehung der nomadischen Landnahme in die militärische Expansion, wodurch die türkische Nachschubbasis für die entscheidenden Phasen der Eroberung des Balkanraumes gesichert war.

6. Die organische Verbindung herrschaftlicher und nomadischer Landnahme mit dem volkstümlichen Islam der Derwische ši’itischer Färbung und die Einbeziehung dieser religiösen Führer und Vertrauensmänner der Turkmenen in Expansion und Kolonisation.

7. Die planmässige Absorbierung und Organisierung des griechischen Renegatentums im Heerwesen und die Weckung des Interesses adeliger und bürgerlicher Kreise an dem neuen Machtgebilde (115).

Die Umstände, unter welchen die osmanischen Türken auf den Balkan geraten sind, bezeugen die Tatsache, dass Byzanz nie ein genügend ernster Gegner der Angriffe kleinasiatischer Türken war und gegen sie nur eine Verteidigungspolitik führte. Der Verfasser stellt diese Probleme im vierten Kapitel „*Byzanz und die Türken*“, (116—149) vor. Dann verfolgt er die Beziehungen einzelner Schichten in Byzanz gegen die Türken und die byzantinischen Beziehungen zum Westen. Dieses Kapitel gehört zu den besten Teilen des Buches. Hier äussert sich der weite Überblick des Autors über die ganze europäische Problematik.

Der politische, ein halbes Jahrhundert dauernde Druck nach Westen brachte grosse Landeroberungen und es war notwendig, auch die innere Organisation gehörig anzupassen. Diese Entwicklung bis zu dem Wendepunkt bei Ankara wird im nächsten Kapitel: „*Der Kampf um die Feudalisation des Staates: Murad I. und Bayezid*“ (151—179) beschrieben. Die Veränderungen im Militärverwaltungsgebiet (die Einführung des Kadiaskeramtes, die neue Stellung der Beglerbegs, die Reorganisation der Provinzen) hatten die klare Absicht, die ursprüngliche Unabhängigkeit der Sandschakbegs vom Zentrum abzuschwächen und bei dieser Reorganisation zentrifugale Kräfte durchzusetzen. Diese Tendenz begann, unserem Erachten nach, bereits in dieser Zeit und dauerte bis zu den Zeiten von Mehmed II.<sup>1</sup> Die Politik des osmanischen Staates in der zweiten Hälfte des XIV. Jahrhunderts ist offensicht-

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<sup>1</sup> Nach der Behauptung von H. Inalcık geschah die Verlegung der Hauptstadt aus Brussa nach Edirne erst im J. 1401, nicht im J. 1365, wie es gewöhnlich tradiert wird, was auch E. Werner übernimmt (S. 153). Siehe H. Inalcık, *L'Empire ottomane. Rapport au 1<sup>er</sup> Congrès International AIESÉE*.

lich balkanisch. Es wird nicht nur von der Heftigkeit der Kämpfe, sondern auch von der Wichtigkeit, mit der die osmanischen Sultane die politischen Probleme in Rumelien beurteilt haben, bewiesen, was sich zuletzt bei Timurs Einfall in Anatolien zeigte. Bayezids Interesse um Anatolien kam verspätet und ungelegen. E. Werner bemerkt am Rand dieser Ereignisse sehr treffend: „Bayezid übersah den Entwicklungsunterschied zwischen Rumelien und Anatolien. Dem vollausgebildeten Feudalismus der unterworfenen europäischen Provinzen standen militärische Demokratie und primitiver Stammesfeudalismus in Kleinasien gegenüber. Im Westen galt das Vorgehen des Sultans als *ghāzīyat*, im Osten als Bruderkrieg und Tyrannie“ (S. 169—170).

Im nächsten Kapitel „*Antifeudale Reaktion: Die Zeit der Volksaufstände*“ (180 bis 218) entwirft der Verfasser die komplizierte Situation, die nach der Niederlage bei Ankara entstanden ist und beachtet die ganze Skala der Erscheinungen, die zu dieser Zeit zum Ausdruck kamen: den Zerfall der politischen Verhältnisse (Kämpfe zwischen Bayezids Söhnen), den Konflikt zwischen Anatolien und Rumelien, die antifeudale Opposition der Nomaden, die sozialen Strömungen Bedrettins Aufstandes, usw. Einen ganzen Teil widmet er der Politik der unabhängigen Staaten auf dem Balkan in der Periode der grossen Krise, und durch die Auseinanderlegung der Situation in einzelnen Ländern dokumentiert er Novičevs Ansicht von der Überlegenheit egoistischer Interessen des Adels dieser Länder über das gemeinsame Interesse, der türkischen Gefahr endgültig loszuwerden.

Die Epoche des Murad II. hat er als „*Expansive Restauration*“ genannt. Murads vorsichtige Politik hatte gewährleistet, dass sein Nachfolger den ganzen Prozess des Aufstiegs beenden konnte.

Nach Mehmeds Thronbesteigung (seiner Regierung ist das VIII. Kapitel „*Feudal Despotie: Mehmed el-Fātih, Pādišāh-i 'alem*, 246—304 gewidmet) wurden allmählich alle Strömungen in den Dienst des streng zentralisierten Staates gestellt. Der Autor analysiert seine militärische, politische und gesetzgebende Tätigkeit. Er stellt sich kritisch gegen die Idealisierung seiner Persönlichkeit in der Form eines Renaissancefürsten und betont die absolutischen Grundlagen seiner Macht. Er bemüht sich, zu solchen bedeutenden Erscheinungen, wie die byzantinisch-slawischen Einflüsse, eine objektive Stellung, ohne Unterschätzung oder Überschätzung dieser Komponenten, einzunehmen.

In der Zusammenfassung seiner Ergebnisse, die das letzte Kapitel „*Rückblick und Ausblick*“ (305—317) enthält, zeigt E. Werner die Entwicklung des osmanischen Staates als einen „gar einmaligen Weg eines barbarischen Eroberervolkes zum Feudalismus orientalischer Prägung“. Er lehnt die Ansichten einiger türkischen Historiker ab, die die Existenz der feudalen Beziehungen im osmanischen Reich bestritten (M. Akdağs Argumentation über die Abwesenheit der Jurisdiktion bei den Sipahis) und die Produktionsverhältnisse hält er für entscheidend bei der Beurteilung des Charakters einer Gesellschaft. Das Gesellschaftssystem des osmanischen Reiches hält er für feudal mit einigen Zeichen, die von der europäischen Gesellschaft verschieden

waren, vor allen Dingen das Monopol des Staates über den Boden, die rechtliche Unfixiertheit der Erblichkeit und der militärische Charakter dieses Feudalismus. Gegen einige Schlüsse kann man doch Einwendungen erheben: In dem betreffenden Zeitraum kann man schwer feststellen, dass der osmanische Feudalismus „zu den weltgeschichtlichen Beispielen gehört, wo Eroberer die fortschrittliche Entwicklung unterbrachen und für längere Zeit zu Regression und Stagnation überleiteten“ (S. 331). Das sind, unserer Meinung nach, Probleme eines späteren Zeitraumes.

Zu dem Buch sind eine reiche Liste der benützten Literatur und zwei Register beigefügt.

E. Werners Buch ist zweifellos ein Beitrag zu den untersuchten Fragen. Es bilanziert die neueste Forschung und es fehlt nicht einmal eine neue Betrachtung vieler Fragen. Vom technischen Standpunkt aus kann man die Uneinheitlichkeit der Transkription islamischer Namen (z. B. Nūr-al-Dīn, Rašīd ad-Dīn, Izuddīn, usw.) und die Transkription einiger Laute auf mehrere Weisen (c, ġ, dž, dsch) aussetzen.

V. Kopčan

Ronald Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Africa Since 1800*. Cambridge, University Press, 1967. Pp. 304 + 36 maps.

The nineteenth century in Africa was traditionally considered by historians to be a period of increasing European influence and power. This way of looking at the nineteenth century history of Africa, however, could be applied only to the latter half or perhaps the latter third of the last century.

The late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are undoubtedly the period of early European explorers of the Sahara region and other parts of the interior of the “Dark Continent”. During the previous three centuries European contacts with African peoples had been limited to hunting, collecting and exporting of slaves eagerly demanded by new rising overseas colonies. Nevertheless, with the exception of the French in the Senegal, the Europeans hardly ventured more than a dozen miles inland and continued to carry on the profitable trade with the help of the middlemen who through the Atlantic slave-trade acquired the longed for fire-arms. This trade advantaged the States on and near the coast that had easier access to fire-arms than those further inland and the use of fire-arms thus became one of the reasons for a considerable change in the balance of power among the rising forest and woodland States against the formerly more important inland States, a process carried much farther in the nineteenth century.

The actual “scramble” for Africa had not begun but by the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

“Africa Since 1800” is an effort of two distinguished scholars for a new, fresh approach to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries history of the whole Africa against the background of its previous development. Especially fresh approach is adopted to the

nineteenth century African history, geared specifically to the new history syllabuses throughout Africa.<sup>1</sup> As its authors, aware of the recent reappraisal of African history and mainly of the reappraisal of history teaching in Africa, state: "Measured on the time-scale of history the colonial period was but an interlude of comparatively short duration". But immediately they add that "it was an interlude that radically changed the direction and the momentum of African history" (p. 270). They try to steer a mid-way course between the two extreme tendencies to approach and interpret the colonial period, where the former unsound tendency of exclusive concentration upon European activities without paying the slightest attention to the African side of the story, was replaced by an even more unsound tendency to avert the eyes from this period and view it as just a short unfortunate interlude about which the less said the better. The authors pass as quickly as possible from a narrative of the early colonial period of resistance movements of the nineties to the nationalist independence movements of the forties and fifties.

Historians of the colonial period in Africa differ as to what sparked off the indecent rush, what the impulse for such a feverish partition of Africa by the European powers that this process was given the not very flattering but appropriate name "scramble". Their opinions seem to vary according to their country of origin, the European archival material they are most familiar with and the region of Africa they concentrated on in their specialist study to give preference in turn to Britain's presence in Egypt, the King Leopold's activities, the activities of de Brazza in the Bateke region, or the growing economic competition between France and Britain in West Africa as playing the vital role in this scramble.<sup>2</sup> The authors of the publication under review seem to uphold the opinion that all these facts played a major or a minor role. The entry of new powers, Germany and Belgium, in the early 1880s quickened the slow movement towards an Anglo-French partition of West Africa into "spheres of influence"; the broad pattern which that the partition was to follow had been laid down by 1875, King Leopold's designs however, did more than anything else to spark the scramble among European powers. Even before that time the French advancing inland up the Senegal valley and the British creeping along the Lagos and Gold Coast stretches of the West African shore came into conflict with the native African States, intervened

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the West African Examinations Council's new "A" level syllabus on African history.

<sup>2</sup> See, Ronald Robinson, John Gallagher, Alice Denny, *Africa and the Victorians*. London, Macmillan, 1961.

J. D. Hargreaves, *Prelude to the Partition of West Africa*. London, Macmillan — New York, St. Martin's Press, 1963.

H. Brunschwig, *L'Avènement de l'Afrique noire du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours*, Paris, A. Colin, 1963. And reviews of these works in *The Journal of African History*, vol. III, 1962, No. 3 and vol. V, 1964, No. 1 by C. W. Newbury, Jean Stengers, Henri Brunschwig and Ronald Oliver.

in their affairs, and British and French armies were involved in action against the armies of the local rulers, taking part in the disputes and supporting the claims of one or other rival pretenders to the throne. With the entry of these newcomers, the first of whom was in fact King Leopold II. of Belgium himself, the scramble for Africa had begun in earnest, the French occupation of Tunis and the British of Egypt in 1881 and 1882 respectively, being two of the opening moves in the partition.

The handling of the pertinent factual material concerning the period just before the "scramble" viewed from the African point of view against a background of the long period of development of African societies proves that here lie the roots of the future changes and the scramble though European history still remains an indispensable source of information to explain the causes and motives which dragged European powers into the rush for African colonies.

On reading this review one may wrongly get the impression that the division of the material concerning different parts of the continent is not well-balanced. An equally fresh approach, however, was adopted when dealing with the history of North and North-East Africa describing the failure of the Muslim world as a whole to make progress to have affected all parts of Africa, but especially the lands in the stretch north of the Sahara. When dealing with the Bantu Africa an explanation is given of the fact that the dense populations in the African subcontinent where political institutions developed and flourished most at the end of the eighteenth century, can be found to run with the exception of the Lower Congo basin—as a great crescent in the very middle of the subcontinent. In contrast to West Africa where African States were so closely in touch with the Muslim world and within the sphere of Muslim civilization that, in a sense, the whole of Africa north of the Equator can be considered as one whole, the Africa south of the Equator, excluding the coastal parts of East Africa, was completely free of the Islamic influence. Apart from the Zambezi Valley during medieval times, trade routes with the outside world deep within any part of Bantu Africa did not exist and, as far as we know, the Interlacustrine region, for instance, remained virtually cut off from the outside world until late in the eighteenth century. Another suggestion is made that although the Portuguese destroyed most of the African States with which they came into direct contact, yet similarly as in West Africa, through indirect effects of their presence, many States in the hinterland had grown up in response to the trade brought to Africa by the Europeans. As in West Africa, so in the hinterland of Portuguese Angola and Mozambique (p. 27) the opening of the Atlantic slave trade encouraged the building-up of African States.

Over half the book is devoted to the twentieth century yet it does not supply great mass of data, though an effort at a balanced unprejudiced and objective interpretation of the facts is conspicuous. Nonetheless, in this effort the authors seem to have sometimes sacrificed a more detailed information to a generalizing outline of post-war African development trends which may leave a less informed reader rather

disoriented in the jungle of recent events that have taken place on the African continent. Such a reader will of necessity have to turn to selected bibliographies carefully compiled by the authors for more inquiring readers.

A large number of good clear sketch-maps scattered throughout the book are one of its best features and together with well-chosen extracts from eyewitness accounts elucidate the text and thus go a long way in making of this publication a good and useful textbook which undoubtedly will be appreciated by every student of African history.

Different transliterations of some names, e.g. Cassanje x Kasanje (p. 43), Msilikazi x Mzilikazi (p. 59), could have certainly been avoided.

Viera E. Pawliková

Lucy Mair, *The New Africa*. London, C. A. Watts and Co., 1967. The New Thinker's Library. Pp. 226.

This new publication, rather modest in scope, by a well-known Africanist Dr. Lucy Mair was written with an intention to describe in a popular, easy to-read way the immense changes which have swept the whole continent since the coming of Europeans. During the last ten years nearly forty sovereign independent African states emerged on the world forum. Interested more in the consequences than the causes of this massive "transfer of power", she tried to assess the former by trying to describe and analyze the working of various institutions, interrelationships under the new radically changed conditions. The narrative material, parsimonious as it is in presenting data, may be sufficiently factual for a publication of this kind where a greater mass of data is sacrificed to a general overall outline of the recent trends of the economic and political development in Africa as resulting from the different approach of individual colonial powers to administering their territories.

It is, however, just partly true that "among the colonizing nations only the British contemplated a future in which their colonies might become independent nations" (p. 28). There was undoubtedly "a long list of precedents for the African territories to follow in the process of creating parliamentary governments to be manned by Africans" (p. 26), there were the examples set on the American continent, in India, Ceylon, the Caribbean colonies, still the "transfer of power" was in most cases and on the continent as a whole a precipitate and unexpected termination of European rule. Not only France, Portugal and Belgium, but Britain itself in the period of World War II did not anticipate that its presence and influence would be seriously challenged in tropical Africa for several decades to come. The Chattam House's massive pre-war survey of The Colonial Problem (1939) dealing with the subject from both the angles-international and administrative, i.e. the administrative methods to

be used by colonial powers in the territories they controlled,<sup>1</sup> was based on an implicit assumption that European authority over the colonial territories will continue for an indefinite period.<sup>2</sup>

In a short introduction to the problems to be dealt with, entitled *The Background of History*, the authoress in a couple of pages pictured "Life in Pre-colonial Africa" to serve as a necessary background for description of the impact of foreign religions and Africa's invaders resulting in the "Colonial Episode" and the "Scramble for Africa". Dr. Mair sees the causes of this sudden revolution as the British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury called it to originate initially from a change in the balance between French and British influence in North Africa, where Egypt as a stepping-stone to India played a key-position.

There were yet more changes in the original distribution of parts of African continent among colonial powers at a series of conferences in European capitals towards the close of the last century when the International Association's administration of the Congo came to an end and in 1906 the Belgian government took over responsibility for the Congo, and mainly after the First World War when certain European nations received a mandate to govern the former German colonies then occupied by the troops of alien nations "as a sacred trust of civilization on behalf of the world community represented by the League of Nations" (p. 25). After the partition of the African continent among the European powers when the competition for colonial possessions which promoted and intensified the existing conflicts between the major European powers ended, the problem remained of the social ends to be sought and methods to be used in administering territories under their control.

The two following chapters entitled "*Colonial Days*" and "*Decolonization*" respectively, are devoted to the description of the British, French, Belgian and Portuguese policies to their African colonies in the colonial period and the process of decolonization or the method of transferring power in respective territories.

To understand the different pre-war colonial policies one can either keep to the conventional text-book terms—French policy of "asssimilation" and "association", Belgian policy of paternalism and the like or reject these traditional terms as well as Hodgkin's terms of French Cartesianism, the policy of identity and paternalism,

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<sup>1</sup> The theme of much of the writing of the late Lord Lugard, his theory of colonial development, often called „Indirect Rule“, Miss Margery Perham, Lord Hailey, etc.  
See F. D. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*. Edinburgh—London, W. Blackwood and Sons, 1922.

M. Perham, *Native Administration in Nigeria*. London—New York—Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1937.

W. M. Lord Hailey, *An African Survey: a Study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara*. London—New York—Toronto, Oxford University Press, rev. ed. 1957.

See also Kenneth Robinson, (ed.), *Essays in Imperial Government*. Oxford. B. Blackwell, 1963.

<sup>2</sup> T. Hodgkin *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*. London, F. Muller Ltd., 1962, p. 9.

British Empiricism, Belgian Platonism<sup>3</sup> and so on and so forth in favour of a clear, straightforward description and simple presentation of the basic characteristic features of each particular policy. Undoubtedly it seems to be more efficient to avoid using dubious terms and simply state that "the governments of the British territories were formally modelled on the British parliament" (p. 32) and thus imply that the devolution of power from Westminster and Whitehall to the local inhabitants of dependent territory—the "Durham formula" was characteristic of the British policy, than to try to invent new dubious terms.

Though sometimes perhaps oversimplified, Dr. Mair's description of the post-war African developments, of the process of decolonization and the following chapters on the *New Political Institutions*, *Development in the New States*, *Foreign Relations* and the last chapter on *Unfree Africa*, could provide a general reader with some basic knowledge about Africa or at least suggest something of the tremendous changes which have taken place in Africa and the whirl of events which have blown over the whole continent.

Here the most perplexing problem seems to be to uncover the motivating forces and predisposing circumstances that make for the "Erosion of Democracy", single-party tendencies, a whole series of military coups, the relation between administration and political leadership leading to the direct participation by civil servants in party politics, i.e. the question of neutrality of civil servants and the problem of keeping civil servants out of politics or politicians out of the day-to-day business of administration, the curtailment of civil rights and authoritarian tendencies in African states, the use of government for party purposes and many, many other problems. Once independence was achieved, African leaders had to face the yawning gap between the expectations they had created and the limited capacities they had to secure their fulfilment. All this made the heavy dependence upon the external world and external aid inevitable. No matter what political symbols are emphasized, for African countries struggling with internal tensions and threats of separatism, political insecurity, external threats and the problem how to carry out their modernizing plans and achieve a higher standard of living, the goals are the same: stability and order, national unity and rapid modernization. The compulsory active and widespread mobilization of all human and material resources, "investissements humains", around centrally defined goals, which can be attained most effectively within an authoritarian political system, the heavy demands for sacrifices from the population makes the crucial problem for the new governments, as Dr. Mair put it elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> "how to be authoritarian enough to maintain stability and carry through their modernizing policies,

<sup>3</sup> T. Hodgkin, *ibid.*, pp. 29—59. He argues that the French pre-war colonial policy can best be understood in terms of the contrast between what Kenneth Robinson has called the policy of Paternalism, p. 34. See also K. E. Robinson, *Political Development in French West Africa* (in Calvin Stillman, *Africa in the Modern World*, Chicago, Chicago Univ. Press, 1955).

<sup>4</sup> L. Mair, *Social Change in Africa*. International Affairs XXXVI, Oct. 1960, p. 456.

and yet not so obviously oppressive as to provoke active or passive resistance". And if civilian régime fails, then there is a high probability that the military will intervene, though it seems the goals of the civilian policy-makers, bureaucracy and the army in African states are substantially the same.

Common as the goals may be, different leaders approach them in a different way. "African socialism", however, is a very popular notion on the African continent implying a number of interpretations, most of them based on an assumption that "African socialism springs from the nature of African society and so is different in kind from a socialism conceived in Europe" (p. 122). Nyerere's conception of family-hood, extended family—"Ujamaa" may be one of the best known.

The fact that Africans had to struggle for independence within the confines of the artificially created territorial systems created a sort of territorial consciousness and African nationalism originally Pan-Africanist became increasingly "territorialized" and the immediate objective of most African leaders became the creation of unified nation states not larger territorial units.

In the last two chapters on *Foreign Relations* and *Unfree Africa* attention was paid to Pan-African tendencies, regional groupings, the Organization of African Unity and the liberation movements in the parts of Africa still under foreign domination.

There is an explanatory table in the book of Independent states in Sub-Saharan Africa and a simple, plain map of political division of Africa, showing where military rulers are in power and the year of achieving of independence, with a short bibliography.

"The New Africa" may be of some use as a summary of the latest developments on this huge continent, changes, however, are often so precipitate that any book on contemporary Africa at the time it finds its way among its readers may be a bit out-of-date. Nonetheless, a general reader could find it useful at least as a background for a more up-to-date information provided by the press.

Viera E. Pawliková

E. Dammann, K. Schlosser, O. F. Raum, H. W. Turner, H. J. Greschat, *Messianische Kirchen, Sekten und Bewegungen im heutigen Afrika* (E. Benz, Editor). Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1965. Pp. X + 127.

The present work appeared as supplement of *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* under the editorial guidance of E. Benz. The aim of the volume is to analyze the conditions of origin and development of independent religious groups which have split from the European or American missionary societies as well as to give some characteristic features of these groups. In his Preface, Ernst Dammann from Marburg University stresses the practical value of such an analysis which can provide more profound knowledge of African attitudes that the European, dealing with political and economic problems of the continent, may find somewhat puzzling. Until lately, it was mainly missionaries who took notice of the specific features of the

African man and gathered a vast amount of scholarly evidence in this field. The present volume tries to evaluate and classify religious separatist movements in Africa as a constitutive part of what Africa lives and thinks in this century.

E. Damman is also the author of the excellent paper published in the monograph, namely "*Das Christusverständnis in nachchristlichen Kirchen und Sekten Afrikas*" (1—21). He defines the term "post-Christian churches and sects" as religious groups which, on the basis of religious activities of the Christian churches of Africa, have developed in the last seventy five years as independent societies. Religious societies of this kind arise elsewhere on the continent, mainly in South Africa. All these churches or sects have their own idea of personality, work and function of Christ (*Christusverständnis*). The idea of Christ is shared with the mother church; the role of Christ can be overshadowed by other phenomena, though, on the whole, it corresponds to the original concept of Christ; the figure of Christ can be pushed into the background; the features of historical Jesus can be transferred to the leader of the sect; or, at last, these features can be transferred to the political party. According to Damman, Christ becomes a key-figure of a new myth. The author qualifies these phenomena as natural results of the spiritual emancipation of people whose views had been formed by nature worship (*Naturreligion*) the narrow frame of which was broken by Christianity. The loosened spiritual forces did not fail to create independent ideas, moulded in many respects by special political, economic and other factors. Politically, the church was the only institution where the African was free to pursue his activities and, in this way, it gradually assumed a political character. Economically and socially the better position of the whites in Africa was, in the eyes of the natives, connected with the idea of Christ as a protector of the whites and led to the idea of black Messiah who would protect the interests of the Africans. The author underlines the fact that the differences are due chiefly to individual concepts, charismatic experience, emotionality etc., rather than to discrepancies in the field of theology or philosophy.

The author of the second paper (*Profane Ursachen des Anschlusses an Separatistenkirchen in Süd- und Südwestafrika*, pp. 25—45), K. Schlosser, approaches the problem to find out to what extent conversions to separatist churches are conditioned by reasons of profane character. She evaluates the data obtained by examining churches in South Africa. In agreement with the aim of her paper, the author focusses on profane motives though she does not omit causes of theological character.

To sum up the results of her inquiry, the author states the reasons which have led to the break with the original church, such as the lack of inner relation to the mission, high moral demands, the loss of medical aid formerly provided by the mission. On the other hand, she analyzes the motives that can attract the African and make him join a separatist church or sect.

The study "*Von Stammespropheten zu Sektenführern*"(47—70), by O. F. Raum, is a historical survey of religious and, to a certain extent, also political development of the people of Xhosa in South Africa.

Christianity began to spread among the Xhosa in the first half of the Nineteenth Century. The early missionaries approached the natives with the feeling of superiority of the gospel they were preaching and with the conceit of the representatives of a higher civilization. This approach, from the very beginning, met with the obstacle of intricate political and religious reality which the Europeans made little effort to respect. Deep discontent on the part of the natives made it easy for some of them to proclaim themselves prophets. These prophets were men who had been, to a certain degree, influenced by Christian ideas. Teachings of the prophets differed in many respects, but all of them formulated their attitude towards the English, ranging from hostility to co-operation.

During the second half of the 19th century the missionary activity was more fruitful but very early separatist trends appeared, headed by native leaders. Comparing these leaders of the newly established religious groups with the prophets, the author finds some resemblances, e.g. the attitude towards the English, proclamation of certain taboos, etc. He observes, however, that while the prophets were part of the tribal organization, the leaders of churches are no longer restricted to their own tribes. Although, as a rule, uneducated, they assume a sort of Christian ideology and operate with Christian ideas. On their way to real Christianity, the European theology can be only of little use to them.

H. W. Turner, in his paper "*Katechismen unabhängiger westafrikanischen Kirchen*" (pp. 71—88) compares catechisms of independent churches in West Africa with the catechism of the Anglican church and the Book of Prayer. The author studies the degree of africanization, that is, changes brought about by the influence of native traditions and psychology (lawfulness, ritual peculiarities, black Messiah, etc.). The idea of black Messiah occurs more rarely in West Africa than in Congo a fact which can be explained by greater freedom in West Africa and points to the dependence of religious status on political reality. The author, however, warns against identifying official documents such as catechisms with the actual state of religious life.

H.—J. Greschat, in his study "*'Witchcraft' und kirchlicher Separatismus in Zentral-Afrika*" (pp. 89—104), deals with a very interesting phenomenon of witchcraft and its impact on the development of separatist movements in Africa. In the eyes of the African witchcraft represent the utmost degree of egoism, an effort to pursue one's own profit at the expense of one's fellowmen. The menace of witchcraft is still alive, hanging as a dark cloud over the people of Central Africa, whom, in this respect, the Europeans have failed to help.

An African differentiates between a person who consciously wants to do harm to other people and a person who does harm by his very existence, without any knowledge of his own deeds. Both are called "*mfiti*". The task to protect his fellowmen against this anti-social danger was in the hands of "*sing'anga*" who had to discover the mischievous person and punish him, the punishment being the death of the guilty. The European authorities, prosecuting both the "*mfiti*" and "*sing'anga*", and far more sev-

erely the latter, could not but make an impression that they were on the side of the "mfiti". This unbearable situation resulted in the development of anti-witchcraft movements, headed by strong personalities, claiming to have special faculties to fight against witchcraft. These people, naturally, gathered more or less numerous groups of followers. Some of these movements ended without constituting themselves as separate churches, some others took the form of a religious society. The study emphasizes the necessity of respecting psychological reality and not to ignore the facts. The author rightly points to the existence of witchcraft in Europe long after it became Christian. A comparison of the forms of witchcraft in Africa and in Europe could be of great interest for social anthropology and history of religion.

The same author compiled an exhaustive bibliography (105—127).

The book is a valuable contribution to furthering the study of Africa today.

*Jarmila Drozdíková*

L. A. Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy: A Century of Political Evolution among the Basoga of Uganda*. Chicago—London, The University of Chicago Press, 1965. Pp. XIV + 283, 13 Plates, 8 Maps.

The new edition of Dr. Fallers' *Bantu Bureaucracy* has as its subtitle *A Century of Political Evolution among the Basoga of Uganda*.<sup>1</sup> The book itself is based on research carried out in Busoga between November 1950 and July 1952 when the author spent some twenty months in the District,<sup>2</sup> in order to study the Western influence on the political institutions of the Basoga and the results of this contact with Western world on this Eastern Lacustrine Bantu people. It is "a study of integration and conflict among some of the institutions of an East African people, both prior to their experience with the West, and today, after nearly a century of an ever-deepening Western influence" (Chapter I, p. 1).

Since that time the political developments of the past decade and a half have affected all aspects of Soga society and culture to a greater or lesser degree. As the author states in the Preface to the 1965 edition, "Much of the description in this book of the texture of village life—its principal institutions and the agricultural economy upon which it rests—doubtless remains as valid today as it was then, but the political institutions (and in this field the author's interests lay) that relate the village community to Uganda and to the world have changed radically" (p. V). And so if a study of

<sup>1</sup> The first edition, Cambridge, W. Heffer and Sons Ltd, 1956 was subtitled "*A Study of Integration and Conflict in the Political Institutions of an East African People*"; published for East African Institute of Social Research.

<sup>2</sup> The time devoted to field research the author divided more or less equally between Busam-bira, in the south-central part of the District, and the area around Kaliro, in the north-central county of Bulamogi.

the political institutions of the Basoga were carried out today, the result would be a book quite different from the one under review.

Not only Soga politics but our intellectual equipment for understanding African societies have undergone important changes since that period and the comparative study of political systems has changed from a rather narrow field of study to a broad interdisciplinary concern engaging the attention of subject and area specialists of many kinds (p. V). And so “a study of present-day Busoga would not only still concern itself, as this one does, with the politics of administration, for bureaucracy has not, of course, disappeared with independence, but it would also necessarily be much more concerned with the interplay between bureaucracy and popular political organizations” (p. VI).

Not only our intellectual equipment for understanding African societies has changed and given way to a more interdisciplinary approach but the concentration on the study of large-scale kingdoms and the opinion that only they may have developed institutions and social values of significance which are worth studying from the viewpoint of the modern world have been radically altered as well. Those who argue that any understanding of modernity in Africa must be based on an examination of the variants of the traditional systems often maintained that peoples organised into coherent, relatively centralised States, were more ready to innovate than peoples who did not possess kings and chiefs, segmentary societies lacking a sort of a paramount chief.<sup>3</sup> It was maintained that the Soga traditional State as well as Ganda, Nyoro etc. was an “incipient bureaucracy” and thus more ready to innovate as “societies with hierarchical centralised political systems incorporate the Western type of civil service structure with less strain and instability than do societies having other types of political systems, e.g. segmentary ones. Such a hypothesis might well be tested in Uganda, where a similar African Local Government system has been introduced into both the Bantu states and the segmentary societies of the Nilotic north” (p. 242).

History, however, proved this hypothesis wrong. Apter is right to say that the former “instrumental-hierarchical type of system can innovate with ease until the kingship principle is challenged, at which point the entire system joins together to resist change”.<sup>4</sup> And these systems proved to be highly resistant to political rather than other forms of modernization, more than segmentary societies or those based on age-sets and more democratic in character and in particular they were highly

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<sup>3</sup> See D. Apter, *The Role of Traditionalism in the Political Modernization of Ghana and Uganda*. World Politics XIII, 1960, pp. 45—69; and also see *The Political Kingdom in Uganda: A Study in Bureaucratic Nationalism*. Princeton—New York, Princeton University Press, 1961. Distinguishing two types of traditionalism—instrumental, hierarchical and consummatory, pyramidal he says: “Instrumental systems are those which can innovate easily by spreading the blanket of tradition upon change itself, without appearing to alter their social institutions fundamentally” p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> See *The Role of Traditionalism*, p. 48.

resistant to supplant the hierarchical principle of authority with a representative one, thus becoming the major obstacle in the nation-State building process, which is the primary goal of all young African policy-makers.<sup>5</sup>

Another wide-spread opinion has been that the evolution from more informally organised groups to the large-scale highly structured societies in Africa was a progressive one and the process of disaggregation a retrogressive one.<sup>6</sup> Dr. Fallers writing today may concentrate less on picturing Busoga as an area where highly centralised kingdom States flourished, swarming with rulers and their clients, "prime ministers" and royal princes, etc., which does not apply quite rightly to the Basoga numbering not more than some three hundred people and yet divided into no less than fifty-two major clans, each acting independently and where the loyalty of people was split between the traditional State system and the lineage principle incorporated in the State organization. His general hypothesis is that "the co-existence in a society of corporate lineages with political institutions of the State type makes for strain and instability" (p. 17). "The three institutional principles around which the States were organized were patrilineal kinship, ascribed rank and the patron-client relationship" (p. 126).

However, this description provides comparative material<sup>7</sup> which can help to shed light on the political structure of the Eastern Lacustrine Bantu peoples and enhance our understanding of the functioning of various political institutions under the traditional and modern systems. For a better understanding of the functioning of political institutions under the traditional system could help us understand also the conflict arising out of a structural incompatibility between the traditional concept of authority pertaining to the person, one could only be a lord or his subordinate and everything could have been explained in terms of superordination and subordination; and the European-introduced conception of civil service bureaucracy where "the particular person who holds the office is irrelevant to the exercise of authority within it" (p. 238), the conflict which was the cause of strain, however fast and smooth West-

<sup>5</sup> See the review article by the present author in the same issue where the well-known case of Buganda is discussed.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. John Omer-Cooper, University of Zambia in his paper delivered at the University of East Africa Social Science Conference in January 1968, *Kingdoms and Villages, a Possible New Perspective in African History*, suggests that "in the context of African history we have no more reason for always regarding the process of political aggregation as progressive and of disaggregation as retrogressive", and this attitude should be re-examined as not sufficient to attain a balanced picture of African historical development.

<sup>7</sup> Interesting is the non-existence of the royal clan in Buganda, see J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*. London, Macmillan, 1911, 1965 Frank Cass, London. L. Mair, *An African People in the Twentieth Century*. London, G. Routledge and Sons, 1934, New York 1965.

L. A. Fallers, (edit.), *The King's Men*, leadership and status in Buganda on the eve of independence, Oxford University Press, on behalf of East African Institute of Social Research, 1964, which is supposed to make for the greater stability in Buganda.

ernisation may have proceeded in Busoga, and in Uganda as a whole.<sup>8</sup> It would be interesting to see what Dr. Fallers would write about Basoga and their contact with Western civilization nowadays.

Still, apart from some minor inaccuracies, e.g. about the way the District Native Council and its President, later given the title of Kyabazinga came into being (p. 149), Bantu Bureaucracy is still a worth-reading publication on Busoga, even though some conclusions contained are no longer valid and that is what the reader should have been informed about in the Preface to the new edition.

Viera E. Pawliková

A. N. Tucker and M. A. Bryan, *Linguistic Analyses. The Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa*. With a Supplement on the Ethiopic Languages by Wolf Leslau. (Handbook of African Languages). Oxford University Press for International African Institute, 1966. Pp. 627.

The joint effort of several generations of linguists and Africanists made it possible to attempt serious works on language classification in this linguistic area. One of the most remarkable projects in classifying African languages is pursued on the academic ground of the International African Institute. The results of this research are continually appearing in the series *Handbook of African Languages*.<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that there is a number of important International African Institute items published independently of the Handbook series.<sup>2</sup> However, the book to which the present work is the most closely related is the Handbook item *The Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa* (viz. fn. 1), by the same authors. The general arrangement of data as well as basic assumptions underlying the choice of classificatory criteria are substantially the same in both works. On the other hand, several assertions have been restated in accordance with new data which have come to light since the publication of the above-mentioned Handbook item, in 1956.

Besides the *Introduction* (1—25) and two *Indexes* (*Index I: Languages and Persons* 615—618) and *Index II: Linguistic* (619—627) the book contains 38 sections according to the language groups described. Since, in some cases, several sections are marked

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<sup>8</sup> For an account of this problem see A. I. Richard, (edit.), *East African Chiefs*. London, Faber and Faber, 1960.

<sup>1</sup> Apart from the book under consideration the following items have been published so far: (1) A. Basset, *La langue berbère*, 1952; (2) D. Westermann and M. A. Bryan, *Languages of West Africa*, 1952; (3) A. N. Tucker and M. A. Bryan, *The Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa*, 1956; (4) M. A. Bryan, *The Bantu Languages of Africa*, 1959; (5) Malcolm Guthrie, *The Bantu Languages of Western Equatorial Africa*, 1953.

<sup>2</sup> *Linguistic Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderland*, Volume I, by A. Jacquot, I. Richardson, G. van Bulck, P. Hackett, A. N. Tucker and M. A. Bryan (1956); Volume II, by I. Richardson (1956); Volume IV, by A. N. Tucker and M. A. Bryan (1957). Etc.

by the same serial number and Section 33 (Ethiopic) is treated separately in the Supplement, there are 1—36 numbered sections.

Sections are dealing with the following language families: (1) Moru-Mangbetu; (2) Bongo-Bagirmi; (3) and (6) Sere-Mundu and Banda-Gbaya-Ngbandi; (4) Mba; (5) Zande; (7) Bua; (8) Somrai; (9) East Saharan; (10) Mimi; (11) Maba; (12) Tama; (13) Fur; (14) Daju; (15) Nyimang; (16) Temein; (17) Katla; (18a) Koalib-Moro, etc.; (18b) Tegali-Tagoi; (19) Kadugli-Krongo, (20) Nubian; (21) Barya; (22) Kunama; (23) Berta; (24) Tabi; (25) Gule; (26) Koma; (27) Didinga-Murle; (28) Bako; (29) Teuso; (30) Nilotic; (31) Paranilotic; (32a) Cushitic; (32b) Omoto; (32c) Geleba; (34) Iraqw; (35) Mbugu; (36) Sanye. Supplement (33) Ethiopic.

Where no data were available, sections were introduced only formally, which applies to Sections 8, 10, 25, 28, 35, and 36.

In the light of new evidence some nomenclature changes are proposed the most important of which are the substitution of the term *Erythraic* for the well-established *Semito-Hamitic*. The latter term, based on pre-twentieth-century level of experience in African linguistics and Semitology, and largely influenced by non-linguistic criteria, leads to a misleading isolation of Semitic languages from the rest of the representants of the group despite the fact that the non-Semitic languages of this family do not represent any linguistic unity as against Semitic.<sup>3</sup> As for the newly-proposed term Erythraic, it avoids, to be sure, misleading implications of the genetically inconsistent “Semito-Hamitic” and is decidedly better than Murdock’s proposal to use “Hamitic” as a general having to cover the whole “Semito-Hamitic” linguistic area.<sup>4</sup> But, on the other hand, one may ask whether “Erythraic” is more appropriate in this use than the term “Afroasiatic”, suggested by J. H. Greenberg. Greenberg’s reasons are simple and conclusive: this family is the only one found both in Africa and Asia (op. cit., 50). Tucker-Bryan’s main objection against this term is its wideness (cf. p. 2). However, if these lines of speculation are to be accepted as correct, one might ask once again if the Red-Sea-centred term, proposed by the authors of the book under review, is not excessively narrow when used in any context but strictly historical.

In dealing with Cushitic languages the authors were right to abandon their practice not to go into general considerations beyond certain classificatory levels. In virtue of this, useful parallels definable in terms of broader “Semito-Hamitic” relationships have been adduced. Otherwise it would not have been possible to account for that kind of linguistic traits which Cushitic has in common with other representants of the family, in particular with Semitic languages of Ethiopia.

The general approach to classify Cushitic languages in the present book substantially differs from that suggested by Greenberg. While the latter does not pay any attention to the respective measure of Cushitism exhibited by various Cushitic—said langua-

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. H. Greenberg, *The Languages of Africa*, Bloomington 1963, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Africa, Its Peoples and Their Culture History*, New York, 1959.

ges and classifies them in purely geographical terms (viz. Northern, Central, Eastern, Western, and Southern Cushitic (op. cit., 49), Tucker and Bryan treat them under the following heads: a) Cushitic languages, i.e. those which show the main features accepted by most authorities as Cushitic: Bedauye (G: Northern), Agau (G: Central), Saho-Afar, Sidamo, Galla, Somali (G: Eastern); b) partially Cushitic languages, i.e. those in which some features common to Cushitic occur, but which differ in many important respects: Janjero, Ometo, Gimira, Kaffa (with the exception of Ometo, omitted by Greenberg, all these languages fall under Greenberg's Western Cushitic); c) language with little or no claim to be Cushitic: Geleba (G: Southern).

It is worthwhile noting that a number of languages considered by Greenberg as Cushitic are classed, by Tucker and Bryan, in genetically autonomous groups, so e.g. Iraqw, Mbugu, Sanye (G: Southern Cushitic) or Bako (G: Western Cushitic), etc.

Although both approaches are largely justified by the aims of the respective authors, it seems that Tucker-Bryan's heavier emphasis laid on convincing evidence even at the price of temporary silence, has a better chance to solve the problems.

Another valuable feature of the book is the fact that characteristics of the Semitic languages of Ethiopia have been incorporated even though in the form of a supplement, written by W. Leslau, the most competent authority in this field.

The book is a remarkable step forward in systemizing and unifying data on Non-Bantu languages of North-Eastern Africa. The merits of the work are all the greater as the authors have incorporated in the book a considerable amount of first-hand material assembled in the course of field work in Africa as well as work with expatriate informants in London.

Of first-class interest for general linguists, typologists, Africanists, etc.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *The Malagasy Republic. Madagascar Today*. Stanford, Stanford University Press 1965. Pp. 504.

The present publication is the most complete work on the modern history of Madagascar. With the exception of the first two chapters, "The Historical Background" (3—12) and "French Colonial Rule" (13—33), all the materials in this book deal with development after World War Two. The work is divided into three parts: Part One *History and Politics* (3—184), Part Two *Social and Cultural Fields* (187—242) and Part Three *Economy* (245—464). The periodisation of the history of Madagascar after World War Two does not differ greatly from that followed by P. Boiteau (*Madagascar, Contribution à l'histoire de la nation malgache*, Paris 1958) or H. Deschamps (*Histoire de Madagascar*, Paris 1960). Quite the same periodisation is used by the reviewer in his work *Malgašská republika po roce 1960* (Praha 1968) and by the Soviet scholar Datlin (*Malgašskaja respublika*, Moskva 1960). This division corresponds roughly to the main data of the most important historical events in Madagascar.

This approach cannot be of course free from certain "europocentrism", which results in turn from the colonial dependence of Madagascar until 1960. More important than the purely formal periodisation of the history is the fact that the authors of the present work have adhered to a strictly non-aligned scientific point of view, a rather rare thing in the interpretation of contemporary history.

In this review there is no place to polemize with the authors on their conclusions on particular issues. Contemporary history as a scientific branch can scarcely resolve all the secrets of the policy of a country with absolute certainty. There is always much room left for speculations. The materials used by the authors are almost complete which seems to lend maximum objectivity to the work. Only very few bibliographical items are missing in the list of literature. We may recall e.g. Datlin, *Malgašskaja respublika* (Moskva 1960), Janicot, *Madagascar* (Lausanne 1964), Kornejev, *Gosudarstvennyj stroj Małgašskoj respubliky* (Moskva 1961), *Länderberichte. Afrikanische Entwicklungsländer*, Heft 6: *Madagaskar* (Stuttgart und Mainz 1962), *Madagascar* (Tananarive 1959), Pascal, *La république Malgache* (Paris 1965) and, of course, the materials written in Malagasy.

The authors base the explanation of the contemporary history of Madagascar on the Cotier—Merina antagonism. Such a simplification is no serious drawback for all that it seems to be too tributary to the discredited French colonial policy in Madagascar and its ideological basis, the theory on "Merina imperialism". The scheme "Côtier—Catholic—Backward/Merina—Protestant—Progressive", never openly pronounced by the authors, is unfortunately obvious at first glance. What is the truth? It is a fact that in the Malagasy Republic there exists an antagonism between two principal groups of the population. These groups are very heterogenous, in no case can they be characterized as tribal agglomerations, religious communities or social strata. The contemporary "tribes" in the Malagasy Republic have lost their original significance. They can be classified as linguistic rather than ethnic groups. In the reviewer's opinion it is better to designate both to contemporary antagonist groups by their native Malagasy names: Tandranos for Côtiers and Tanivo for Highlanders (not only Merina!). Their main characteristics are as follows:

Group	Religion	Social stratification	Race
Tanivo (Merina, Betsileo, Bezanozano)	Mainly protestants	Bourgeoisie and the relatively strong working class	Strong mongoloid component
Tandranos (All others)	Heterogenous; Catholics, Protestants, Moslems, Animists	Heterogenous. In different areas different stage of social development	Heterogenous; Mongoloid and Europoid in the East, Negroid in the West

The Tandrano Betsimizaraka are much nearer to the Tanivo than, for instance, to the Tandrano Mahafaly of Tandroy, by all racial, religious and social characteristics. A militant Protestant, Calvin Tsiebo, is the member of the same Party (P.S.D.) and the same Government as the Catholic Philibert Tsiranana. The General Secretary of the ruling P.S.D., André Resampa, is actually nearer in his views to the opposition leader Richard Andiamanjato than to Mr. Tsiranana, The chief of his own Party. The opposition has a strong position not only in the Merina territory, but also in the main port of the Malagasy Republic, Toamasina (Tamatave). All these facts go to show, that the main antagonism in the Malagasy Republic results rather from differences between industrialized and the peasant areas, than from the ethnic or religious disputes.

A special problem are the Malagasy words and names. Throughout the book names are used prefixed by *an-* for designation of the Malagasy tribes and different ethnic groups (Antaisaka, Antandroy, Antaimoro etc.). In Malagasy this prefix serves only for derivation of local names (*an-* and its allophones before nasals *a-* and *i-* = by, near, to). An other prefix, *t-* serves for the derivation of the ethnic names. A manifold affixation is no rare phenomenon in Austronesian languages. Therefore it would be necessary to adhere strictly to the original forms of Malagasy names, e.g. *roy* = = thorn, *Androy* = a land of thorny bush, *Tandroy* = the people of Androy, *Antandroy* = the State of the territory of Tandroy. Also, if a name of a territorial unit is derived directly from an ethnic name, it must be prefixed by *an-* or its allophones: *Merina—Imerina* = the territory of Merina, *Sihanaka—Antsihanaka* = the territory of Sihanaka etc. Further mistakes in the Malagasy words are too numerous to be explained away as printer's errors. They refer, in the first place, to Malagasy names of organisations (A.K.F.M., FISEMA, F.M.M.) and personal names (often: Andriamananjato instead of Andriamananjato, p. 235: Randriamanantena instead of Andriamanantena).

The present book is one of the important works in the modern history of Madagascar. Its significance for the Malagasy studies can be compared only with the famous Granddidier's work "Histoire naturelle, politique et physique de Madagascar". All the errors mentioned here are of a purely technical nature and cannot diminish the great scientific value of the book; they can be easily obviated in the next edition. Both authors have without doubt gained a prominent place in the world Malagasy studies.

R. Raczyński

*Form and Strategy in Science.* Studies presented to Joseph Henry Woodger on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. Edited by J. R. Gregg and F. T. C. Harris. Dordrecht, D. Reidel Publ. Co., 1964. Pp. VII + 476.

Memorial volumes of works devoted to eminent personalities in science on the occasion of their life jubilees enjoy considerable popularity. The English biologist,

logician and methodologist J. H. Woodger, an unusually sympathetic and influential personality in XXth century science was presented on the occasion of his seventieth birthday with a beautiful gift in the form of a book which had been prepared by his former pupils friends and well-wishers from his home country, but mostly from the U.S.A. Among the 33 authors of scientific and bibliographic essays figure the foremost biologists who develop Woodgerian analytical methods in embryology, genetics and taxonomy, but also eminent methodologists, logicians and semantists (Quine, Beth, Kemeny, Martin, Popper, Fitch, Rashevsky, Beckner, Alexander, and others). The European Continent found dignified representatives in the now deceased Dutch logician E. W. Beth and the well-known Polish logician M. Przełęcki, who devotes himself also to an application of logics in genetics. That is, if we do not include here naturalized Britishers —K. R. Popper (formerly professor of philosophy in Vienna), and C. Lejewski.

The title of the collected works—*Form and Strategy in Science*—promises perhaps more than could be achieved. As a matter of fact, the contributions are rather heterogeneous and a first glance at the table of contents may confuse the reader even though the papers be assigned into four thematic groups (I. *Philosophy of Science*, II. *Logical Analysis of Theory Structure*, III. *Models in Science*, IV. *Analytic Biology*). Gradually however, a certain inner relatedness becomes apparent together with an orientation of the subject-matter towards centres of a methodological and meta-scientific research and the title is found to be justified. *Form* in science is here the theme of logico-methodologic and applicable-mathematical essays which embrace not only the foundations of science in general (this refers primarily to Parts I and II), but likewise those of biological sciences. *Strategy* in science—this theme, too, appears more or less overtly in the majority of the works, e.g. through the investigations of deterministic, stochastic and probabilistic models, the so-called creative definitions, organization theories from the aspect of theories of games, and in studies on simplicity and complexity.

A linguist in the modern sense of the term who strives after an all-round mathematical and logico-methodical grounding may find many of the specialized essays to be of interest (26 in all) if, of course, he does not become deterred by the apparently exerting theme. A. Sklar's study *On Category Overlapping in Taxonomy* (395—401) based as it is on J. R. Gregg's well-known work *The Language of Taxonomy* (New York 1954) has decidedly something to tell the linguist, similarly as L. van Valen's study *An Analysis of some Taxonomic Concepts* (402—415), in which the author again links up with Woodger's and Gregg's researches to deal with the structure of taxonomic systems and this by the use of the apparatus of theory of sets and mathematical logic. Another paper, called *Life Cycles as Hierarchical Relations*, by A. Lindenmayer (416 to 469), helps to show how certain domains of biology may be ideally formalized by means of the exacting apparatus that is Whitehead's and Russell's *Principia Mathematica*, as also by means of Carnap's more recent variant of this system. The linguist may draw great profit from the alternate succession of contentious and purely

formalized parts of this study. All the essays just mentioned belong to part IV, called *Analytic Biology*. The remaining papers from this section to which may be attached certain papers from part III. (*Models in Science*), are designed to follow specific biological problems, but what has been said of the preceding papers, is applicable in part to them also. The following essays are meant: F.T.C. Harris, *A Representation of Animal Growth* (235—250). J. T. Bonner, *Analogy in Biology* (251—255). B. Dunham and others, *Design by Natural Selection* (306—311), M. Przelecki, *On the Concept of Genotype* (315—329), P. G. Espinasse, *Genetical Semantics and Evolutionary Theory* (330—341), H. Herrmann, *Biological Field Phenomena: Facts and Concepts* (343—362), J. Davison, *Animal Organization as a Problem in Cell Form* (363—377), and R.F.J. Withers, *Morphological Correspondence and the Concept of Homology* (378—394).

A further group of contributions is formed by generally methodological and mathematico-logical studies some of which are rather specialized and destined for experts (F. B. Fitch, *Algebraic Simplification of Redundant Sequential Circuits* (191—202), C. Lejewski, *Aristotle's Syllogistic and Its Extensions* (203—232), but in certain cases may interest everyone concerned with fundamental theoretical and methodological problems in his own discipline. Such a universal character may be found in 3 studies of part III./W. Mays, *Probability Models and Thought and Learning Processes*, 256 to 273; R. C. Lewontin, *Models, Mathematics and Metaphors* 274—296; O. Halmer, *The Game-Theoretical Approach to Organization Theory*, 297—305, and perhaps K. R. Popper's study *Creative and Non-Creative Definitions in the Calculus of Probability* (171—190) with all the essays in part I.

And it is precisely this part I. (*Philosophy of Science*), that might most interest the linguist. These four studies are concerned with domains of logical semantics and philosophy of language. Along with them, here belong studies on the meaningfulness and usefulness of philosophical statements (M. Beckner, *Metaphysical Presuppositions and the Description of Biological Systems* (15—29), P. Alexander, *Speculations and Theories*, 30—46): the outstanding mathematical biophysician N. Rashevsky, in an essay of basic impact, considers the non-mathematical and mathematical approaches to science, in particular to biology (*The Devious Roads of Science*, 51—58) W.V.O. Quine reflects *On Simple Theories of a Complex World*, 47—50, and H. F. Blum, from the position of information-theory discusses *Complexity and Organization*, 59—65.

Even if the reader-linguist's attention was not taken up by a single essay from the preceding groups—not to mention J. H. Woodger's biography (1—6) or the list of his publications—the four essays dealing with semantics, which we have reserved for the end, should not be bypassed by him.

The first of them is E. W. Beth's study *The Relationship between Formalised Languages and Natural Languages* (66—81), defending the priorities of formalized languages against natural languages and polemically pointed against the views of British linguistic philosophers. Beth's argumentation is noteworthy in particular as regards the differentiation between analytical and synthetical sentences, definition of the con-

cept of truth and considerations on the possibilities of setting up an adequate theory of meaning for natural languages. Otherwise it ascribes to natural non-formalized languages the tasks which they successfully accomplish but leaves the complete enquiry of these tasks to general linguistics. It underlines the marked mutual interaction between modern logic and linguistics as is manifest, for instance, in Harris's structural linguistics, or Hjemslev's glossematics.

R. Rogers' extensive contribution, entitled *A Survey of Formal Semantics* (82—121) is truly a representative and comprehensive overview of the contemporary state of logical semantics and has no pair among popularizing works of this kind. The author first of all defines the concept of formalized language, differentiates between object-language and meta-language, touches upon semantic paradoxes and then gradually analyses particular concepts: Tarski's conception based on the concept of satisfaction and his definition of truth, Martin's conception based on the concept of multiple denotation, Carnap's theory of state-descriptions and Kemeny's concept of interpretation, model, semi-model and value-assignment. Finally, he deals also with the so-called ontological commitment, stimulated by Quine, and semantists' discussions about accepting or not accepting abstract entities.

In an informal contribution, *Analyticity versus Fuzziness* (122—145) J. G. Kemeny follows up the semantic discussions on the subject of borderlines between analyticity and syntheticity, as stirred up by Quine and M. White. Kemeny arrives at similar conclusions as Beth and proves (against the so-called philosophers of ordinary language), that fuzzy concepts from every-day discourse has to be made more precise and this is best achieved by formalized languages.

Finally, R. M. Martin in his article *Toward a Logic of Intentions* (146—167), develops his conception of intension and quasi-intension at the semantic and pragmatical level. The study is in truth an outline which was completely worked out in Martin's book *Intension and Decision* (New York 1963).

We have tried to bring the Memorial Volume closer to those from the ranks of linguists, but it should be recommended to all those who do not seek to keep aloof from methodologico-logical problems. They may find in this heterogeneous complex many new stimuli for their own work—if, of course, they are not slaves to conservative means.

*R. Augustin*

*Transcultural Studies in Cognition*. Edited by A. Kimball Romney and Roy Goodwin D'Andrade (American Anthropologist Special Publication, Part 2, Vol. 66, No. 3, June 1964: Report of a Conference sponsored by Social Science Research Council Committee on Intellectual Processes Research). Pp. 253.

*Transcultural Studies in Cognition* form the first part of a series of special publications of the journal "American Anthropologist", devoted to a research of areas bordering on anthropology. The volume under review presents the papers together with a substantial part of the discussion of a conference on the research of cognitive categories, in particular cultures, which was held at Meride (Yucatan) in the spring of 1963. Research and methodological considerations are concretely represented here in three scientific disciplines, viz. linguistics, anthropology and psychology. An enhanced interest in research of cognition may be noted in all these three areas—in linguistics it is manifest in semantic works and generative and transformative grammars: in anthropology in a formal analysis of related denominations, naming of colours, other classification systems: and in psychology in various papers devoted to a study of the cognitive process. The book is divided into five parts. The introductory article by A. Kimbal Romney and Roy Goodwin D'Andrade presents a brief characteristic of the papers published in the volume, while the second part comprises three linguistic studies, namely, Dell Hymes' *Directions in (Ethno-) Linguistic Theory*, Sydney M. Lamb's *The Sememic Approach to Structural Semantics*, and Brent Nerlin and A. Kimball Romney's *Descriptive Semantics of Tzeltal Numeral Classifiers*. In his study conceived on a large scale, D. Hymes outlines the characteristics of linguistics as those of a science, its object and methods of research in relation to the study of cognition. He places linguistics into the wider setting of ethnolinguistics embodying structural ethnology and comparative ethnography that form the basis of the linguistic theory, for they define such terms as "native speaker", "language", "speech community", "fluent speaker" and that are not defined within the framework of the linguistic theory. Hymes underlines the role played by linguistics in the setting up of cultural anthropology (both its foremost representatives Kluckhohn and Levi-Strauss had been influenced through the works of R. Jacobson by the theory of the Prague School). Since the linguistic theory has up to now reflected more often the behaviour of the linguist rather than that of the user of language, Hymes sets up as the future programme of linguistics the study of language expressions in the course of human activity which would thus give rise to the "ethnography of communication". One of its proposed goals is the same task that transformational grammar had already set itself, namely, to investigate the ability of the speaker to form an infinite number of sentences and to understand them.

Lamb's study is a contribution to the research in cognition by a new approach towards semantics in which he explains semantic analysis on the basis of the stratification theory. To the hitherto recognized "layers" or "strata" of the language (phonemic, morphemic and lexemic) he now adds the se-

metic layer, the units of which are in a relation of representation with those of a lexemic plane.

In the third part devoted to anthropological studies W. C. Sturtevant (*Studies in Ethnoscience*) presents a general characteristic of American anthropological investigations and the methods employed so far, particularly that of componential analysis. "Ethnoscience" studies man's world of concepts and its domain is given by an analysis of the terminological systems of individual national cultures. The classical sphere of research involves related terms, popular names for colours, scents, plants, diseases etc. C. O. Frake (*Notes on Queries in Ethnography*) shows on a concrete example how to select questions in inquiries applied in field surveys in order to bring out semantic relations among lexical units. A. Kimball Romney and Roy Goodwin D'Andrade (*Cognitive Aspects of English Kin Terms*) made use of several psychological tests in their study to compare the results of two component analyses of American-English kin terms: Wallace and Atkins' analysis and Romney's analysis to ascertain which of these models is apt better to reflect the evaluation of kin relationships as stated by American College students in the inquiry.

The part dealing with psychological approaches to cognition includes studies by C. E. Osgood (*Semantic Differential Technique in the Comparative Study of Cultures*), S. H. Hill (*Cultural Differences in Mathematical Concept Learning*) and Freda L. Strodtbeck (*Considerations of Meta-Method in Cross-Cultural Studies*). C. E. Osgood has worked out a number of procedures that allow similarities and differences to be measured in the emotive aspect within a semantic framework of the members of various languages and cultures. The basic procedure consists in a word-association method in which the subject had to select adjectives from a list of opposites to fit one hundred basic nouns (chosen from glottochronological lists and according to a research on word effectiveness): this yielded three semantic factors: evaluation, potency and activity, which serve to measure the connotative meaning. Osgood's work is a part task of a research project spread over several years, that is to result ultimately in an atlas of affective meanings.

The studies and selected discussions in the closing section of the book enable us to form a general picture of the contemporary state of American research in cognition which is a part of anthropological investigations. The extent and multi-facet aspects of these investigations are borne out by the abundant references cited along with each study, in particular with that of Sturtevant's "*Studies in Ethnoscience*". Here we find also an explanation of such terms as ethnology, ethnoscience, the names of scientific disciplines that do not carry the same connotation in European as in American science (Ethnography in the American sense of the term dates back only a decade of years). According to Sturtevant culture anthropology embodies ethnology (social anthropology is one of its branches) and archaeology. Ethnoscience designates investigations which are more general than the individual branches of ethnography (e.g. ethnobotanics, ethnogeography): it studies the cognitive systems which are

typical for a given culture. If ethnography investigates individual manifestations of a certain culture, then ethnoscience abstracts from particular cultures that (intangible texture) from which a member of the given nation forms his picture of the world, ethnoscience builds on that which is common to all cultures and works out methods for ethnography. Although there exists numerous ethnographic researches, the discussion shows that the principal problem resides in the fundamental questions, viz. whether culture may be considered as the code of human behaviour, or whether it is a construct that makes behaviour comprehensible and hence, whether a transcultural research of cognition is a primary investigation of the code, or an investigation of the intellectual processes involved. Further questions that were raised concerned such points as whether language is an adequate reflexion of culture, whether it is enough for the ethnologue to study only verbal behaviour (in this connection C. O. Frake pointed out that what is of importance here is not the difference between language and culture and verbal and non-verbal behaviour, but the difference between the observable behaviour including speech and the socially mediated system of cognition—culture, which embodies language). Yet another question is that of "ethical" and "emical" descriptions, the relation between them is analogous to that existing between phonetics and phonology—phonemics (which relates to the problem of comparability of individual cultures). The discussion is wound up by R. Brown's study in which the author treats of the specificity of ethnographic research and its methods as opposed to psychological methods, in particular those employed by developmental psychology.

*K. Buzássyová*

Marvin Harris, *The Nature of Cultural Things*. New York, Random House, 1964.  
Pp. 209.

There is hardly any branch of the social sciences in the U.S.A. that is not marked, to a greater or lesser degree, by behaviourism. The original psychological orientation that reduced human psyche to physiological responses of the organism to stimuli became the basis on which many American sociologists, ethnologists and linguists built their theories. The psychological trend in sciences was and still is to this day very popular in the U.S.A. Its adherents have endeavoured to limit processes and phenomena of the social life to the psychology of individuals. They set up their concepts on the real fact of the action of psychological factors in human activity, and they see in these agents the principal drive in human society. Although the psychological trend prevailed in American ethnographic and cultural anthropology during the years of World War II up to the beginning of the 'fifties, its roots nevertheless reach back to the twenties when E. Sapir began in his works attribute an extraordinary significance to psychological agents: this became reinforced in 1926 when Ruth Benedict read a paper at the congress of the Americanists "Psychological types of culture of the South-West" in which she formulated for the first time her views on

culture as a deduction of the individual's psyche, and which became the basis of her well-known work "Patterns of Culture" (Boston and New York 1934). According to R. Benedict, in every culture there predominates one psychological principle, a certain impulse, inclination, proneness, idea, goal, which too, are joined into one whole by the individual's behaviour in a given society. Alongside this theory, Freud's psychoanalysis also found a ready acceptance in American ethnography and cultural anthropology (M. Mead, Hallowell, Kardiner, Opler, Kluckhohn and others). Both these currents, the psychological and the psychoanalytical, have in a like measure influenced the moulding of the behaviourist theory. Ethnopsychologists—behaviourists understood and still understand society as a mechanical association of individuals in whose behaviour they see the principal factor, the main cause of a historical process. They explain human behaviour by motivations of the will, and see the driving force of human motives in harmony with Freud's teaching on instincts and preferences in men. On the other hand, contrary to Freud, behaviourists ascribe a considerable significance to man's reaction to his environment, to the social situation in which the individual finds himself. However, these reactions are interpreted as a mere complement to the unconscious, inborn impulses and motives.

Despite the fact that for the past 50 years there arose in the U.S.A. an unusually large number of the most diverse theories, yet as late as 1959 C. Kluckhohn did not hesitate to declare that American ethnographers find themselves at the present time in a state of a feverish search for a theory. A fruit of such efforts is probably also Marvin Harris' book on the nature of cultural phenomena—"The Nature of Cultural Things", which forms the object of this review.

In more than one aspect M. Harris' book links up with the roots of American behaviouristic psychology, mentioned earlier, and to American science on society, culture and language. It should be remarked here that in the U.S.A. under the term cultural anthropology is understood not only ethnography in our sense of the term, but in a broader meaning science in various forms of man's culture, including also language. Similarly as other behaviourists, the author endeavours to base the investigation of psychic phenomena on formal indicators and abandons the terminology worked out by introspective psychology. This implied the necessity to look for support in a particular terminology, in one's own and foreign neologisms.

The core of the conception is given by the author's distinction of descriptions which he designated in English as "emic" and "etic" (133—150) in harmony with the teaching of the principal adherent of social behaviourism, Kenneth L. Pike, and as formulated by the latter scholar in his work "*Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Linguistics*" (Vol. 1—3), Glendale, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1954—1960). Both the neologisms originate in known terms of structural linguistics "phonetic and phonemic". Just as phonetic transcription ought to be complete and detailed in order that all the sound shades of pronunciation could be recorded regardless of the language involved, so also the ethic description of social behaviour ought

to be comparative and intercultural. On the other hand, "emic" description is generally expressed in terms of a single culture. Here belong "behaviouremes"—a broadly interpreted sociologic unit, determining a compact sequence of man's action, into the framework of which Pike includes nonverbal "emic" elements, in contrast to the term "utteremes" of verbal emic unit (138—139).<sup>1</sup> But while Pike used the term "acteme" for the least expression which, if nonverbal, is a "kineme", that is, the minimum movement (gesture), Harris gives preference to the term "actone" which he has taken over from R. Barker and H. Wright from their work "*Midwest and its Children*" (New York 1955) where it signifies a small or "molecular" behavioural particle and Harris uses it to designate a minimal cultural unit as a resultant of behaviour. The least ethnic cultural unit from this is the "ethnoactone".

According to Harris, human behaviour is a big stream of consecutive events consisting in the sum of motives of every individual wherever he lives. The continuity and relatedness of events in this stream of behaviour is part of the temporal and spatial persistence of the physical state. To disrupt this continuous stream through analysis is, in the author's view, a primary task of science (23). He follows this goal by creating so-called nodal chains in which the stream of behaviours is broken down into individual episodes, idioepisodes and nodes (72). Here lies, according to the author, the important circumstance which must be taken into account, that is, whether these idioepisodes of the idioepisodic chain are in some sense, repeated by other actors (73). The issue here is to find out how frequently and in what composition certain traits occur in man's behaviour, to identify phenomena according to the laws of empiricism: quantification of attitudes and motives, determination of correlations, logico-empirical measurement and classification. A certain role has, without any doubt, been played in the area of verbal behaviour by formalization of description processed by L. Bloomfield, and by the communication theory concentrating on the situation in which an individual speaker turns to his interlocutor and evokes a response.

From an investigation of an individual's behaviour the author proceeds to more complex, multi-actor scenes with interacting episodes. An alternative reproduction of the same idiosyncratic fragment as such shows a relationship between nodes and nodes, between interacting episodes and interacting episodes, and between nodes and interacting episodes. It may be found that some of the interacting episodes belonging to various pairs are their logico-physical requirements. By connecting the results of all the interacting episodes with lines of a logico-physical relation, the author arrives at a certain composition pattern of the acts (103). The group characterized behaviouristically whose members never take part in a common multiactor event is termed by the author a "paragroup". As against this, there exists another basic group characterized by a common participation of a limited number of specialized individuals in some fur-

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Schaluch, *Język i językoznawstwo współczesne*. Warszawa 1967, 150—151: sb. „Osnovnyje napravlenija strukturalizma“, Moskva 1964, 181—182, 188.

er multiactor idioscene. The author designates a group of this type an "endogroup". All the members of the given endogroup may be members of one or several paragroups (110). Every response on the part of the actor to an idioepisode creates a basis for identification with a paragroup. A group is a class of people whome members perform idioepisodic events of the given episodes.

According to the author all human communities make use of their own particular communicative system for describing inorganic, organic and superorganic phenomena taking place in their lives. Classification and the rules of classification in which equivalents or meanings serving as reference, are productive, and every other verbal behaviour embracing described states, forms an ethnographic subdiscipline which the author terms "ethnosemantics" (160). Natural linguistic terms for designating entities of a nonverbal stream of behaviour are, in the author's view, a source of numerous embarrassments and confusions. Natural languages embody special terms and comprise systems of classification of behavioural entities, which is not less expected than a distinction between a tree and a wood, or the moon and sun. This is a peculiar epistemological deficiency which led to a separation of ethnoactones from the rest of ethnosemantics (162). Although the informer's description of the behavioural stream as a substitute for ethical analysis is unacceptable to the ethnographer, ethnoactonics, on the other hand, carries a wider meaning of a purely verbal behaviour. The informer's verbal description of the entities of a behavioural stream, as a starting point for an ethnographer's analysis, may prove of various usefulness in his practice (163).

Harris' interpretation of culture, based as it is on ethnosemantics, consists in abstraction bordering sometimes on the extremes. In the author's view culture may be: episodes, nodal chains, phonemes, morphemes, words, semantic equivalents of expressions, level of behaviour and numerous other emic factors. Culture is any nomothetic nonverbal and verbal expression (168). It is doubtful whether such narrowed down interpretation of culture may lead to some positive results in ethnographic research. On page V the author explains the purpose he had in view when writing the book. He has endeavoured, as he writes, to show how the taxonomy of cultural events may serve as a basis in the observation of nonverbal behaviour of individuals. The result was some sort of "meta-taxonomy". The defining of the phenomenon was not to be dependent on hypotheses and theories, for the study of a phenomenon had inevitably to be verified. For this reason the author abstained from declaring that culture is exclusively learnt behaviour as had been traditionally asserted by behaviourists, that it is a homeostatic system, that it is dependent on the use of symbols, that it is a transfer from one generation to another, or that it is the product of human interaction, and so on.

A total refusal of introspection, however, deprives the author of the opportunity of verifying his conception from another aspect. R. Carnap is right when he states that although many of the results attained in introspection are contestable, the observation of man, his own states, concepts, sensations etc. must be recognized as

a type of observation which essentially does not differ from external observation.<sup>2</sup> Introspective investigation cannot be ignored even for the single reason that it is able by itself to explain external phenomena.

Harris' book calls up many questions which centre around one essential point—whether this conception can contribute at all to any significant conclusions. The investigator intent upon following individual behaviour will certainly record external manifestations, but not that which induced them. Individual behaviour of a few individuals does not warrant a reliable judgment to be made on the institutional structure of the society, its cultural type. All the more so, as the source of information is usually a selective summary of individuals, and we agree with C. Wright Mills when he says that questions posed in such researches are formulated with a view to a possible psychological response in individual subjects. Structural society, however, embodies so many common social and psychological denominators that the diversity of behaviour which the scientist must take into account, can be made use of only if our horizon is sufficiently wide and includes comparative historical and social structures.<sup>3</sup>

*J. Komorovský*

William P. Alston, *Philosophy of Language*. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1964. Pp. XIV + 113.

Philosophers have always been concerned with language as an important creation of human activity, but perhaps never before did they devote such close attention to it as at the present time. Philosophic concepts, globally labelled as "analytic philosophy" which embodies, before all else, logical positivism and the British linguistic philosophy (its spiritual fathers are G. E. Moore and the late L. Wittgenstein), consider language, in one sense or another, as the subject proper of philosophic research and condemn the traditional philosophising with its ambitions to investigate the essence of the world, of knowledge, values etc.

W. P. Alston, professor of philosophy at the Michigan University, author of the book under review—which is one of 13 volumes in the series "*Foundations of Philosophy*",—takes sides in the introduction, (p. 9), precisely with analytical philosophy, and as is implied later in the context of his work, with its "linguistic" wing. He has undertaken a difficult task, viz. to present a synthetical picture of contemporary results and problems of the philosophy of language seen through the cross-section of his own conceptions.

Already in his preface he distances himself from those philosophies which consider language to be a form of human spirit, or a global synthesis of general assertions on language, and says that his endeavours are to elucidate the basic concepts which "we

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<sup>2</sup> R. Carnap, *Problémy jazyka vědy*. Praha 1968, 306.

<sup>3</sup> C. Wright Mills, *Sociologická imaginace*. Praha 1968, 60.

use in thinking about language" (p. XI). This programme then embodies what is also known from logic-semantic works—the problem of meaning and sense of language expressions, criteria of meaningfulness, and the problem of vagueness of terms, differentiation of cognitive and non-cognitive meaning, etc. In addition, considerations on language as a system of symbols, on operations related to the use of language and on the meaning of metaphors, are likewise included. In contrast to many logico-semantic works, the reading of which often requires complicated logical symbolic techniques (e.g. works by Carnap, Quine, or Kemeny), the book under review is written in a free manner, unencumbered by symbolism and resembles in its style to the works by the English linguistic philosophers, for instance, J. Austin or F. Wisdom. And the similarity is not purely coincidental. Already in the introduction (p. 1—9) when dealing with the philosophic issues of language he becomes conscious of the existence of two philosophical wings which in a certain sense strive for a language "reform" in an effort to do away with its philosophically relevant drawbacks—on the one hand there are the philosophers of the "ordinary language", from Locke up to the late Wittgenstein and on the other, are the adherents of the construction of ideal, artificial languages of a mathematico-logical kind, among whom belong Leibnitz, Russell and Carnap: from that moment his sympathies incline towards the wing of philosophers of the ordinary language according to whom the principal core of philosophic activity consists in an analysis of everyday language and a detection of offences against the use of its expressions. These sympathies then become quite manifest in the second—a key chapter, *on the meaning and use of expressions*, in which he introduces and explains his basic concept, designated by the term "illocutionary-act"—hardly translatable into another language. From his attitude of considering conceptual analysis of language as the core of philosophy (p. 8) he formulates the basic roles of the philosophy of language—to create an explicit theory of the meaning of language expressions and conditions of an identity of meaning, that is to say, of synonymy—but remarks that there exist also many other roles, already mentioned. In the next five chapters of the book he then takes up a certain attitude towards these problems and consciously refrains from informing exhaustively on all the philosophic approaches to language.

As expected, the first chapter is entitled *Theory of Meaning* (pp. 10—31). After a differentiation of linguistic and nonlinguistic concepts of meaning and a statement on the multi-facet character of linguistic meanings, the author takes up 3 basic types of the theory of meaning—referential, ideational and behavioral theory. He deals in detail with the referential theory in its two forms, viz. in its more naïve form, according to which meaning is identified with the referent expression (we might say with the denotation of extension of the expression), and in its more sophisticated form which identifies meaning with referential relation (hence, with the relation of designation, denotation). He subjects both these forms of referential theory to criticism and points out that meaning cannot be identified with what the expression designates (there exist expressions with the same referent, but with different meaning, e.g. Frege's

example "Morning Star"—"Evening Star", and expressions having the same meaning but with different referents, e.g. "I", "You" etc.). He argues further against the view that all the meaningful expressions have by themselves a referent (this view was once upheld by B. Russell). What about conjunctions—says he,—prepositions and generally the so-called syncategorematic expressions which have no extralinguistic entity? Referential theories become complicated in particular in connection with expressions to which correspond some abstract entities, classes, properties etc. (he asks "what is the referent of the expression 'pencil', or 'courageous' "?). He sees a certain issue in the introduction of further semantic relations—denotation (the expression "pencil" denotes a whole class of pencils, i.e. those entities to which it can be applied) and connotation (the expression "courageous", connotes the properties of courageousness). It should be noted in this connection that the terms "denotation", "connotation" have commonly a different meaning from the one Alston ascribes to them (note 8 on p. 17, by which he attempts to draw attention to this fact, is not happily formulated and fails both to elucidate and to differentiate extension and intension, e.g. in Carnap, nor any other use of the term "connotation" in more modern, "non-Millean" concepts). Neither does the introduction of new semantic relations solve the situation for, according to the author, they lack a common denominator, which should be the relation of "standing for", for instance. This helps, it is said, to reveal the greatest deficiency in the referential theory due to the fact that "Some of the meaningful components of the sentences we use to talk about the world can be connected in semantically important ways to distinguishable components of the world, but others cannot" (p. 19). The author's attacks against the referential theory are undoubtedly justified, but did he not designedly accomodate his interpretation of this theory to achieve his end? What label would the author bestow, for instance, on Frege's theory or Carnap's concept? Alston's criticism is appropriate as far as "naïve-realistic" kinds of referential theory are concerned, but it does not seem that these theories would be prevalent in semantics. We may doubt about the completeness of the kinds of theory of meaning stated, since we find such concepts as do not fit under any one kind, hence neither the ideational nor behavioral theory. He attacks the ideational and the behavioral theory from the same positions as the referential one, in order to prepare the ground for his own conception. But first of all, he refutes the view that the meanings of expressions are entities of a certain kind: he draws help, for instance, from the witty example of the phrase "the father of pragmatism" designating Ch. S. Peirce—if Peirce were the meaning of this phrase, we could assert of this expression that he was married twice, etc. which is absurd. In the case of the ideational theory he draws a bead on its traditional Lockean formulation according to which the meaning of expressions resides in ideas that are regularly connected with expressions in the process of communication. He particularly underlines the difficulties in the objectivization of these psychical ideas, and excessive freedom of associational connections. From a linguistic point of view, of more int-

erest is perhaps the behavioral theory which leans on exteriorly observable regular connections between corresponding stimuli and responses. The author quotes, for instance, certain passages from Bloomfield's book *Language* (1935), expressing the view that the meaning of expressions designates common features of communicational situations (speaker—hearer). Here, too, Alston reveals certain problems with the determination of these common features as also with the fact that the same common features are found in sentences with different meanings, and vice versa. The philosopher Ch. Morris and the psychologist C. Osgood, became aware of these deficiencies and worked out more ingenious conceptions, but apparently these too are inadequate, although they require nothing but dispositions to respond. If someone is told "Your son is ill", he may react to it variously and not solely according to a dispositional expectation! Thereby, however, the whole concept gets into a tight corner.

The second chapter, already mentioned (pp. 32—49), forms the core of the work. The starting point is given by Wittgenstein's assertion (formulated in *Philosophical Investigations*, 1953) that "meaning is a function of the use of expressions", completed by an adapted form of Austin's classification of acts in the use of language. The meaning of expressions, according to this, has to be looked for in what people do when using language in communication situations. The most basic units for this inquiry are sentences, not words, but on the other hand, the meaning of words as components of sentences, is claimed to be more important and attention should be focused on it. Acts connected with the use of sentences are of three sorts: *locutionary* (mere utterance of some sentence), *perlocutionary* (producing of effects, for inst. persuading somebody, inspiring, or instigating towards something, intimidating, etc.), *illocutionary* (the most important of the three, something between the first two, not merely simple utterances, but neither inevitably connected with some effect, for inst. a report, proposal, thanksgiving etc.). The difference between "perlocutionary" and "illocutionary" resides, *inter alias*, in the fact that the former does not require the "locutionary" as its basis (we may induce someone to pass us the salt-cellar simply by reaching for it), further, that the "illocutionary" may be a tool for the "perlocutionary", but not the other way round (someone may express surprise if we ask for the salt-cellar at an inopportune moment: however, we should hardly achieve the reverse—to have the salt-cellar passed on to us by evoking surprise). And here the author comes to his key definition according to which "sameness of illocutionary-act potential is what constitutes sameness of meaning for sentences" (p. 36): the sameness of perlocutionary-act potential is inadequate for this. Hence, it is expected that the concept of illocutionary-act potential will be thoroughly defined, for in the author's view, it is "the most fundamental concept in semantics and, hence, in the philosophy of language" (p. 39). What is it then? The author looks for analogies in operations connected with the observance of "the rules of the game" (for inst. of chess, etc.) and finds that it is the rules of language, an observance of which leads from case

to case, that create the illocutionary-act potential of the given sentence, and thereby also the meaning of the given sentence. Example: Expressing enthusiasm over Jones's plan requires adherence to the following conditions—1) the context shows which person by the name of Jones is involved, 2) this person has put forward a certain plan, 3) the speaker is enthused by this plan. The author is conscious of the fact that the linguistic action may be directed by various rules—moral, courtesy, grammatical, etc.—and endeavours to show which rules are relevant to the determination of meaning and which are not. He is likewise aware that a registration of all the relevant rules is in every specific case a very complex matter and presents only schemes for the analysis of an arbitrary illocutionary-act potential. It is, however, rather difficult to find in this scheme (explained, at that, only by examples) something that would be an equal partner to, say, Carnap's criterion for the sameness of intension of expressions, based on the so-called L-equivalence. Alston leaves a rather wide-open door to the meaning analysis and his central concept, the "illocutionary-act" potential is not clear enough in order that the otherwise stimulating considerations on the relation of meaning in sentences and their components, on complete and partial synonymy, on social, associative and emotive constituents of meaning etc. could lead to a satisfactory solution. The emphasis on the rules of language as being some sort of criteria for the determination of sense or meaning, embodies a very rational factor which, however, in view of the reasons stated, becomes weakened.

In the shorter third chapter, entitled *Language and Its Near Relations*, the author analyses the general notion of sign, taking for his basis Peirce's definition that "A sign ... is something that stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity" (p. 51) and Peirce's division of sign into (icons), indices and symbols. He arrives at the conclusion that there is nothing that would be common to all the types of this "standing for" and of "sign". "To be a sign" allegedly does not mean either "to call to mind", or "to take account of something", for these acts are related to rather free psychic associations. As regards differentiation between indices and symbols, the former do not require a communicational situation (for instance, moraine is an index of glacier activity) and are a sort of natural signs, while the latter are artificial signs set up for communication purposes and hence, a basis of language. Icons are predominantly impure, mixed symbols and represent the corresponding object on the basis of similarity with it: pure icons may allegedly be found only in religious and dream symbolism. Alston rather underestimates the role of convention in establishing the meaning of language expressions and states that "semantic changes seem to be largely an unconscious affair..." (p. 57). Language according to him, may be defined as a system of symbols, and this for several reasons: 1) synthetically and semantically the elements of language, words, may create only restricted combinations; 2) constituents of sentences may be replaced only by certain words in the given context and not by others; 3) in the transforming of old sentences to new ones (e.g. in the reformulation of a sentence from the active to the passive voice) certain rules have to be

respected. He lays particular emphasis on relativization to the corresponding language system (in the dialect and the literary language the same word may have a different meaning) and states that "a word is identified only through an analysis of the speech that is carried on in a certain community" (p. 60). A differentiation of language and of speech—"the language being the abstract system of identifiable elements and the rules of their combinations" (p. 61), closes Chapter 3, which does not include much that is original and will be of interest mainly to the gnoseologically-minded philosopher of language.

Chapter 4, in which the author deals in detail with empiricist criteria of meaningfulness (pp. 62—83) is very interesting from a philosophical viewpoint, but will probably attract less a linguist's attention. The author analyses the views of Locke, Hume and Berkeley, the concepts of a semantic stratification of meaning and modern verifiability theories of meaning, underlining the fact that the authors of these theories put a greater store by criteria of meaningfulness than by meaning proper. The linguist will perhaps be interested in Alston's critical statement that meaning may be assigned only to sentences and not to their utterances, assertions, and further that the cognitive meaning in current empiricist criteria of meaningfulness is interpreted in a rather narrow sense. Otherwise, he bases his argument on the concept which he had prepared in the preceding chapters and endeavours to put it into harmony with some sort of a compromising empiricist standpoint.

The last chapter (pp. 84—106) with the mystifying title *Dimensions of Meaning*, is stimulating in ideas. First of all, the author deals in it with questions of the vagueness of terms, then investigates metaphors and figuration of expressions. He underlines the difference between undesirable vagueness (usually connected with a lack of concretization) and admissible vagueness which may even have practical (e.g. in diplomacy) and theoretical advantages. He differentiates between several kinds of vagueness—i.e. vagueness resulting from a lack of clearcut borderlines that would separate the application of the given term from other terms, and vagueness arising from several mutually independent combinations of the conditions of application of the given term (he analyses this on the examples of "fruit" and "religion"). He arrives to the conclusion that absolute precision is really impossible, for in doing away with the vagueness of some term we make use of other more or less vague terms. The practical ideal therefore resides in an asymptotical approach to precision, which is achieved, for instance, by the substitution of qualitative by quantitative terms. According to him, it is of advantage to comprehend terms as open in the sense of Waismann's "open texture" concept (e.g. in the case of the concept "cat" we are ready to identify a certain object as a cat if the normal conditions are satisfied: however, what about abnormal conditions, for instance, if this object were to grow thinner and changed to nothing, or on the contrary, were it to grow to fivefold its height?—the author asks). Finally he points out how vagueness can complicate determination of meaning and of synonymy of expressions.

Similarly as vagueness and ambiguity of expressions, so also a figurative use of expressions, the most important of which is the metaphor, renders a professional's work in semantics more difficult. In the author's view a figurative use of terms is based on extension or transposition of the established sense of words—in the case of metaphors on similarity. When characterizing the nature of a metaphor he makes use of P. Henle's definition based on Peirce's concept of icon. According to this a metaphorical expression serves a double semantic purpose—in the first place it symbolizes a certain object or situation in a quite ordinary manner, but secondly, this object or situation is only a picture of what is being said in a covered way. The author then passes under consideration a whole scale of meanings—this is based on a "literal" use of the terms (e.g. "she knits a pullover") then follow derivative meanings with figurative uses (e.g. "That man is totally confused"), then the so-called ("dead metaphors") e.g. "branching road" etc.). A special, philosophically important kind, according to the author, are the so-called quasi-metaphors, which are allegedly peculiar to theology and description of inner feelings, based on analogy and cannot be eliminated.

Alston's work really presents a new outlook on the philosophy of language. The author stresses certain problems and solutions at the expense of others and those interested in this domain who seek in it something else, will perhaps fell disappointed. Too little attention is here devoted to philosophical aspects of formal-syntactical procedures in linguistics (no mention is made of Chomsky, Jespersen and others). A linguist who is not specially interested in semantics may be puzzled when reading the book. Nevertheless, what the author intended to say, he does so in a colourful, free and witty way so that one may read the book with enjoyment and learn a great deal besides. It is rather a pity that the concept on which the whole structure stands—the concept of "illocutionary-act"—should have such gaps as those mentioned here. Viewed from the position of one interested in logical semantics, this concept fails formally to satisfy, nonetheless, it does embody abundant intuitions which could be amply elaborated. Numerous bibliographic references are appended which, as the author himself suggests, should lead the reader beyond the present scope of his book and concept. And from this point of view, too, the book under review constitutes a suitable introduction to the unusually wide and interesting set of problems.

*R. Augustin*

Robert M. W. Dixon, *What Is Language? A New Approach to Linguistic Description*. London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1966. Pp. 216.

Dixon's book is an attempt to put forward a new scheme for linguistic description. One must admit that the author has succeeded in achieving his aim but it remains uncertain whether many linguists are going to accept his approach. It differs rather deeply from what is usually found in linguistic works. This methodological bar combin-

ed with a terminological one may result in diminishing the impact of the book upon the readers. Dixon's bias is a philosophical one and the author is "mainly interested in how language patterns correlate with *all other sorts of patterns*" (p. 110).

In several places the author stresses that "in the vast majority of correlations... there will be no real determination present" (p. 7). However, this is not to be interpreted as if no correlations were motivated. Further the author states that "there is no one obvious best analysis of a natural language" (p. 7). But it does not follow that all descriptions of a natural language are equally good.

A considerable portion of the present book (pp. 23—104) is devoted to the history of linguistics. Many linguists will appreciate the inclusion of the chapter entitled *Wittgenstein and Modern Logic* (pp. 57—71). The third part (*Towards a Linguistic Description*, pp. 105—199) deals with various sorts of correlations, further with the relation of internal and external meaning, translation, direction, etc.

Language is characterized by Dixon as "a sort of behaviour, not necessarily *determined by* or *determining* anything else, but with many *correlations* to other sorts of things" (p. 2), which is appropriate, but the reviewer would not be in a hurry to accept the view "that *any* scientific analysis is essentially subjective, and its components just arbitrary constructs" (p. 1). However, even without this subjectivism any linguist would admit that "the way in which an investigator initially regards language is bound to have a very large effect on his results" (p. 2).

The present book is not easy to follow and therefore its readers will welcome Dixon's description of the Dyirbal language which is promised to be published soon (p. VIII).

*Viktor Krupa*

Angus McIntosh and M. A. K. Halliday, *Patterns of Language. Papers in General, Descriptive and Applied Linguistics*. London, Longmans, Green and Co Ltd., 1966. Pp. XII + 199.

The present volume contains eleven learned essays some of which had already been published, while others appear now for the first time. The unifying factor of the book as a whole, however heterogeneous and varied its topics may seem at first glance, is the belief of both the authors that in all language activity there is a detectable patterning amenable to linguistic analysis.

The starting point of Halliday's considerations running through the first paper (Halliday, *General Linguistics and Its Application to Language Teaching*, pp. 1—41) is the assumption that language is organized noise. Since phonetics studies the noise (substance) and linguistics its organization (form), both are concerned with different aspects of the same observable phenomenon. Both disciplines can therefore be called linguistic sciences. The noise-substance and organization-form relations are fully displayed in the schematized presentation of linguistic science and in related paragraphs dealing with particular levels of analysis (phonic, phonological, grammatical, lexical,

and contextual). Emphasis is laid on the correct interpretation of terms like "form", "formal", while applied to the study of language: any connotation of mechanicalness and devitalization should strictly be avoided.

The purpose of the second paper (McIntosh, *Linguistics and English Studies*, pp. 42—55) is to call for a closer co-operation between professional linguists and students of literature in order to narrow the gap between language studies and those pertinent to literary criticism and appreciation. Students of literature need more dictionaries, concordances and thesauri. More "period" and "particular writer" grammars, more linguistic work on textual criticism, versification and other relevant problems. None of this can be achieved without inter-disciplinary collaboration.

The impact of linguistic research work on literary analysis is dealt with in the following article as well (Halliday, *Descriptive Linguistics in Literary Studies*, pp. 56—69). In order to support a number of theoretical issues by some analytical data, the author refers to W. B. Yeats's poem *Leda and the Swan* as well as to three short passages of modern English prose, by J. Braine, D. Thomas, and A. Wilson. In the first case the use of the definite article with reference to the structure of the English nominal group as well as the distribution of verbal items are examined. In prose passages (each of them being the description of a room) some grammatical and lexical features are comparatively studied.

The fourth contribution (McIntosh, "*As You Like It*": a grammatical clue to character, pp. 70—82) is oriented in a similar way in proposing an examination of what is conveyed by Shakespeare's use of thou and you, as reflected in the language of "*As You Like It*".

Linguistic aspects of stylistic problems are discussed at some length in the following paper (McIntosh, *Some Thoughts on Style*, pp. 83—97). Starting from the basic assumption that if someone is to say something which should fit into a given situation, he is involved in the selection of one of a small number of utterances or sequences of utterances out of a very large number of possibilities. When speaking about selection, a choice between various degrees of suitability of alternative utterances in particular situations is meant rather than something unique and absolute. In view of a certain vagueness of the term suitability, which seems to be crucial for the author's way of approaching stylistic phenomena in this paper, a further distinction between appropriacy and adequacy is proposed and argued for.

Discovering and analysing parallels between the meanings of words and "meanings" of letters is the aim of the sixth essay (McIntosh, "*Graphology*" and *Meaning*, pp. 98—110). In speaking about meanings the term is used in relation to signals which could be called clues to pronunciation. Apart from their being merely signals about something phonic, the written symbols have another role of serving as sub-morphemic units. The suggestion is expressed that any written text normally bears double semantic load: it carries meaning in the ordinary sense within a system whose smallest unit is the morpheme; apart from this, it carries another load of information which

enables us to read the text aloud, within another system whose smallest unit being the grapheme. Both kinds of information carried by the written text are referred to as "meaning" with subsequent distinguishing between (1) linguistic meaning (which is involved in one's understanding or translating a given text) and (2) phonic meaning (which is involved in interpreting visual graphic material in phonic terms).

The following two papers of Halliday's treat of actual linguistic problems. The first of them (*Intonation Systems in English*, pp. 111—133) attempts to explore the role of intonation in conveying meaning in English, the second (*Linguistics and Machine Translation*, pp. 134—150) is concerned with linguistic aspects of machine translation. In the latter contribution the relevance of a computer to linguistic research work is studied. A number of problems related to the use of computer in this field are approached from the point of view of applied linguistics: difficulties with the transduction of linguistic information into the binary mode of representation as postulated by electronic engineering, difficulties with the statement of equivalence between two languages, problems with units, etc.

The ninth essay (McIntosh, A Four-letter Word in "*Lady Chatterley's Lover*", pp. 151—164) deals with the problem how a computer might be instructed to examine linguistic environments of the verb know so as to be able to arrive at a satisfactory distinction between the know—"savoir" and know—"connaître" correspondences. The text analyzed: Lawrence's "*Lady Chatterley's Lover*".

Exoticism as a potentially typological concept is dealt with by the last contribution of Halliday's (*Typology and the Exotic*, pp. 165—182). One of the most outstanding properties of this term is its relativity, as the author attempted to show.

In the eleventh paper (McIntosh, *Patterns and Ranges*, pp. 183—199) the author makes consistent use of the concept of range as one ruling decisions of language users in the field of lexis, being, in this sense, opposed to the notion of pattern operating in the domain of grammar.

The book will be of interest to a relatively broad audience, no matter whether linguists or literary analysts, interested in the linguistic analysis of literary texts.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Jeffrey Ellis, *Towards a General Comparative Linguistics*. Mouton and Co., The Hague 1966. Pp. 170.

The present publication, unique of its kind, consists of three main parts, and namely 1) *Kinds of Comparative Linguistics* (pp. 13—32), 2) *Comparative Descriptive Linguistics* (pp. 33—61), 3) *Appendices* (pp. 63—170).

In a brief introduction (pp. 11—12) Ellis states that the aim of his book is "to vindicate comparative linguistics as a part of general linguistics". At the same time he states that it is comparative descriptive linguistics that occupies the central position in comparative linguistics.

In the rather sketchy first part, various kinds of comparative linguistics are enumerated. It is to be regretted that the author does not go beyond describing a set of terminological labels. Also the state of quantification in different types of comparative linguistics is not adequately reflected. Much remains to be done in the field of methodology suitable for comparison of languages. Ellis is right in stressing the importance of the theory of translation for linguistics. It should be kept in mind that the notion of transformation acts as a unifying factor in linguistics since it is central not only to modern generative grammar but also to comparative (genetic, typological) description of languages and to the theory of translation.

The second part deals with problems like levels in comparison and criteria of comparison, steps in comparison process, and, finally, comparison of comparisons.

Appendices take up more than half the book. Four of the seven appendices (*General Linguistics and Comparative Philology*, *Some Problems in Comparative Linguistics*, *Possible Comparisons of Balkan and North-West European Linguistic Community with Reference to System-Reduction Method of Quantification*, *On Comparative Descriptive Linguistics*) have been published previously in 1957—1963. One paper (*On Linguistic Prehistory*) was written before the book was planned. The remaining two papers (*Theory of Descriptive Linguistics*, *Rank-bound Translation and Areal Convergence*) are published here for the first time. The appendices seem to be more interesting than the first two parts of the book. In the first appendix Ellis undertakes an attempt at defining a variety of general linguistic terms, e.g. category, class, context, form, grammar, level, meaning, situation, structure, substance, system, and unit. Not all of the definitions seem to be satisfactory enough, e.g., that of system and structure. In Appendix B, the author polemizes with W. S. Allen and arrives at the conclusion that “in any case comparative philology is a science” (p. 77). On p. 101 Ellis rightly criticizes Chikobava and enumerates the aims of linguistic comparison. According to him, there are three of them: 1) the practical task of translating, 2) drawing conclusions about language in general, and 3) trying out methods of comparison.

On p. 109 the author mistakes Indonesian for a supposed linguistic family. The fact is that the Indonesian family is an established one since the days of Dempwolff.

It is sympathetic that Ellis is conversant with East European linguistics and frequently quotes Slavonic and other East European authors.

*Viktor Krupa*

H. Landar, *Language and Culture*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1966<sup>2</sup>.  
Pp. XIV + 274.

The problem of “language and culture” enjoys a much greater attention in United States than in Europe. This is a consequence of the traditional position of linguistics which in the U.S.A. makes an integral part of anthropology whilst in Europe these

two disciplines are separated. The present book is intended to show the points common to language and culture and the importance of a study of language for the study of culture. The individual chapters deal with: I. *Writing* (5—29), II. *Theories* (33 to 63), III. *Linguistics* (67—125), IV. *Culture: Boas* (126—166), V. *Culture: Sapir* (169—231), and the book further includes several linguistic exercises, a bibliography and an index. It is a systematic explanation with short subchapters, some of which have an essayistic character.

The book is destined primarily for cultural anthropologists who can find in linguistics not only an auxiliary discipline but also a model of exactness worth to be followed.

*L. Renko*

Robert A. Hall, Jr., *Pidgin and Creole Languages*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press 1966. Pp. XV + 188.

Hall's book consists of three more or less independent parts, i.e., *Nature and History* (pp. 3—21), *Structure and Relationships* (pp. 25—102), *Significance* (pp. 105—148). Three appendices contain sample texts, a representative bibliography and a brief explanation of some phonetic symbols used in the text.

In the first part, the author deals with those historical and social conditions that give birth to pidgin and creole languages. Besides, a survey of the most important pidgins and creoles is given. Obviously enough, no such survey can be exhaustive and especially a list of pidgins is always open to additions. Perhaps it should be added that a Russian-Chinese Pidgin existed formerly at Kiakhta. It served as a vehicle of communication for Russian and Chinese traders.

As far as the structure of the pidgins is concerned, Hall states that "the essential characteristics of a pidgin language is that it is sharply reduced in its pronunciation and grammar and in its vocabulary" (p. 25). This does not hold for the creole languages, on the contrary, "In the development of a creole language out of a pidgin...the main change is in the direction of re-expansion of both structure and vocabulary" (p. 25).

There can be no doubt that pidgins and creoles are of great importance to both descriptive and comparative linguistics and it is to be appreciated that Hall turns our attention to these "marginal" languages.

Hall's book reflects the present state of study of these languages for he discusses mainly Neomelanesian and Haitian.

*Viktor Krupa*

J. H. Greenberg, *Language Universals* (= Janua Linguarum, Series Minor 59). The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1966. Pp. 89.

In the present book Greenberg continues his extensive examining of language universals.<sup>1</sup> The title is somewhat misleading since there is only one universal involved: that of the opposition marked vs. non-marked. The author finds it in phonology, grammar and semantics and documents it by oppositions of phonemes, grammatical categories, numerals, pronouns, kinship terms, etc. Then he draws the conclusion that the marked member is in general more complex, longer, more difficult to pronounce and since the time of Trubetzkoy the principle of "markedness" has generally been accepted, here its generalization is extended to involve the whole language.

Though the collection of the presented facts was very laborious and though the theory is acceptable, one can raise some objections to the methodology. To document a theory by a purposeful selection of such *examples* as corroborate it, is the easiest way for proving anything. In principle, an example proves nothing. With many universals one can find cases which are seemingly inconsistent with the theory introduced. It is important to explain here why, in the given case in the given language, the contrary situation came into existence.

From a certain point of view the universals can be divided into three groups: (1) *Existential* universals having the form: "the phenomenon A exists in all languages" which can be either (a) *absolute*, holding without exceptions, or (b) *statistical*, having a statistical validity only; (2) *dependence* universals which can be either (a) *deterministic*: "if there is A in the language then there is B, too, or  $A \Rightarrow B$ ", or (b) *probabilistic*: "if in the language there is an amount  $x$  of A, then with probability  $P$  there is an amount  $y$  of B". Here,  $y$  can be a constant or an interval. The phenomena of language are mutually interdependent to a different degree and from the universal point of view this dependence has mostly a probabilistic character. Let us imagine a dependence chain  $i \Rightarrow j \Rightarrow k \Rightarrow \dots \Rightarrow n$  of language events where every event is composed of a number of elements. Let event  $i$  gradually change (as to the frequency of occurrence or as to the number of elements). Then in event  $j$  gradual changes take place, too, which cause changes in  $k$ , etc. The changes in all the events are not equally rapid. The more distant two events in the dependence chain are the smaller is the (mutual) influence of their changes. Thereby chains of statistical dependences come into existence which form the focus of typology and should also form the focus of the investigation of universals. It is possible to draw from them also several historical conclusions which is important especially in languages where no information about older stages is available.

Suppose the markedness is a universal feature of language which should appear

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. H. Greenberg (Ed.), *Universals of Language*. Cambridge, Mass. 1963; J. H. Greenberg, *Nekotoryje obobščenija kasajuščijesja vozmožnykh načalnykh i konečnykh posledovatelnostej soglasnych*. Voprosy jazykoznanija 1964, 4, 41—65.

everywhere. Since it is not the case, one can also study the problem why the opposition does not exist in the given case. Some answers are evident: (1) This opposition is characteristic for binary systems. It is, of course, true that all linguistic systems can be reduced to binary ones (with smaller or greater violence) but not all of them have a priori this character. (2) This opposition can be made expressive, above all, formally. It is current in phonology and morphology but less frequent in semantics where the complexity of the entity is counted in terms of semantic components within some semantic system. However, the oppositions here are not always privative.

Another complication is involved when two elements differ by several features simultaneously the first of which is marked at one time, the second at another. Usually, a decision can be attained on the basis of the frequency of elements but it is not always a safe criterion. In consequence of historical changes e.g. a unification of two marked elements could take place, whereby the frequency of the resulting elements was necessarily increased and could surpass that of the non-marked one. If the relation *non-marked = more frequent* holds universally then, on the one hand, contrary cases signal preceding historical changes and, on the other hand, predictions can be made as to how the language will cope with this situation.

The examination of universals is important not only for the knowledge of the properties of human language but also for descriptive and historical linguistics of individual languages. Greenberg's endeavour is, therefore, a precious contribution to *modern linguistics*.

*L. Renko*

Jerrold J. Katz and Paul M. Postal, *An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Descriptions*. Cambridge, Mass. The M.I.T. Press 1964. Pp. 178.

The authors accept the old Saussurian distinction between language and speech which were so often confused in modern linguistics. Obviously, linguistics is concerned with both of them but the knowledge of language seems to be of vital importance for a true understanding of speech. This is not to say that the study of linguistic phenomena should be narrowed to the study of language only. This monograph by Katz and Postal is intended as a contribution to a theory of the nature of language. Its aim is, as the authors declare, to provide an adequate means of incorporating the grammatical and the semantic descriptions of a language into one integrated description.

Originally the transformationalists did not pay too much attention to the semantic aspect of language. However, later it became obvious that the semantic level cannot be omitted from an exhaustive linguistic theory. The conception of a linguistic description proposed here by Katz and Postal combines Chomsky's generative conception of grammar with Katz' and Fodor's conception of semantics. It is only natural that this should result in a few essential changes in Chomsky's conception of grammar. The present publication discusses these changes and tries to answer the following questions: 1. What are the syntactic structures that are semantically interpreted in

describing the meaning of a sentence; 2. Whether transformations contribute anything to the meaning of sentences; 3. What changes in the form of a syntactic description must be made to accord with this integration of syntactic and semantic descriptions (p. X).

The authors arrive at the conclusion that the transformations cannot change the meaning of a sentence. The so-called projection rules are restricted to underlying P-markers. These problems are dealt with in Chapter 3 (pp. 30—70). The next chapter titled *Apparent Counterexamples* (pp. 71—156) is interesting for anybody who would like to get acquainted with the transformational description of a particular language.

In an extensive conclusion (pp. 157—174) the authors discuss the implications of their theory for the syntactic component, with the universals in linguistic descriptions, with the implications for models of speech recognition and speech production, and, finally, with the implications for the theory of language learning.

Katz' and Postal's book is an important contribution to the transformational generative grammar and it should be appreciated that it has been translated into Czech and published in Czechoslovakia.

*Viktor Krupa*

Stephen Ullmann, *Grundzüge der Semantik. Die Bedeutung in sprachwissenschaftlicher Sicht*. German translation by Susanne Koopmann. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter et Co., 1967. Pp. X + 348 pp.

The present German translation of Ullmann's work is based on the English edition of 1957<sup>1</sup> which contains, as against the original edition of 1951, a newly-added chapter on recent trends in semantics (*Neuere Strömungen in der Semantik*).

The German version, thanks to S. Koopmann, has some specific merits of its own: bibliographical data of both English editions have been re-arranged and supplemented by fresh items. A number of original references to works which have become, by the time, more easily accessible in new editions, have even been repaginated.

In order to follow Ullmann's mind as closely as possible, a good deal of German technical terms are paralleled by those of Ullmann's.

The German student of semantics, owing to the care of both the editor and translator, comes to possess an excellent German translation of this opus magnum of descriptive semantics.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

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<sup>1</sup> Stephen Ullman, *The Principles of Semantics. A Linguistic Approach to Meaning*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell et Mott Ltd., 1957.

Noam Chomsky, *Topics in the Theory of Generative Grammar*. The Hague, Mouton and Co. 1966. Pp. 95.

The present publication consists of four lectures that were delivered at the Linguistic Institute of the Linguistic Society of America, held at Bloomington in June 1964.

In this book Chomsky presents his views upon the linguistic theory. According to him, a substantive linguistic theory cannot be developed without:

1. theories of phonetic and semantic representation,
2. a general account of the notion "syntactic description",
3. a specification of the class of potential generative grammars, and,
4. a general account of how these grammars function (see p. 18).

In the first chapter we can find also an explanation of what is "deep" and what "surface" structure (pp. 16—17). Many linguists will appreciate Chomsky's statement which is as follows: "...we must... develop as rich a hypothesis concerning linguistic universals as can be supported by available evidence" (p. 21). This seems to indicate the place where typology should be incorporated in the theory of generative transformational grammar, including, e.g., morpheme structure rules.<sup>1</sup>

Many other problems are discussed in the book, e.g., sentence generating, semantic interpretation, generalized transformations. These can be dispensed with, which results a simplification of the transformational grammar (see p. 61). A separate chapter is devoted to the phonological component (pp. 76—90) and another to the criticism of the generative grammar, esp. to A. Reichling and E. M. Uhlenbeck (pp. 25—50). Chomsky's adherents should perhaps show how their theory works in practice and this would be the best reply to the opponents of the transformational grammar. However, very little has been done in this respect as yet.

Viktor Krupa

*Psycholinguistic Papers. The Proceedings of the 1966 Edinburgh Conference.* (Edited by J. Lyons and R. J. Wales.) Edinburgh University Press 1966 (reprint edition 1967). Pp. 10 + 243.

The Edinburgh University Conference on Psycholinguistics (18—20 March 1966), sponsored by the Research Board of the Faculty of Social Sciences, was one of a series of conferences and seminars in inter-disciplinary fields.

The papers for the Conference, issued in the present volume, were distributed to participants in advance. Each paper is followed by the comments of the invited

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<sup>1</sup> See Anca Belchiță, *Morpheme Structure Rules in the Generative Grammar of the Romanian Language*. Revue roumaine de linguistique 12, 1967, 507—522.

discussants and a summarized version of the general discussion from the floor. The order in which the papers are presented is that in which they were discussed. Each of the five sessions of the Conference was devoted to one paper as follows.

First Session: J. P. Thorne, *On Hearing Sentences*. (With prepared comments by J. Morton and R. C. Oldfield. Chairman J. Lyons (1—25)).

Thorne's paper is concerned with such fundamental notions as hearing, understanding, recognizing, and interpreting. In commenting on some recent experiments the author affirms that some of the features we 'hear' when listening to speech are supplied by the hearers instead of being present in the acoustic signal and that the controlling factor is the hearer's awareness of structure.

The main points raised in the general discussion: (i) the notion of ambiguity and its implication for psycholinguistic research; (ii) the relevance of context and of stress and intonation in the understanding of utterances; (iii) what is meant by 'structure' in this inter-disciplinary context; (iv) the notion of redundancy; and (v) the possible parallels between the historical development of languages and the development of linguistic competence in the child.

Second Session: R. J. Wales and J. C. Marshall, *The Organization of Linguistic Performance*. (With prepared comments by A. L. Blumenthal and A. R. Jonckheere. Chairman D. Abercrombie (27—95)).

The vast range of data covered by the authors aim at providing an explanation of how the human organism is able to use language. Although being formally devoted to linguistic performance, much attention is paid to linguistic competence which are the very crucial notions in the interaction between psychology and linguistics.

A highly useful attempt to schematize the process of linguistic performance is undertaken. The performance schema proposed is built up in the following way:

Input processing: preliminary recognition—state of readiness—preliminary surface structure analyser—deep structure analyser (and semantic interpretation)—conceptual matrix.

Output processing: conceptual matrix—semantic interpretation (and deep structure analyser)—surface structure—phonological component (55).

General discussion: (i) the sense in which sentences can be said to be of potentially infinite length; (ii) the relevance of frequency of occurrence to the construction of models of linguistic competence and performance; (iii) the notion of context; (iv) the psychological relevance of the linguist's distinction of competence and performance; (v) evaluation procedures.

Third Session: D. McNeill, *The Creation of Language by Children*. (With prepared comments by C. Fraser and M. Donaldson. Chairman B. Semeonoff (97—132)).

The fascinating problem of language acquisition is the central topic of the McNeill's thought-provoking paper. Any analysis of the process of acquisition concerns two main problems: the speed of language acquisition and the abstract nature of what is acquired. Each generation, endowed with a fundamental capacity for language,

creates language anew with astonishing speed. As to the nature of what is acquired, the answer is given in transformational terms: the linguistic information included in the underlying structure of sentences (as against the superficial one), that is a purely abstract information which is never directly manifested in the superficial structure of speech. One of the most relevant earlier hypotheses in this field, notably that children are endowed with a biologically-founded, inborn capacity for language acquisition, is transferred in a provocative context.

In attempting to account for these problems the author believes it quite indispensable to suppose that children's first grammatical efforts include abstract features contained in linguistic theory. This being true, then the assumption that these abstract features reflect a child's biological endowment can explain both the speed of acquisition and the abstractness of what is acquired. The rest of McNeill's paper is devoted to providing evidence in support of this hypothesis.

The main points raised in the general discussion: (i) the biological basis for language-acquisition; (ii) the distinction between the 'logical' and the 'grammatical' subject in sentences; (iii) the necessity for postulating a highly-structured, innate 'faculté de langage'; and (iv) the possibility of using a language-acquisition theory as a model for a more general theory of cognitive development.

Fourth Session: J. Fodor and M. Garrett, *Some Reflections on Competence and Performance*. (With prepared comments by N. S. Sutherland and L. J. Cohen. Chairman W. H. Walsh (133—179)).

Fodor and Garret in their long contribution seem to claim that the Twentieth Century is dominated by what they call positivist theory according to which science should be exclusively preoccupied with its experimentally-discoverable data and not with theoretical issues. Further, that progress of science and in particular that of psychology were considerably retarded and hindered in the general atmosphere of this dominant view (a statement rather unfavorably commented on in the subsequent discussion). In the following parts of their paper the problem of competence, performance, recognition and other relevant topics are studied. In final sections of the report the authors consider relative merits of a number of experiments attempting to measure sentence complexity.

General discussion: (i) the relationship between transformational rules and psychological processes or mechanisms; (ii) the necessity of having a preliminary hypothesis governing the collection of data; (iii) the degree of interdependence between linguistics and psychology in the study of the development and use of language.

Fifth Session: E. S. Klima and Ursula Bellugi, *Syntactic Regularities in the Speech of Children*. (With prepared comments by R. Huxley. Chairman T. Burns (181—219)).

The general linguistic competence of children and the question of how to arrive at this capacity is the goal of this paper. The language acquisition process is studied on the ground of a developmental study of three children. The authors propose to

investigate the development of negative and interrogative structures in the speech of these children.

General discussion: (i) research strategies and procedures; (ii) memory limitations; (iii) the relative priority of syntax and phonology in the development of language.

At the end of the book a bibliographical survey and an index of names are added (221—243).

The papers included in the present book are of general interest and are rightly expected by the editors to be of value not solely to specialists and teachers but also to laymen desirous to gain a deeper insight into a child's linguistic development.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

L. T. Milic, *A Quantitative Approach to the Style of Jonathan Swift* (Studies in English Literature, 23). The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1967. Pp. 317.

Lately, stylistics more and more inclines to the probabilistic determination of the style and abandons the intuitive and impressionistic standpoints. The reviewed publication is one of the numerous proofs of this trend. In this place, we shall not be interested in Jonathan Swift, as an English writer, but rather in theoretical problems connected with a quantitative description and in the way the author has coped with it. It must be emphasized that a quantitative analysis of a text is one of the most time-consuming and tedious works in literary criticism even though there are computers at our disposal. The book under review is a solid piece of work which required enormous time-costs and, yet is only one little stone in the mosaic constituted by the properties of the text. The book includes an *Introduction* (15—19) where the author explains his standpoint; a chapter on Swift's style (*The Reputation of Swift's Prose Style*, 20—39); a survey of opinions on style (*The Problem of Style*, 40—73); a chapter on *Principles, Assumptions and Methods* (74—83) which is rather short but furnishes sufficient information about the author's procedure. The chapters that follow (*Seriation* 84—121, *Connection* 122—136, *Words without Meaning* 137—236) show the most remarkable features of Swift's style and their quantitative evaluation. In the last chapter (*A Case in Point: "A Letter to a Young Poet"*, 237—269) the author tries to determine the authorship of one text on the basis of the foregoing results. In the *Conclusion* (270—273) the author expresses his aims as follows: "I have not claimed, in the work just concluded, to provide a complete description of Swift's style and a fool-proof method of attribution. I do not know that either is possible. Rather I have tried to steer the study of style away from vagueness and impressionism and toward the maximum of objectivity and precision consistent with the nature of the problem" (270). The book includes a number of *Appendices* (275—294), an extensive *Bibliography* (295—308), an *Index* (309—317), 58 Tables and 15 Figures.

In general, one can agree with the author's opinions since they represent a sound

reaction against the subjectivity of literary criticism, and the reviewer wants only to complete them concisely and to point to some problematic points.

There is a great number of definitions of style. The differences among them arise mostly from different points of view. From the point of view of an objective and exact description of a text style may be defined simply as *the totality of the properties of the text*. Every property has a certain degree and ranges within a certain interval. Style is given by degrees of individual properties. The average, the norm or the expected value of these properties can be ascertained by an analysis of the language taken as a whole (all texts of the language). It would be an error to believe that style is formed by those properties only that significantly differ from the norm or from those of other texts (cf. "In fact, to the stylistician only that which is beyond the neutral common denominator qualifies as style"—64). There are surely texts that do not differ significantly from the norm with any property but it does mean that they are written without style—which is an attribute of any writing. Those marked features which are searched for by stylisticians may be called *differential characteristics* and they only show the point of the maximal difference among texts. They are, however, like all other properties *identificational characteristics* of the text.

In texts one can distinguish four types of properties: (1) Properties of the language in which the text is written and which are common to all texts of the language, (2) properties of the formation in which the text is written and which are common to all texts of that formation, (3) properties special to the given text(s) introduced consciously into it, (4) properties special to the given text(s) introduced into it unconsciously. When investigating differential characteristics we are concerned only with properties (3) and (4). The difference between them is unessential (65) if only literary (not psychological) problems are in question. According to the author's opinion style is an *unconscious process* (16, 17, 76, 77, etc.) and "in mature writers the process is *consistent*" (77). If we accept the assertion that style is the totality of properties then it arises through both conscious and unconscious processes, since also such properties of the text as do not differ from those of the norm or those of other texts (and, consequently, should be conscious) are manifestations of some style. Further, the question of consistency is relative.<sup>1</sup> Something is consistent for all parts of a text (i.e. for the whole text), something for the author, something for the genre, for the epoch, etc. Milic is interested in those properties only which are consistent for authors, the others are considered inconsistent ("If they [the properties] do not show adequate consistency, if they are unduly sensitive to the type of writing tested, or if they fail to discriminate between greatly different authors, they are considered Not-reliable. If their performance is not as indiscriminate as these but fails to meet the criteria for reliable tests, they are considered Not-certain"—249). In statistical terms the following problem

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<sup>1</sup> The question of consistency was analyzed in detail by L. Doležel, *The Prague School and the Statistical Theory of Poetic Language*. Prague Studies in Mathematical Linguistics 2, 1967, 97—104.

is involved: Let a property be given by some central value for particular texts of an author; then that property with which all texts happen to be taken from the same population will be consistent. This can be proved reliably by means of statistics. Now let us suppose that as regards this property all texts of the author are significantly different (i. e. they do not belong to the same population). Then it is this great dispersion of the respective property that must be considered as characteristic for the author. It may turn out that this dispersion is (significantly) greater than that in other authors then in this case it is even a differential characteristic. Further, to determine consistency a statistical test must be used. Subjective estimates of the size of a difference are valueless. The author realizes this fact, he mentions it in several places, nevertheless, he has mostly omitted statistical testing. In such cases one cannot say that the results are either good or bad, they preliminarily represent only hypotheses which are to be verified. Finally, the author's statement "that the process is consistent leads to the possibility that it may be measured" (78) causes us to believe that inconsistent processes may not be measured. Anyway, in our case all processes are relatively consistent.

The properties of the text are given by units occurring in them and by their mutual relations. The units may be taken from any linguistic (and non-linguistic) level and their possible number is not even approximately known so far. The determination and the segmentation of units is relatively simple when we work on the elementary linguistic levels where methods of linguistics can be exploited. On higher levels considerable difficulties arise. Units can be obtained from the phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, semiotic, stylistic, etc. level and they can be defined according to their identificational-contrastive features, according to their beginning and end (in terms of lower units), according to their composition from lower units, according to length, grammatical type, semantic, semiotic, stylistic, logical, etc. category, or by means of combinations of these criteria. The author chose as units only word-classes since he supposed them to be consistent in distribution and unconscious in use.

In the text, the unit defined in some way, gets into an intricate network of relations<sup>2</sup> which makes up the structure of the text. The number of relations is infinite, similarly as that of units. Let us mention at least the most current ones: The relations of opposition or minimal contrast (A vs.  $\bar{A}$ , A vs. B), physical relations (longer vs. shorter, more marked vs. less marked, etc.), distributional relations (before, behind), functional relations (initial, medial, final), "logical" relations (reflexive, symmetric, transitive, etc.), empirical relations between denotations of linguistic objects, frequency relations (more frequent vs. less frequent) which must be combined with all other relations, since not only the existence of the given unit (the so-called abstract

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<sup>2</sup> Some of them were described in A. Juillard, *Outline of a General Theory of Structural Relations*. 's-Gravenhage 1962.

occurrence) but also its frequency of occurrence (concrete occurrence) is important in making up the text; etc., etc. In the present state of affairs the discovery of any new unit or relation is of the greatest importance. The author investigates e.g. serialization which is a sequence of several words of the same category (= distributional relation), or three-word patterns of words of any category (= distributional relation), or introductory connectives (= functional relation of connectives to the sentence), etc. It can never be known in advance which unit in which relation will represent a differential characteristic. It would, of course, be ideal to describe all possible units in all possible relations but this task surpasses the possibilities of an individual. A basic theoretical work along these lines would be an inventory of units and relations from which literary scientists could choose as needed. Naturally, it would be most suitable to choose entities from this inventory at random. Thereby the objectivity of the analysis would increase. In the reviewed work the author confined himself to a purposeful choice of "suitable" entities, i.e. those which seemed to be characteristic for Swift, and ascertained their frequency in texts by Swift and by some control authors (Addison, Gibbon, Johnson, Macaulay). If in such a research, subjectivity reaches only the choice of entities, one can find fault with the method in two points only: (1) The choice of entities can be adapted in such a way that they comply with the hypothesis stated. Every author differs significantly from any other author at least in one property but in all others they can be very similar. Leaving out all other properties in favour of one (or more) of them distorts the results. The student may, however, happen to find at once such entities as turn out to be significantly differential when compared with the *chosen* control authors. This process is, of course, objective but the result has no general validity. It is not granted that there is no other author who shares this property with the examined author. (2) If the attribution of a text to an author is in question, weighty errors may occur. To rely upon one or only a few properties is precarious and not too convincing.

If subjectivity reaches beyond the choice, into the method of evaluating statistical data, then the results are not reliable at all. In general, the procedure in a work of this kind is as follows: (1) State the literary hypothesis, (2) determine the units which are to be counted, (3) formulate the literary hypothesis in statistical terms, (4) perform the count, (5) perform the statistical test, (6) interpret the result statistically, (7) interpret it literarily. Statistics is, evidently, an auxiliary apparatus which stands between the literary hypothesis and its acceptance or rejection. The aim is, doubtless, literary, but the statistical stage of the work warrants maximal exactness. The author himself emphasizes this fact in several places (81, 82, 157, 158, 273, etc.) but, unfortunately, he exploits statistical procedures only exceptionally, interprets the results of counts literarily and skips over phases (5) and (6). Thereby the work is deprived of objectiveness, exactness and persuasiveness. An example of attribution of three texts: "... the three unknowns are attributed to the author whose average is closest to their values" (255). This was done by a mere estimation without statistical

testing. According to one of the criteria it was even ascertained that Swift's text was written by Johnson; the first part of the "Letter" was written by Johnson according to the first criterion and by an unknown author according to two other criteria; the second part of the "Letter" was written by Swift according to all three criteria. The result clearly shows the justification of the objection to emphasizing one (or a few) properties (criteria) and confirms the necessity of statistical verification of our hypotheses. If the literary scientist is not sufficiently prepared in mathematics (287), he must collaborate with a statistician. In the case mentioned above only a test of difference of two averages and two proportions was involved in order to ascertain the probability with which the text could be attributed to some of the authors. In works of this kind, however one, can successfully make use of much more complicated statistical procedures. The author knows "that absolute certainty in the attribution of works to authors is not possible" (244) but it is always possible to determine the *probability* with which it can be done.

The last remark concerns grammatical features which are not affected by the subject matter of the writing to the same extent as lexical units (16—17, 78, 138—141, etc.) and, consequently, their distribution is more stable. This assumption is correct but, as shown by the results, it does not hold for all grammatical properties and, as a matter of fact, there is a number of properties which are still more independent of the purposeful choice of the writer and of other factors.

These comments have for aim only to emphasize the author's exact attitude and his probabilistic concept of style. The work represents great undertaking and it is to be hoped that the enormous amount of statistical data collected will be thoroughly statistically evaluated at some future date.

*L. Renko*

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Asian and African Studies V/1971

*Obálku navrhol Leo Cinzer*

*Technický redaktor Oto Takáč*

Prvé vydanie. Vydalo Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied v Bratislave 1971 ako svoju  
1474. publikáciu. Strán 220, obr. 1

Vytlačil TISK, knižní výroba, n. p., Brno, závod 1. AH 17,74, VH 18,24, Náklad 750 výtlačkov  
71-013-71  
12/12 509/29  
Kčs 30,— I