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THE TREE AS A COGNITIVE MODEL IN SPEECH AND LITERATURE

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In several recent papers I tried to highlight the importance of the human (and to some extent also the animal) body as an auxiliary cognitive model (e.g. Krupa 1993 and 1995) in the vocabulary of widely divergent languages. The body (especially its outer and visible parts) incessantly enters into interaction with its surroundings, and is a major source of our elementary and fundamental knowledge. It is therefore not surprising that the body, with its complex internal design, often serves as a hypothetical blueprint or model for the interpretation and structuration of other conceptual domains, especially in those instances where functionally different and yet complementary (more important versus less important, central versus peripheral, superordinate versus subordinate) components ought to be distinguished and labelled.

The human body often furnishes the background and material for constructing models of hierarchization and for internal arrangement of other conceptual domains – whether it is space, a house or some kind of social unit. The question if personification is just a by-product in this transfer or if the communicants are aware of this connotation will remain open. After all, this may be a matter not only of the originator of a metaphor but also of the individual sensitivity and disposition of its recipients.

Alongside human or animal bodies, other analogous "bodies" exist in our surroundings. It is especially those in the realm of flora that are highly salient. The most ancient and stable lexical expression within the domain of plants is obviously that referring to trees, not those designating grass, weeds, lianas or bushes (cf. Brown 1980: 1). The chief value of the tree for the cognitive purposes of a perceptive mind lies in its impressive size and intricate articulation, perhaps distantly reminiscent of the human (or animal) body, except the former's seeming inertia behind which, however, mighty force is hidden.

Analogies between human (animal) body and tree find reflections on the lexical level in quite a few languages. For example, identical terms may be used to denote skin and bark. Thus Indonesian *kulit* means both human skin and tree bark (Echols – Shadily 1963: 203) and the same holds for Japanese *kawa* (Konrad 1970: I: 298). Along the same line, both hand (or arm) and branch may be

assigned the same lexeme, cf. Hawaiian *mana* meaning both branch and limb (Pukui – Elbert 1957: 217), just as the English lexeme *trunk* refers to the bulky part of both tree and human body (Hais – Hodek 1985: III: 2451) in a perfect analogy to the Maori term *tumu* (Williams 1957: 453). The basis of this lexical identity is obviously found in functional analogy in the case of *skin/bark* and *trunk* and in shape in the case of *branch/hand*. On the whole, however, the merits of the tree as a model are quite different from those of the human (animal) body.

The tree is, in addition to the human body, the most frequently employed model of a different type of the organization of its components. Thus, for example in the lexicon and oral literature, flower often symbolizes beautiful woman, cf. Indonesian *bunga desa*, literally the village flower, could be translated as the village beauty (Echols – Schadily 1963: 67), Japanese *shakókai no hana*, literally, the flower of the fashionable society, i.e., a beauty from the good society (Konrad 1970: II: 428). Likewise, fruit may also mean child, e.g. Hawaiian and Maori *hua* "fruit" and "progeny" (Pukui – Elbert 1957: 78; Williams 1957: 64).

The metaphorical usage of "tree" for cognitive purposes is widely known from literature. Wilhelm von Humboldt resorted to a botanical metaphor when he remarked that "... an individual is related to the nation as a leaf to the tree". Ranke in his turn compared mankind to a tree and Mommsen wrote that the Roman state of the imperial era is similar to a spreading tree (Demandt 1978: 107).

Archaic myths as well as metaphor-derived phraseology, and vocabulary confirm that the tree has attracted the "naive philosophers of language" (on the naive image of the world in language see Apresian 1995) in the first place thanks to the predominance of processual characteristics in its semantics, to its vital rhythm, in a word to such phenomena as growth, blooming, ripening, bringing fruits, falling of leaves, winter sleep and, at last, a seemingly miraculous rebirth. Some tree species are obviously more salient for purposes of this kind than other trees. Among the former ones are mentioned long-lived species such as maple, larix, sycamore, oak, etc. (Tokarev 1980: 396). The causes of cyclic changes undergone by tree are not necessarily obvious, which no doubt gives them a dose of mysticism and mysterious force, besides their significance as a donor of food and raw materials for construction and handicraft.

Another significant characteristic of the tree is given by the fact that it represents an intuitive vertical link between the basic cosmic spheres. The tree sprouts from the earth which is viewed as mother in many religions of the world – and grows toward the fatherly heaven. People live in the beneficial shadow of its crown and thanks to its fruits. Its branches reach toward heaven if not straight into it. And from this observation it is not too far to the idea that the heaven is actually supported by those branches. Birds sit and nest there, fly from them. The birds are a kind of natural mediators between earth and heaven and if we observe them from the ground, they sometimes soar to such a height that they disappear from our sight – and who knows if they do not even visit heaven? At other opportunities they are believed to bring us messages from the

higher spheres. From this idea it is not so far to the avian conception of the soul. Its home is no doubt in the heaven, at least according to many religions. And we know from the New Testament that the Holy Spirit appeared to Jesus in the shape of a dove (Matthew III, 16 but also elsewhere).

The opposite of the crown of the tree are its roots hidden in the depth and growing from the earth. The roots are inaccessible and mysterious just as the causes of so many things and that is why they so often become a rewarding subject for our contemplations and speculations. Thus the "cause" (origin or beginning) of the tree is hidden in the entrails of the earth – earth that receives the dead, their bodies return to it and it is far from surprising that the nether world is frequently situated somewhere in the depths. The world of the living people is localized somewhere in between, below the crown and above the roots. These two spheres (above and below) are external or at least remote to humans. Here the ternary conception (division) of the world overlaps with the binary conception. The latter may be characterized as the antithesis of the upper and lower worlds. The upper world is the realm of light, the lower world is the realm of darkness. The parallel of these two worlds with the opposition of day and night is far from perfect. The day may temporarily give way to darkness and, on the other hand, night has a light of its own – in the moon. The earth gives birth to plants and it is very easy to impute it a feminine, maternal essence. The earth which gives life, receives it back after the death. According to Maori phraseology, the dead body is put into the "belly of the earth" (*koopuu o te whenua*). The donor of life takes it back. On the contrary, the tree towers ever upwards to heaven and the light, to the sky which fertilizes the earth, being a male. Male is an escape to the heaven, being above while the earth is below. "Above" is a privileged characteristic even in the animal world, being associated with triumph, victory, majesty and power. This disengagement, however, is transient and is terminated by a return down.

The semantic domain of the tree comprises both metonymic links (tree – birds, tree – heaven, tree – nether world) and metaphoric relation (tree – male, tree – cosmos). Probably the most ancient reference to the tree is found in the Sumerian myth of Gilgamesh. This tree (maybe a weeping willow or an oak subspecies, cf. Epos o Gilgamešovi 1997) was growing in the vicinity of the Euphrates. At the time when the sky rose above the earth, a storm uprooted the tree by the river but the goddess Inanna carried it to Uruk, planted it again and took care of it. A snake was living in its roots and in its crown the storm bird Anzu.

In the Old Testament the tree of wisdom bore forbidden fruits (Genesis 2, 9). The symbolism of the tree is also familiar to Christianity. Christ's cross is an embodiment of the hope of salvation for mankind. In the text of a Slovak hymn the cross is metaphorized as a tree and bears fruit in the shape of the crucified Jesus: "Oh, holy cross, you sweet and precious tree bearing a splendid fruit, our dear Jesus Christ tortured for ourselves" (in Slovak: *"Ach, kríž svätý, ty strom vzácny, sladký nesieš plod prekrásny, Jezu Krista milého, pre nás umučeného"*). The fruit of this tree, Jesus Christ is a counterpoint to the perilous fruit of the paradisiacal tree. The cross of Golgotha is a means and its value resides in its

fruit, i.e., in Christ, who is suffering on it. The link connecting mankind with heaven is not the cross as a tree but Christ himself.

The symbolism of the tree is rich and varied. It exists in several varieties – as a tree of the world, of life, wisdom, etc. Its morphology consisting of a top, middle and base correlates with the morphology of the cosmos (heaven – the world of the living – the nether world). The plethora of other components including branches, flowers or fruits represents a basis for prospective functional analogies utilized in word formation and phraseology.

Mythological conceptions of the world sometimes enforce modifications of the image of the tree. Its roots in the earth may seem mythologically inadequate and therefore they may be turned over so that they sprout from heaven, not from the earth – if the cause of being is looked for in heaven and not in the earth, this metamorphosis may seem logical within this framework of thinking. This reversal is supported by the apparent symmetry of the tree along its vertical: A well developed crown of most trees is reminiscent of their root system and both take their nutrients from outside – the roots from the earth, the branches from the air and sun.

The cult of trees is linked to their symbolic charge and the range of eligible trees may include not only lime tree or oak known to us but many other trees as well, just as for example in Mongolia (Ujiyediin 1997) where the cult of trees has survived till this day. Sacred trees are also familiar to the Slavs. One such trees is the lime. Could we speculate about the motivation of this cult? Is it to be looked for in the fragrance of its blooms? Or in the mysterious hum of the insects that sounds as an enigmatic voice of that tree or of the gods residing in it?

The tree is an important object in the realm of Oceania too. Among the Australian aborigines the tree was viewed as a kind of ladder leading from the earth to the sky world (Mudrooroo 1994: 163) where the ancestors departed. That is why corpses were placed in the branches of trees in Australia (or, for that matter, on elevations of other kind as in Iran, Tibet, etc.) and the souls departed to the sky world via the trees. Man made poles sometimes serve as substitution trees or, as in the Arnhem Land, wooden coffins containing the remains of the dead are not interred but set up vertically upon the ground.

In Polynesia, the tree is usually viewed upon as a link between the different vertical levels of the cosmos connecting the world of humans with the nether world and the sky, that is, the world of the living with that of the deceased and the gods.

The genealogical tree is no doubt the tree linking the ancestors with their subsequent generations of descendants, a tree that is ever alive. It grows from the past where it is hard to distinguish the ancestors from gods and the living descendants are its last offshoots. In Kiribati myth, Nareau created a tree of ancestors from the backbone of his father. Its branches represent the individual ancestors, which is a symbolism known from many parts of the world.

The tree may be integrated into the cosmic creation process. According to the Yapese a huge tree grew in the beginning of the world. It was rooted in heaven and its branches touched the ground. In the crown of the tree a woman was

born. She got sand from the goddes Jelafaz and when she dispersed it in the sea, land was created (Dixon 1964: 248- 250). The awareness of the unity of creation is supported by the myths of the origin of man from a tree occurring in Indonesia (in Wetar, in northern Sulawesi, with the Kayans in Borneo) but also outside the Austronesian realm, for example in Mongolia (Ujiyediin 1997).

Cosmogonic myths recorded by W. W. Gill in the Cook archipelago mention the soul leaving the human body shortly before the death, and travelling to the cliffs at the western shore of the island where there is a marae of the god *Rongo* and the *pua* tree rooted deep in *'Avaiki* (Gill 1876). *'Avaiki* (in other Polynesian islands *Hawaiki, Havaiki, Hawai'i,* etc.) is both the nether world and the ancient homeland of the ancestors – and thus the souls of the deceased seem to be destined to return to their forefathers.

A tree is part of the scene in the Tongan myth about the celestial origin of the rulers of Tonga (quoted from Gifford 1924: 25-27):

"A large casuarina tree grew on the island of Toonangakava, between the islands of Mataaho and Talakite in the lagoon of Tongatabu. This great casuarina tree reached to the sky, and a god came down from the sky by this great tree. This god was Tangaloa Eitumatupua (correctly 'Eitumatupu'a).

When he came down there was a woman fishing. Her name was Ilaheva and also Vaepopua. The god from the sky came to her and caught her, and they cohabited. Their sleeping place was called Mohenga...

The god returned to the sky, but came back to the woman and they cohabited. The woman Ilaheva became pregnant and gave birth to a male child...

The god returned to the sky, while the woman and child remained on earth... The woman and son lived together until the child Ahoeitu ('Aho'eitu) was big...

One day he told his mother: "I want to go to the sky, so that I can see my father..." His mother instructed him: "Go and climb the great casuarina, for that is the road to the sky; and see your father."

Ahoeitu climbed the great casuarina tree and reached the sky."

The two-way traffic between heaven (or the nether world) and earth is only considered feasible just in exceptional cases. Mortals can proceed along it only in one direction. According to the beliefs of the Mangaiians the souls of the dying leave the body before the last breath and travel to the western coast of the island, to the cliff at Araia near the marae Orongo. If a friendly spirit meets the soul and tells it to go back and live, the joyful soul at once returns home, again enters the abandoned body and the person awakens. If the soul does not meet with a good ghost, it walks on to the cliff. A huge wave rises and at the same moment a gigantic *pua* tree (Beslaria laurifolia), covered with fragrant blossom springs up from *'Avaiki* or the nether world and receives on its far-reaching branches human souls. Then the *pua* goes down and when the horrified soul looks down, it sees a large net spread out to catch the souls of the deceased. When the soul falls down to the net, it is at once submerged in a lake of freshwater right below the pua tree. The captive souls exhaust themselves wriggling like fish and then the net is pulled up and the souls enter the presence of the inexpressibly ugly Miru, the master of the nether world. Her four daughters give

the souls stupefying *kava* and then their victims are brought to a burning oven and cooked (Gill 1876: 161-162).

A similar motif is known from New Zealand. Above the cliff at the northernmost cape of the North Island an old *pohutukawa* tree was growing. The souls climbed the branches of this huge tree with red blossoms, looked down and waited. As soon as the waves ebbed and the entrance to an underwater cave opened, the souls leapt down from the "leaping-stone" (Orbell 1985: 77-83). In New Zealand, just as in Mangaiia, the souls enter into the nether world after having climbed down the tree. It is reminiscent of the tree of life; the downward movement leads to death, for death is the opposite of life and of growth. Maui himself tried to obtain immortality for mankind by retracing the passage of birth – and his attempt was abortive. However, he managed to descend to the nether world and even to return back.

Above the western shore of the island of 'Upolu in the archipelago of Samoa there was a so-called leaping-stone. From this stone the spirits in their course lept into the sea, swam to the island of Manono, lept from a stone on that island again, crossed to Savai'i and went overland to the Fafá (at the village of Falealupo), the entrance to Hades. Near the entrance there was a coconut tree called Leosia (literally "watcher"). If the soul struck against it, it could return to its body. Before entering Pulotu, the exhausted souls took a bath in the lake of Vaiola (literally "living water") to freshen themselves. This is a widespread motif known also from New Zealand. The Maori of Rotorua believed that the souls had to cross a stream called Te Wai Ora o Táne, "the living water of Tane" on its way to the nether world (Orbell 1985: 83).

The tree is an important cognitive model for the Maori cosmogonic genealogies. According to one version the world can be traced back to the state labelled Te Kore ("nothing") which possibly has the meaning of chaos. "Nothingness" is followed by Te Pú ("root"), Te More ("The chief Root"), Te Take ("Root"), and Te Weu ("thin root"). All of them are parts of the cosmogonic or cosmic tree. The genealogical tree has roots in the past (in the case of Polynesia in the ancient homeland, i.e. East Polynesian Hawaiki and West Polynesian Pulotu) and has been growing into the present/future and territorially into the various archipelagoes and islands inhabited by Polynesians today.

The function of the tree as a link joining various spheres of the cosmos is encoded in the Maori mythical episode of raising the sky from the earth when this feat is achieved by a tree personified as the god Tane. Less conspicuous is this function of the tree in the Promethean story of Maui who has managed to acquire fire for mankind. It is true that the grandmother Mahuike has granted fire to Maui but he deliberately extinguished it several times. Mahuike has luckily concealed several sparks in a tree and wood has become both source and food of fire. The tree mediates between gods and people as a metaphorical angling rod. In accordance with a widespread Polynesian custom (e.g. in the Marquesas, Society islands), a human sacrifice, typically called a fish ("ika") was hung in a tree near the cult place – this metaphorical fish was caught with the

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metaphorical angling rod = tree, connecting the world of mortals with that of gods, but also the world of living people with that of the deceased.

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ENGLISCH-TUVALUANISCHE INTERFERENZ UND SPRACH(EN)POLITIK IN TUVALU

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English-Tuvaluan Interference and Language Policy in Tuvalu

In this paper evidence of English influence on Tuvaluan (Part 1) as well as some aspects of language policy in the Pacific atoll nation of Tuvalu (Part 2) will be examined.

Section 1.1. treats the historical impact of English as the language of traders and colonialists in the former Ellice-Islands, including borrowing, the phonological adaptation of English borrowings, the creation of literary Tuvaluan and Tuvaluan orthography; section 1.2. deals with the present status of English as an official and international language in modern Tuvalu; section 1.3. looks into the phenomenon of Tuvaluan-English bilingualism and 1.4. summarizes the first part of the paper.

Part 2 contains section 2.1. on government sponsoring – 2.1.1. of the Southern Tuvaluan dialects and 2.1.2. of English, section 2.2. on the standardization of Tuvaluan and 2.3. summarizing the second part of the paper.

1. ENGLISCH-TUVALUANISCHE INTERFERENZ

1.1. Einst: Sprache der Händler und Kolonisatoren

Die Begegnung Tuvalus mit der Welt der *pālagi* (der Weißen) war – und ist es eigentlich bis heute – in erster Linie eine Begegnung mit der angelsächsischen Welt. Es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, daß von allen europäischen Sprachen das Englische den nachhaltigsten Einfluß auf das Tuvaluanische ausgeübt hat. Ein Blick auf die Geschichte Tuvalus seit 1819 verdeutlicht dies (vgl. Laracy 1983, 102-109).

In diesem Jahr nämlich setzte der systematische Walfang in tuvaluanischen Gewässern ein, der in diesem Teil des Pazifik hauptsächlich von Amerikanern betrieben wurde. Schon ein Jahrzehnt später war jedes der Atolle besucht und kartographisch erfaßt. Im Jahre 1841 betrat eine ebenfalls amerikanische Forschungsexpedition unter Charles Wilkes Funafuti, Nukufetau und Vaitupu. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt gab es auf einigen der Inseln auch schon sogenannte „beach comber", also Abenteurer oder Händler, die es aus irgend einem Grund nach Tuvalu verschlagen hatte, wie den Australier O'Brien, den Amerikaner Rose, den Engländer Westbrook, den Schotten McKenzie oder Bob Waters. Diese Männer

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und einige andere – fast alle waren englischsprachig – lebten oft viele Jahre auf den einzelnen Inseln und stellten somit einen ersten Sprachkontakt mit deren Bewohnern her. Daher waren 1865, als britische Missionare Tuvalu erstmals besuchten, mancherorts englische Kirchenlieder, Gebete etc. schon bekannt.

(Peruaner, die etwa zur gleichen Zeit die pazifischen Inseln als Sklavenjäger unsicher machten, entführten Tuvaluaner zu Hunderten. Doch aus den Bergwerken und Plantagen Mittel- und Südamerikas ist kaum je einer zurückgekehrt, was wohl einer der Gründe dafür ist, daß Spanisch auf den Ellice-Inseln nie heimisch werden konnte.)

Die schnelle und widerstandslose Missionierung Tuvalus wurde hauptsächlich von Samoanern betrieben, doch muß das Englische auch hierbei eine gewisse Rolle gespielt haben, da ja die Vorgesetzten der samoanischen Missionare immer Briten waren.

Als um 1870 die verstärkte Produktion von Kokosöl einsetzte, wurden die Ellice-Inseln auch ökonomisch attraktiver. Verschiedene Firmen vertraten nun ihre Interessen auf den Atollen, teils durch schon ansässige „beach comber", teils durch eigene Agenten. Namen wie z.B. R. Towns (ein Australier), Henderson & Macfarlane (aus Auckland) und die Whitman Brothers (aus San Francisco) zeigen, daß hier ebenfalls das angelsächsische Element dominierte (eine Ausnahme war z.B. die Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft DHPG mit Sitz in Samoa).

Als Tuvalu 1892 ein britisch protektioniertes Gebiet wurde (1916 noch zur „Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony" erklärt), war also der Anglophonie in vieler Hinsicht schon der Weg bereitet.

Während der Kolonialherrschaft war Englisch dann die alleinige Amts- und Verwaltungssprache (nur fallweise durch das Samoanische ergänzt). Tuvaluanisch spielte, besonders als Schriftsprache, eine nur unbedeutende Rolle.

Welchen Einfluß hatte nun die starke Präsenz des Englischen auf die tuvaluanische Sprache? Das Nebeneinander (oder auch „Übereinander") zweier Sprachen innerhalb einer Gesellschaft bedeutet ja an sich noch keine Interferenz!

Es ist wahrscheinlich nicht überraschend, daß – wie schon im Fall des Samoanischen – Phonologie, Morphologie und Satzbau des Tuvaluanischen vom englischen Einfluß so gut wie unberührt geblieben sind. Die Frage der englisch-tuvaluanischen Interferenz betrifft daher fast ausschließlich das tuvaluanische Lexikon.

Als es mit der Kontaktnahme notwendig wurde, die den Bewohnern der Ellice-Inseln bisher völlig unbekannten Güter der materiellen und geistigen Kultur der Weißen zu verbalisieren, nahm ein Entlehnungsprozeß seinen Anfang, der bis heute andauert. Englische Ausdrücke wurden dabei jedoch den phonemischen Gegebenheiten des Tuvaluanischen exakt angepaßt: Das Phoneminventar wurde nicht erweitert und auch die phonem-syntaktischen Restriktionen blieben bestehen (s. unten). Auf morphologischer Ebene wurde jedoch die kanonische Form des Morphems durch das Auftreten vier-, fünf- und mehrsilbiger Sequenzen doch beeinträchtigt.

Im folgenden einige Beispiele für tuvaluanische Entlehnungen aus dem Englischen (entnommen Jackson 1993):

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TUV	Bedeutung	ENG
uaelesi	Telegramm	*wireless*
uaina	Wein	*wine*
uáfu	Werft	*wharf*
ueta	Wetter	*weather*
uila	Rad	*wheel*
oela	Öl	*oil*
ófisa	Amt, Büro	*office*
ovasia	Aufseher	*overseer*
olenisi	Orange	*orange*
aisakulimi	Eiscreme	*ice cream*
ápolo	Apfel	*apple*
atomi	Atom	*atom*
aniani	Zwiebel	*onion*
alaka(h)olo	Alkohol	*alcohol*
ea	Luft	*air*
ekueta	Äquator	*Equator*
emupaea	Reich	*empire*
elikopa	Helikopter	*helicopter*
iunivesiti	Universität	*university*
iti	Elektrizität	*electricity*
iniseti	Insekt	*insect*
inisisi	(Tür-) Angeln	*hinges*
pasika	Fahrrad	*pushbike*
palamene	Parlament	*parliament*
péni	(Schreib-) Feder	*pen*
píni	Bohne	*bean*
taimi	Zeit	*time*
tálá	Dollar	*dollar*
Tipí	Tuberkulose	*T.B.*
konisane	Konsonant	*consonant*
kolone	Kolonie	*colony*
kólisi	College	*college*
kalapu	Klub	*club*
kálena	Kalender	*calendar*
kamupasi	Kompaß	*compass*
kamupani	Firma, Unternehmen	*company*
móto	Motor	*motor*
masini	Maschine	*machine*
minisitá	Minister	*minister*
miliona	Million	*million*
nusipepa	Zeitung	*newspaper*
nauna	Nomen	*noun*
nailoni	Nylon	*nylon*
nési	Krankenschwester	*nurse*
falaoa	Mehl	*flour*

falaiki	Flagge	*flag*
fiva	Fieber	*fever*
sú	verklagen	*to sue*
suka	Zucker	*sugar*
sótia	Soldat	*soldier*
saute	Süden	*south*
saienitisi	Wissenschaft	*science*
sake	Sack	*sack*
sámala	Hammer	*hammer*
sene	Cent	*cent*
sikaleti	Zigarette	*cigarette*
silika	Seide	*silk*
hósi	Pferd	*horse*
halikeni	Hurrikan	*hurricane*
vokapuali	Wortschatz	*vocabulary*
vaueli	Vokal	*vowel*
veape	Verb	*verb*
lúsi	Zeit oder Geld verlieren	*to lose time or money*
lóia	Rechtsanwalt	*lawyer*
laisi	Reis	*rice*
làki	Glück haben	*to be lucky*
leipa	Arbeit	*labour*
letió	Radio	*radio*
léfuli	Schiedsrichter	*referee*

Diese Liste ist natürlich nicht vollständig, sondern stellt vielmehr eine nur kleine Auswahl dar und ließe sich noch beliebig lang fortsetzen. Dabei sind hier die zahlreichen biblischen Ausdrücke hebräischen, griechischen und lateinischen Ursprungs, die ja gleichfalls durch den „Filter" des Englischen gegangen sind, noch gar nicht berücksichtigt, wie z.B. *amene*, aus hebräisch ʾámén, *apositolo*, aus griechisch ἀπόστολοζ oder *aulo*, aus lateinisch aurum. Hinzu kommen noch die fremden Personen- und Monatsnamen (wie *Kulisi*, Chris[teve], und *Aokuso*, August) sowie die Namen von Ländern und Kontinenten (*Egelani*, England, *Amelika*, America) etc.

Bei einigen dieser englischen Entlehnungen gibt es phonetische Dubletten. So erscheint z.B. *Aokuso* auch als *Aukuso*, und *kamupane* ist ebenso häufig wie *kamupani*. Für eine noch weitaus größere Anzahl gibt es außerdem parallele tuvaluanische Bezeichnungen mit der gleichen Bedeutung: Für *uota* (Wächter), aus englisch warder, wird oft *leoleo* verwendet, und statt *menetia* (Manager) ist auch *pule* üblich.

Von den oben angeführten Beispielen scheinen mir vor allem *taimi* (Zeit) und *lúsi* (Zeit oder Geld verlieren) bemerkenswert zu sein. Daß eine Gesellschaft mit so großartigen nautischen Traditionen wie die tuvaluanische keine eigene Bezeichnung für Süden kennt, ist ebenso erstaunlich.

Englische, dem Tuvaluanischen fremde Konsonantenphoneme, werden in Entlehnungen meist wie folgt realisiert:

Nr.	ENG	TUV	Beispiele
1.	b	p	*pini* (bean)
2.	d	t, l	*tálá* (dollar), *pulini* (pudding)
3.	g	k	*kóti* (goat)
4.	θ	t, f	*saute* (south), *sifi* (sheath)
5.	ð	t	*ueta* (weather)
6.	z	s	*sipi* (to zip up)
7.	ʃ	s	*sévolo* (shovel)
8.	ʒ	s	*Asia* (Asia; Filter fraglich)
9.	h	Ø, s, h	*áfa* (half), *sámala* (hammer), *hósi* (horse)
10.	tʃ	t(i), s(i)	*uati* (watch), *Siale* (Charles)
11.	ʤ	t(i), s(i), i	*tiakolo* (jackal), *sioki* (jug), *Iulai* (July)
12.	ŋ	n, ŋ	*seleni* (shilling), *kigi* (king)
13.	r	l	*lapa* (rubber)
14.	j	i	*iunite* (unit)
15.	(h)w	u	*uila* (wheel)

Wie man sieht, müssen die geschlossenen englischen Silben im Tuvaluanischen geöffnet werden (s. Nr. 1., 3., 4., 6. etc.). Auch Konsonantenbündel werden durch eingeschobene Vokale eliminiert: *sipai* (spy).

Umfangreiche Entlehnungen aus dem Englischen sind demnach als charakteristisch für das Tuvaluanische anzusehen. Und doch haben wir damit die stärkste Wirkung des Englischen noch gar nicht erwähnt: Die Tatsache der Verschriftung des Tuvaluanischen an sich stellt nämlich meiner Meinung nach das wichtigste Interferenzphänomen überhaupt dar, denn die tuvaluanische Schriftsprache ist eine Schöpfung der britischen (und samoanischen) Missionare. Glücklicherweise hat dabei nicht die englische Orthographie Pate gestanden, sondern die samoanische. Die Entwicklung verlief aber nicht einheitlich, und es existieren daher heute zumindest vier verschiedene Orthographien nebeneinander:

(1) die mehr oder weniger offizielle, auch von der tuvaluanischen Regierung und der Staatskirche verwendete,

(2) die bei den Zeugen Jehovas und Autoren wie Jackson (1993) übliche,

(3) die von Besnier (1981) und

(4) die von Noricks (1981).

Die Unterschiede liegen in erster Linie im Bereich (a) der Darstellung der Langphoneme sowie (b) der Schreibung des velaren Nasals /ŋ/. Orthographie (1) ist in bezug auf (a) defektiv, da sie die Phonemlänge sowohl im konsonantischen als auch im vokalischen Bereich weitgehend unberücksichtigt läßt; für /ŋ/

wird *g* notiert. In (2) werden Langkonsonanten durch vorgesetztes `, Langvokale durch ¯ über dem betreffenden Graphem bezeichnet. Orthographie (3) bezeichnet alle Langphoneme, konsonantische wie vokalische, durch Doppelsetzung. Noricks (4) verwendet als einziger Autor für /ŋ/ den Digraph *ng*.

Daß Verschriftung (zusammen mit Alphabetisierung) äußerst wichtig für die Entwicklung einer Sprache sein kann, liegt auf der Hand. Was dies jedoch konkret bedeutet, ist schon wesentlich schwieriger zu bestimmen. Es könnte aber durchaus sein, daß die Erhebung zur Schriftsprache dem Tuvaluanischen das Überleben gesichert hat.

1.2. Heute: Amtssprache und Weltsprache

Seit der Unabhängigkeit Tuvalus (1978) hat sich an der starken Stellung des Englischen kaum etwas geändert. Und wenn die indigene Sprache seit den 60er Jahren ständig an Boden gewinnen konnte, so geschah dies vor allem auf Kosten des Samoanischen. Zur heutigen Rolle des Englischen in Tuvalu sei bemerkt, daß Englisch als Amtssprache Tuvalus, einer konstitutionellen Monarchie im Commonwealth mit dem britischen Monarchen als Staatsoberhaupt, offiziellen Status genießt. In den internationalen Beziehungen Tuvalus ist die Weltsprache Englisch, als wichtigste Amts- und Arbeitssprache aller internationalen und regionalen Organisationen, in denen Tuvalu Mitglied ist (Commonwealth, SPF, SPC, WHO etc.), gleichfalls dominant. Die bislang einzige diplomatische Vertretung des Landes befindet sich in Fidschi, das auch anglophon ist, so wie die meisten anderen Nachbarländer Tuvalus: Kiribati, Tokelau, die Samoas, die Salomonen und Nauru. Kurz: Tuvalu ist ein anglophones Land wie viele andere, in einer anglophonen Hemisphäre unserer (zunehmend) anglophonen Welt.

Auch im Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesen Tuvalus nimmt Englisch einen wichtigen Platz ein. Es ist zwar, anders als etwa auf Niue, nicht Unterrichtssprache, wird jedoch ab der 4. Klasse der Grundschule unterrichtet. Englischkenntnisse sind selbstverständlich auch Voraussetzung für ein Studium im Ausland.

In den noch nicht sehr zahlreichen Massenmedien des Landes ist das Englische ebenfalls präsent: Die von der Regierung herausgegebe Zeitschrift erscheint zweimal monatlich in einer englischen Ausgabe als *Tuvalu Echoes* (Auflage 250) und in einer tuvaluanischen Ausgabe als *Sikuleo o Tuvalu* (Auflage 200); und die Staatskirche Tuvalus gibt zweimal monatlich die zweisprachige *EKT News* heraus, wobei die Artikel nebeneinander in beiden Sprachen erscheinen. Zur Zeit sind dies die einzigen Printmedien des Landes.

Radio Tuvalu sendet 45 Stunden pro Woche hauptsächlich auf tuvaluanisch, Nachrichten und Verlautbarungen aber auch in englischer Sprache.

1.3. Zweisprachigkeit

Aufgrund der in den beiden vorhergehenden Abschnitten erwähnten Gegebenheiten (Kolonisierung durch Großbritannien, Englisch als Amtssprache und Unterrichtsgegenstand in den Schulen, sein Gebrauch in den Medien) können wir davon ausgehen, daß Englischkenntnisse relativ weit verbreitet sind. Es ist zwar nicht möglich, diesbezüglich genaue Zahlen in Erfahrung zu bringen, aber

bei Douglas (1989, 575) liest man z.B.: „English is also used throughout the country". Diese und ähnliche Formulierungen bei anderen Autoren lassen den Schluß zu, daß viele Tuvaluaner Englisch aktiv und/oder passiv beherrschen. Allerdings dürfte es dabei ein gewisses Gefälle zwischen Funafuti und den äußeren Inseln geben.

1.4. Zusammenfassung

Englisch hat aus historischen Gründen (Handel, Kolonialismus etc.) die indigene Sprache der Ellice-Inseln nachhaltig beeinflußt, dies jedoch in erster Linie auf lexikalischem Gebiet. Phonologie, Morphologie und Satzbau des Tuvaluanischen wurden dadurch kaum beeinträchtigt. Entlehnung ist auch gegenwärtig noch die auffälligste und wichtigste Erscheinung englisch-tuvaluanischer Interferenz. Die Verschriftung der vorher schriftlosen tuvaluanischen Sprache kann gleichfalls als Interferenz interpretiert werden.

Heute ist das Englische Amtssprache in Tuvalu sowie Pflichtgegenstand ab der 4. Klasse der Grundschule. In Politik und Wirtschaft hat es sich (teilweise) als herrschende Sprache etablieren können. In den Medien (zwei Zeitschriften und ein Radioprogramm) wird neben Tuvaluanisch auch Englisch geschrieben bzw. gesprochen.

Zweisprachigkeit, worunter hier die zusätzliche Beherrschung des Englischen bei tuvaluanischer (oder nuianischer) Muttersprache verstanden sein soll, ist in Tuvalu die Regel und wird wohl aufgrund der weltweit steigenden Tendenz zur Anglophonie (internationale Organisationen, Tourismus) noch weiter zunehmen.

2. SPRACH(EN)POLITIK IN TUVALU

Was ist Sprachenpolitik und was Sprachpolitik? Grundsätzlich können beide Begriffe zwei verschiedene Arten der Intervention des gesellschaftlichen Subsystems Politik in das generalisierte Kommunikationsmedium Sprache des gesellschaftlichen Subsystems Kultur bezeichnen: Einerseits nämlich die politische (genauer gesagt: staatliche) Einflußnahme auf das Verhältnis zweier oder mehrerer Sprachen oder Dialekte zueinander, und andererseits eine solche Einflußnahme auf die lexikalischen und/oder grammatikalischen Verhältnisse innerhalb einer Sprache oder eines Dialektes. Im ersten Fall geht es sozusagen um „sprachliche Außenpolitik", im zweiten Fall um „sprachliche Innenpolitik". Es wäre nun möglich, das eine mit „Sprachenpolitik" zu bezeichnen, das andere mit „Sprachpolitik". Zur leichteren Unterscheidung verwende ich aber die Begriffe „Förderung" (einer Sprache oder eines Dialektes gegenüber anderen) und „Normierung" (innersprachlicher Verhältnisse).

2.1. Förderung

2.1.1. Südliche Dialekte

Wie in vielen anderen Staaten ergab sich auch in Tuvalu das Problem, welcher der verschiedenen Dialekte von den staatlichen Behörden für offizielle

Zwecke verwendet werden sollte. Sicher, die Frage war bei weitem nicht so kritisch wie etwa in Indien, in Indonesien oder auf den Philippinen.

Erstens handelte es sich bei Tuvalu nicht um Dutzende oder gar Hunderte verschiedene Sprachen, sondern nur um sieben Dialekte ein und der selben Sprache, zweitens war die Kolonialsprache nie so negativ besetzt wie anderswo, was eine gewisse Entlastung der Sprachsituation mit sich brachte, und drittens standen sich die tuvaluanischen Dialekte auch nicht so antagonistisch gegenüber wie z.B. Niederländisch und Französisch in Belgien. Dennoch mußten diesbezüglich politische Entscheidungen getroffen werden, da auch den einheimischen Eliten Tuvalus gegen Ende der britischen Kolonialherrschaft bewußt war, wie wichtig die Regelung der sprachlichen Frage für kollektive Identität und nation building sein konnte.

Natürlich wurde dieses Problem nicht erst am Tag vor der Unabhängigkeit akut, sondern spätestens mit der Abtrennung der Ellice-Inseln von der gemeinsamen Kolonie mit den Gilbert-Inseln (1975). Doch schon wesentlich früher hatten ein paar Zufälle der Geschichte die Weichen für die postkoloniale Entwicklung gestellt.

Noricks (1981, 3) bemerkt dazu folgendes:

Within Tuvalu the dialect of Vaitupu is the most widely spoken. For most of this century the only secondary school for Tuvalu islanders was located at Vaitupu. As a result Vaitupu has to a degree become the dialect of the educated. Its spread has been aided by the fact that most of the native Tuvalu language broadcasts over the former Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony radio were rendered by speakers of the Vaitupu dialect. In addition, the former weekly Tuvalu language newspaper made heavy use of the Vaitupu dialect.

Schule, Radio und Presse haben demnach der landesweiten Verbreitung des Dialekts von Vaitupu (einem der vier südlichen Dialekte also) schon seit Jahrzehnten Vorschub geleistet, da sich z.B. die erwähnte, von D.G. Kennedy 1905 zunächst auf Funafuti gegründete Schule schon seit den 1920er Jahren in Motufoua auf Vaitupu befand.

Die Tatsache der Förderung des südlichen Dialekts durch die Regierung erwähnt schon Biggs (1971, 492):

There is some interference between the northern and southern dialects but most northerners are bilingual in the government-sponsored dialect of the south.

Des weiteren lag das Verwaltungszentrum der eigenständigen Kolonie der Ellice-Inseln zwischen 1975 und 1978 in Fogafale auf Funafuti (wo ebenfalls ein südlicher Dialekt gesprochen wird). Daran änderte sich auch nach Erlangung der Unabhängigkeit nichts und Fogafale/Vaiaku ist bis heute die „Hauptstadt" Tuvalus (manchmal wird ungenauerweise Funafuti als Hauptstadt angegeben). Auch dies wird wohl der nationalen Bedeutung der südlichen Dialekte zumindest nicht abträglich gewesen sein, da sich aus eben diesem Grund ständig Bewohner der anderen Inseln auf Funafuti befinden, die dort bei der öffentlichen Verwaltung beschäftigt sind.

Die Entscheidung zugunsten der südlichen Dialekte war also weder überraschend noch willkürlich, da ihr durch langjährige Entwicklungen in Schulwesen, Medien und Verwaltung schon in hohem Maß vorgearbeitet worden war.

Auch heute zeigt sich die offizielle Präferenz für die südlichen Dialekte vor allem an deren Gebrauch in jenen Bereichen, die schon Noricks (1981) erwähnt: den tuvaluanischen Sendungen des staatlichen Rundfunks und den Veröffentlichungen der Regierung. So ist z.B. *Sikuleo o Tuvalu*, aufgrund phonemischer wie auch lexikalischer Merkmale klar erkennbar, im südlichen Dialekt verfaßt. *EKT News* und die beiden Magazine der Zeugen Jehovas, *Te Faleleoleo Maluga* und *Ala Mai!*, folgen diesem Beispiel.

Mit dem Begriff „südliche Dialekte" sind im Kontext der Förderung übrigens nur jene der drei zentralen Inseln (insbesondere Vaitupu und Funafuti) gemeint, und nicht Nukulaelae. Dieses nimmt, obwohl im Rahmen der allgemeinen Dialektologie ebenfalls zur südlichen Gruppe zählend, eine Sonderstellung ein, da dort z.B. /s/ und teilweise auch /f/ durch /h/ ersetzt sind. Das Phonem /h/ kommt jedoch in den genannten Zeitschriften nur selten vor.

2.1.2. Englisch

Das Englische ist insofern eine geförderte Sprache, als es Amtssprache und Unterrichtsgegenstand ist. Den Ausführungen unter 1.2. ist noch anzufügen, daß die in Tuvalu gepflegte Form des Standard-Englischen die britische ist.

2.2. Normierung

Jede Sprache, die im „offiziellen" Gebrauch eines politischen Systems steht, unterliegt gewissen normierenden Einflüssen. Nicht immer sind diese so stark und offensichtlich wie im Fall des Hindi, der Bahasa Indonesia oder des Pilipino, um bei den oben erwähnten Beispielen zu bleiben, sie sind jedoch in jedem Fall vorhanden.

Im tuvaluanischen Kontext bezeichnet „Normierung" in erster Linie die puristischen Tendenzen, die heute zu beobachten sind. Es ist nicht eindeutig zu entscheiden, ob diese Erscheinungen ihren direkten Ursprung im politischen System haben oder nicht. Fallweise wird man davon ausgehen können, daß sie von Regierung und Behörden nur mitgetragen oder nachvollzogen werden. Doch auch dies stellt, obgleich in einem weniger strengen Sinn, Sprachpolitik dar.

Der Purismus im Tuvaluanischen der Gegenwart findet seinen Niederschlag vor allem auf phonologischer Ebene sowie im Lexikon, andere Ebenen und Bereiche sind nicht so sehr davon betroffen.

Da ist zum einen die Tatsache, daß das Phoneminventar der Sprache bis jetzt nicht erweitert wurde, obwohl dies aufgrund der zur Verfügung stehenden Grapheme sowie der Fähigkeit einer Mehrheit der Sprecher leicht möglich wäre (zur historischen Entwicklung s. 1.1.). Doch gilt dies heute offenbar als nicht wünschenswert. Der Grund dafür dürfte in der Ansicht liegen, daß Beeinträchtigungen der Phonologie an den „Grundlagen" der Sprache rütteln – nicht ganz ungefährlich also für kleine Sprachgemeinschaften, die sich daher oft durch einen hohen Grad an sprachlicher Konservativität auszeichnen.

(Als Beispiel sei hier das Isländische angeführt, wo seit Jahrzehnten die Ausbreitung des „flámæli", i.e. die Reduzierung des vierstufigen Vokalsystems auf ein dreistufiges, von offizieller Seite erfolgreich bekämpft wird.)

Auffällig ist die Geschlossenheit des tuvaluanischen Phoneminventars besonders im Hinblick auf /r/, das im Samoanischen z.B. regelmäßig für biblische Eigennamen herangezogen wird. Im Tuvaluanischen hingegen steht für englisches /r/ immer /l/:

Isalaelu (TUV) = Israel (ENG)
lapa (TUV) = rubber (ENG)

Zum anderen belegt das erste Beispiel auch die Stabilität der phonem-syntaktischen Restriktionen des Tuvaluanischen. Daß diese im Bewußtsein der sozialen und politischen Elite wohl verankert sind, beweist folgendes Zitat aus den *EKT News*, Nr. 5/93 vom 15. September 1993. T. Lauti, der frühere Premierminister und damalige Generalgouverneur Tuvalus, schreibt dort:

TE GANA TUVALU

(Fakasoko mai te lomiga
taluai)

2.1. PATI
E iai/isi ne fakaso-
loga masani o
mataimanu i pati
Tuvalu. A te pati ko
te tuku fakatasiga o
mataimanu i olotou
fakasologa tonu kae
isi foki eiloa sona
uiga kae ka tuku
fakatasi mo niisi
pati i olotou
fakasologa tonu ko
maua ei te manatu
kaatoa.

2.2. A pati i te 'Gana
Tuvalu e mafai o
kamata ki se vaueli
io me se konesani kae
fakaoti ki se vaueli
fua. Penei mo pati
konei: alofa, talofa,
fano, tale, ofa, uli
(etc).

2.3. E mafai ne vaueli
katoa a mataimanu o
pati. Peela mo pati
konei: au, ao, ua,
ui, ea, io, aaoo,
aaee, aua, aue, uaea.

2.4. Kafai e kaamata se
pati ki se konesani,
ka tafaatu ki ei se
vaueli ko fetiifaki
ei peena konesani
vaueli ke oko ki te
mataimanu fakaoti o
te pati tela se
vaueli i taimi katoa.
Penei mo pati konei:
matala, patele,
makini, fiafia.

2.5. Kafai e kamata se
pati ki se vaueli ka
tafaatu ki ei se
konesani ko fetiifaki
ei peena ke oko ki te
mataimanu fakaoti o
te pati tela se
vaueli. Penei mo
pati konei: ola, ulo,
auala.

Man beachte die schwankende Darstellung der Langvokale und die fallweise Setzung eines Apostrophs ('); auch die Interpunktion ist unregelmäßig. Zum Teil könnte es sich bei diesen Inkonsequenzen aber auch nur um Druckfehler handeln.

Die englische Version lautet:

THE TUVALU LANGUAGE
(continued from last issue)

2.1. WORDS

There are some common patterns of letters seen in Tuvalu words. The meaning of the 'word' in the Tuvalu Language is the putting together of letters in their right order and it has a meaning of its own but when put together with other words in the right order they will express a complete thought.

2.2. The initial letters of Tuvaluan words could be a vowel or a consonant but must end with a vowel never with a consonant. Examples: *alofa* means love, kind, mercy; *talofa* means greetings; *fano* means go; *tale* means cough; *ofo* means surprise; *uli* means black.

2.3. It is possible for all the letters to be vowels. Examples: *au* = I, *ao* = day light, *ua* = rain, *ui* = unhook, *ea* = air, *io* = so, *aaoo* = yes, *aaee* = yes, *aua* = no, *aue* = encore or do it again, *uaea* = wire.

2.4. If a word has a consonant as its initial letter then the next letter should be a vowel. The alternating of consonant vowel will continue until the last letter of the word which will be a vowel. Examples: *matala* = open, *patele* = touch, *makini* = fast.

2.5. If the initial letter of a word is a vowel the next letter will be a consonant and the alternating will continue until the last letter of the word which will be a vowel. Examples: *ola* = alive, *auala* = road, street.

(Kursive des Tuvaluanischen von mir)

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Obwohl der letzte Paragraph zeigt, daß die Verhältnisse mit der Abwechslung von Konsonanten und Vokalen nicht unbedingt ausreichend beschrieben sind (in *auala* folgen einander zwei Vokale, da halbkonsonantisches u [w] ja nicht zum regulären Inventar des Tuvaluanischen zählt, sondern ein Allophon von /u/ darstellt), ist die Stelle doch recht aufschlußreich. Denn der normative Ansatz des Autors ist wohl unverkennbar. Und daß der höchste staatliche Repräsentant sich in einer von nur zwei im Lande erscheinenden Zeitungen mit phonologischen und anderen sprachlichen Fragen auseinandersetzt, ist ein deutlicher Hinweis auf die Interpenetration von politischem System und Sprache, auch wenn es sich dabei nicht um eine staatliche Verordnung handelt.

In der Lexik zeigt sich die puristische Absicht nicht ganz so deutlich wie in der Phonologie, doch ist das Bemühen um die Bildung neuer tuvaluanischer Ausdrücke als Ersatz für die vielen Anglizismen ebenfalls erkennbar (vgl. 1.1.).

Abgesehen von diesem Purismus stellt natürlich auch die (anscheinend nicht ganz konsequent umgesetzte) Entscheidung der Regierung für eine bestimmte Graphie eine normative sprachpolitische Maßnahme dar (vgl. 1.1.).

2.3. Zusammenfassung

Die südlichen Dialekte des Tuvaluanischen – im wesentlichen Vaitupu und Funafuti – erfreuen sich gegenüber den nördlichen Dialekten der Förderung durch die Regierung, was sich darin äußert, daß sie im Rundfunk und in den offiziellen staatlichen Veröffentlichungen, einschließlich des Regierungsorgans *Sikuleo o Tuvalu*, gebraucht werden. Dafür sind historische (Anfänge der höheren Schulbildung und der Massenmedien), administrative (Hauptstadteffekt) und demographische Gründe (Arbeitsmigration) ausschlaggebend.

Das Englische, in seiner britischen Variante, wird ebenfalls gepflegt, da es Amtssprache ist und auch in den Schulen unterrichtet wird.

Das Tuvaluanische ist von staatlicher Seite gewissen normierenden Einflüssen ausgesetzt, die sich vor allem als puristische Tendenz im Bereich der Phonologie und des Lexikons bemerkbar machen.

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FUNCTIONAL VARIATIONS OF THE SO-CALLED
FEMININE MARKER IN ARABIC

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The linguistic category of gender has been extensively studied from both the synchronic and diachronic points of view. The present article can only touch on some of the most provocative issues of these studies. Its proper aim is to propose a short synchronic survey of the most outstanding functional variations of the suffix -a /-at in a number of linguistic systems of Modern Written Arabic and some of its colloquial varieties.

1. The inflectional category of gender played an important role as a classificatory criterion in a number of languages with a not quite clear genetic relationship. The membership of a language in the Hamito-Semitic (Greenberg's Afro-Asiatic) linguistic family, for instance, has frequently been considered as cogently proved by the mere presence of gender therein. In this context, the Hamito-Semitic gender, possibly correlated with the extra-linguistic category of sex, was usually opposed to the Bantu system of non-gender nominal classes. With some investigators (Lepsius, Meinhof), the relative importance of sex-gender, as a classificatory criterion, was exaggerated to such an extent that it led to patently erroneous results. C. Meinhof's classification of Hottentot as a Hamitic language may well illustrate the misuse of this classificatory approach (Greenberg 1966: 43-44).[1]

The evolutionary relationship between non-gender nominal classes and gender classes has been seriously studied by Semitologists and Arabicists as well. According to some of the widely accepted hypotheses, advanced to this effect, Semitic gender may have evolved from non-gender nominal classes (Brockelmann's *Wertklassensystem* : 1908:404), still reflected in a number of derivational classes, and their relationship to the biological category of sex, in nouns

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[1] According to GREENBERG (1966: Index to Language Classification) the Hottentot language belongs to the Khoisan family (Central South African Khoisan).

denoting higher animate beings, may well be interpreted as a matter of a parallel or even a secondary development.[2]

1.1. When disregarding some intra-root means that may play a part in Arabic gender-marking, such as *'aRRaR* (masculine) - *RaRRā'* (feminine), e.g. *'aswad - sawdā'* "black", or *'aRRaR - RuRRā* , e.g. *'aḥsan - ḥusnā* "better, (the) best /adj./), the Arabic gender system may formally be presented in terms of the following opposition:

unmarked (masculine): stem + *0* marked (feminine): stem + *a* :
as in: *muslim* "Muslim";   - in pre-pausal position, as in: *muslima*
      "Muslim woman", and:
      stem+ *at-* :
      - in pre-juncture position, as in:
      muslimatun "id." (nominative, indefinite).

The atypical reflexes of this suffix (*bint : bin + t* "girl, daughter", *'uḫt : 'uḫ + t* "sister"), as well as some other, less commonly occurring feminine markers, will not be taken into account.

Unless occurring in phrasal contexts, the examples quoted will be presented in pausal forms and, for the sake of simplicity, the suffix *-a / -at* will henceforth be referred to in its pausal form, too.

1.2. Hypotheses, trying to clear up the genetic background of the suffix *-a* in its presumed pre-gender stage, show a rather confused and controversial picture. Brockelmann's *Wertklassensystem* is said to be reflected in a number of residual semantic categories (*Bedeuntungskategorien*), such as diminutives, deterioratives and the like (1908:404). Further, this second-class ranking, with its connotation of inferiority, is sometimes presented as compatible with the natural femininity of female entities (ibid.: 405).

The general connotation of inferiority may manifest itself as restrictiveness that may best be observed with a number of nouns, organized in pairs, as members of some types of binary derivational systems, such as unit nouns (UN), opposed to collective nouns (CN), in the well-established CN-UN system; or instance nouns (IN), opposed to verbal nouns (VN), in the VN-IN system,[3] and the like. Some of these cases will more closely be examined in the following paragraphs.

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[2] Cf. also MOSCATI (1964:86): "The feminine morpheme is employed not only to indicate the corresponding natural gender but also nomina unitatis, diminutives and pejoratives, abstract and collective nouns. This multiplicity of function points to the probable origin of the feminine ending in a more complex system of classes within which the category of number has to be included as well (by way of the collective)." For other references see also FLEISCH (1961:326).

[3] Terminologically, collective nouns (*nomina collectiva*) of the CN-UN system correspond to *'asmā' al-ǧins* of the Arab grammarians, to BROCKELMANN's (1913) Kollektiva als Gattungsbegriffe, RECKENDORF's (1921) Gattungswörter, FISCHER's (1972) Gattungskollektive,

In contrast to restrictiveness, the suffix -a may, in some cases, signal a quite opposite value that might perhaps be labelled as augmentativeness or, in a more straightforward linguistic wording, as plurality, that is derived from or rather inherent in the derivational value of collectiveness. From a genetic point of view, the close interaction between collectiveness and plurality is supported by the well-known hypothesis of the collective origin of the Semitic broken plurals (cf., Brockelmann 1908:426 ff., Fleisch 1968:92-93, Petráček 1960-1964, esp. 1962:362-383, et al.). Collective nouns, represent the first vague step towards a linguistic expression of plurality which is not yet distinctly separated from the basic concept of unity. While the broken (i.e., pattern-marked) plurals have lost their ancestral collective nature, the latter is maintained in what Fischer (1972:52) classifies as abstract nouns (Abstrakt-Substantive). These operate as plural-collectives (*Pl.-Kollektive*) when referring to human entities, as in *ḥammāla* "status of a porter or a carrier, his work and trade;[4] porters, carriers" (Lastträgerschaft; Lastträger /pl./) or *muslima* "Muslimdom; Muslims" (Moslemschaft; Moslems), formally coinciding with the inflectionally conveyed membership of this noun in the female-feminine sex-gender class, viz. "Muslim woman". The genetic relationship between collectives and broken plurals may even be extended to verbal abstracts on the basis of a far-reaching identity of forms common to broken plurals and verbal abstracts (Fleisch 1961:470).

In the current lexicographical practice, however, these -a-marked plural-collectives are mostly classified separately as either plurals, as in *ḥayyāla* "horsemen, riders" (alternating, in this application, with a parallel plural form *ḥayyālūn*), or genuine collective nouns, as in *ḥayyāla* "cavalry". This lexico-

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FLEISCH's (1961) noms d'espèce, etc. The unit nouns (*nomina unitatis*), '*asmā' al-waḥda*, have to be identified with Brockelmann's Einzelnomina, Fleisch's noms d'unité, etc. For the verbal nouns (*nomina verbi, nomina actionis*) of the VN-IN system (see §2 in what follows), *maṣdar* (plur. *maṣādir*), '*ism al-fiᶜl* (plur. '*asmā' al-'afᶜāl*), and various calques of the traditional Latin terms in the European linguistic descriptions of Arabic. Owing to the striking syntactic similarity of the Arabic verbal nouns with the Indo-European infinitive, some authors (Lane et al.) use the term infinitive noun. The abstract value of verbal nouns is reflected in terms, like verbal abstracts (BEESTON 1970). The instance nouns of the VN-IN system, '*asmā' al-marra* in the Arabic sources, are mostly referred to as *nomina vicis* (WRIGHT, BROCKELMANN, FISCHER).

[4] In this sense, it is nearly synonymous with another abstract noun: *ḥimāla*. The plural-collective *ḥammāla*, has to be kept apart from the instrumental *ḥammāla* "support, pillar; suspenders"; the inflectionally featured *ḥammāla*, as female-feminine counterpart of *ḥammāl*, seems to be excluded from the lexicon of Modern Written Arabic, as a socio-culturally atypical unit, although it is still accepted, in this application, in some colloquial varieties, as e.g. in the Takrūna Arabic *ḥammāla*, fem. of *ḥammāl*, "woman porter". The plural interpretation of the plural-collective -a seems to prevail in all varieties of Arabic, as in Standard: baqqār - (plur.) *baqqāra* "cowhand, cowboy"; *ḥammār - ḥammāra* "donkey-driver"; *fallāq - fallāqa* "bandit, highwayman, highway robber"; *nazzār - nazzāra* "spectator"; Egyptian Arabic: *šawīš - šawišiyya* "sergeant, policeman" (MITCHELL 1960:225); Iraqi Arabic: *ǧannāz - ǧannāza* "person who accompanies the deceased from where he died to the city where he is to be buried"; *ᶜakkās - ᶜakkāsa* "photographer", etc. For the -a-marked plurals in both endo- and exocentric relationships see §§ 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3.

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graphically sanctioned autonomy of the two functions (cf. Wehr 1979) will also be maintained in the present analysis.

1.3. Irrespective of the evolutionary background of Semitic gender, most synchronic manifestations of this inflectional category show, in Arabic, a relatively large number of colliding points with the derivational domain. In Arabic grammars, however, the suffix -a is usually classified as a feminine marker. Such a presentation reflects, to be sure, the most important and the most conspicuous function of this morpheme despite the obvious fact that the bulk of its applications cannot satisfactorily be described in terms of a mere gender marking. Beyond the inflectional paradigm of sex-gender: male-masculine / female-feminine, the -a-marked feminine gender may be associated with a variety of derivational values. Some of them, such as collectiveness, unitness or instantness, have already been mentioned above. In some other cases, the suffix -a displays an exclusively derivational value and its presence does not signal the feminine gender class membership of its bearer. Or, on the contrary, the absence of this marker, with some types of nouns, need not necessarily imply the gender class value of masculinity.

The proper aim of the study is to survey all the main functions, representative of the suffix -a , and to illustrate them on nouns which maintain their systemic identity as well as on those which have already lost their unique systemic membership and can be reclassified in terms of different linguistic systems.

2. The suffix -a, as a multifunctional morpheme, may summarily be characterized as an inflectional-and/or-derivational marker. Its functional complexity, by far exceeding mere gender marking, may best be expressed in terms of the following trichotomy which will constitute the starting point for all subsequents considerations: (i - id - d), where (i) stands for the inflectional function of gender marking, (id) for the shared inflectional-and-derivational marking, while (d) for an exclusive derivational marking, as in:

(i) signalling the feminine gender-class membership in nouns denoting animate beings which can be organized in sex-gender pairs, as in *mudarris* (male-masculine) "teacher, instructor" - *mudarrisa* (female-feminine) "woman teacher, schoolmistress" or *kalb* "dog"- *kalba* "bitch";

(id) signalling the gender-class membership in nouns which may simultaneously be classified as members of one of the -a - marked derivational classes, as in:

maktab (masculine, *nomen loci*) "office; school; desk" - *maktaba* (feminine, -a -marked *nomen loci*) "library; bookstore".

The latter type of shared (id) marking may be even more clearly observed in the well-established binary systems, such as collective (CN) and unit nouns (UN); verbal (VN) and instance nouns (IN); or in the intensive system *fa^{cc}āl* - *fa^{cc}āla* , and the like. Some examples:

CN-UN: *waraq* (masculine, CN) "leaf (-ves), foliage" - *waraqa* (feminine, UN) "a (=one) leaf";

naḥl (masculine, CN) "bee(s)" - *naḥla* (feminine, UN) "a bee (one single specimen of the species)", etc.;

VN-IN: *ḍarb* (masculine, VN) "beating, striking" (verbal abstract of the verb *ḍaraba*) - *ḍarba* (feminine, VI) "blow, knock; stroke" (i.e., one single act of the VN);

ṣurāḫ, ṣarīḫ (masculine, VN) "crying, yelling; clamor" - *ṣarḫa* (feminine, VI) "cry, outcry, yell, scream", etc.;

faʿʿāl - faʿʿāla : *ḥayyāl* (masculine, *faʿʿāl*-type intensive: agential) "horseman, rider" - *ḥayyāla* (feminine, *faʿʿāla*-type intensive: collective) "cavalry";

ṭayyār (masculine, intensive: agential) "flier, aviator, pilot; - *ṭayyāra* (feminine, intensive: instrumental) "airplane, aircraft";

ʿassāl (masculine, intensive: agential) "gatherer of honey; beekeeper, apiculturist) - *ʿassāla* (feminine, intensive: instrumental/local) "beehive"; and the like.

As evident from the examples adduced, *faʿʿāl - faʿʿāla* derivatives may equally well be of a deverbative (*ṭayyār-ṭayyāra < ṭāra*) as of a denominative origin (*ḥayyāl - ḥayyāla < ḥayl* ; *ʿassāl - ʿassāla < ʿasl*);

(d) signalling a derivational value devoid of any implication of gender marking, as in: *rāwin* (*nomen agentis,* nonintensive) "narrator; transmitter (of ancient Arabic poetry) -*rāwiya* (intensive stem, unmarked for gender: its male-masculine classification is due to socio-cultural constraints of the traditional Arab society) "id." (with a connotation, however, of a recognized status of professionality and excellence),[5] or:

'allām (intensive $_{(1)}$) "knowing thoroughly, erudite" - *'allāma* (intensive $_{(2)}$) "most erudite, very learned (possibly substantivized; in the latter case, the male-masculine status has to be ascribed to the same reasons as above)", etc.

2.1. In juncture, the suffix *-a* , represented by its pre-juncture form *-at-*, may carry out its marking action in two different processes:

(1) in an additive process, typical of the inflectional relationships: *-a + m = -at + m* , where *m* stands for any linguistic marker(s) compatible with the additive process, as in: *madrasa + un = madrasatun* "school (nominative, indefinite)", or:

(2) in a substitutive process, typical of the derivational relationships: *-a + m = m* , where m symbolizes linguistic marker(s) compatible with this process, as in: *madrasa + ī = madrasī* "school (adj.), scholastic".

It is worthwhile noting that the substitutive process, by concealing an important (id) indicator, may lead, in some cases, to interpretational problems which cannot be settled in formal terms. Semantic evidence is, then, the only means to deal with the problem.

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[5] BLACHÈRE (1952:99): *rāwin* (Blachère : *rāwī*) "transmetteur" - *rāwiya* "grand transmetteur".

Some examples:

bašar "man, human being; men, mankind",

bašara "epidermis; skin",

bašarī$_{(1)}$ "human",

bašarī$_{(2)}$ "epidermal; skin (adj.)".

The extent of ambiguity may become still greater by the effect of an incidental backformation, as in:

'umm "mother",

'umma "nation; community" (derivationally inactive on the singular basis, a plural-based relative adjective, however, does exist: *'umamī* "international"),

'ummīya "illiteracy" (derivational basis in the regressive process),

'ummī$_{(1)}$ "maternal, motherly",

'ummī$_{(2)}$ "illiterate".

2.2. The operational range of the *-a*-marker substantially varies with particular functional classes of the (i - id - d) trichotomy. The marking action of this morpheme, derived from its functional value, may be interpreted:

(1) as an exclusively affix-based process, independent of the other morphemic constituents of the nominal stem, or:

(2) as a combined affix-and-pattern-based process.

2.2.1. An exclusively affix-based process is peculiar to the (i) and (d) functional types of the (i - id - d) trichotomy, as in:

(i): sex-gender: *zero/-a* in e.g.: *muslim* "Muslim" - *muslima* "Muslim woman" (§§ 1.1; 2 (i));

(i): number: *zero/-a* in e.g.: *ḥammāl* 'porter, carrier" - *ḥammāla,* plural (cf., § 1.2.);

(d): *zero / -a* in e.g.: *rāwin* - *rāwiya* or *ᶜallām* - *ᶜallāma* (as presented in § 2 (d) above).

2.2.2. A combined affix-and-pattern-based process is associated with the (id) class of the (i - id - d) system where *-a* , in a shared action with the pattern morpheme (the non-contiguous set of intra-root vowels, inclusive of their zero-representations, and of intra-root consonants which may, even if rather rarely, co-occur with them) or with what Erwin calls pattern complex (1963:52), i.e. the pattern morpheme, as defined above, combined with one or more affixes, as in:

(1) *-a* in a shared action with a ([ ]-marked) pattern in e.g.:

[*-a-0-*]*-a* : *naḥla* (feminine, UN) "a bee", or:

(2) *-a* in a shared action with a ({ }-marked) pattern-complex, as in:

{*ma-[-0-a-]*}*-a* : *maktaba* (feminine, *nomen loci*) "library; bookstore".[6]

3. The functional multiplicity of the suffix *-a* cannot avoid paradigmatic collisions of very various types. The phenomenon of formal fusion will be examined on sequences of the *a*-marked paradigmatic units, arranged in functionally contrasting pairs. When the fusion affects more than one single pair of function-

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[6] The pattern-complex *maktaba* corresponds, in a pausal presentation (the closing word-signalling morpheme *-(t)un* is unrepresented) to a word, the latter being contextually presented as *maktabatun.*

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ally contrasting units (f_1 - f_2), then a sequence like f_1 - f_2 - f_3... will be rearranged as f_1 - f_2, f_2 - f_3, f_1 - f_3, and so on.

The affiliation of formally coinciding units with any of the (i - id - d) functional classes will play an important part in the following classification. Units, belonging to the same functional class of the (i - id - d) system, will be classified as (1) endocentric, while those, pertaining to different functional classes of this system, will be referred to as (2) exocentric coincidences.

3.1. Endocentric coincidences will, then, include functionally contrasting pairs, identical as to their membership in any of the (i - id - d) functional classes, as in:

3.1.1. (i - i):

(i): sex-gender: male-masculine (unmarked) - female-feminine (-*a*-marked), e.g.:
fallāḥ "peasant, farmer, felah" - *fallāḥa* "peasant woman; peasant girl";

(i): number: singular (unmarked) - plural (-*a*-marked), e.g.:
fallāḥ, singular - *fallāḥa*, plural. [7]

Similarly:

(i): *nazzār* "spectator, onlooker" - *nazzāra* "woman onlooker, spectatress",

(i): *nazzār*, singular - *nazzāra*, plural (see note 7 above), etc.

As the sex-gender distinction need not necessarily be explicitly signalled with all nominal patterns, the co-occurrence of the implicit and explicit gender values may lead to the following relationships:

ḥaddām, male-masculine, "manservant, servant"; female-feminine, "woman servant, maid", alternating with *ḥaddām*, male-masculine - *ḥaddāma*, female-feminine. In the latter case, the same (i-i) gender-number coincidence will be obtained as that given above:

(i): *ḥaddām*, male-masculine - *ḥaddāma*, female-feminine,

(i): *ḥaddām*, singular, - *ḥaddāma*, plural (see note 7 above).

Takrūna Arabic:[8]

(i): *ʿawwām*, male-masculine, "travailleur qui ne fait pas partie d'une équipe constituée, mais s'y adjoint en cas de besoin, pour l'accomplissement de tâches

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[7] Fischer-defined plural collectives (1972:52) present the major classificatory problem in the present inquiry, as their plural value entail a paradigmatic classification while their collective featuring falls within a clearly derivational domain. Since the classification, proposed in this paper, treats inflectional and derivational phenomena as separate, fully autonomous entities, these -*a*-marked plural-collectives will be classified as either plurals or collectives or as units alternatively classifiable in both these terms. The decisive criterion will be the interpretation sanctioned by the available lexicographical and grammatical sources evaluated to this effect. Accordingly, a plural-collective like *ḥayyāla*, will be presented as (i) *ḥayyāla* (co-occurring with *ḥayyālīn*), plural of *ḥayyāl* "horseman, rider" and (id) *ḥayyāla*, collective, feminine, "cavalry" (unless otherwise indicated, all Standard Arabic data are those of WEHR 1979). For the *fallāḥa* - *filāḥa* relationship see also note 4 above, viz. *ḥammāla-ḥimāla*.

[8] Takrūna Arabic is a rural variety of Tunisian colloquial Arabic. Longer, formally coinciding sequences, frequently occurring in some colloquial varieties of Arabic (less ordinarily in Standard Arabic), will not necessarily be presented in all combinatorily possible binary relationships.

occasionnelles" ("day laborer who does not belong to a regular gang and who is occasionally hired for special purposes") - *ᶜawwāma* , "travailleuse à qui est fait occasionnellement appel" ("occasional female day laborer"),

(i): *ᶜawwām*, singular - *ᶜawwāma*, plural; or:

(i): *ġəssāl*, male-masculine, "laveur des morts; laveur d'habits" ("washer of the dead; washer, laundryman") - *ġəssāla*, female-feminine, "laveuse; laveuse des mortes" ("washerwoman; woman washer of the dead /women/"), [9]

(i): *ġəssāl*, singular - *ġəssāla,* plural, etc. This (i - i) sequence will be presented later on as part of a much more involved relationship consisting of both endo- and exocentric constituents.

Iraqi Arabic:

(i): *bayyāᶜ*, male-masculine, "salesman, sales clerk" - *bayyāᶜa,* female-feminine, "salesgirl",

(i): *bayyāᶜ*, singular - *bayyāᶜa*, plural.

3.1.1.1. Endocentric relationships of the present type may occur in longer sequences, as those observed in Takrūna Arabic:

(i - i -i): (i - i)$_1$: male-masculine (plural) - female-feminine (singular), (i - i)$_2$: female-feminine (singular) - female-feminine (plural), e.g.:

(i - i)$_1$: *ḥəṭṭāb* "bûcheron; ramasseur de bois à brûler" ("woodcutter; gatherer of firewood") - *ḥəṭṭāba*, plural,

(i - i)$_2$: *ḥəṭṭāba* "ramasseuse de bois à brûler" ("female gatherer of firewood" - *ḥəṭṭāba*, plural.

Similarly:

fərrāž, "spectateur" ("spectator, onlooker") - *fərrāža,* plural,

fərrāža "spectatrice" ("spectatress") - *fərrāža,* plural.

3.1.2. (id - id):

(id): where (i<id) indicates gender: feminine, while (d<id) collectively interpreted plural-collectives, as in: *ḥammāla*, "status of a porter or a carrier, his work and trade; porter(s), carrier(s)" (cf., Fischer 1972:52: "Lastträgerschaft; Lastträger /plur./"),

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[9] As a result of socio-cultural constraints, the lexical meaning of the male-masculine and female-feminine constituents of the sex-gender relationship may differ so widely that it is questionable whether we have to do with autonomous lexical units or merely with various inflections of the same word, e.g.: *ṣarrāf* "money changer; cashier, tresaurer; paymaster, banker" - *ṣarrāfa* "(woman)cashier" or the Iraqi Arabic *daggāg (ğidri)* "a man who gives smallpox vaccinations" - *daggāga* "a woman who does tatooing" or the Takrūna Arabic *ḥəmmāṣ* "grilleur de pois chiches; marchand de pois chiches grillés" ("chick-pea roaster or seller") - *ḥəmmāṣa* "(femme) habile à confectionner le couscous à gros grains nommé *mḥəmmaṣ*"("woman experienced in preparing a variety of couscous called *mḥəmmaṣ*"). Divergences of the latter type are frequently covered by separate lexical units, as in the Egyptian Arabic *makwagi* "laundryman, ironer, starcher" as against *kawwāya* "laundrywoman" (SPIRO 1929); or they may restrict the use to only one of the two constituents of the sex-gender pair, as in *qawwād* (only male-masculine) "pander, pimp, procurer" or *naffāta* (only female-feminine) "woman who spits on the knots (in exercising a form of Arabian witchcraft), sorceress", or the like.

(id): where (i<id) signals gender: feminine, while (d<id) indicates *fa^c^āla-*type instrumentalness: *ḥammāla,* feminine, instrumental, "(carrier) beam, girder; suspenders".

When relying, however, on the lexicographical evidence (Wehr 1979), we obtain an (i - id) exocentric sequence of the type examined in the following paragraph:

(i): *ḥammāla,* number: plural, co-occurring with *ḥammālīn,* coinciding with:

(id): *ḥammāla,* feminine, instrumental, of the (id - id) sequence quoted above.

3.2. Exocentric coincidences, involving contrasting units that belong to different functional classes of the (i - id - d) hierarchy, may be illustrated on the following cases of formal fusion:

3.2.1. (i - id): where (i) signals sex-gender: female-feminine, while (i<id) gender: feminine, and (d<id) *fa^c^āla-*type instrumentalness, as in:

(i): *saḥḥār,* male-masculine, "sorcerer, magician, wizard, charmer" - *saḥḥāra,* female-feminine, "sorceress, witch", (id): *saḥḥāra,* feminine, instrumental, "case, crate, box";

Similarly:

(i): *ṭayyār,* "flyer, aviator, pilot" - *ṭayyāra,* "aviatrix, woman pilot",

(id): *ṭayyāra,* "airplane, aircraft; kite (toy)";

(i): *ġassāl,* "washer, washerman, laundryman" - *ġassāla,* "washerwoman, laundress",

(id): *ġassāla,* "washing machine", etc.

3.2.2. (i - id): where (i) indicates number: plural, while (i<id) gender: feminine, and (d<id) *fa^c^āla-*type instrumentalness, as in:

(i): *šayyāl,* singular, "porter, carrier" - *šayyāla* (possibly co-occurring with *šayyālīn*), plural,

(id): *šayyāla,* gender class: feminine; derivational class: *fa^c^āla-*type instrumental, "suspender", or:

(i): *ṭawwāf,* singular, "mounted rural mail carrier" - *ṭawwāfa,* plural,

(id): *ṭawwāfa,* gender class: feminine derivational class: *fa^c^āla-*instrumental, "patrol boat, coastal patrol vessel" (Egyptian regional usage).

3.2.3. (i - id): where (i) indicates plural, while (i<id) feminine gender, and (d<id) *fa^c^āla-*type collectiveness, as in:

(i): *ḥayyāla,* singular, "horseman, rider" - *ḥayyāla,* plural,

(id): *ḥayyāla,* feminine, collective, "cavalry", or:

(i): *baḥḥār,* plur. *baḥḥāra* (co-occurring with *baḥḥārūn*), "seaman, mariner, sailor",

(id): *baḥḥāra,* "crew (of a ship or an airplane)", etc.

Chad-Sudanese Arabic:

ḥayyālī, plur. *ḥayyāla,* (co-occurring with *ḥayyāl*) "horseman",

ḥayyāla, "cavalry", or:

ğellābī, plur. *ğellāba,* (co-occurring with *ğalālīb*) "hawker, trader",

ğellāba, "caravan; party of merchants", etc.

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3.2.3.1. The plural suffix *-a* in cases like *ḫayyāla* "horsemen", possibly restated in terms of *ḫayyāla* "cavalry", may be, in a sense, compared to some other lexically relevant allomorphs of the plural morpheme. In a number of cases, the suffix *-īn*, may also be lexicalized in producing a sort of *nomina loci* which equal, by their connotation of localness, nouns belonging to the derivational class of *nomina loci et temporis* of the traditional classification in Arabic grammars. E.g.:

Hispano-Arabic:

šaᶜᶜārīn, presumably derived from the annexion-type construction *sūq aš-šaᶜᶜārīn,* (literally "market of the barley vendors") "marché où l'on vend de l'orge" ("barley market") (Dozy 1,1921: 764: *Gl.Esp.* 356-8). The singular treatment of this term is confirmed in Alcalá (1505): "cevaderia, lugar donde se vende cevada" ("barley market") (Dozy, ibid.; cf. also Corriente 1988: 108). Originally relatable to the singular:

šaᶜᶜār, "celui qui vend de l'orge" ("seller of barley") (Dozy, ibid.: Alcalá; also Corriente, ibid.). Or:

wazzāzīn, "endroit où l'on élève des oies" ("breeding place for geese") (Alcalá: "ansarería"), originally relatable to the singular:

wazzāz "celui qui prend soin des oies" ("goose breeder") (Dozy 2, 1921: 798; cf. also Corriente 1988: 216).

3.2.4. (i - d): where (i) indicates number: plural, (d) the derivational class membership: *-a*-marked intensiveness, frequently coincident with the intensive pattern *faᶜᶜāla* (invariable in gender and number), as in:

(i): *raḥḥāl,* singular, "great traveller, explorer; nomad" - *raḥḥāla,* plural,

(d): *raḥḥāla,* (invar.), *-a*-marked intensive, frequently coinciding with the pattern *faᶜᶜāla* "great traveller, explorer; globetrotter".

3.3. In some units, displaying paradigmatically well-established *-a*-marked plurals, longer coincident sequences are of a quite common occurrence, as in:

(i - id - d): where (i) signals plural, while (i<id) feminine gender, (d<id) *faᶜᶜāla*-type instrumentalness, and (d) an *-a*-marked intensiveness that is, once again, frequently coinciding with the intensive pattern *faᶜᶜāla,* as in:

(i): *ǧawwāl,* singular, "traveler, tourist; ambulant" - *ǧawwāla,* plural,

(id): *ǧawwāla,* feminine, instrumental, "motorcycle; cruiser"; or:

(d): *ǧawwāla,* intensive, "one given to roaming or traveling; hiker; wanderer, wayfarer".

In a binary representation, postulated in §3, the sequence just quoted would yield three coincident pairs of exocentric type: (i) - (id); (i) - (d), and (id) - (d).

3.4. Such sequences may simultaneously contain both endo- and exocentric relationships, as in:

Takrūna Arabic:

(i - i -id): where (i)$_1$ indicates sex-gender: female-feminine, (i)$_2$ number: plural, (i<id) gender: feminine, and (d<id) *faᶜᶜāla*-featured collectiveness, as in:

(i - i) : endocentric relationship:

(i): *fərrāž,* male-masculine, "spectateur" ("spectator") - *fərrāža,* female-feminine, "spectatrice" ("spectatress"),

(i): *fərrāž*, singular - *fərrāža*, plural, and:

(i - id): exocentric relationship, where (i) may alternatively be represented by $(i)_1$ or

$(i)_2$, as indicated above, in relation to:

(id): *fərrāža*, feminine, collective, "l'ensemble des femmes qui, dans les noces, sont venues assister à l'exposition de la mariée" ("the group of women who assist at the unveiling of the bride during her wedding");

or:

(i - i - i - id): female-feminine (singular) - female-feminine (plural) - male-masculine (plural) - feminine, *faᶜᶜāla*-type instrumental - occurring in coinciding pairs, such as:

(i - i):

$(i - i)_1$: *ġəssāla*, female-feminine (singular /for the *ġəssāl - ġəssāla* sex-gender pair, see § 3.1.1. above/) - *ġəssāla*, female-feminine (plural);

$(i - i)_2$: *ġəssāla*, female-feminine (singular) - *ġəssāla*, male-masculine (plural);

(i - id):

$(i - id)_1$: *ġəssāla*, female-feminine (singular) - *ġəssāla*, feminine, *faᶜᶜāla*-instrumental, "grand plat en terre employé pour la lessive" ("large pottery basin for washing");

$(i - id)_2$: *ġəssāla*, female-feminine (plural) - *ġəssāla*, feminine, instrumental, as above;

as well as other possible binary combinations.

3.5. When disregarding the explicative power of the context, the coincident units, like these, may only be distinguished from each other by a relatively variable distribution of alternative inflectional markers possibly co-occurring with them. In the (i - i - i - id)-featured *ġəssāla*, as quoted above, the set of co-occurring markers displays the following distribution:

ġəssāla, male-masculine (plural): *ġəssālīn*,

ġəssāla, female-feminine (plural): *ġəssālīn*, *ġəssālāt*,

ġəssāla, feminine instrumental (singular): *ġəssālāt*, as the only possible plural.

Since these alternative occurrences are of no direct relevance to the phenomenon examined, they will not be systematically indicated.

4. Formal fusion of the *-a*-marked inflectional and/or derivational units in the process of inter-systemic restatement.

(1) Cases of formal fusion, examined so far, involved several formally coincident, but functionally different units which did maintain, each of them, their systemic identity, i.e, their membership in one, and only one, linguistic system related to a unique functional class of the (i - id - d) trichotomy. This type of formal fusion will be labelled as Type (I), in what follows.

As stated in previous paragraphs, the Type (I) coincident units may belong either to the same or to different functional classes of the (i - id - d) system. The former type is classified as endocentric, the latter, as exocentric coincidence.

Symbolically presented:

f_1, f_2 - $F_{1,2}$: endocentric coincidence;

f_1, f_2 - F_1, F_2 : exocentric coincidence.

Symbols used:

f : any of the inflectional and/or derivational functions of the suffix -a, associated with any of the functional classes (F) of the (i - id - d) system, such as:

(i): as a case of (i<id) in the coinciding units analysed: gender: feminine,

(i): sex-gender: female-feminine,

(i): number: plural,

(d): derivational value of intensiveness (cf., §3.2.4: *raḥḥāla*, or §3.3. *ǧawwāla*),

(d): (d<id): *fa ᶜᶜāla*-type instrumentalness, collectiveness, or the like.

F : any of the functional classes of the (i - id - d) system.

f_1, f_2 : number indexes with each pair of symbols have to be interpreted as "different from the neighboring unit as to their f-related functions";

F_1 : functional class compatible only with f_1 ;

F_2 : functional class compatible only with f_2 ;

$F_{1,2}$: functional class compatible with both f_1 and f_2 .

(2) The type of formal fusion (referred to as Type II) will include cases of formal coincidence between several functional manifestations of a word unit that may alternatively be classified in terms of two linguistic systems: S_1 - underlying (or what might synchronically be considered as the underlying or original system) and S_2 - restated linguistic system.

As the Type (II) cases of formal coincidence, examined in the present inquiry, are reduced to only two functional classes (F) of the (i - id - d) system, namely to (i) and (id), only two types of the F-related inter-systemic restatement will occur in the following symbolic representation:

S_1 (id) - S_2 (i) : exocentric relationship (cf., §§ 4.1 and 4.2), and

S_1 (id) - S_2 (id) : endocentric relationship (cf. § 4.3), in what follows.

(2.1) Formal fusion of the Type II will involve three different cases of inter-systemic restatement focused on the CN - UN system,[10] in both S_1 and S_2 positions. The aim of the inquiry is to provide some evidence for the study of interactions between stabilizing and destabilizing factors operating in the Arabic grammar and lexicon, and to show that even well-established derivational systems, such as CN - UN, *fa ᶜᶜāl - fa ᶜᶜāla,* and the like, cannot prevent the loss of the systemic identity of some of their members. The three types of inter-systemic reclassification, subsequently examined, are:

(1) a derivational system restated as an inflectional system (CN-UN reclassified as members of the sex-gender relationship);

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[10] With regard to the restatement processes, taking place in the Type II formal coincidences, a closer presentation of the CN-UN system seems to be useful. Collective nouns of the latter type denote various animate and inanimate entities of non-human reference, taken as a whole species or notional class of what is referred to, without any exact specification of number. In contradistinction to other types of Arabic collectives, they are opposed to the -a-marked unit nouns, denoting one single specimen of the respective species or class.

(2) a derivational system restated as an inflectional system (CN-UN reinterpreted in terms of what will later be defined as an autonomous singular - plural relationship; and

(3) a derivational system reclassified as a derivational system of a different type (the derivational system of the intensive stems *fa^{cc}āl* - *fa^{cc}āla* restated in terms of the CN-UN system).

4.1. CN - UN as sex-gender pairs: S_1 (id) - S_2 (i) :

4.1.1. The restatement is based upon the well-known fact that the derivational markers *zero/-a* of the CN- UN system formally coincide with the inflectional markers of gender classes: *zero* (masculine) / *-a* (feminine), which have to be, with living beings, classified in sex-gender terms: *zero*[11] (male-masculine) / *-a* (female-feminine), as in: *kalb* "dog", *kalba* "bitch". With some limitations,[12] the *zero / -a* opposition also signals substantially the same gender classes within the CN-UN system, irrespective of whether with nouns denoting sexless entities (*šağar* : CN, masculine, "tree(s)" - *šağara* : UN, feminine, "a tree") or with nouns denoting living beings that display the extra-linguistic category of sex (*ḥamām* : CN, masculine, "pigeon(s)", male(s) and/or female(s) - *ḥamāma* : UN, feminine, "a pigeon", male or female).

Atypically, however, the category of sex may be associated with the inflectional category of gender even in some nouns that may alternatively be classified as members of the CN-UN system. The latter type of the reclassified sex-gender relationship simultaneously puts an end to the CN-UN membership of the units involved, as in:

S_1 :   CN - UN:
  CN: *ḥamām* "pigeon(s)", male(s) and/or female(s) -
  UN: *ḥamāma* "a pigeon", male or female; as against:
S_2 :   male-masculine / female-feminine:
  male-masculine: *ḥamām* "pigeon", male, singular -
  female-feminine: *ḥamāma* "pigeon", female, singular.

That is:

CN - UN:	CN	-	UN
sex-gender:	male-masculine		female-feminine

Documentary evidence:

Classical Arabic:

ra'aytu ḥamāman ^calā ḥamāmatin "I saw a male (pigeon) upon a female (pigeon)", or (verse) *wadakkaranī ṣṣibā ba^cda ttanā'ī - ḥamāmatu 'aykatin tad^cū*

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[11] *Zero*-marked paradigmatic and derivational classes may, of course, alternatively be classified as unmarked.

[12] With the present type of collective nouns, the gender class membership may show some variability. In Standard Arabic (irrespective of whether true Classical or Modern Written variant) these collectives are predominantly (FISCHER 1972:49, n.l) and, in modern Arabic dialects, exclusively masculine (for Iraqi Arabic, cf. ERWIN 1963:174; for Moroccan Arabic, cf. HARRELL 1962:78, etc.).

ḥamāman and a female pigeon of a thicket, calling a male pigeon, reminded me of youth, after estrangement (Lane 1, 636-7).

Maltese Arabic:

ħamiem (male of the species): iz-zakak jaqbeż u jitfarfar, iżda l-ħamiem iżoqq u jgargar "the wagtail hops and flaps its wings, but the male dove feeds and coos" (Aquilina 1972: 213; ħamiem "male dove" is, in this system, directly opposed to ħamiema "female dove"), or:

the sex-gender pair wiżża - wiżż "goose - gander" (ibid.: 43), as against the Standard Arabic wazz ('iwazz) "goose, geese", simultaneously operating both as a CN and as a UN (like e.g. ṭayr "bird(s)"), and the like.

Typically, however, as is the general case in all varieties of Arabic to which the Maltese language is genetically related, nouns belonging to the CN-UN system tend to maintain their CN-UN identity in resisting the sex-gender reinterpretation, as in:

CN-related ħamiem: risq fil-ħamiem, bini bla tmiem "luck in pigeons, numberless building"; dar u ħamiem, faraġ bla tmiem "one's home and pigeons are endless consolation" (ibid., 203);

UN-related ħamiema: kull ħamiema li bla ħjiena jtemmha s-seqer every guileless dove is destroyed by the hawk" (ibid., 46).

Moroccan Arabic:

Harrell's (1962: 78) description of this phenomenon in Moroccan Arabic might be of interest: "Various animals and insects are commonly indicated by collective nouns. Among the larger animals where biological sex is immediately apparent, the singular in -a generally denotes the female of the species, the collective denotes the species as a whole, and there is sometimes (but not always) a separate word for the male of the species; e.g., bger "cattle", begra "a cow", tur "a bull". In the cases where there is no separate word for the male of the species, the collective can be used in that sense; e.g., bellareż "stork(s)", bellarža "a (female) stork".

That is:

CN/masculine, of any sex: bellareż "stork(s)"; brek "duck(s); wezz "goose, geese";

UN/feminine, of any sex: bellarža "a stork"; berka "a duck"; wezza "a goose";

alternatively occurring as sex-gender pairs:

male-masculine: bellareż "male stork"; brek "male duck, drake"; wezz "male goose, gander;

female-feminine: bellarža "(female) stork"; berka "(female) duck"; wezza "(female) goose), etc.

Takrūna Arabic:

CN-UN: ḥmām "pigeon(s) - ḥmāma "a pigeon" (of whatever sex), as against:

male-masc.: ḥallāni nenᶜi maṭl-alḥmām frīd "il m'a laissé réduit à gémir qui a perdu sa compagne" ("he left me in my sighs like a male pigeon who had lost his mate"); contrasting, in this system, with the female-feminine ḥmāma.

4.1.2. Another type of partial sex-gender restatement of the CN-UN system occurs in nouns the sex-gender membership is signalled both in inflectional (*zero/-a* contrast) and lexical (suppletive) terms. In the latter case only one derivational class of the CN-UN system, usually UN, undergoes the sex-gender reclassification while the other class, usually CN, does not. Some examples:

CN/masc., of whatever sex: *baqar* "cow(s), bull(s); bovines, cattle" -
UN/fem., of whatever sex: *baqara* "cow, bull", as against:
male-masc. by suppletion: *ṯawr* "bull"; female-feminine: *baqara* "cow".
Similarly:

The Standard Arabic *daǧāǧ* (CN/masc.) "cock(s), hen(s); chicken(s), fowl" in relation to *daǧāǧa* (UN/fem.); as well as *daǧāǧa* (female-feminine) "hen" in relation to *dīk* (male-masculine, suppletive) "cock, rooster".

In colloquial varieties of Arabic various modifications of these relationships may be found.

4.1.3. A somewhat different type of sex-gender relationshiop may occur in collective nouns derivationally unrelated to unit nouns which do operate, however, both as collective nouns and as nouns of individual reference. In accordance with this functional duplicity, they are sometimes classified as collective-and-unit nouns (cf. Wehr 1979: 677), e.g.:

CN/UN: *ṭayr* "bird(s); a bird", co-occurring with:
ṭayr "the male of the species"; *ṭayra* "the female of the species" (Dozy 2, 1927:79: *ṭayr* "pigeon que l'on emploie pour porter une lettre" ("carrier pigeon"); *ṭayra* "femelle de pigeon" ("female pigeon"); Wehr 1979: 677, etc.).

4.1.4. The atypical co-occurrence of CN-UN and sex-gender classes is admitted, for Standard Arabic, only with reluctance. The Arab grammarians and lexicographers tend to reject the latter usage altogether. The account of Ibn Sīda, a famous 11th century lexicographer of Muslim Spain, might appear relevant to the matter: *iᶜlam 'anna lmuḏakkara yuᶜabbaru ᶜanhu billafẓi lmu'annaṯi fayaǧrī ḥukmu llafẓi ᶜalā tta'nīṯi wa'in kāna lmuᶜabbaru ᶜanhu muḏakkaran fī lḥaqīqati wayakūnu ḏalika biᶜalāmati tta'nīṯi wabiġayri ᶜalāmatin fa'ammā mā kāna biᶜalāmati tta'nīṯi faqawluka hāḏihi šātun wa'in 'aradta taysan wahāḏihi baqaratun wa'in 'aradta ṯawran wahāḏihi ḥamāmatun wahāḏihi baṭṭatun wa'in 'aradta ḏḏakara* (Landberg 1920: 189): "You must know that a masculine can be expressed by a feminine word. The word behaves then as a feminine, even if the (entity) referred to is in reality masculine. This happens either by means of a feminine marker or without it. As for what involves the feminine marker, we may quote the following examples: *hāḏihi šātun* "this is sheep", even if you have in mind a ram, and *hāḏihi baqaratun* "this is a cow", even if you mean a bull, and *hāḏihi ḥamāmatun* "this is a pigeon", and *hāḏihi baṭṭatun* "this is a duck", even if you mean the male thereof."

4.2. CN - UN as autonomous singular-plural relationship: S_1 (id) - S_2 (i):

(1) The present type of restatement is based on two different ways in which the inflectional system of the Arabic number classes is related to the CN-UN system. It may be associated with any particular member of the CN-UN system as a satellite relationship which does not affect the derivational identity of the

CN-UN system, or it may operate as a fully autonomous inflectional relationship, independent of the CN-UN system. In the latter case we shall speak about an "autonomous singular-plural relationship".

The loss of the CN-UN identity in nouns subsequently reclassified in terms of an autonomous singular-plural relationship is usually accompanied by various modifications of the underlying lexical meaning in the nouns involved. This type of restatement may affect one or both members of the CN-UN system:

(id-i) CN : singular - plural;

(id-i) UN : singular - plural

(id-i) CN-UN : CN : singular - plural; UN : singular - plural.

(1) As far as the derivational identity of the CN-UN system is maintained, the inflectional system of number classes is related to two distinct derivational classes, CN and UN, which radically differ from each other by their respective ability to inflect for the plural (or the dual). While the CN does not normally inflect for the plural (dual), or it does so under special conditions only, the UN does inflect for number as freely as any Arabic countable noun. The extremely involved problem of pluralizing collective (and mass) nouns as against the substantially predictable patterns of pluralization, peculiar to unit nouns, deserves special attention. Some aspects of this problems will be illustrated on the CN-UN pair *šaǧar - šaǧara* in what follows.

šaǧar (CN) "tree(s)", i.e. any group, class etc. of trees; as a generic term, possibly including the whole species or the whole notional class of what is referred to, related to the plural *'ašǧār* "trees", [13] as a mere matter of formal analogy with the current count noun plural patterns, like *faras,* plur. *'afrās* "horse, mare"; *namaṭ,* plur. *'anmāṭ* "form, type", etc., as against:

šaǧara (UN) "a (one) tree", plur. *šaǧarāt* "trees".[14] Since any UN invariably displays both a CN-UN and a singular-plural relationship,[15] the numeric value of "one" seems to be redundantly signalled both by derivational and inflectional

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[13] Arabic collective nouns are only rarely matched with the corresponding English collectives, as in *waraq* (CN) "foliage", or the like. They are mostly rendered by the English plurals, as in *šaǧar* (CN) "trees". In view of their frequent generic application, Arabic collectives of the present type may alternatively be conveyed by the English generic singulars. In order to meet both these interpretations, some authors prefer to mark both of them, as in *šaǧar* "tree(s)". Further, meta-linguistic niceties of the traditional grammar that cannot convincingly be supported by recent linguistic data, such as the traditional distinction between plurals of paucity (*ǧumūᶜ al-qilla*) and plurals of multitude (*ǧumūᶜ al-kaṯra*), are here disregarded. Various plural-related lexical connotations, however, will be taken into consideration.

[14] The external plural of the type *šaǧarāt* is frequently denoted as 'individual plural' (FISCHER 1972:49, viz. "Bäume als einzelne"). Unlike the 'paucal' interpretation of *'ašǧār,* the 'individual' classification of *šaǧarāt* is in full harmony with the linguistic evidence provided by all main evolutional stages of Arabic. In the latter sense, it may be identified with what MITCHELL (1962:42) calls 'counted plurals' in Egyptian Arabic, as in *šagarāt* (counted or little plural) as against *'ašgār* (plural or big plural).

[15] The latter has to be kept apart from what we define as the autonomous singular-plural relationship.

means of the language. Nevertheless, the derivationally conveyed "oneness" of a UN like *šaǧara* differs in some respects from that implied by the inflectional value of singularness. The difference between the two may best be expressed by the following contrast:

UN: "one" related to "any number" of the CN, as against:

singular: "one" related to "more than two" of the plural.

(2) The impact of formal analogy between plurals drawn from the collective (and mass) nouns and the count nouns is in many cases a starting point for subsequent lexicalizations. Various lexical connotations, possibly associated with a number of these plurals, are to a considerable extent dependent on the context and cannot satisfactorily be recorded in current lexicons. They may involve some basic qualitative (brands, sorts, kinds, qualities) or quantitative characteristics (distinct amounts, numerically relevant groups, etc.) of what is referred to in these plurals, as e.g. in the Classical Arabic *laḥm* "meat", plur. *luḥūm, liḥām* "particular, considerable, massive, etc. quantities; particular, various, different, etc. brands of meat", etc. Exceptionally, some of these connotations are lexicographically recorded, as in:

faḥm (CN/MN) "charcoal(s); coal(s)", plur. *fuḥūmāt* "coals, brands of coal", etc.

Takrūna Arabic:

sžər (CN) "arbres" ("trees"), plur. *sžār* (with the definite article: *əssžār, ləsžār*), "beaucoup d'arbres; des arbres luxuriants" (many trees; splendid, sumptuous trees"); the UN-related plural *sažrāt* is only used with the numerals (counted plural); or:

tbən (CN/MN) "paille réduite en minces brins par le battage" ("straw flailed to bits in thrashing"), plur. *tbān* (with the def. art. *lətbān*), *tbūna, tbūnāt*. The plural *tbān* implies "qualités diverses de paille; quantités de paille" ("various qualities of straw; (great) amounts of straw"), as opposed to the plurals *tbūna* et *tbūnāt*, which connote still larger amounts of straw, viz. "des masses de paille" ("massive quantities of straw"), and the like.

(3) Lexicalized plurals may involve even more specialized connotations which sometimes imply the idea of tool or product made of the stuff or material referred to in the CN (MN). Since such connotations are of direct semantic relevance, they are, as a rule, recorded in the Arabic lexicons, e.g.:

ḥadīd (CN/MN) "iron", plur. *ḥadā'id* "iron parts (of a structure: forgings, hardware, ironware"; the lexicalized nature of this plural can even more clearly be seen in the corresponding UN/PN *ḥadīda*, viz. "piece of iron; object or tool made of iron", etc.[16]

(4) The loss of the CN-UN identity in some nouns originally relatable to the latter derivational system and their restatement in terms of what we call autonomous singular- plural relationship is accompanied by various modifications of

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[16] From the Colloquial Arabic data are excluded those that would otherwise co-occur with the simultaneously quoted Standard Arabic units.

their meaning value. The semantic relationship between the underlying (un-restated) and resulting (restated) linguistic systems will be rather arbitrarily referred to as inter-systemic polysemy. The point may preliminarily be illustrated on the Standard Arabic (i) *ʿadasa* (UN of the CN-UN) "lentil" - (ii) *ʿadasa* (singular of the autonomous singular-plural) "lens, objective", or the Egyptian Arabic (i) *ʿinaba* "grape; vine" - (ii) *ʿinaba* "staphyloma (a grape-like tumor of the cornea), etc.

(5) The individual members of the CN-UN system may be reclassified in terms of an autonomous singular-plural relationship either independently of each other or together with each other. From the point of view of the formally coinciding -*a*-marked units, only the UN-related type of restatement seems to be of interest. At the S_1 stage of the process, the UN members of the CN-UN system will be presented together with their CN counterparts, as well as with what we call *satellite* plurals related to them. Every plural, quoted at the S_1 stage of the process, has to be identified with the latter type of plural irrespective of whether explicitly denoted as such, or not. At the S_2 stage, the units are restated in exclusively inflectional terms of what we call *autonomous* singular-plural relationship. With nouns which do not inflect for number, the plural may be missing, or, under the impact of extra-linguistic restrictions, may be represented by a dual form.

S_1: *ʿadas* (CN) - *ʿadasa* (UN), satellite plural: *ʿadasāt*, "lentil(s)",

S_2: *ʿadasa* (singular) - *ʿadasāt* (plural), "lens; magnifying glass; object lens"; similarly:

ḏubāb (CN) - *ḏubāba* (UN), satellite plurals: *'aḏibba, ḏibbān; ḏubābāt*, "flies, fly",

ḏubāba (singular) - *ḏubābāt* (plural), "tip (of the sword);

ḏarr (CN) - *ḏarra* (UN), plural: *ḏarrāt*, "tiny particles, atoms, specks, motes",

ḏarra (singular) - *ḏarrāt* (plural), "atom" (phys., chem.)

bayḍ (CN) - *bayḍa* (UN), plurals: *buyūḍ; bayḍāt*, "egg(s)",

bayḍa (singular) - *bayḍatān* (dual), "testicles"; *bayḍāt* (plural), "helmet; substance";

lawz (CN) - *lawza* (UN), plural: *lawzāt*, "almond(s),

lawza (singular) - *lawzatān* (dual), "tonsils", as in *iltihāb al-lawzatayn* "tonsilitis";

barad (CN) - *barada* (UN), "hailstone(s)",

barada (singular) - plural (unrepresented), "indigestion" (*'aṣlu kulli dā'in al-barada* "the origin of every disease is indigestion" (a muslim tradition); "the middle of the eye" (Lane 1, 184-185);

Iraqi Arabic:[16]

ḥašaf (CN) - *ḥašafa* (UN), plural: *ḥašafāt*, "under-developed, dried up, poor quality dates",

ḥašafa (singular) - *ḥašafāt* (plural), "glans penis" (vulg.);

rummān (CN) - *rummāna* (UN), plural: *rummānāt*, "pomegranate(s),

rummāna (singular) - *rummānāt* (plural), "knob, ball";

ṣammūn (CN), "a kind of bread baked in large, oblong loaves, similar to French bread"

- *ṣammūna* (UN), plural: *ṣammūnāt,* "a loaf of *ṣammūn*",

ṣammūna (singular) - *ṣammūnāt* (plural), "nut (for a bolt or screw"; etc.

Egyptian Arabic:

šōk (CN) - *šōka* (UN), plural: *šokāt,* "thorns, thistles",

šōka (singular) - *šuwak, šokāt* (plural), "fork, spur";

ʿinab (CN) - *ʿinaba* (UN), plural: *ʿinabāt,* "grapes; vine",

ʿinaba (singular) - plural (unrepresented), "staphyloma" (med. pathol.);

naḥl (CN) - *naḥla* (UN), plural: *naḥlāt,* "honey-bee(s)".

naḥla (singular) - *nuḥal* (plural), "spinning top"; etc.

Takrūna Arabic:

ḥərrūb (CN) - *ḥərrūba* (UN), satellite plurals: *ḥərrūbāt, ḥrārəb,* "caroube(s); caroubier(s)" ("carob(s), St.-John's bread; carob-tree(s)"; (UN): *iṣəbḥək ʿla-ṭōba urəjlēk mʿəlqa-fi-ḥərrūba* "que Dieu te mette sur une motte de terre, les pieds suspendus à un caroubier" ("may God put you on a lump of earth with your feet suspended to a carob-tree!" (a malediction)),

ḥərrūba (singular) - *ḥərrūbāt, ḥrārəb* (plural), "ancienne monnaie valant 1/16ᵉ de piastre" ("an ancient coin equal to 1/16 of a piaster"), as in: *ma-yəswaš-ḥərrūbtēn* " ça ne vaut pas deux caroubes: c'est de nulle valeur" ("it is not worth two carobs: it is worthless");

ḏəbbān (CN) - *ḏəbbāna* (UN), plural: *ḏəbbānāt,* "mouche(s)" ("flie, fly); UN: *ḥfīf kīf-əḏḏəbbāna f-əlʿsəl* "agile lui! comme mouche prise dans du miel!" ("active, as a fly caught in honey!"),

ḏəbbāna (singular) - *ḏəbbānāt* (plural), "point de mire d'une arme à feu" ("bead in the foresight of a firearm"); "petit tatouage en forme de croix qui se fait au front" ("small cross-like tattoo usually made on the forehead"); etc.

4.3. *faʿʿāl* - *faʿʿāla* as CN - UN : S_1 (id) - S_2 (id):

(1) The derivational system *faʿʿāl* - *faʿʿāla,* displaying a general value of intensiveness, is well represented in all linguistic varieties of Arabic. From a synchronic point of view, the derivational pattern *faʿʿāl* may be classified as an intensive pattern of the participial *fāʿil* (Barth 1899: 11, 40, 48; Fleisch 1961: 366; et al.). As a substantive, it usually denotes members of various professions and trades. Here, the derivational value of intensiveness is reinterpreted in terms of habitual and professional activity. The latter type of intensiveness will be referred to, not quite unambiguously, as agentialness. The pattern *faʿʿāla* modifies the basic derivational value of intensiveness in a slightly different way, most frequently in terms of instrumentalness (*ṭayyāra :* aircraft), less ordinarily in terms of collectiveness (*ḥayyāla :* cavalry), as well as other more rarely emerging values.

(2) Atypically, some of these derivational values, associated with the patterns *faʿʿāl* and *faʿʿāla,* may be reclassified in terms of the CN-UN-featured collectiveness and unitness. Despite the fact that the latter type of intersystemic restatement may take place in the form of a *faʿʿāl*-related, or in that of a *faʿʿāla*-related process, only the latter type is of relevance for the study of the -*a*-

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marked formal coincidences. At least one example of the *fa*^{cc}*āla*-related process:

S₁ : *fa*^{cc}*āl* (intensiveness: agentialness): *fa*^{cc}*āla* (intensiveness: instrumentalness):
   saǧǧād "worshipper (of God)",   *saǧǧāda* "prayer rug; carpet";
S₂ : CN: UN:
   saǧǧād "prayer rug(s); carpet(s)",   *saǧǧāda* "prayer rug; carpet".

Symbols used

CN - collective nouns, associated with the derivational system CN - UN;

UN - unit nouns, associated with the derivational system CN - UN;

(i - id - i) - trichotomous system of functional classes (F), here applied to the classification of functional variations of the suffix -*a*, both inflectional and/or derivational, in the process of their formal fusion:
   (i) : inflectional function;
   (id) : shared inflectional-and-derivational function;
   (d) : derivational function;
F - any functional class of the (i - id - d) system;
f - any of the F-related inflectional and/or derivational functions of the suffix -*a*, such as:
   inflection:
   gender: feminine (with animate beings which can be organized in sex-gender pairs, sex-gender: female-feminine);
   derivation:
   unitness (UN), instantness (IN), intensiveness, collectiveness, instrumentaleness, and other less ordinarily associated functions;
   $f_1, f_2 - F_{1,2}$ - endocentric coincidence;
   $f_1, f_2 - F_1 - F_2$ - exocentric coincidence (for particulars, see § 4).
R - radical, root constituting consonant (§ 1.1).
$S_1 - S_2$ - linguistic systems in the process of inter-systemic restatement: S_1 refers to the underlying, S_2 to the restated linguistic system (§ 4 (2));
   VN - verbal nouns of the VN - IN system;
   IN - instance nouns of the VN - IN system;
   CN/MN - collective nouns reinterpreted as mass nouns;
   UN/PN - unit nouns partitively reinterpreted.

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Unless otherwise indicated, all Standard Arabic lexical data are drawn from Wehr (1979), as listed above. The English equivalents are given either in full or reduced quotations.

A limited number of data, derived from earlier evolutional stages of Arabic, may be identified in terms of the respective source indications (Lane, Dozy).

Maltese examples, quoted in the official Maltese orthography, are those of Aquilina 1972.

Colloquial varieties of Arabic represented:

Chado-Sudanese Arabic: Roth-Laly (1969);

Egyptian (Cairo) Arabic: Aboul-Fetouh (1969); Mitchell (1960); Spiro (1929);

Iraqi Arabic: Woodhead–Beene (1967);

Mediaeval Hispano-Arabic: Dozy (1927); Corriente (1988);

Moroccan Arabic: Harrell (1962);

Takrūna Arabic: Marçais–Guīga (1958-1961). The extremely involved allophonic presentation of Takrūna Arabic data has been considerably simplified.

No page indications are given with examples drawn from alphabetically arranged lexicographic sources. Unless explicitly stated otherwise, all linguistic data quoted should be related to Standard Arabic.

WORTLÄNGENHÄUFIGKEITEN IN CHINESISCHEN KURZGESCHICHTEN

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Frequency of Word Lengths in Chinese Short Stories

Chinese short stories are used in this paper with the aim of testing once again the theory of word length distribution in texts as proposed by Wimmer et al. (1994) and Wimmer/Altmann (1996). The theory assumes that the word lengths in texts are not distributed randomly but have to correspond to quite specific, theoretically justifiable distributions. The paper is another step in the investigation of Chinese as well as another 36 languages covered by the quantitative linguistic project carried out in Göttingen and introduced to the readers of this journal in Best/ Song (1996).

0. Eine naheliegende Aufgabe bei der Erforschung jeder Sprache besteht darin, entweder für ein größeres Textkorpus insgesamt oder für viele Texte einzeln zu untersuchen, mit welcher Häufigkeit Wörter verschiedener Länge zu beobachten sind. So hat Fucks die Wortlänge als Kriterium verwendet, um den literarischen Stil einzelner Autoren zu charakterisieren, aber auch dazu, ganze Sprachen miteinander zu vergleichen (Fucks 1968: 6, 80). Als einzige asiatische Sprache wurde dabei das Japanische berücksichtigt, das sich als eine Sprache mit vergleichsweise hoher durchschnittlicher Wortlänge erwies (Fucks 1968: 91).

Einer etwas anderen Fragestellung soll in dieser Arbeit nachgegangen werden: Wie sind die Wortlängen in einzelnen Texten verteilt? Kann man das Auftreten der verschiedenen Wortlängenklassen als gesetzmäßig verstehen? Zeigt das Chinesische aufgrund seiner Sprachstruktur Unterschiede zu andern Sprachen oder findet man wieder die gleichen Verteilungen?

Als weitere Perspektiven sind Fragen nach den Zusammenhängen zwischen den Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Wortlängenverteilungen und anderen Aspekten der Sprachstruktur, z.B. stilistischen und typologischen Eigenschaften, ins Auge zu fassen. Daß die Wortlänge eine zentrale Größe der Sprachstruktur ist, konnte am Beispiel des Deutschen (Köhler 1986: 74) und des Polnischen (Hammerl 1991: 219) überzeugend nachgewiesen werden.

1. Hier geht es nun darum, Beobachtungen zur Wortlänge chinesischer Kurzgeschichten vorzustellen und zu prüfen, ob sie sich mathematisch modellieren lassen. Es stellt sich die Frage, ob die Wortlängenverteilungen dieser literarischenTexte sich von denen der andern, bisher untersuchten Textsorten (Zhu/ Best 1992a, b; Best/Zhu 1994: 27f.; Zhu/Best 1997; Bohn 1998) unterscheiden. Eine Besonderheit chinesischer Texte besteht darin, daß – vor allem bei Texten mit einem höheren Anteil an fachsprachlicher Lexik – z.B. vier- und sechssilbige Wörter häufiger als drei- und fünfsilbige vorkommen (vgl. Best/Zhu 1994: 28), sodaß man einen „oszillierenden" Datenverlauf erhält. Ein solches Phänomen konnte noch in keiner weiteren der 37 bisher untersuchten Sprachen beobachtet werden (Best/Altmann 1996).

Diese Besonderheit ist bei Kurzgeschichten aber nicht zu erwarten, da sie keine längeren Wörter in nennenswertem Umfang enthalten. Stattdessen ist zu prüfen, ob die Ergebnisse, die mit Mao-Briefen erzielt wurden (Zhu/Best 1997), für die literarischen Texte bestätigt werden können, auch wenn beide Textsorten natürlich zu unterschiedlichen Funktionalstilen gehören (Fleischer/Michel/ Starke 1993: 28).

2. Die vorliegende Untersuchung schließt sich so eng wie möglich an die Prinzipien an, die in andern, vergleichbaren Arbeiten (vgl. Best/Song 1996) befolgt wurden. D.h.: Es wurde für jede Kurzgeschichte gesondert die Zahl der einsilbigen, zweisilbigen usw. Wörter festgestellt. Anders als bei andern Sprachen kann das „Wort" im Chinesischen aber nicht als orthographische Einheit aufgefaßt werden; es wird stattdessen als eine distributionell-semantische Einheit bestimmt (Zhu/Best 1992b). Die Zahl der Silben pro Wort bemißt sich nach der Zahl der in ihm enthaltenen Vokale. Es wird immer nur der laufende Text – also ohne Zusätze wie Überschriften – ausgewertet.

3. Nach Erarbeitung der Daten für die einzelnen Texte wurde geprüft, ob die untersuchten Kurzgeschichten einem bestimmten mathematischen Verteilungsmodell folgen oder nicht. Zu diesem Zweck wurde der Altmann–Fitter (1994) verwendet, eine Software, mit deren Hilfe man die diskreten Wahrscheinlichkeitsverteilungen, die für Wortlängenverteilungen als Modelle begründet wurden (Wimmer u.a. 1994; Wimmer/Altmann 1996), an gegebene Dateien anpassen kann. Der Altmann-Fitter (1994) testet die Güte der Anpassung der Verteilungen an die einzelnen Dateien mit Hilfe des Chiquadrattests (X^2) und gibt so Auskunft darüber, ob eine gute Übereinstimmung zwischen Theorie und Beobachtung erzielt werden kann.

Die Auswahl eines geeigneten Modells unter den theoretisch möglichen ist nicht ganz unproblematisch, da sie sich nicht von vornherein aufgrund bekannter Bedingungen wie Sprache, Textsorte, Autor etc. treffen läßt. Für die chinesischen Kurzgeschichten hat sich aber ebenso wie für die Briefe Maos (Zhu/ Best 1997) die positive Cohen-Poisson-Verteilung als geeignet erwiesen, deren Formel wie folgt lautet:

$$P_x = \begin{cases} \dfrac{(1-\alpha)a}{e^a - 1 - \alpha a}, & x=1 \\[4mm] \dfrac{a^x}{x!\,(e^a - 1 - \alpha a)}, & x=2,3,4,\ldots \end{cases}$$

$$a > 0; \ 0 < \alpha < 1.$$

(Die andern erwähnten Untersuchungen werden hier nicht weiter berücksichtigt, da sie nur einzelne Texte berücksichtigen.)

4.   In den folgenden Tabellen finden sich die Ergebnisse der Anpassung der positiven Cohen-Poisson-Verteilung an die Daten der chinesischen Kurzgeschichten. Dabei bedeuten: x die Wortlängen, n_x die im jeweiligen Text beobachtete Häufigkeit, mit der Wörter der Länge x darin vorkommen; NP_x die berechnete Häufigkeit dieser Wortlängenklasse. a und α sind die Parameter der Verteilung. X^2 ist das Chiquadrat, FG sind die Freiheitsgrade; P ist die Überschreitungswahrscheinlichkeit des ermittelten Chiquadrats, C der Diskrepanzkoeffizient. P wird als zufriedenstellend angesehen, wenn $P \geq 0.05$ ist; eine Anpassung mit $0.01 \leq P < 0.05$ wird als noch akzeptabel betrachtet. In den meisten Fällen kann aber P nicht bestimmt werden, dann nämlich, wenn bei der Anpassung des Modells keine Freiheitsgrade erhalten bleiben. In diesen Fällen kann als Prüfkriterium nur der Diskrepanzkoeffizient $C = X^2/N$ verwendet werden, dessen Wert dann als zufriedenstellend gewertet wird, wenn $C \leq 0.02$ ist.

Die Ergebnisse der Anpassung der positiven Cohen-Poisson-Verteilung an die Kurzgeschichten:

	Text 1		Text 2		Text 3	
x	n_x	NP_x	n_x	NP_x	n_x	NP_x
1	37	37.05	51	47.67	49	49.92
2	24	23.93	36	39.44	54	55.83
3	10	9.94	19	21.37	8	8.24|
4	3	3.10|	11	8.68	4	1.01|
5	1	0.98|	2	2.82|		
6			1	0.76|		
7			1	0.26|		
a =	1.2467		1.6258		0.4429	
α =	0.0351		0.0176		0.8020	
X^2 =	0.00		1.42		0.90	
FG =	1		2		0	
P =	0.97		0.49			
C =					0.01	

Text 1: Wang Meng, *Bu ru suanlatang.* Quelle: *Zhongguo dangdai xiaoxiao-shuo jingxuan.* Hong Kong: xin yazhou 1991.
Text 2: Wang Meng, *Xiao xiao xiao xiao xiao.* Quelle: wie Text 1.
Text 3: Jiang Shengqun, *Na jiu shi wo.* Quelle: wie Text 1.

Anmerkung: Die senkrechten Linien in den Tabellen zeigen an, daß die entsprechenden Wortlängenklassen zusammengefaßt wurden.

	Text 4		Text 5		Text 6	
x	n_x	NP_x	n_x	NP_x	n_x	NP_x
1	37	37.27	66	66.03	48	47.95
2	57	58.29	52	51.97	38	38.04
3	5	8.43|	2	2.86|	9	9.10
4	6	1.01|	1	0.14|	2	1.91
a =	0.4339		0.1653		0.7177	
α =	0.8613		0.8950		0.5476	
X^2 =	0.29		0.0001		0.01	
FG =	0		0		1	
P =					0.94	
C =	0.003		0.0000008			

Text 4: Ling Guang, *Zuijia jiangyan.* Quelle: wie Text 1.
Text 5: Cao Qiang, *Shu.* Quelle: wie Text 1.
Text 6: Chen Shuqin, *Baba de huixin.* Quelle: wie Text 1.

	Text 7		Text 8		Text 9	
x	n_x	NP_x	n_x	NP_x	n_x	NP_x
1	31	31.60	40	39.96	41	41.91
2	42	45.02	54	54.00	61	60.30
3	5	7.36|	5	8.04|	7	7.56
4	7	1.02|	4	1.00|		
a =	0.4907		0.4469		0.3437	
α =	0.8278		0.8346		0.8829	
X^2 =	1.79		0.0001		0.05	
FG =	0		0		0	
C =	0.02		0.0000009		0.0005	

Text 7: Jin Jiang, *Jijide canying*. Quelle: *Lao lü tui mo*. Shanghai: Shao-nianertong 1981.

Text 8: Jin Jiang, *Tuzide huayuan*. Quelle: wie Text 7.

Text 9: Qu Guanghui, *Houzi zhao jing*. Quelle: wie Text 7.

	Text 10		Text 11		Text 12	
x	n_x	NP_x	n_x	NP_x	n_x	NP_x
1	58	58.00	57	57.04	53	47.74
2	69	69.00	66	65.95	37	42.89
3	2	2.90|	3	6.49|	10	12.89
4	1	0.10|	4	0.52|	7	3.52
a =	0.1261		0.2952		0.8990	
α =	0.9470		0.8724		0.4997	
X^2 =	0.0001		0.0001		5.53	
FG =	0		0		1	
P =					0.02	
C =	0.0000007		0.0000007			

Text 10: Jin Jiang, *Shimo*. Quelle: wie Text 7.

Text 11: Jin Jiang, *Yanzi he jiage*. Quelle: wie Text 7.

Text 12: Jin Jiang, *Feizaopao*. Quelle: wie Text 7.

5. Diese Ergebnisse bedeuten, daß die positive Cohen-Poisson-Verteilung an alle Texte angepaßt werden kann. Die Anpassung an Text 12 ist allerdings nicht gut, aber doch noch akzeptabel. Gründe für solche relativ schwachen Ergebnisse sind vermutlich Inhomogentäten von Texten, die z.B. dadurch zustandekommen können, daß ein Autor sie nachträglich noch einmal bearbeitet hat, wie dies ja bei literarischen Texten häufig geschieht. Es gibt eine Vielzahl weiterer Faktoren, die zur Inhomogenität von Texten beitragen können, die hier aber vorläufig außer Betracht bleiben sollen. In Übereinstimmung mit den Ergebnissen in Zhu/Best (1997) kann jedenfalls festgestellt werden, daß auch die vorliegende Untersuchung keinen Anlaß ergeben hat, die Anfangshypothese, daß Wortlängen sich gemäß theoretisch begründbaren Verteilungen verhalten, abzulehnen. Die positive Cohen-Poisson-Verteilung gehört zu den von Wimmer u.a. (1994) und Wimmer/Altmann (1996) vorgeschlagenen Modellen.

6. Für weitere Forschungen sind folgende Überlegungen anzustellen: Die Tatsache, daß einige, mehr oder weniger zufällig ausgewählte Kurzgeschichten – so wie auch die Mao-Briefe – der positiven Cohen-Poisson-Verteilung folgen, darf nicht voreilig verallgemeinert werden. Texte anderer Autoren, anderer Zeitabschnitte der Entwicklung des Chinesischen oder anderer Textsorten können

ganz andere Ergebnisse erbringen. Insofern handelt es sich bei den bisher durchgeführten Untersuchungen lediglich um erste, noch vorläufige Ergebnisse. Es könnte auch sein, daß sich die Kürze der bearbeiteten Texte negativ bemerkbar macht: Die Chance, daß auch etwas längere Wörter in solchen Texten vorkommen, dürfte mit der Länge der Texte zunehmen. Dies würde wiederum die Überprüfung des Modells verbessern.

Auf einen weiteren Aspekt derartiger Untersuchungen sei ausdrücklich aufmerksam gemacht: Auch wenn man nicht das Ziel verfolgt, der sprachtheoretischen Frage nachzugehen, ob Strukturphänomene immer benennbaren und begründbaren Gesetzmäßigkeiten folgen, sind Daten, wie sie hier vorgelegt wurden, nützliche Grundlagen für stilistische (Mistrík 1973) oder sprachtypologische (Altmann/Lehfeldt 1973) Zwecke. So hat erst vor wenigen Jahren Silnitsky (1993) das Chinesische mit Hilfe typologischer Indizes charakterisiert und in eine typologische Klassifikation einbezogen. Es ist klar, daß der von Silnitsky benutzte Synthese-Index ebenfalls die Wortkomplexität betrifft. Der Vorteil von Untersuchungen wie der hier vorliegenden besteht darin, daß nicht nur ein Durchschnittswert – das sind nämlich die Indizes, wie sie auch Silnitsky verwendet – für eine Sprache angegeben wird. Dies berührt Fragen der Repräsentativität, die hier aber nicht weiter verfolgt werden sollen.

7. Abschließend sei noch ein Blick auf andere ostasiatische Sprachen gestattet. Erste Ergebnisse liegen zu japanischen und koreanischen Texten vor.

Kim/Altmann (1996) haben 24 koreanische Texte verschiedener Textsorten (Schulbuchtexte, Pressetexte und Erzählungen) bearbeitet, wobei sich herausstellte, daß diese Texte überwiegend der Conway-Maxwell-Poisson-Verteilung, z.T. mit Modifikationen, folgen. Drei der Texte ließen sich aber weder mit dieser noch mit einer anderen Verteilung modellieren. Best/Song (1996) haben Briefe und Pressetexte untersucht und konnten mit der Dacey-Poisson-Verteilung und mit der Hyperpoisson-Verteilung gute Ergebnisse erzielen.

Zu 11 japanischen Pressetexten aus „Asahi Shinbun" hat Riedemann (1997) entsprechende Erhebungen durchgeführt. Hier zeigte sich, daß alle Texte der Hirata-Poisson-Verteilung folgen; dies ist eine Verteilung, die sich bisher vor allem bei französischenTexten bewährt hat (Dieckmann/Judt 1996; Feldt/Janssen/Kuleisa 1997).

Diese Hinweise zeigen, daß die Wortlängen in den bisher untersuchten ostasiatischen Sprachen unterschiedlichen Verteilungsmodellen entsprechen, die nur an nur einzelne Texte nicht angepaßt werden konnten. Es zeichnet sich bisher aber keine weitergehende Übereinstimmung zwischen diesen Sprachen ab, die aufgrund langen Kontakts immerhin denkbar wäre. Dennoch hat sich aber die von Wimmer u.a. (1994) und Wimmer/Altmann (1996) entwickelte Theorie auch bei diesen Sprachen bewährt.

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METAMORPHOSES OF FAMILY-RELATED MOTIFS IN HINDI SHORT STORY

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All that is stated here is based on reading and on confrontation of the reading (1) with the results of sociological research and (2) with the empirical knowledge of Indian reality. No statistical methods were used. In Hindi short stories, we find a number of recurrent family motifs through the whole 20th century, modified according to the time and view-point of the respective writer. Hindi short story is reflective of social realities but it can be regarded as a document of its time only up to some extent. The natural fascination of the writers by the novelty of certain problems is rather misleading.

Apart from a few indefinite pieces of prose – something between novel and short story – from the 19th century, the line of the modern short story in Hindi was started by Premcand (1880 – 1936). The modern form came from the West and through Bengali in the early 20th century. An essential feature of its modernity and the main difference as against the prose of earlier centuries was its secularity, its concern with earthly life without a garb of religion. The short story soon became a very popular form of literature. The short form enables the writer to react promptly to contemporary events and to new ideas and, last but not least, to earn some money quickly. A number of Hindi writers started writing just to earn their livelihood and probably for none of them the financial aspect of their creative activities was irrelevant. For the readers who, as a rule, were neither highly educated nor well-off, it was much easier to read short stories in journals or in cheap paper backs than to labour through a novel. And, once again last but not least, there is a long tradition of fables, fairy tales and other short forms in India. The periods of the bloom of the short story more or less coincided with the periods of stormy developments and changes in the society. Its origin coincided with the first great wave of the national movement, another great bloom followed in the stormy 1930s.

In the social reality, the highest concern of life for an average Indian are the affairs of his family. Accordingly, a typical topic of modern Hindi literature since its beginnings has been the family with its traditional hierarchy of relations. We cannot go into details of defining different forms of the traditional Indian family the definitions of which, after all, vary. While mentioning the tradi-

tional family we mean a familial group larger than the nuclear family (consisting of husband, wife and minor children), a group which, among other things, functions to arrange marriages of the young generation by securing a suitable match through negotiations. In most cases appearing in modern Hindi short stories, it is either the unit called joint family, i.e., consisting of two parallel or one parallel and one elder generation of people, or the unit called small joint family (or extended family), consisting of husband, wife and their unmarried children living with one or more kin of an elder generation.[1]

In Hindi short stories, we find a number of recurrent family motifs through the whole 20th century, modified according to the time and view-point of the respective writer. The above-mentioned pieces of prose of the 19th century were rather didactic pictures of family life.[2] Two strong trends of the early modern Hindi prose – the realistic one and the romantic one – were represented by Premcand and Jayśaṅkar Prasād (1889 – 1937).

As to the attitude towards the family, it is striking that Prasād's characters are, in a way, depicted as isolated from their extended families and relatives which was not in accordance with the current social reality.[3] This trait of his writing is sometimes explained as inherent to the short form, sometimes as a consequence of the usual way of romanticists to create independent lonely heroes struggling against their circumstances.[4] The latter explanation appears more plausible, if we take into account the settings of short stories written by non-romantic writers. It may be worth mentioning that Prasād as a romantic prose writer remained rather an isolated phenomenon in Hindi literature while Premcand not only was an extraordinarily prolific writer but he also found many continuers and followers.

In Premcand's short stories, in particular in his early ones, woman, especially a chaste and brave woman devoted to her husband, is depicted as a pillar holding up everything and holding the family together.[5] The tenor of Premcand's younger contemporaries was similar.[6] There are numbers of characters of such women who remained chaste and, in a way, devoted to their husbands even if deserted by them. They were depicted as morally superior to any other human being in the world.[7]

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[1] Cf. Raghuvir Sinha, *Dynamics of Change in the Modern Hindu Family*. New Delhi 1993.

[2] Śrīlāl, *Dharmsinh kī kahānī*, 1851; Gaurīdatt, *Devrānī jeṭhānī kī kahānī*, 1870. Nothing is known about the authors.

[3] E.g., almost all short stories in the collection *Indrajāl* (1936).

[4] Peter Gaeffke, *Grundbegriffe moderner indischer Erzählkunst aufgezeigt am Werke Jayśaṅkara Prasādas (1889-1937)*. Leiden 1970, pp. 216-217.

[5] E.g., Sair-e-darvīś. In: *Soz-e-vatan*. Kānpur 1908; Bare ghar kī beṭī. *Zamānā* (Kānpur), December 1910; Svarg kī devī. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 3*, 4th ed. Banāras 1954; Do sakhiyã. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 4*, 8th ed. Banāras 1958; Abhilāṣā. In: *Ibid*; Śikār. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 1*, 8th ed. Banāras 1958; Mis Padmā. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 2*, 7th ed. Banāras 1957, etc., etc.

[7] E.g., Premcand, Agni samādhi. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 5*, 5th ed. Banāras 1958; Unmād. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 2*; Saut. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 8*, 2nd ed. Banāras 1956; etc., Badrināth Bhaṭṭ Sudarśan, Serdce ženščiny (Russian translation). In: *Serdce ženščiny*. Moskva 1959, etc.

Mother was as highly valued in accordance with the Indian tradition: "Mother's heart is the fountain of life."[8] Motherhood, however, need not be physical. It is through self-sacrifice and through motherly feelings that a woman morally raises herself above a man. Of course, Premcand and his contemporaries depicted numerous unhappy wives, too.[9] In many cases, the family circumstances were truly depicted as beyond the moral ability of the wife to adapt herself and to feel contented. All these characters were then depicted as mute sufferers, some of them even ending their days with a suicide. An extreme case is Viṣṇu Prabhākar's Nalinī who dies as a victim of her husband's foolish scientific experiment.[10] A very frequent literary character of Premcand's days was that of a widow[11] in more or less unhappy circumstances. A mother as a sole breadwinner was usually a widow.[12] Widow remarriage was quite a frequent motif – Premcand was openly in favour of it but he did not conceal that a widow's remarriage was a big problem. Those short stories where a widow remarriage was realized, however, had, as a rule, optimistic endings.[13] On the other hand, a love marriage, if intended, was, as a rule, not realized,[14] or, if realized, its consequences were depicted as bad,[15] though the writers seem not to have condemned it as such. There are few short stories in which forestalling a love marriage brought tragic results.[16] Exceptionally the motif of a marriage of one's own free will appeared, motivated by consideration of character qualities of the future spouse and, in the case of a widow remarriage, by a conscious effort for social reform at the grass-root level. In the short story *Gaurī* by Subhadrākumārī Cauhān (1905 – 1949) the girl's choice was motivated by sympathy and admiration for a widower, imprisoned for his activities in the anticolonial struggle.[17] At the same time, writers warned against ill-considered choice of the spouse.[18] In a number of short stories, the problem of dowry as a sort of bridegroom price and the problem of the high cost of the traditional Hindu

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[8] E.g., Premcand, Mātā kā hṛday. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 3*, p. 104.

[9] E.g., Śānti. In: *Nārī jīvan kī kahāniyā.* Banāras n.d.; Lāchan, Nairāśya, Narak kā mārg, Strī aur puruṣ. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 5*; 5th ed. Banāras 1958; Śūdra. In: *Mānasarovar, vol.2*; Subhadrākumārī Cauhān, Grāmīṇā. In: *Galp-dhārā.* Dillī n.d.; Īlācandra Jośī, Tārā. In *Rasskazy indijskich pisatelej I*, Moskva 1959; I. Jośī, Rukmā. In: *Sovremennyj indijskij rasskaz.* Tashkent 1958.

[10] Viṣṇu Prabhākar, Vaijñānik kī patnī. In: *Galp-bhāratī.* Kāśī 1954.

[11] E.g., Premcand, Dhikkār, Udhār, Ādhār. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 3*; Mandir. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 5*; Beṭovālī vidhvā. In: *Nārī jīvan kī kahāniyā,* etc.

[12] E.g., Premcand, Mandir, Śānti.

[13] E.g., Premcand, Nāg-pūjā. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 7*, 3rd ed. Banāras 1957.

[14] E.g., Premcand, Actress. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 5*; Vidrohī. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 2*; Āgā pīchā. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 4*, 8th ed. Banāras 1958.

[15] Premcand, Unmād; Do qabre. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 4*; Sudarśan, Kavi kī strī. In: *Tīrth-yātrā.* Prayāg 1927.

[16] Gaurī. In: *Kahānī: naī aur purānī.* Dillī n.d.

[17] Ibid.

[18] E.g., Premcand, Mṛtak bhoj. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 4*.; Subhadrākumārī Cauhān, Grāmīṇā.

marriage appeared.[19] A recurrent motif was childlessness[20] and the misery of those women who gave birth only to daughters,[21] but hardly any complaint appeared of too many children in a family and of resulting problems. Some of the characters of the short stories of the 1920 – 1930s have generational problems or problems arising in households where grown-up brothers stay together. In Premcand's stories,[22] these problems usually did not result in conflicts, and if they did, then the conflict was smoothed over in some way. The writer did not take the side of either generation. Occasionally, the conflict was smoothed over by returning to the old tradidional ways.[23] On the contrary, Premcand's younger contemporary Becan Śarmā Ugr (1901 – 1967) depicted a generational onflict where the older generation (an uneducated landlord) was portrayed as greedy, cruel and narrow-minded whereas the younger generation (his educated son) was just the opposite, trying to take the side of the poor down-trodden tenants. However, the older generation wins and the short story has a heart-rending end.[24]

Some of younger contemporaries of Premcand followed a different path and concentrated more on the individual psychology of their characters than on issues of wider effect. Their creative activities bloomed, in particular, in the 1930 – 1940s. In their short stories, too, a set of family-related motifs appeared. It was, however, rather narrowed down. Jainendrakumār (1905 – 1988) who can be regarded as the founder of the genre of psychological short story in Hindi called one of his short stories very simply *The Wife*.[25] The same type of dissatisfied and unhappy wife appeared in short stories by other writers of the psychologizing trend again and again.[26] They were depicted as merely suffering without being to blame for anything, unable to seek a way out, let alone to find any.[27] It goes without saying that their marriages were arranged marriages. That, however, does not yet mean a disapproval of arranged marriages, as it ensues from Jainendrakumār's short story *The Logic of Love*[28] where the writer pronounced against the very idea of a love marriage in an original and rather shocking way.

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[19] E.g., Premcand, Kusum. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 2*; Subhadrākumārī Cauhān, Gaurī; Sudarśan, Tīrth-yātrā.

[20] E.g., Premcand, Saut; Sudarśan, Pāp-pariṇām. In: *Tīrth-yātrā*.

[21] E.g., Premcand, Nairāśya.

[22] E.g., Premcand, Baṛe ghar kī beṭī, Algyojhā. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 1*; Gṛh-nīti. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 2*; Būṛhī kākī. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 8*.

[23] E.g., Premcand, Ghar jamāī. In: *Mānasarovar, vol. 1*.

[24] Becan Śarmā Ugr, Abhāgā kisān. In: *Galp-dhārā*.

[25] Patnī. In: *Kahānī aur kahānī* (ed. I. Madān), Dillī 1966.

[26] E.g., H.S.V. Ajñey, Gangrene. In: *Jaydol*. Kāśī 1951; Ilācandra Jośi, Tārā; Rāmkumār Varmā, Kanikuly. In: *Rasskazy indijskich pisatelej I.*; I. Jośi, Rukmā; Jainendrakumār, Rukiyā buṛhiyā. In: *Jainendra kī kahāniyā̃, vol. 7*. Dillī 1959.

[27] Later on, in the 1950s, Jainendrakumār in his novelettes changed over to another type of heroines who, in fact, are to blame for their difficult situations.

[28] Pyār kā tark. In: *Jainendrakumār kī kahāniyā̃, vol. 7*.

After the foundation of the Progressive Writers Association (1936), the trend of Progressivism (*pragativād*) came to the fore, started to dominate the Hindi literary scene and culminated in the 1940s and early 1950s. The progressivists, too, learned from Premcand but they laid much more stress on the social aspect of any issue than on the psychological one. What cannot be denied is their sincerity and enthusiasm in their struggle against what they called outlived traditions, against "the ideas of reaction and revivalism in relation to family..."[29] Accordingly, various inequalities within the family – between brothers and sisters, husband and wife, the old and the young were ardently pointed out, usually referring to wider social inequalities.[30] In the early 1950s, the problem of too many children in a family was presented as a problem of the current social order which did not allow a man having six or more children to bring them up in full dignity.[31] Even later, home was not usually depicted as a place of contentment. A frequent character was an ill-paid clerk with an ailing wife, too many children or ever-quarrelling female members of the family. He came home, tired and all the time angry, to find not a little bit of peace. Still, the sufferer was his wife.[32] There were problems with the dowry for daughters.[33] The younger generation was depicted as suffering under the rule of the older generation and as entitled to revolt.[34] Not only was the institution of arranged marriage disapproved, but the motif of love marriage appeared,[35] and was whole-heartedly approved of. We meet down-trodden deserted women in *pragativād*, too,[36] but there are no placatory endings. These women are usually portrayed as capable of a little revolt which usually proved to be futile and the authors articulated quite clearly that all this must be changed. Family relations were frequently depicted as generally bad and the extended family as condemned to break up.[37] The problem of the breaking of the traditional family appeared in Hindi literature of the 1950s, so to say, more frequently than in the social reality.

The span between the progressivists and the psychologizing trend proved to be very fruitful – the next generation of writers found a lot to draw upon and

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[29] Manifesto of the Progressive Writers' Association. In: Walter Ruben, *Indische Romane I*. Berlin 1964, p. 269.

[30] E.g., Yaśpāl, Parlok. In: *Pinjre kī uṛān*. Lakhnaū 1939.

[31] E.g., Amṛt Rāy, Bāl baccedar kabūtar. In: *Lāl dhartī*. Ilāhābād n.d.

[32] E.g., Amṛt Rāy, Sāvnī samā, Ḍākmunśī kī ek śām. In: *Kaṭhghare*. Ilāhābād 1956.

[33] E.g., Upendranāth Aśk, Mā̃. In: *Pinjrā*. Prayāg 1945.

[34] E.g., Yaśpāl, Prāyaścitt. In: *Pinjre kī uṛān*; Yaśpāl, Ābrū. In: *Tumne kyõ kahā thā maĩ sundar hū̃?* Lakhnaū 1954; Amṛt Rāy, Bhor se pahle. In: *Bhor se pahle*. Ilāhābād 1956.

[35] E.g., Amṛt Rāy, Āhvan. In: *Tiraṅge kafan*. Ilāhābād n.d.

[36] E.g., Yaśpāl, Mṛtyunjay, Prem kā sār. In: *Pinjre kī uṛān*; Ek sigreṭ. In: *Citr kā śīrṣak*. Lakhnaū 1951; Pahāṛ kī smṛti. In: *Pinjre kī uṛān*; Upendranāth Aśk, Dulo, Sabhya-asabhya, Marusthal. In: *Pinjrā*; Sprout (English translation), written in 1938. *Manushi* (New Delhi), No. 47, 1988.

[37] U. Aśk, Jīvan. In: *Pinjrā*.

they also learned what to avoid – from both trends. Thus, another bloom of short story was quite characteristic for the period of significant changes after Independence. During the first decade of independent India, a number of young writers who were just starting their literary careers appeared. Their first short stories were written round 1950. Their writings had many traits in common and began to be called the New Short Story.[38] At a literary conference at Prayag in December 1957, the designation New Short Story was already an established term.[39] It did not arise from any concept set before (like *pragativād*), but it developed as a designation for something already basically existing and further developing. The intention of the New Short Story writers was an appeal that the human being should be the centre of everything. The main trait of the New Short Story was anti-traditionalism. A recurrent motif of the New Short Story was arranged marriage with all its consequences – sometimes tragic ones, sometimes only killing by inches.[40] In fact, arranged marriages were depicted as worse than they usually are. The writers' attitude towards the traditional family was unambiguously rejective.[41] In the 1950s and early 1960s, the traditional family was depicted as desintegrating. The writers, as a rule, tore to pieces any picture of idyllic life in such a family.[42] Love marriage, however, was not a very frequent motif. Rather it was pointed out that on paper nothing stood in the way of new forms of life and thinking – including love marriage, but in real life they met with suspicion and they broke down sometimes even purely by unlucky chance.[43] More frequently than ever before, the following situation appeared: there had been a premarital love, however platonic it may have been, then an arranged marriage to another partner followed, but the former lovers never forgot each other and kept in touch through correspondence or sporadic formal visits at least.[44] A recurrent motif was the situation of a young boy or a girl, usually a student, who had come in touch with new ideas and into conflict with the patriarchal world of their home.[45] This motif was not new in Hindi literature, but in the New Short Story it was more thoroughly elaborated. In some stories, the revolt was presented as successful, in some others it failed. The writers unambiguously took the side of the younger generation, of the new. However, the

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[38] *Kahānī* (Ilāhābād), Special Number 1956.

[39] Hariśankar Parsāī, Nayī kahānī. In: *Nayī kahānī – sandarbh aur prakṛti*. Dillī 1966, p. 56; D. Avasthī, Hindī kī kathā-samīkṣā. *Ājkal* (Dillī) 2/1966, p. 20.

[40] E.g., Rājendra Yādav, Khel-khilaune. In: *Khel-khilaune*. Kāśī 1954; Kamleśvar, Ātmā kī āvāz. In: *Rājā Nirbansiyā*. Kāśī 1957; Mohan Rākeś, Ūrmil jīvan. In: *Insān ke khaṇḍahar*. Dillī 1950.

[41] E.g., Mannū Bhaṇḍārī, Nayā paudhā. Kahānī, September 1957.

[42] E.g., M. Bhaṇḍārī, Ekhāne ākāś nāi. In: *Mannū Bhaṇḍārī kī śreṣṭh kahāniyā̃*. Dillī n.d.; R.Yādav, Birādrī-bāhar. In: *Kināre se kināre tak*. Dillī 1963.

[43] E.g., Nirmal Varmā, Tīsrā gavāh. In: *Tīsrā gavāh*. Dillī 1960.

[44] E.g., Kamleśvar, Ātmā kī āvāz; Khoyī huī diśāẽ. In: *Khoyī huī diśāẽ*. Dillī 1963.

[45] E.g., R.Yādav, Ājkal ke laṛke, Aṅgārõ kā khel. In: *Khel-khilaune*.

representatives of the older generation were not all cut to the same pattern. In some cases[46] it can be felt that the writers had an understanding for them. But at the same time, the author's conviction is felt that ideals directed against the independence of the human personality cannot stand the test of time for long. The New Short Story writers had a special liking for depicting the contrast between women still living within their narrow horizons and those who crossed this horizon.[47] There are different sorts of unhappiness of discontented unhappy wives found: some do not know anything else but their "backwater", others secretly cherish sweet memories of their life before marriage.[48] Especially the plots of many short stories by Rājendra Yādav (b. 1929) could be called "a woman's lot." Female characters were depicted with sympathy but without idealization and without stock stressing of their selflessness if a woman's character was intended to be a positive one. Most successful were the New Short Story writers in those short stories where the heroine in her defence against traditions remained half way to modernity. These characters are most natural, for their creators saw the models of them all around. Uṣā Priyaṃvadā (b. 1931) introduced a new type into the short story: an unmarried educated woman supporting her parents and siblings as the sole earner or the main earner in the family.[49] The motif of childlessness appeared in a new context: as the desired temporary childlessness of a female intellectual, tolerated by her husband and absolutely beyond the comprehension of the older generation.[50] Many children in a family were occasionally depicted as a burden for their parents, and the parents' efforts to mould the life path of their children from the very beginning according to their wishes were depicted as hurting and burdensome for the children.[51] A mother as a sole earner may not necessarily be a widow or a deserted woman but also a woman who sent her husband away because he was just another burden for her.[52] She was depicted as suffering, but not as a silent passive sufferer. Characters of divorced parents and of their children between them began to appear.[53] The New Short Story was almost preoccupied with the feelings of loneliness of their characters in different situations and on different levels. The motif of the widow seems to be quite tempting for this purpose. However, the case was different – the motif of the widow disappeared from the limelight and appeared only occasionally, e.g., in the character of a calm widow as a contrast to her unbalanced daughter, dissatisfied with life,[54] or of a woman still striving for

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[46] E.g., R.Yādav, Pās-fel. In: *Choṭe-choṭe Tājmahal*. Dillī n.d.

[47] E.g., M. Bhaṇḍārī, Ekhāne ākāś nāi.

[48] E.g., Kamleśvar, Ātmā kī āvāz.

[49] Uṣā Priyaṃvadā, Zindagī aur gulāb ke phūl. *Kahānī*. July 1958.

[50] E.g., M. Bhaṇḍārī, Ekhāne ākāś nāi.

[51] E.g., Kamleśvar, Dukhbharī duniyā. In: *Khoyī huī diśāẽ*.

[52] E.g., M. Bhaṇḍārī, Rānī mā̃ kā cabūtrā. In: *Mannū Bhaṇḍārī kī śreṣṭh kahāniyā̃*.

[53] E.g., Mohan Rākeś, Ek aur zindagī, In: *Ek aur zindagī*. Dillī 1961.

[54] E.g., R.Yādav, Khule paṅkh, ṭūṭe ḍaine. In: *Abhimanyu kī ātmahatyā*. Āgrā 1959.

a bit of happiness.[55] Some characters of the older generation feel lonely because they were not able to keep up with their times and to change their way of thinking at least a little.[56] Another sort of character feeling lonely is the young person living in a permanent conflict situation because, on the contrary, he/she outpaced his/her times.[57] Finally there are people who got away from their former background, but were not able to find their place anywhere else.[58] Nirmal Varmā succeeded in depicting the characters of all these categories next to each other, representing the regularity of these phenomena in a very natural way.[59] In the 1950s, the New Short Story writers believed in a speedy process of change, in the human ability to find a place in the mosaic of the traditional hierarchy of relations. Their attitude was as unequivocal as that of the *pragativād* – but for the difference that New Short Story was much more concerned with the individual.

It is striking that in the early 1960s, those themes and motifs which survived from the 1950s declined, while those which had not been so frequent before, appeared again and again. In the 1960s, the attitude towards the traditional extended family became irresolute. The authors sympathizing with the younger generation and with the new, in some cases depicted the traditional family as a fusty and backward, yet self-contented and successful entity.[60] In many stories, the younger generation goes its own way even at the cost of a break with the parents,[61] but the tenor of such stories is usually gloomy, they are full of suggestive depictions of feelings of fear, frequent in the 1960s generally. More and more short stories depict a breakdown of marriage for various reasons,[62] explained or unexplained. While in the 1950s, female characters were usually the centre of attention of such short stories,[63] now the attention was divided more equally. Male characters of such short stories are usually groping frustrated heroes – a very frequent type in the New Short Story of the 1960s – often more helpless and more disoriented than their female counterparts. In the words of a Hindi researcher in Hindi literature, "a third person makes himself unwantedly and unknowingly indispensable and penetrates into relations"[64] – which means pictures

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[55] E.g., Kamleśvar, Talāś. In: *Mās kā dariyā*. Dillī n.d.

[56] E.g., R.Yādav, Pās-fel.

[57] E.g., Mohan Rākeś, Sīmāē. In: *Insān ke khaṇḍahar*.

[58] E.g., Uṣā Priyaṃvadā, Chuṭṭī kā din. *Kahānī*, July 1957.

[59] Nirmal Varmā, Māyā-darpaṇ. *Kahānī*, January 1959.

[60] E.g., Mannū Bhaṇḍārī, Chat banānevāle. In: *Ek pleṭ sailāb*. Ilāhābād 1968.

[61] E.g., Mohan Rākeś, Jaṅglā. In: *Faulād kā ākāś*. Dillī 1966; Kamleśvar, Ūpar uṭhtā huā makān. In: *Mās kā daryā*.

[62] E.g., R.Yādav, Ṭūṭnā. In: *Ṭūṭnā*. Dillī n.d.; R.Yādav, Bhaviṣya ke ās-pās maṇḍrāta huā atīt. In: *Apne pār*. Dillī 1968; Kamleśvar, Dukhõ ke rāste, Jo likhā nahī jātā. In: *Mās kā daryā*.

[63] E.g., Mannū Bhaṇḍārī, Tīn nigāhõ kī ek tasvīr. *Kahānī*, November 1958; etc.

[64] Rām Sanehī Lāl Śarmā Yāyāvar, Prem saṃbandhõ ke bīc tīsrā. *Rāṣṭrvāṇī*(Pūṇe), September 1995, p. 36.

of adultery appearing in the short story from the 1960s onwards.[65] A child from a broken or breaking marriage appears again and again.[66] The characters of these innocent "heroes" are depicted in a touching way but without sentimentality. The stress is laid rather on their lack of mental balance and their mental distortions as results of a permanent conflict situation. The characters of discontented children began to appear who are pushed to call their divorced fathers' new wives "mummy".[67]

Some of the writers of the short-lived, yet quite expressive trend of the Anti-Story (*akahānī*) of the 1960s, too, touched upon the theme of the traditional family and the young people's revolt against it.[68] However, a distinct feature of the trend was its spontaneous surrender to the mood of the moment, usually gloomy, so that little space was left to be concerned with real human relations, with the family.

The gloomy picture was somewhat compensated by the trend of the *sacetan kahānī*.[69] Here, again, the theme of basic transformation and even the disintegration of the traditional family was elaborated.[70] Sporadically, a family of a new type was depicted where there was no sharp conflict of generations.[71] Unlike the Anti-Story, the *sacetan* short story "declared that the basic urge of man is to live and exist."[72] In this respect, it was an opposite of the Anti-Story which never set goals and never tried to reach any clear definition of itself.

Basically the same family-related motifs appeared during the 1970s in the literary trend Parallel (*samāntar*) but also elsewhere: desintegrating family,[73] silently suffering deserted woman,[74] problems of arranging marriages,[75] too many children,[76] too many daughters.[77] However, they were, as a rule, overshadowed

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[65] E.g., Uṣā Priyaṃvadā, Trip, Svīkṛti. In: *Kitnā baṛā jhūṭh*. Dillī 1972; Mannū Bhaṇḍārī, ūcāī, Bāhõ kā gherā. In: *Ek pleṭ sailāb*; etc.

[66] E.g., Rājendra Yādav, Apne pār. In: *Apne pār*; Mannū Bhaṇḍārī, Band darāzõ kā sāth. *Sārikā* (Bambaī), March 1967; Mohan Rākeś, Pahcān. In: *Mile-jule cehre*. Dillī 1969; etc.

[67] E.g., R.Yādav, Apne pār.

[68] E.g., Rameś Upādhyay, Ġalat! Ġalat! In: *Akahānī*. Lakhnaū 1967; Sudhā Aroṛā, Avivāhit pṛṣṭh. In: *Bagair tarāśe hue*. Ilāhābād 1968.

[69] The term may be translated as "rational short story" or "sensible short story" or "story of the conscious".

[70] E.g., Jñānrañjan, Pitā. In: *Fens ke idhar aur udhar*. Dillī 1968; S. R.Yātrī, Ajnabī log. *Naī kahāniyā̃* (Naī Dillī), October 1965; Mehrunnisā Parvez, Akelā gulmohar. *Naī kahāniyā̃*, October 1968.

[71] Jñānrañjan, Fens ke idhar aur udhar. In: *Fens ke idhar aur udhar*.

[72] Rajeev Saksena, A Year of Hindi Writing. *The Century Special* (New Delhi), January 1965, p. 51.

[73] E.g., Rameś Upādhyāy, Samtal. In: *Samāntar I*, ed. Kamleśvar, Bambaī 1972.

[74] E.g., S.R.Yātrī, Darazõ ke bīc. In: *Śreṣṭh samāntar kahāniyā̃*, ed. H. Jośī, Dillī 1976.

[75] E.g., Prabhu Jośī, Yah sab anthīn. In: *Ibid.*

[76] E.g., Sudīp. Kitnā pānī. In: *Ibid.*; Narendra Kohlī, Ek nayī śuruāt. *Sārikā*, May 1970; Sūryabālā, Gumnām dāyre. *Sārikā*, July 1974.

by the social motif in the narrowest sense of the word: the problems of poverty, unemployment, tension between the rich and the poor which were depicted as distorting family relations. In the short story *Useless is my Life*[78] by Sunītā Jain (b. 1940) the motif of family planning appears, but in a surprising light: its practice turns against the newly wed wife. Even the plight of a young woman who had become a widow as a child was depicted as caused not by traditions and by her relatives, but by poverty and even by arbitrary rule of the police.[79] In all short stories of the representative anthology *People of the Seventies*,[80] the social tenor in the narrowest sense dominates, and such is more or less the case in both representative anthologies of the literary group Parallel.[81] As it was put in the above-mentioned anthology *People of the Seventies*, "this leftist inclination appears in most short stories of this decade. At the time of the New Short Story, this progressivity had come forward with a romantic attitude towards emotional life situations of the human being. This time, it has come in the form of a human socio-economic struggle for existence."[82] We can add that this is nothing new – more or less the same was the tenor of *pragativād*.

The 1960s–1970s were still a time of literary groupings and of sharp polemics between them. Individualization on a large scale was yet to come in the 1980s when most authors avoided starting from a given postulate and thus putting a limit to their creative work. In spite of that, the short story of the 1980s and 1990s displays a particular set of recurrent motifs again.

In the 1980s and in the early 1990s, Hindi publishing houses manifested a certain liking for publishing anthologies of stories by different writers concerning certain common topics. Their titles are quite telling by themselves. What concerns us here, are, in particular, the anthologies *Stories of Failed Marriages*,[83] *Stories of Breaking Families*,[84] *Stories of Working Women*,[85] *Stories of Childhood*,[86] *Best Short Stories by Hindi Woman Writers*,[87] *Short Stories of Old Age*.[88]

It is not only that the writers find and portray a family and society different than their predecessors did. The authors' approach, too, has undergone changes.

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[77] E.g., Sudhā Arorā, Damancakr. In: *Sreṣṭh samāntar kahāniyā̃*.

[78] Sunītā Jain, Birathā janm hamārā. In: *Ham mohre din rāt ke*. Dillī 1971.

[79] E.g., Himānśu Jośī, Manuṣya-cihn. In: *Sreṣṭh samāntar kahāniyā̃*.

[80] *Āṭhvẽ daśak ke log*. Ed. Balrām – Manīṣrāj. Dillī 1985.

[81] *Samāntar, Sreṣṭh samāntar kahāniyā̃*.

[82] Vinay Das, Hindī kahānī kā āṭhvā̃ daśak. In: *Āṭhvẽ daśak ke log*, p. 197.

[83] *Asaphal dāmpatya kī kahāniyā̃*. Dillī 1988.

[84] *Ṭūṭte parivārõ kī kahāniyā̃*. Dillī 1988.

[85] *Kāmkājī mahilāõ kī kahāniyā̃*. Dillī 1991.

[86] *Bacpan kī kahāniyā̃*. Dillī 1986.

[87] *Hindī lekhikāõ kī sreṣṭh kahāniyā̃*. Dillī 1991.

[88] *Vṛddhāvasthā kī kahāniyā̃*. Dillī 1986.

Most of the characters of the short stories of the 1980s and 1990s live amidst generational problems. However, a typical traditional family, ruled by the mother-in-law with a hierarchy of daughters-in-law ceased to be the centre of the writers' attention. That corresponds with the contemporary reality in which the joint family is usually transformed in different ways and in many cases it survives only in the minds of people. In the Hindi short stories of the 1980s and the 1990s, we rather come across elderly or old people who live alone because the young generation has left for the city or for abroad.[89] The grown-up children of these characters are depicted neither as a rebelling younger generation nor as scoundrels who left their parents alone, but simply as people living their own lives, nothing better and nothing worse. They meet, however, with difficulties of a new type: entirely left to themselves and thrown upon their own resources, they miss the support of their elders, especially their help in bringing up the children. The necessity to rely upon strange people rather than on one's own relatives is relatively new in the Indian social reality. Since family relationships are traditionally very close and firm, their violation of this sort is usually felt and depicted as painful.[90] Old people appear, who stay with their own families, but feel alone.[91] In many cases, such a character is not a pitied old widow, but an old man, be he a widower or not, whose expectations are not fulfilled because he is by far not in the position of a ruling patriarch.[92] Other relationships, too – such as the traditionally warm relationship between an uncle and his nephews and nieces who are his sister's children – appears depicted as deteriorating.[93] The existence of the two above-mentioned anthologies about failed marriages shows the interest given to failures of marriages. However, the woman in a not-so-happy marriage is not necessarily depicted as struggling for equal rights and for the development of her own personality[94] as was usual before. Surprisingly enough, there are only a few stories concerned with the problem of dowry[95] which is quite acute in the Indian reality. The – almost complete – absence of the burning issue of "dowry death" (which appears as a headline in the newspapers quite often) as a motif in literature is surprising. The question of ar-

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[89] E.g., Mṛnāl Pāṇḍe, Dūriyã. In: *Ek strī kā vidāgīt*. Dillī 1985; Rāmdhārī Sinh Divākar, Dharātal. In: *Mahānagar kī kahāniyã*. Dillī 1986; R.S. Divākar, Sarhad ke par. In: *1983-84 kī śreṣṭh hindī kahāniyã*. Dillī 1986; Himānśu Jośī, Ākhē. In: *Indraprastha kī kahāniyã*. Dillī 1990; Sūryabālā, Sãjhvātī. In: *1993-94 kī śreṣṭh hindī kahāniyã, vol.I*, Dillī 1995; Kusum Ansal, Yādõ ke sahyātrī. In: *Ibid.*; Simmī Harṣitā, Ātmakathā kā manobhāv. In: *Dhārāśayī*. Dillī 1980; many short stories of the anthology *Vṛddhāvasthā kī kahāniyã*.

[90] E.g., Sudhā Arorā, Mahanagar kī Maithilī. In: *Mahānagar kī kahāniyã*.

[91] Mṛnāl Pāṇḍe, Ek strī kā vidāgīt. In: *Ek strī kā vidāgīt*; many characters in the anthology *Vṛddhāvasthā kī kahāniyã*.

[92] E.g., Mṛdulā Garg, Udhār kī havā. In: *Urf Sam*. Dillī 1986.

[93] E.g., Śekhar Jośī, Ziddī. In: *Bacpan kī kahāniyã*.

[94] E.g., Mṛdulā Garg, Cakkarghinnī. In: *Kāmkājī mahilāõ kī kahāniyã*.

[95] E.g., Vīrendra Saksenā, Dikhāne ke dãt. In: *Ibid*; Kauśalyā Aśk, Sanśay. In: *Ibid.*

ranged marriage and love marriage is not much discussed, although love marriage is by no means presented as a path leading straight to happiness.[96] The relation between generations as depicted in the 1980s–1990s has undergone great changes in comparison with its presentation even in the 1960s. In many respects, the generational conflict is tending to disappear, the younger generation live their own lives – but for one thing: to talk with one's parents about one's own marriage, or, as the case may be, about one's decision not to get married is depicted as by no means easier than before.[97] The type of a neglected unhappy wife has not disappeared but more frequently than a neglected wife we find a couple where both are too busy and both lose mutual interest in each other.[98] After all, a down-trodden wife is not a new phenomenon and, thus, not interesting enough for the writers. In the short story *The Wife*[99] Dhīrendra Asthānā appears to have reacted, in a way, to the short story of the same title by Jainendrakumār, mentioned before. Active female characters, stronger than their male counterparts or superior to them in one way or another, increased in number on the pages of short stories in the 1980s, and have become their permanent inhabitants in the 1990s. The forms of their superiority vary from one case to another.[100] Economic independence and freedom, however, is not presented as the solution to all problems.[101] The shift of woman writers from female characters to male ones, manifested in the 1980s, continues in the 1990s. However, it does not contradict the interest of the woman writers in the female characters. In some cases, the male character in an unbalanced married life is even at the verge of the comical.[102] A new motif is a married working woman who does not wish to have a child at all or who is not happy to have born it, as she considers it an obstacle in her career, or for other reasons, even non-economic.[103] In the 1980s, a deluge of short stories appeared concerning broken marriages and divorces with all consequences. Children are not depicted as a bond in a faltering marriage or in marriage generally, though childlessness is presented as a serious

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[96] E.g., Dhīrendra Asthānā, Patnī. In: *Asaphal dāmpatya kī kahāniyā̃*, Anītā Manocā, Gavāh. In: *Bacpan kī kahāniyā̃*, etc.

[97] E.g., Surendra Tivārī, Aniket. In: *Mahānagar kī kahāniyā̃*, Citrā Mudgal, Śūnya. In: *Asaphal dāmpatya kī kahāniyā̃*.

[98] E.g., Mr̥dulā Garg, Vitr̥ṣṇā. In: *Urf Sam*; Mahīp Sinh, Dhūp kī ūgliyõ ke niśān. In: *1983-84 kī śreṣṭh hindī kahāniyā̃*, Surendra Arorā, Āg kā jaṅgal. In: *Ṭūṭe parivārõ kī kahāniyā̃*, Mannū Bhaṇḍārī, Śāyad. In: *Asaphal dāmpatya kī kahāniyā̃*.

[99] Patnī. In: *Ibid.*

[100] E.g., Kusum Ansal, Mere āśiq kā nām. In: *1993-94 kī śreṣṭh hindī kahāniyā̃*, vol. *II*, ed. Mahīp Sinh, Dillī 1996; Vibhānśu Divyāl, Anubhav. In: *Ibid.*

[101] Mīrā Sīkr̥ī, Pahcān. In: *Ibid., vol. I*; Rabin Śā Puṣp, Sirf caukhaṭā. In: *Ibid., vol. II*.

[102] E.g., Sudhā Arorā, Are you listening? (English translation) *Manushi*, January-February 1995.

[103] E.g., Indirā Mithal, Please hamẽ bebī cāhie. In: *Hindī lekhikāõ kī śreṣṭh kahāniyā̃*, Rājī Seṭh, Galat hotā pancatantra. In: *Bacpan kī kahāniyā̃*, Simmī Harṣitā, Kājū. In: *1993-94 kī śreṣṭh hindī kahāniyā̃, vol. II*.

problem.[104] Also there are few characters of unhappy deserted women. In the 1980s, characters get properly divorced according to the law and their lives go on.[105] Very different pictures of mutual relations between divorced husbands and wives have started appearing, reaching from quite friendly relations to a cruel struggle between the two when both want to keep the child. Rather rarely we come across a remarriage of a divorcee and it is presented as full of problems.[106] Divorcees as sole earners in the family are depicted at least as frequently as widows. Widows are not altogether an object of particular pity or concern. They are presented just as working women and mothers coping with some additional problems.[107]

In the 1980s and 1990s, most short story writers carefully try to keep distance between their characters' emotional disposition and their own. They try to be above all it, they neither fight passionately for anything nor against anything.

We can, of course, regard fiction in general and the short story in particular as a sort of document of its time. Surely, it reflects the stir and change of its time.

The time of Premcand and his contemporaries was more or less the time of discussions of widow remarriage – if yes or not, though it had been legally permitted since 1856. To get one's daughter remarried or to marry a widow was still a matter of civic courage. Premcand himself married a widow as his second wife. Premcand's time was also the time of Gandhi who strongly opposed child marriages and advocated widow remarriage.[108] He opposed the dowry system[109] and other forms of the social degradation of women. In general, however, he was full of admiration for the ability of Indian women to suffer quietly and in his view, the woman served humanity best by giving the nation healthy and morally upright children.[110] Accordingly, these aspects of family life stood in the centre of attention of the writers. At the same time, urbanization and industrialization of India was under way, though still moderately, accompanied by social mobility of the people who individually started seeking new existence separatedly from the traditional family. The problem of upholding the traditional family or of letting it disintegrate arose. Writers noticed the changes and react-

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[104] E.g., Citrā Mudgal, Śūnya.

[105] E.g., Mahīp Sinh, Dhūp kī ūgliyõ ke niśān; Nirmal Varmā, Ek din kā mehmān. In: *Kavve aur kālā pānī*. Dillī 3rd ed. 1989; Citrā Mudgal, Śūnya; Rameś Bakhśī, Jinke ghar dhahte haĩ. In: *Asaphal dāmpatya kī kahāniyã*; Sureś Seth, Flag Station. In: *Ibid*.

[106] E.g., Citrā Mudgal, Śūnya; Citrā Mudgal, Tāśmahal. In: *Kāmkājī mahilāõ kī kahāniyã*; Gulzār, Mard. In: *1993-94 kī śreṣṭh hindī kahāniyã, vol. I*; Rājī Seṭh, Andhe moṛ se āge. In: *Andhe moṛ se āge*. Dillī 1983.

[107] E.g., Manikā Mohinī, Rākh ke nīce. In: *Bacpan kī kahāniyã*; Mṛdulā Garg, Aglī subah. In: *Urf Sam*; etc.

[108] E.g., *Young India*, October 16, 1926; September 23, 1926; etc.

[109] E.g., *To the Women*. Karachi, 2nd ed. 1943, p. 120.

[110] K.K. Gandhi, *Women and Social Injustice*. Ahmedabad 1958, pp. 179-180.

ed to them in different ways: they welcomed them or they warned against them, they tried to point out how the problems could or should be solved, what should or should not be allowed to happen. The traditional institution of the hierarchical family started cracking but it still seemed that it was possible and even necessary to prevent this disintegration.

The 1940s and early 1950s were the time of turbulent changes. The freedom struggle culminated and Independence was attained. Freedom became so to say the slogan of the day. The Progressivists were enthusiastic for modernization of family relations and strongly against subordination of women and of the younger generation. In their fervour they usually wanted to point out a way out and when they did not find any, they sometimes resorted to slogans instead of the truth of life. The then dominating Progressivism was closely linked with the leftist movements. The decline of the Progressivist movement in the 1950s was connected with the enormous sectarianism within the Communist Party of India.

The 1950s were also marked by rapid urbanization and industrialization which, again, brought about disintegration of families in the sense that individuals moved to the cities or to other places to seek a livelihood. The disintegration of family seemed to be in full swing and attracted the attention of many writers as a new phenomenon. The first wave of the New Short Story tried to encourage it in the spirit: "The sooner the better," though further developments proved something else.

Approximately the same period was also the time of lively discussion of the future Uniform Civil Code (which has not come into being till this day) and of the reform of the Hindu Code which was put through in 1955. One of the most important points of the reform was that divorce with the right to remarry was made possible for any couple married according to Brahmanical rites or following any other form of customary Hindu marriage. Now divorce ceased to be an almost exotic phenomenon – this explains the emergence of the motif of divorce in the New Short Story of the 1960s. The problem of widow remarriage ceased to be a recurrent motif. In the social reality, widow remarriage is still widely rather looked down upon as a betrayal, but: many of those who oppose it feel that women are handicapped rather than benefitted by a second marriage.[111] In a sample from Delhi in the late 1970s it was found that most of the widows were not interested in remarriage out of concern about the well-being of their children.[112] With the rising marriageable age of girls, the phenomenon of the child widow is disappearing. Apart from that, being a wife is not the only possible way of existence for a woman now.

The first wave of the New Short Story culminated in the atmosphere of a certain civic enthusiasm of the years 1954–1960, when Nehru's government was able to raise hopes for a favourable development of the country. Writers

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[111] Girija Khanna – Mariamma Varghese, *Indian Women Today*. New Delhi 1978, p. 162.

[112] *Social Welfare* (New Delhi), January 1979, pp. 33-35.

were critical of many inconsequencies and unfulfilled promises but they were also convinced that their dissatisfied and rebelling heroes would find a way out. The New Short Story of the 1950s left an encouraging impression not by proclaiming optimistic conclusions but by the fact that it did not hesitate to point at the black spots and thus to show the very first steps for their removal.

In the 1960s, an intricate situation began to develop. Economic difficulties and political disillusionment must have led to a horrified astonishment that not as much could be achieved by mere moral pressure on the social conscience as the writers wished. Among other things, the attitude towards the traditional family became irresolute. The comparison between by Indian standards liberated woman and the traditional dependent woman devoted to her husband also ended up irresolutely, often rather in favouring the latter. Rigid adherence to traditions makes people suffer, but being non-conformist also makes the individual suffer – what is to be done then? Life according to patriarchal traditions may then appear to many people as life in a cosy corner. This was not necessarily the viewpoint of the writers – they were only looking round themselves. For example, as to the attitude towards marriage, in a study of the attitude of educated women in 1959, 20% of them preferred a job to marriage, in 1969 it was only 5%. In 1959, 63% of the educated working women preferred love marriages, in 1969 it was 48%.[113] To cut a long story short, tradition in family relations lives on and has its own dynamics, supported by the socio-economic situation.

The increased concern with breaking or broken marriage in the 1980s and 1990s reflects a topical problem: in the first decade after the reform of the Special Marriage Act in 1976, for example in Bombay divorce cases more than doubled, in Delhi, 1986, nearly 25 divorce petitions were filed every day, etc. "Marriage is no longer a sacred word and divorce no longer a dirty one,"[114] was said in a special feature in a popular magazine by the end of 1986. New phenomena are found worthy of writing, and so is divorce as well as lonely old people which are a relatively rare phenomenon in Indian social reality. Further, both phenomena are reminiscent of foreign ways and may therefore be attractive for readers.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the short story appears to be a reflection of doubt upon everything in public life, which becomes manifest, for example when going through newspapers and periodicals. "Need to review...," "Time to re-define...," "Rethinking of..." are very frequent beginnings of the headlines. Contemporary writers manifest their uncertainty, or at least, they usually do not take up unequivocal attitudes towards any phenomenon that attracts their attention by its novelty.

Everything we find in Hindi short story we find in the social reality, too. Anybody who comes in touch, in particular, with the urban middle and "lower

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[113] Promilla Kapur, *The Changing Status of the Working Women in India*. Delhi 1974, pp. 9-11.

[114] *India Today* (New Delhi), December 31, 1986, p. 44.

middle" class may have a feeling of having met the characters of a particular short story several times at several places. But: if as many young people had left their traditional families and taken an independent life path of their own, as it was depicted in the short story of the 1950s, then the extended family consisting of at least two generations or of relatives of different types from one generation would have vanished. Yet we know that it is not the case and that where nuclear families have been formed they frequently grow again into an extended/small joint family,[115] flexible enough to become an acceptable means of existence for emotional as well as economic reasons. If nothing else, then its solidarity is such that it observes traditional rules despite being physically separated due to different reasons. As it was put in a popular magazine, members of "today's 'I want my space' generation" exist "in their private cocoons even while leading a collective life of the extended family".[116] That may be an explanation of the decline of depictions of generational tension in short stories.

If arranged marriages and their after-effects had been as disastrous and unbearable as was frequently depicted, then love marriage would have become the common pattern. Yet it is known that the conventional marriage by negotiation and mutual settlement prevails.[117]

The impression of the above-mentioned anthologies of Hindi short stories of the 1980s and 1990s or even that of reading Hindi short stories in a greater number at random could be that divorce has become such a matter-of-course as it is in Europe. Yet it is a fact that divorce still affects the social prestige of the couple and people are not prepared to endanger their position in society and in kinship groups, therefore divorce is still avoided as far as possible.[118]

In this way, we could continue going through different motifs. An increasing phenomenon attracts the attention of the writers, which leads to a disproportionality in which the high frequency of certain motifs in literature exceeds the frequency of the respective phenomenon in social reality. Even detailed narrations, common in Hindi short stories, indicate that the authors highly appreciate the fact of having the chance to write about recent phenomena.

On the other hand, the striking scarcity, e.g., of "dowry death" and dowry problems in general in the Hindi short story of the 1980s and 1990s in contrast to the press which is full of them may perhaps be explained by the desire to remain neutral. It is hardly possible to remain neutral toward a case of death because of an insufficient dowry, whatever the circumstances may be, and it is next to impossible to be above such a horror and to doubt whether or not it had to happen. The absence of this burning issue bears another evidence of the fact that belle-lettres cannot be regarded as a thorough document of a time, however

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[115] Cf., e.g., Raghuvir Sinha, *Dynamics of the Change in the Modern Hindu Family*, pp. 46, 272, etc.

[116] *India Today*, July 15, 1994, p. 87.

[117] Cf., e.g., Sinha, op.cit., p. 63, etc.

[118] Cf. Sinha, op. cit., p. 121.

true the individual pictures of life they present. However, there may be another explanation of the almost complete absence of that horrific motif, an explanation which concerns Hindi short story as a whole. Most short stories of the 1980s – 1990s are glimpses of the life the writers live themselves and see round themselves. There is, indeed, no scarcity of shocking news of "dowry deaths" in the newspapers, but in a "normal" average family they do not occur. The writers put their fingers on the charms of ordinary life – or on its "charms", i.e., on what is devoid of charm in ordinary life, not on criminal cases.

The motif of love marriage, too, appears relatively rarely, but this scarcity corresponds to the social reality where, according to an opinion poll conducted in five metropolitan cities in 1994, 74% of interviewed adults believed that arranged marriages are more likely to succeed than love marriages.[119] There is no space to analyse this question here and now, but love marriage or "self-arranged marriage", as it is called sometimes[120] is too remote from Indian tradition to become a frequent motif even of modern literature. If we accept the standpoint of some researchers that the traditional attitude towards marriage is likely to survive even the change from the extended to the nuclear type of family,[121] then the Hindi short story reflects this situation adequately.

To sum up, the Hindi short story is reflective of social realities but it can be regarded as a document of its time only to some extent. The natural fascination of the writers with the novelty of certain problems is rather misleading. After all, the same may apply to the literature of all countries and periods. It can only be added that, as to family-related motifs in India, the writers never felt restricted by fear of possible repressions by the ruling authority. If they avoided a certain question, it was not due to censorship, but, at most, due to a certain self-censorship because a particular point was a taboo or it was not found interesting enough, or it was found embarrassing in one way or another.

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[119] *Sunday Magazine* (New Delhi), 9-15 January 1994.

[120] *Manushi*, January-February 1994, p. 13.

[121] T.N. Madan, The Hindu Family and Development. In: *Family, Kinship and Marriage in India*. Ed. Patricia Uberoi. Delhi 1994, p. 438.

THE NATION STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL: ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES OF CONSENT 'FROM BELOW'

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The Turkish nation state project introduced itself with drastic reforms which had without doubt great influence on the institutional levels of society as well as on the private life of the people. However, a Western type of state-subject relationship did not develop. The nation state model and the introduction of a Western type modernity was introduced "from above" and remained to a large part at the legislative and administrative level alien to the individuals' experiences. Thus, in Turkey we can witness an articulation of a relatively modernized institutional body together with strong traditional family/kin networks which act as alternative means of social control and organization. These alternatives are perceived by the members of society as more efficient mechanisms to gain access to their goals. How do the individuals or better family/kin networks develop strategies to overcome the inefficiencies regarding the state institutions in responding to the needs of the individuals? It was seen that mainly through such individual strategies access was gained to resources concerning for example housing, employment, social security, education and health. We argue that these individual strategies constitute an alternative social organization "from below" which does not necessarily contradict the state's modernization goals, and in effect it completes the inefficiencies of the state institutions.

I. Introduction

The concept of the state developed in the 18th century European tradition was understood as a dimension of society, thus, state had the right to direct every aspect of social life on the basis of a social contract with the individuals and/or families (Hobbes, 1962; Rousseau, 1968; Zaretsky, 1983). On the other hand, a debate emerged discussing this understanding of the state and stressing that state interference should be on a minimum level and only function as a coordinator. In the nation state formation processes of 19th century Europe, however, the theoretical perspectives which supported state intervention gained predominance (Held, 1982). In the experience of Turkey, an attempt was made to shape a nation state after the modern model of a European nation state and a concomitant nationalist ideology was to be created (Hann, 1994). The nation state experience of the Turkish Republic was in a sense a continuation of the central oriental state of the Ottoman Empire. Hence, a tradition of central au-

thoritarian rule has become the "rule of thumb" in determining the political, social and economic affairs of Turkish society.

The Turkish model tried to eliminate the historical, cultural and geographical barriers which separated the country from "modern" Europe. There was an attempt to construct a new "national" culture, new institutional arrangements and establish "modern" behavioural patterns and values taken from European "modernity".

The emphasis on rationality and science which emerged out of the Western Enlightenment also put great marks on the Turkish modernization perspectives. Thus, laicism (secularism) took its stand against the Islamic traditionalism of the Ottoman period; a modern state bureaucracy, representative government and an electoral system against the centralized Ottoman rule; the nation state against the imperial state; a European (Swiss) civil code against the Islamic law. The technological developments, the institutions of law, education, finance and the bureaucratic administrative structures were all borrowed from the West. Thus, legal codes were imported; script, dress, and personal names were changed; religious matters became subject to state control; women were enfranchized; industrialization was promulgated by the state and an ethnic nation of Turks was supposed to emerge from the ruins of the Ottoman society. On the whole, those modernization attempts *"were based on the assumption that modernity is a 'neutral' model, not a stage in the development of a specific socio-cultural formation, but a blueprint adaptable to different conditions. However, Kemal's view of modernity was rather 'holistic' compared to later more naive assumptions that technology, science or whatever aspects of modernity are considered beneficent can easily be separated from the social and cultural 'superstructure' of modernity."* (Käufeler, H., 1988: 21).

The major ideology in the formation of the Turkish Republic was to achieve a radical transformation into a society which was expected to be ruled by a Western rational mind and scientific reasoning. This approach stood counter to the traditional Islamic ethical norms of Ottoman society. The reforms introduced were particularly confusing since they entailed economic, political and legal matters besides cultural core elements such as language and script, or personal matters such as name or dress, which are relevant for individual and collective identity. Thus, a radical transformation at the institutional level and at the socio-cultural level was aimed at. Just like the European modernization perspective, the outlook of Turkish modernization determined 'from above' was based on creating citizens, conforming and acting according to objective, legal and positive ideals. However, while doing this, not much consideration was given to particular features of existing social life, motivations, personal feelings, understandings and attitudes. An interesting point here is that among the majority of the individuals a high level of support grew for this national ideology. The claim of the national ideology was to catch up with the progress and development of the West. A simplistic view might argue that this claim provided the basis for legitimization for a large-scale consensus of the individuals for such a radical and daring transformation. The aim here is to present a more sceptical

and sociological analysis of the relations between the nation state and the society in recent Turkish experience.

Social change and transformation is understood as originating not only from above, but equally from below, through the initiatives of masses of people. In the history of the Republic while some people took the officially presented ideology as given and circulated within it filling a space, others contributed to the momentum of change by creating new spaces. In any case the range of possibilities for an individual, a given social group, or family are limited and shaped by restrictions such as lack of economic, social or cultural resources as well as the prejudices and privileges prevailing in the society. Individual strategies are constructed to overcome these restrictions and deprivations. For that reason, the above-mentioned structural and socio-cultural changes were implemented, but the reforms have not been able to eliminate visible cultural, religious, political and economic discrepancies in society at large. The reforms remained as blueprints without adapting to the different social conditions. Discrepancies can be still observed to continue in rural and urban variations, regional and class differences, alternative belief systems, identity formations, and in everyday life with norms related to family, marriage, life styles, socialization patterns, work relations, educational expectations as well as the attitudes, motivations and future prospects of individuals. So, a question crops up here to what extent these discrepancies were effected from and reflect specific choices and patterns of strategies emerging from individuals, families and/or communities. In other words, our aim is to look at the variation in choices of the agents, developing strategies 'from below' mainly to handle the deprivation of economic, social and cultural resources.

In this paper, we will focus on the use of different networks by the individuals and/or families, which we accept as strategies from below. Those strategies appear conventionally in the economic, social and cultural spheres, but using different levels of networks. At the same time the relations between the institutional structure of the state and the individuals become questionable in each sphere.

II. Strategies 'from below' to overcome economic deprivation

After the 1950s Turkish society underwent a massive period of rural-urban migration parallel to economic transformations in agriculture with highly complex consequences. This complex process might be simplified as the movement of labour set free by the introduction of new technologies and mechanization into towns or cities looking for new means of survival. In the towns, however, the infrastructure was not adequately developed and it could not meet the demands of the inflowing migrants. The demands were first to find shelter, then a regular income, and then a share in better health and educational opportunities. In the European model of nation state, provision of all welfare support to its citizens falls into the responsibility of the state. However, in the Turkish case the nation state model had only a limited vision of provision of socio-economic

welfare, besides the fact that the demand was too great to be easily answered in a short period of time. Thus, we see that individual strategies and family/kin networks of economic solidarity have taken over the initiative at this moment.

Migration processes followed upon the great mobilization of Turkish society during the 1950s. The principal feature of the economic development experienced in the 1950s derived from the post-war re-ordering of the international economic system under the principles of market liberalism. Under such a design Turkey was advised to abandon its industrialization projects whose social impact had remained anyhow only limited. Attention was directed at a transformation of the agricultural sector. The introduction of mechanization in agriculture led to a rapid increase in the area under cultivation and in agricultural output. It is misleading to argue that mechanization replaced labour and former sharecroppers were driven to urban areas out of poverty. It would be more correct to argue that general underemployment in agriculture constituted the push factor. On the pull side we may indicate the employment creation impact of growing urbanization and industrialization (mostly in light manufacture). However, it might be stated that social and physical mobility rather than specific factors classifiable under push or pull determined migration. What is certain, is that economic transformation was instigated by the transformation of the countryside.

Migration processes can be described to a large part as chain migration, where one person moves out as a "pioneer" (usually unmarried male) and other members of the family, wider kin and village community follow. Although, a 'pioneer' initiates the migration process, the decision to migrate is mostly taken on a household or family level. Upon arrival in the city they first find refuge in a relatives' or villagemates' house in the squatter house (*gecekondu*) areas surrounding the urban centres.

II.1. Housing

Finding a place to live on his/her own had to be solved within this network of family/kin faced with the fact that there were no housing policies formulated by the state institutional system. In fact the state institutions functioned as if there was no housing problem, since the individuals seemed to fill in the gap of finding solutions to their housing problems. Often the establishment of squatter housing area lacked the major infrastructural facilities of tap water, sanitation and public transportation. Almost all such housing was build on state owned land, sometimes even on land owned privately by absentee land owners, on an illegal basis.

In its origin mostly illegal housing, nowadays constitutes up to 70 % of the urban settlements in metropoles like Ankara, Izmir and Istanbul. The word "*gecekondu*" literally means "built over night", and only under this condition the state authorities did not interfere in spite of the fact that they were occupying public property. The growing inflow of migrants, increasing need for housing and lack of definite policies to deal with these problems, led the state au-

thorities into a situation of 'involuntary' acceptance of these illegal houses. In fact, gradually ownership permits were granted and these areas were even provided with infrastructure, like roads, electricity, running water, sanitation and public transport. Thus, these areas went through a process of consolidation in due course (Ruisque-Alcaino, 1982). Additionally, it can be claimed that a kind of clientelism arose between the state authorities and the individuals trying to construct their houses especially during election times.

After the 80s the state started to accuse these attempts at housing of 'unorganized, unwanted' use of urban space, potentially open to crime, distorting the 'modern', 'civilized' image which was intended to be constructed within the national modernization policies. Hence, some legal measures to prevent such illegal housing were formulated, however they were rarely effective. On the other hand, growing urbanization and the scarcity of urban space resulted in an increase of the speculative value of urban land. Thus, some squatter housing areas appeared to be most suitable for a further extension of middle class residences. Former migrants and occupants of squatter houses, suddenly gained an unforeseen opportunity of exchanging their old houses for luxury flats. Hence, a pauper turned into a relatively rich houseowner.

The problem of housing and solutions found by the family/kin networks ignoring the state institutional mechanisms is one of the examples of our above mentioned strategies 'from below'. Despite the efforts of the Turkish nation state to implement reforms with the aim of creating a modern, western society, these reforms could not infiltrate into the family/kin networks. The decision to come to the town; the choice of the site for a *'gecekondu'*; help while dealing with bureaucratic authorities; financial support; provision of building materials and physical help in the construction process itself are only part of a complex network of mutual aid. Such a "choice" of the site of residence also provided an atmosphere of belongingness, security and protection on a psychological level.[1] In fact, these networks were articulated into the given state structure, whenever the official policies were unable to cope.

II.2. Integration into the Labour Market

As in the case of the housing problem, the state again formulated only limited policies for employment. Labour legislation in Turkey was put into effect only after migration began to be experienced on a large scale in the metropolitan centres (1963 Labour Code) Again state interference lagged behind the actual socio-economic phenomena. The urban industrial infrastructure could not ab-

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[1] These findings were confirmed in our ongoing research in various neighbourhoods of Ankara, in which we collected life-stories of first and second generation migrants. The majority of our collected life stories start in the 1950s and 1960s periods when migration processes were at their peak. These internal migration processes are sometimes interlinked with international migration, and actually support our argument about family/kin networks even across national borders as means of overcoming economic deprivation.

sorb all the incoming labour in the 1960s, but one secure opportunity was to find a job in the public sector factories or in the civil services. Thus, it is not surprising that the first comers always headed for and preferred state jobs. In the meantime the informal service sector expanded and provided an additional option for employment in spite of the insecurity and casual nature of the jobs offered. The specific nature of the informal sector is that it managed to avoid any labour legislation, e.g. evading social security payments; keeping labour unorganized and applying arbitrary sacking of labour.

To counter these negative aspects in employment opportunities, individuals again use their family/kin networks quite efficiently. Finding a job remained limited to the extent of these networks. As mentioned above, a second significant demand was to obtain a regular income. Here again it is possible to observe the functioning of family/kin networks. The patterns of employment of the incoming migrants can be described in basically two paths: firstly, using the connections already established through former migrants, some regular jobs are secured in factories, small work places or in the public service and only then the whole family moves to the town. The alternative option is for a single male member of the family to move to town, looking for any opportunity he can grasp. He may start from the low paid, insecure, casual jobs in the informal sector, while keeping an eye open for more secure and stable opportunities in the formal sector (public or private).

Within the wide range of the informal sector, entrepreneurs' first choice is to employ their affinial or consanguinal kin. Often they may be even members of the same household. The reason for this preference is the 'trustworthiness'-principle which Dubetsky (1977: 366) describes as follows: *"In the small factories, workers are hired according to the patron's evaluation of their trustworthiness (dürüstlük), a quality more readily found, more clearly recognized, and more easily controlled among kinsmen, hemṭeri (men from the same region), or members of the same sect. These relationships of trust are both an indicator of and a force in perpetuating deep bonds of solidarity between worker and patron; bonds which seem, in many cases, to override class differences. They are particularly significant for the patron as they guarantee him a loyal and, hence in his eyes, relatively productive work force. For the workers these relationships represent a traditional system of social obligations that the patrons must fulfil in relation to the workers' social welfare. These bonds not only determine the nature of the social relationships in the work place, but concomitantly structure the nature of social alignments there. "*

Following the same pattern, in our research on paid domestic female workers working in middle class households in Ankara, the employer-employee relations were also found to be based on trust. In our investigation (1996), paid domestic female workers were found to be 91% first generation migrants from rural areas, mainly from Central Anatolia. The female employers, on the other hand, originate largely from urban backgrounds and most of them had not experienced a rural-urban migration. When these two groups of women with very different backgrounds meet within the context of a work relation, a conflicting sit-

uation is normally expected. If the workplace is a house, which is considered the private sphere of the family, those conflicts take a different turn. We found not only labour conflict, but social and cultural conflict appearing as well. However, the results of the investigation proved that although the potential for such conflicts existed, and the individuals were aware of such conflicts, they developed strategies to cope by establishing a deferential relationship with the employers, i.e. a patron-client relationship.

The informal sector is also suitable for face-to-face relations. Especially, the type of work studied, takes place in the private sphere of a family (employer), the paid domestic female workers (more than in any other work relation) expect the employers "to inquire about their health and well-being"; "to respect and take into account their feelings"; "to give sincere consideration as any person will expect from another". In other words, the women want their employers to be sensitive about their family problems and to offer solutions, e.g. finding jobs for their husbands and children or arranging private courses, paying education expenses or doctors' bills or also solving problems with the bureaucracy. These expectations lead to a pattern which can be described as "understanding and generous patron vs. loyal serf". However, this is a mutual expectation. The employer, too, through this kind of paternalist relationship can guarantee "a good cleaner" and a "trustworthy person to whom she can leave her house". Within the structure of employment the paid domestic female workers clearly calculated their gains and losses. Thus, they did not judge their jobs only in material terms, but also as offering wider opportunities for members of their family. In a society where the state social security system is only limited, informality and paternalism gain more importance. These alternative mechanisms provide not only income, but further advantages and protection.

II.3. Family Welfare

The first generation migrants' demands focused mainly on self-sufficiency, thus, shelter, regular income and a share in health and educational opportunities were aimed at. In fact, in most cases they actually realized their expectations, because they still could find empty land for their squatters-homes and also they were not very selective in their choice of jobs. The capital necessary for survival was also limited in absolute and relative terms. They also still had close relations to family/kin in their villages of origin, who provided them with some basic necessities concerning food and fuel.

The conditions of shelter and employment however, became much harder for the following generations. Hence, the support of the original family gained significance for their survival. Although, the second generation had better chances of formal and professional education their skill level remained limited and the demand in the labour market for skilled labour increased even faster. Empty urban space for settlement became a rare commodity. It can be concluded that all aspects of socio-economic life became highly competitive. The family of origin constitutes the major means of support in this context. People still try to find

jobs using the existing family/kin networks, although the jobs do not necessarily correspond to the much higher expectations of the 'educated, skilled' youth. Life style and consumption patterns have changed, so that a newly married couple requires a fully furnished and equipped flat. To answer these demands alternative mechanisms have to be developed.

One of these mechanisms is to put the needs of their children into order. The expenses for the marriage ceremony (for the boys), the dowry (for the girls) have to considered first; followed by the provision of a place to live (fully furnished flat or house), and finally durable household goods. Secondly, the nuclear family of origin, including all married and unmarried sons and daughters, put their savings into a common pool. Thirdly, although rarely used debts are made to relatives (often working abroad and economically better off).

We can give as an example a family of four persons we observed in one of our case studies. The father works as floor cleaner with very low pay in a hotel in Ankara, the wife is housewife. They have an 18 years old unmarried daughter and a ten years old son. While they were living in a village close to Ankara, the man was offered a job in Libya. He worked there for 5 years and made some savings. Then he bought two squatter houses in Ankara and they moved to the city. They used one house for themselves, the other one they gave for free usage to the husband's elder brother. A second elder brother is working in Germany and every summer, when he comes to visit, he brings to or buys in Turkey some durable household goods to give to his younger brother, who fulfilled his 'family duties' by providing a free house to his other brother. The family network among these three brothers is a good example of an improvement of family welfare not giving privilege to only one but to all members.

III. Strategies 'from below' to overcome socio-cultural deprivation

As a consequence of migration processes the situation of the migrants is usually discussed in terms of "how will they adapt, integrate and become part of the urban way of life?". There are different answers to these questions, seeing solutions in models of individual or group assimilation, melting-pot, or multiculturality or pointing out that the migrants hold a marginal position, which in a Simmelian sense stands for the "stranger". Here the migrants' identities play a major role; how far do they retain their "rural" identities, will they transform them into an "urban" identity or will they become hybrids? However, sticking to rigid categories of cultural dichotomies, typical for the modernization approach which explains the consequences of migration in a traditionality-modernity continuum, this discourse remained limited in understanding the complexity of social reality.

In our studies we have seen that a simple dichotomy is inadequate to explain the identity formation of migrants. It seems to be more appropriate to evaluate the socio-cultural consequences of migration within an articulation perspective. In other words traditionality and modernity is not a continuum but coexists, so the complexity of social reality contradicts the modernization approach.

To start with, we have to understand that the first generation migrants coming to town were confronted with hostile reactions from their environment. Firstly, they were blamed for being uneducated, without manners, not knowing how to dress. Secondly, they were seen as unskilled peasants, who could not compete in the labour market and thus were open to exploitation. Thirdly, their culture (e.g. music, belief systems, dialects) was not accepted. All in all, an exclusion mechanism worked against the migrants, which led to socio-cultural deprivation. Possible responses in the modernization discourse would be either deviance or delinquency, deference, fatalism or resignation. However, in the Turkish experience we witnessed alternative mechanisms to cope with this situation.

One of such alternative mechanisms was to choose to live next to their townsmen, in clusters in squatter housing areas. This can be interpreted in a modernist negative sense as an effort to stick to their rural links and results in a relative isolation. On the other hand, it constitutes an efficient mechanism for the formation of solidarities to overcome marginality. Besides, as mentioned above, these clusters provide the means to solve their economic deprivations. It is also a guarantee to obtain the opportunities of the city, either using patron-client relations for a variety of needs, from finding jobs to solving health or educational problems, or forming common family savings to become more consolidated through buying real estate. Stirling, P. (1993: 12) states that *"A great many Turks, and not only villagers, seem to assume that if you want something from, or within a large organization, then to get it, what you most need is not a formally correct case, nor even manipulative knowledge of the working of the system, but a personal link to someone of power above or within the organization who is prepared to use that power on your behalf. Thus personal networks, 'patron-client relations', are thought to be the most crucial factor in the daily running of organizations (Güneş-Ayata, 1990)."*

Another alternative is to develop a strong feeling of self-esteem based on their places of origin. In our research on paid domestic female workers we observed that this rural-urban duality helped them to locate themselves in the urban environment. This location is clearly differentiated from the employers. In other words, they do not aspire to the employer's status or lifestyle, or well-furnished houses. The place which they attribute to themselves in the social hierarchy describes a well-known and socially respected identity: that of a villager. The fact that they are able to refer back to their roots gives them a superior feeling of self-esteem, in a strange environment.

A further possibility was to develop flexible world views as survival strategies. In our case studies we also found an emphasis on style of dress, which was reported again demonstrating a dualism. Firstly, "a fashionable style of dressing" and/or "liberal style of dressing", was considered to be indecent or immoral, because it does not fit into the traditional values and norms. This is a negative emphasis referring mainly to a degeneration of moral and ethical values in the urban society when compared to their traditional rural community. At the same time the respondents in the case studies pointed to the necessity of living a

'modern and easy-going life', where the lifestyle of the wealthy sets an example. Both aspects, although partially contradicting each other, had a combined effect on their worldviews and everyday life.

IV. Conclusion

The Turkish nation state project introduced itself with drastic reforms which undoubtedly had great influence on the institutional levels of society as well as on the private life of the people. Following the European model, the aim of this nation state formation was to create a state taking over responsibilities from the family. However, as it turned out, this large scale attempt remained rudimentary in a sense. It might be possible to argue that there are two apparent reasons behind the state's lack of realization of its ideals. One is that the different historical and state traditions of the East, coming from Ottoman times, influenced the Turkish experience of nation state formation. The Ottoman state was authoritarian and was only related to its subjects through tax collection (Mardin, 1962). The educational, administrative and bureaucratic facilities were not extended to the subjects. Thus, a Western type ot state-subject (citizen) relation did not develop. The other one, as mentioned also by Käufeler (1988) is that the state tried to create modernity 'from above' as a neutral model. It remained largely at the legislative and administrative level alien to the experiences of individuals and families. A spontaneous socio-cultural formation, as expected by the modernizing elites, did not take place parallel to this. In Turkey we can witness an articulation of a relatively modernized institutional body together with strong family/kin networks which can be seen as alternative means of social control and organization. These alternatives should not be understood as resistance to the goals of the constructed model of modernity, but are perceived by the members of society as more efficient mechanisms to gain access to such goals. In Turkey, the patriarchal state corresponds to the patriarchal family. The patriarch, male household head, being assured of his absolute authority position inside the family, remains mostly outside the personal spheres of the family members, as long as they do not question the existing order. In the meantime, alliances for manipulation between mothers and children may appear. Clientelism appears to be an example of a manipulation mechanism to benefit from the limited opportunities offered by the state. This kind of clientelism may even extend into the state institutions themselves.

The individuals, or to be more precise family/kin networks, develop strategies to overcome the inefficiencies regarding the state's policies and their realization of resources concerning housing, employment, social security, education and health. We argue that these individual initiatives constitute a transformation 'from below' which does not necessarily contradict the state's modernization goals. In other words, they are attempts to become a part of the social system, following their own patterns. On the other hand, the families or individuals, who appear to be impoverished relative to others are those, who for some reason are unsuccessful in establishing and locating themselves within a family/kin network. The limit-

ed state welfare agencies, too, are not capable of offering solutions to their problems. Hence, such individuals/families become drop-outs in society.

In conclusion, we argue that, the strong state image which gives way to the openly declared high expectations of the individuals should be read reversely. It could be claimed that these expectations are actually attributions of failures to the state. Thus, the acknoledgement of the state's inefficiency in the fulfillment of its duties, people seemingly paradoxically demand even further state services. These expectations can only be realized very rarely and are actually not assumed to take place anyway.

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MODERN TRADITIONALIST YAHYA KEMAL BEYATLI

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Yahya Kemal Beyatlı (1884-1958) is presented in dictionaries and encyclopedias as a neoclassicist, but also as the last representative of classical Ottoman poetry (*Divan şiiri*).The poet did not give up the traditional metre (*aruz*) and rhyme even in the period when the syllabic metre and free verse completely dominated Turkish poetry. However, Yahya Kemal did not use the classical metre and rhyme, or the traditional forms of Arabic and Persian poetry (*gazel, kaside, rubaî* and others) as ends in themselves. He subordinated them to his own conception of poetry, which was connected with the cultural and aesthetic trends of Western Europe and especially France in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century.

Two factors played a decisive role in shaping the poet and essayist Yahya Kemal. The first was his childhood and youth in his native Skopje (*Üsküp*), the second, his years of maturing in Paris.

Far from cosmopolitan Istanbul, in provincial, still strongly Turkish and Islamic Skopje, the future poet originally called Mehmet Agah, was educated in the spirit of the old traditions.[1] His mother Nakiye Hanım was a niece of one of the last significant representatives of classical Ottoman poetry Leskofçalı Galip Bey (1829-1867). She gently led her son towards religion, singing of Turkish religious songs (*ilâhi*), and awakened a feeling for poetry and music in him. The combination of poetic words and music at the religious ceremonies (*âyin*) in the dervish convents (*tekke, dergâh*) even more strongly impressed themselves into the consciousness of the perceptive boy. He began to participate in these assemblies when he was thirteen, after his mother's death. The cultivated head of the Rufai brotherhood, Saddredin Efendi, brought the beauty of the poetry of the great Persian-Anatolian poet Mevlâna Celâleddin Rumî close to him. Rumî's poetry led the young Yahya Kemal to the Mevlevî monastery. The poetry, music and dance during the evenings which he spent there left a deep impression on

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[1] KABAKLI, A.: *Türk Edebiyatı* (Turkish Literature) III. İstanbul 1990, p. 429.

the future poet.[2] The impressions of the first two decades, which the poet spent in a traditional Turkish Islamic environment, constantly emerged in his consciousness, even after more than half a century of further life, which he led in completely different conditions.

Yahya Kemal took his first steps from the old traditions towards a new cultural and aesthetic direction after his arrival in Istanbul in the spring of 1902. The place of his favourite poets Rumî, Ruhî, Nabi, Abdülhak Hâmid was taken by representatives of the so-called New Literature (*Edebiyat-ı Cedide*) headed by Tevfik Fikret. Europe breathed on him from French novels translated into Turkish. While his own country seemed like a prison to him, he saw the light of the world in Europe. He decided to go to Paris, which "shone like a star"[3] in his thoughts.

In June 1903, Yahya Kemal set out on his journey to Paris, where he stayed for nine years. In the poem "Old Paris" (*Eski Paris*), he later spoke of these years as about "life on another star".[4] In the course of a year he learnt French and began to eagerly acquaint himself with the cultural currents characteristic of the period not only in France, but also in other European countries. "In the atmosphere of French poetry, thought and taste, I lived like a fish in water",[5] wrote the poet in his memoirs.

When Yahya Kemal read the poetry of the French symbolists Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Rimbaud and Verlaine in the original, the new Turkish poetry appeared to him only as its shadow,[6] in spite of the fact that it declared support for the message of symbolism.

In the poetry of the symbolists, Yahya Kemal was mainly interested in the connection between words and music. "*De la musique avant toute chose*," this verse from Verlaine's programme poem *Art poétique* (1873-4) became the credo of the Turkish poet. Perhaps it was precisely Verlaine's collection of poems *Romances sans paroles* (1874), in which the majority of poems have the form of songs with a rich rhythmic variation of verses, which motivated Yahya Kemal to call one of his later poems "Composition without Words" (*Güftesiz beste*).[7]

The collection *Fêtes galantes* by Paul Verlaine (1869) played an important role in the poetic orientation of Yahya Kemal. It is an evocation of the gallant 18th century in scenes based on the pictures and drawings of the painter Watteau. These delicate, deeply felt studies of the atmosphere of former times,

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[2] On the relationship of Yahya Kemal to Sufiism see: ÖNDER, M.: *Yahya Kemal'de Tasavvuf ve Mevlâna Hayranlığı* (Mysticism in Yahya Kemal and His Admiration for Mevlana). Millî Kültür 1984, 46, pp. 34-36.

[3] YAHYA KEMAL: *Tarih Musahabeleri* (Historical Essays). İstanbul 1975, p. 74.

[4] YAHYA KEMAL: *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz* (Our Own Sky). İstanbul 1973, p. 114.

[5] YAHYA KEMAL: *Çocukluğum, Gençliğim, Siyasî ve Edebî Hatıralarım* (My Childhood, My Youth, My Political and Literary Memories). İstanbul 1973, p. 114.

[6] Ibid., p. 101.

[7] YAHYA KEMAL: *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz*, pp. 147-148.

which the melodicity of the verse strongly facilitated, awakened an interest in the young Turk in the poetry of the poets of the "tulip period" (*lâle devri*). This happy period of Ottoman history in the reign of Ahmed III (1703-1730) was notable not only for pompous celebrations, but also for the flourishing of poetry, music, architecture and the fine arts.

Yahya Kemal, inspired by Verlaine, evokes the "tulip period" in some poems in the style and language of its greatest poet Nedim (died 1730).[8] However, before starting to compose his own poems in harmony with classical Ottoman poetry, he needed to get to know this poetry better. For this, it was essential to renew and perfect his knowledge of Arabic and Persian. Therefore Yahya Kemal registered to study at a language school in Paris.[9]

The poetry of José Maria de Heredia (1842-1905) was very stimulating to the young poet. Although Yahya Kemal looked at the creative work of this parnasist with critical reservations, Heredia's single collection of poems *Les Trophées* became his "space" and "destiny".[10] The poems with a typically parnasic theme allegedly led Yahya Kemal to the literature of ancient Greece and Rome. However, Heredia's love of the heroic and monumental, is undoubtedly reflected in the poems of Yahya Kemal on the theme of Ottoman history.

Yahya Kemal wrote the first poems of a planned historical cycle, "The Turkish Epic" (*Türk destanı*)[11] during his stay abroad. The aim of Yahya Kemal was that his approach to the themes of Turkish history would differ from the tortured, obscure, coded utterances of representatives of the *Edebiyat-ı Cedide*.[12]

The historical consciousness of the poet was formed with a significant contribution from the French historian Albert Sorel (1842-1906). In his first years of study at the École libre des sciences politiques (1904-1908), Yahya Kemal had the opportunity to attend Sorel's lectures. Under their influence, he formed his own conception of the Turkish nation and its culture, which differed from the views of the Pan-Islamists and Pan-Turkists.[13] He understood the Turks as a nation, which was born on the soil of Asia Minor and the Balkans. The language, culture and history of this nation were formed here, with the interaction of the Islamic and Mediterranean cultures and civilization.

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[8] They are especially the poems *Şerefabad* (the name of a pavilion on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus), *Bir Sâki* (A Cupbearer), *Mükerrer Gazel* (Repeted Gazel), *Mâhurdan Gazel* (Gazel in the Mahur Rhythm). In: *Eski Şiirin Rüzgâriyle* (With the Wind of an Old Poem). İstanbul 1974, pp. 29-30, 31-32, 33-34, 53-54.

[9] KURDAKUL, Ş.: *Çağdaş Türk Edebiyatı. Meşrutiyet Dönemi* (Modern Turkish Literature, Constitutional Period). Broy Yayınevi 1986, p. 192.

[10] YAHYA KEMAL: *Çocukluğum*, pp. 108-110.

[11] Ibid., p. 104. These were the poems *Akınlar* (Raids), *Akıncılar* (Raiders) and *Korsanlar* (Corsairs). Yahya Kemal's cycle of poems with a historical theme was never completed in the form of an independent collection. Individual poems appeared in periodicals, and after the poet's death they were collected in the volumes *Eski Şiirin Rüzgâriyle* and *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz*.

[12] Ibid., p. 103.

[13] KABAKLI, A.: *Türk Edebiyatı*, p. 131.

While still in Paris, Yahya Kemal wrote some poems on subjects borrowed from Ancient Greece, inspired by the Heredia's sonnets. After returning to Istanbul, he and the writer Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu initiated a new literary current with the name *Nev-Yunânîlık* (Neo-Hellenism).[14]

When Yahya Kemal returned to his homeland after nine years in Paris, he took with him, not only definite ideas about what requirements a "genuine poetry" (*öz şiir*) should fulfil, but also the conviction that the history of the Turkish nation, like its art, needed to be reevaluated from a new point of view.

Yahya Kemal regarded the geographical factor as primary to the formation of a nation in the modern sense of the word. Immediately after it, he placed history. The historic factor was determined to a significant degree by the locality or living space in which the nation was situated. These factors are followed by ethnic origin, language and religion.[15] The first three of these factors, that is geographical position, history and ethnic origin, roughly agree with the factors considered decisive by Hippolite Taine (1828-1893) in his theory of environment. According to this theory, most clearly formulated by Taine in the theoretical-aesthetic introduction to his monumental *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (1863), man and together with him the work of art is the product of three factors: *race*, natural and social *milieu* and the historical *moment*.[16]

Yahya Kemal was convinced that with the decline and fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish nation stood on the edge of the loss of its independence, and it needed to free itself from its feeling of inferiority compared to the West. A return to its glorious past could assist this. Yahya Kemal inserted reminiscences of this past glory into many of his poems. He believed that like individuals, whole nations find their identity in their own past. The future also has its foundations in the past, since it is constantly necessary to return to the past in memory.[17]

The poem "Open Sea" (*Açık deniz*) has key importance for understanding Yahya Kemal's returns to the past, and not only in themes, but also in poetic character and language. The poem was first published in 1925, in the periodical *Tavus Mecmuasi* and became the event of the year in Turkish literature.[18] This poem was the result of the long and precise work with an idea, which came into the poet's mind during his first journey to England in 1906.

In his search for infinityl poet came to the land of Byron. Here, at the frontier of the earth, he saw a raging sea. "Only it is the enormous open and the

[14] For more details see TOKER, Ş.: *Edebiyatımızda Nev-Yunânîlık Akımı* (The Neo-Hellenic Movement in our Literature). Türk Dili Edebiyatı Araştırmaları Dergisi, 1982, 1, p. 136.

[15] KABAKLI, A.: *Türk Edebiyatı*, p. 434.

[16] *Dějiny francouzské literatury 2., 19. a 20. století* (History of French Literature 2, 19th and 20th Centuries), Praha 1976, p. 31.

[17] Paraphrased according to the words of Yahya Kemal quoted in: KABAKLI, A.: *Türk Edebiyatı*, p. 434.

[18] MUTLUAY, R.: *50 Yılın Türk Edebiyatı* (50 Years of Turkish Literature). İstanbul 1973, p. 161.

spectacle!" he calls in ecstasy.[19] The poet felt a spiritual attraction, which drew him towards limitless spaces and the endless, towards the sea, which in its racing constantly strikes the shore. The desire to overcome the limitations of existence is like an unquenchable thirst. The poet tries to satisfy this thirst with memories. Here at the end of Europe, he understands the ambition of his ancestors. Those ancestors whose invasions were directed towards the west for centuries.[20]

"Perfect is the man, who lives by memories" says the first verse of the poem "Verses to a Friend" *(Bir dosta misralar)*.[21] The perfect man - *al-insan al-kámil* is an important concept of Sufism. He is the mystic, who achieves the highest level of knowledge of God, who finds God in himself. In the poem "Song of the Sea" *(Deniz türküsü)*, Yahya Kemal calls on man to give in to intoxication with ideas without fears and doubts, and for a moment become God.[22]

This is mysticism, but already not the mysticism, which Yahya Kemal learnt in his early youth. In many of his poems, the spirit of the new mysticism of Bergson blows. It raises intuition to the level of a divine force. According to Bergson, it is precisely this creative intuition, which enables artists to catch the rhythm of depicted things and phenomena, to comprehend their internal essence. For Yahya Kemal, with his intense relationship to music, Bergson's comparison of the spiritual process to the gradual development of a melody, had to be very close. Bergson understands every reminiscence as a new creative moment, similar to a new note in a melody. In Bergson's understanding, art is a process of reminiscence and dreaming.[23] It is also possible to look at the creative poetry of Yahya Kemal from a similar point of view.

Reminiscence and dreaming is also characteristic of the poetry of Yahya Kemal's contemporary, the talented poet Ahmet Haşim (1884-1933). Haşim takes his reminiscences and dreams from the real world, to which he feels aversion, to a ghostly country with an unreal beloved. Yahya Kemal, in contrast is also firmly rooted in the earth in his reminiscences and dreaming, but in a concrete environment and time. The figures in his poems are certainly not phantoms, but living people, often concrete individuals, historical figures, such as Sultan Selim I, the title figure of the long epic poem *Selimname*.

With the exception of the already mentioned poem "Open Sea", Yahya Kemal's lyric hero does not flee from the world and from people. On the contrary,

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[19] YAHYA KEMAL: *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz*, pp. 14-15.

[20] For a detailed analysis of the poem *Açık Deniz* see M. KAPLAN: *Şiir Tahlilleri. Tanzimat' dan Cumhuriyet'e Kadar* (Analyses of Poetry. From Tanzimat to the Republic). İstanbul 1969, pp. 191-203.

[21] YAHYA KEMAL: *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz*, p. 112.

[22] *"Duy tabiatta biraz sen de ilâh olduğunu/Rûh erer varlığının zevkine duymakla bunu."* (To feel in nature that you became God for a moment. With this feeling the spirit arrives at the pleasure of existence.) YAHYA KEMAL: *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz*, p. 97.

[23] Paraphrased according to the sub-chapter *Henri Bergson a jeho učení* (Henri Bergson and his teaching). In: *Dějiny francouzské literatury*, pp. 322-4.

he is existentially connected with his environment, above all, he loves his city, he likes the company of people. He feels best among friends – *rinds*, who like him, drink wine – *mey*, but also life with full draught. A look at the beautiful scenery of Istanbul connects him with memories of drinking wine and walks with a beloved, about whom he talks tenderly, as about a *cânan* (sweetheart).

In Yahya Kemal's poetry, the very frequent expression *rind* can be interpreted in the ordinary sense as *"a drinker"* or *"Epicurean"*, but also in the mystical sense as a *"saint intoxicated with a love for God"*.[24] Many of his poems literally revel with the terms and symbols of Sufiism, which the Persian poets especially brought to perfection. However in spite of this Yahya Kemal cannot be classified as a mystical poet. This claim could be supported by analysis of individual poems, but here we must be satisfied with two arguments.

The first argument is provided by a poem from 1919, which Yahya Kemal dedicated to Abdülhak Hâmid, one of the most popular poets of his early youth. The poem "Dedication" (*Ithâf*) can be interpreted as a recognition that the true mystic has definitively disappeared not only in Turkey, but in the whole Orient. Yahya Kemal, who inclined to the Sufi poetry and music, still went back to the Mevlevî monasteries for some time after his return from Paris. He joined the literary current called the *Nâyîler* (reed players) which followed the Rumî's message. The movement took its name from the chief instrument of Sufi music – the *nây, ney* (a reed).

Yahya Kemal highly valued the tradition, which for centuries had held such great significance for the spiritual life of a wide range of inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire, and not only Muslims, but also Christians. In thousands of larger and smaller *tekkes*, they held regular assemblies called *âyin-i cem*. The music, song and dance at these assemblies satisfied the need for cultural nourishment of the inhabitants of the cities and rural areas. It was because of his respect for this tradition, and in an effort to remember it at a time when it was being forgotten because of changed living conditions, that Yahya Kemal inserted at least fragments of it into his poems.

The much travelled Yahya Kemal[25] honoured tradition, but was already unable to live in accordance with it. This led to his feeling of being uprooted, which he suggestively expressed in his poems *Atik-Valde'den inen sokakta* (In the street leading from Atik-Valde) and *Koca Mustâpaşa*.[26] On meeting a person from the world of old traditions, traditional forms of life, in which religion has a firm place, the modern person immediately feels a terrible emptiness. At the same time he hears his inner voice, which reminds him that he belongs to the people who live here, in the place where the fate of Byzantium intertwined itself into the character of the Turks.

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[24] See the entry *rind* in REDHOUSE, J. W.: *Turkish and English Lexicon*, Beirut 1974, p. 959.

[25] Apart from the already mentioned nine years in Paris, Yahya Kemal worked from 1926 to 1948 as an ambassador in Warsaw, Madrid, Lisbon and Karachi.

[26] YAHYA KEMAL: *Eski Şiirin Rüzgâriyle*, pp. 34-35, 48-49.

The second argument supporting the claim that Yahya Kemal was not a mystical poet is his attitude to death. This differed diametrically from the position of the Islamic mystics. For Sufis, death was the aim of their effort to reach absolute truth (*Hakk*), that is God. They wished to die before death, to reach their aim sooner, and so by asceticism, living for long periods in cells and other practices, they mortified not only their bodies but also their spirits.

Yahya Kemal has an entirely opposite view:

> Death is not the most tragic thing in our lives,
> The difficulty is in the death of a person before death.[27]

Yahya Kemal did not see death as the aim or even as a necessary evil. For him death is part of life. Whether a person wants it or not, his journey will end in the cypress grove. The *Servilik* (cypress grove) is a euphemistic metaphor for the cemetery.

Yahya Kemal instructed that four lines from the poem "Death of Rinds" (*Rindlerin Ölümü*), which he dedicated to his beloved Hafiz, should be carved on his grave-stone:

> Death is a peaceful spring country for the rind;
> His heart smokes from all sides like an incense burner.
> And on his mound in the shade of the cypresses
> every day a rose blooms and every night a nightingale sings.[28]

In 1924, Yahya Kemal already expressed the conviction in one of his speeches[29] that the Turkish nation would fully accept European civilization. He literally spoke of it as "*bügünkü medeniyet*" that is "modern civilization". In spite of this, or perhaps precisely because of it, he remained to a significant degree faithful to the canons of classical Ottoman poetry. The unique creative synthesis of old traditions with new cultural and aesthetic principles brought Yahya Kemal Beyatlı even during his lifetime, to the sunlit side of modern Turkish poetry.

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[27] *Düşünce* (Thought). In: YAHYA KEMAL: *Eski Şiirin Rüzgâriyle,* p. 88.

[28] YAHYA KEMAL: *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz,* p. 93.

[29] The speech was given in the cultural-educational centre *Türk Ocağı*. See: YAHYA KEMAL: *Mektuplar, Makaleler* (Letters, articles), İstanbul 1968, pp. 307-8.

FEATURES OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH AND THE CLERGY

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The Ethiopian Orthodox Church has significantly declined since the disruption of her ally the so-called "Solomonic Line" in 1974, when the last monarch was overthrown; nevertheless, she still exerts strong influence on the lives of millions even without the support of her ally, the State. Neither the divorce of Church-State relations, which culminated with the end of the monarchy and introduction of Communist ideology in the 1970s, nor the trends of pluralistic democracy-based currently flourishing Independent Churches, could remove away her influence in the country. In fact, these events have threatened the position of this archaic Church and made questionable the possiblity of her perpetuation, as can be well observed at the turn of the century.

1. Introduction

Features of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the Clergy is a topic designed to give a historical overview of the Church, ecclesiastical establishment and the process undertaken to develop Orthodox Christianity within the country. The paper gives an analysis of one part of my on-going Ph.D. dissertation on the history of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, in relation to the country's state systems.

1.1 Definition of the Terms Orthodox Church and the Clergy

The terms Orthodox Church and the Clergy, in this text, are terms interwaved to refer to one type of Christian religious institution (the Orthodox Church) and the group of ordained persons (clergy) who minister in the Church.

2. The Place of Orthodox Church in Abyssinian Ecclesiastical History

The study of Ethiopian history has clearly indicated, that the history of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is the history of one of the oldest Christian Church-

es in Africa,[1] and is united with the historical development of the whole country.[2] The Church and empire, though dissimilar institutions, were so united that they were universally respected and feared as true sources of power and authority as well as of the national culture in Ethiopia.[3] Churches and monasteries though distinct from each other were often associated, for every monastery housed at least one church, while many churches had monks attached to them.[4]

The number of churches is immense, and their size varies from the little round village churches, usually perched upon a hill, to large rectangular and octagonal buildings or modern cathedrals built in most of the centres of the country. The fact that number of churches is prolific and their frequent placing on tops of hills or higher points, I think, indicates the significant position the Church occupies. The most emphatic aspect which shows the place that the Church holds maybe the monophysite principles. The monophysite doctrine, *täwahdo*, has been so strongly and passionately defended in Ethiopia over the centuries because it was felt to accord more closely with concepts of Old Testament monotheism[5] and traces of Semitic culture and civilization which has influenced Ethiopian Christianity and the lives of the people. Thus it well attests the key place the Church holds in the Ethiopian state systems and her crucial role in the process of remoulding the history of what is now known as Ethiopian society.

[1] BAUR John, *2000 years of Christianity in Africa* (Nairobi, 1992), p. 39; ATIYA Aziz s., *A History of Eastern Christianity* (London, 1968), pp. 146-7; GERSTER Georg, "Searching out Medieval Churches in Ethiopia's Wilds", *National Geography*, vol 138, No. 6, (1970), pp. 861 ff.; also see cf. GERSTER, 1968, 1974. For general accounts of Ethiopian history, culture and church, see O'LEARY D., *The Ethiopian Church Historical Notes on the Church of Abyssinia* (London, 1936); HYATT H.M., *The Church of Abyssinia* (London, 1928); HARDEN J.M., *An Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature* (London, 1926); JONES A.H.M. and MONROE Elizabeth, *A History of Ethiopia* (Oxford, 1935); TADDESSE Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1570* (Oxford, 1972); Stevan KAPLAN, *The Monastic Holy man and the Christianization of Early Solomonic Ethiopia* (Wiesbaden, 1984); Jean DORESSE, *L'Empire du prêtre-Jean, 2 vols.* (Paris, 1957); *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* (Addis Abäba, 1963-); HASTINGS Adrian, *The Church in Africa 1450-1950* (Oxford, 1996), see in particular the Bibliography pp. 625-639, 640-644, 647-649.; WONDMAGEGNEHU Aymro and MOTOVU Joachim, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church* (Addis Abäba, 1970).

[2] ULLENDORFF Edward, *Ethiopia and the Bible* (London, 1968), p. 15; ISICHEI Elizabeth, *A History of Christianity in Africa* (1992), pp. 5-7; FREND W.H.C., The Christian Period in Mediterranean Africa, c. A.D. 200 to 700, In: *The Cambridge History of Africa, vol. 2,* (1978), p. 451 also see PANKHURST Richard, *A social history of Ethiopia* (1992); TADDESSE Tamrat,"Ethiopia, the Red sea and the Horn", In: *The Cambridge History of Africa, vol. 3,* (1977), pp. 99-177; RUBENSON Sven, "Ethiopia and the Horn", In: *The Cambridge History of Africa, vol. 5,* (1976); DROZDÍKOVÁ Jarmila, *Etiópčania* (Bratislava, 1989).

[3] ATIYA, p. 159.

[4] PANKHURST, p. 29.

[5] ULLENDORFF, pp. 87, 115.

2.1 Historical Background

Ethiopia is an ancient polyreligious African country that boasts of rich traditions, and affinities of religious habits and culture. More than half its 56.7 million (1996) population follow Christianity, fifty per cent of the inhabitants belong to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Orthodoxy being identified with the Amhara and Tigray people, who inhabit the highlands of the country. In fact it was later accepted by Christianized Oromos and other groups as well, after the Church gradually expanded southward. Two per cent are Protestant and Roman Catholic combined. About thirty five per cent of its population, who inhabit the lowlands of the southern region, adhere to Islam, i.e. the stream of Sunni Muslim identified with the Ethiopian Somalis, Afars, Islamicized Oromos, Bedjas and others. The remainder of the population in the southern and eastern part of Ethiopia practiced various indigenous religions. They adhere to traditional African religion also known, by others, as 'Animism' which insists that all objects have souls and can connect man with God. The Fälasha who inhabit the area north of Lake Tana, and who remained after the airlifting of 1984-91 to the State of Israel are repositories of a specific form of Judaism and contribute a constituent part to the religious mosaic of the country.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church is numerically the largest of the five non-Chalcedonian Eastern Churches – the Coptic, the Ethiopian, the Syrian, the Indian, and the Armenian – which are by the historian Adrian Fortescue called "The Lesser Eastern Churches", but which others prefer to call "The Oriental Orthodox Churches", to distinguish them from the Byzantine Orthodox Churches. These Churches in their description of Jesus Christ, God-Incarnate, do not use the controversial formula "Two natures in one person", but adhere to the older formula "One Incarnate nature of God the Word", and have therefore been accused of the heresy known as "Monophysitism". Like the four other Churches in this group the Ethiopian Church believes in the full Divinity and the true Humanity of Jesus Christ and is, therefore, perfectly Orthodox in its christological teaching as is also confirmed by A. Wondmagegnehu and J. Motovu in their book The Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

The cross which had been planted in what is now called Ethiopia by Frumentius was the sign of the Church, since 4th century, which proved the early advent of Christianity to this ancient land. Later on, after the coming of Islam, the Church with her cross became the rallying point for desparate and fiercely independent highland people. Around her grew the Ethiopian empire, a Christian island in a Muslim sea. It resisted wave after wave of Islamic assault, to persist into our times.[6] The Church has, thereafter gradually become fully indigenized and has survived the forces which wiped out Christianity from within and from

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[6] GERSTER, p. 861 ff.

without, in other neighbouring areas.[7] Hence, Ethiopia preserved its national adherence to Christianity, in a highly distinctive form.[8]

2.2 The Contemporary Image of the Ethiopian Church in Africa and Abroad

The archaic form of Christianity which the Ethiopian Orthodox Church represents, dates back at least to the fourth century AD and is still exerting a powerful influence on the lives of millions. It is a well known fact that this Church has received the spiritual and theological traditions of the Orthodox Church from its earliest days. In the long course of her history, the Church has been indigenized and has made the heritage which it thus received her own and even developed it in a unique way against the cultural and social background of Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church's uniqueness implies that she is not a copy of either the Coptic (meaning Egyptian) or any other church in the world, but original, i.e. the Orthodox Church of Ethiopia. She not only occupies a remarkable place in the country's history. The long history of indigenization of the Church has enabled her to develop unique features which show that she is more African.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church which has been thoroughly indigenized in the course of a nearly two-thousand year long history of Christianity, attained the status known as Ethiopianism, which is almost accepted as a contribution to African cultural nationalism and particularism based on a self-conscious cultivation of African indigenous values and attitudes.

Ethiopianism is regarded as a nationalistic movement which is spreading among African Churches. It was basically not a political but a religious movement, expressing nationalistic aspirations in the Churches. The biblical source of Ethiopianism comes from Psalm 68:31, "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands to God". The prophecy nurtured the hope of all Africans, of future glory for the Negro race, and of a Christian theocracy embracing the entire continent.[9]

African Churches which were founded between 1880 and 1920, established new religious organizations that were run by Africans[10] as religious protest movement based on the idea of Ethiopianism, commonly labelled "separatist". This was in essence an attempt to escape the most glaring aspect of white cultural domination, i.e. religious domination, through the establishment of an African black variant, often assuming the organizational forms of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

One of the chief leaders of such idea was James Johnson (1832-1917), a Yoruba member of the African Methodist Church of Sierra Leone that had been

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[7] NIWAGILA Wilson B., *African Church History and Mission History,* in Missionsgeschichte Kirchengeschichte Weltgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1996), p. 51.

[8] ISICHEI, p. 2 ff.

[9] BAUR, op. cit. pp. 125-133 ff.

[10] ULLENDORFF, p. 9; BAUR, pp. 125 ff.; ISICHEI, pp. 7-8.

founded by Black American settlers in 1821. He intwined religion and patriotism as indicated by his motto: "God and my Country". Moreover he attributed the success of Islam to its use of African customs and institutions. Therefore, he advocated the evangelization of Africa by Africans, and if by expatriates, then best by Negros from America. Finally he was ordained and became a Bishop in west Africa from 1900-1917.[11]

The other manifestation of Ethiopianism is the rise of Rastafarianism which looked for religious inspiration to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. This religious revival of the "rastas" started in the Caribbean island of Jamaica in the 1930s. The name comes from Ras, meaning Lord and Tafari, the family name of the Emperor Haile Selassie I, who ruled Ethiopia between 1930 and 1974.[12] Followers of Rastafarianism and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church enjoy common interest in that both stick to the Old Testament rites. The former believe that Selassie is Jah God, even though he died in 1975, and that they will eventually find release from oppression in an African promised land, while the latter insists he is anointed to rule as a King by God.

Repatriation is one of the corner-stones of Rastafarian belief. They insist that they and all Africans in the diaspora are but exiles in Babylon, destined to be delivered out of captivity by a return to Zion, that is Ethiopia, the seat of Jah, or Africa, the land of our ancestors.

In fact, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is unique firstly for its isolation from other Christian centres for quite a good number of centuries (except for loose cooperation with the Church of Alexandria which profoundly shrunk with the advent of Islam to Egypt in the 7th century).[13] Secondly it preserves many ancient features on one hand and the strong influence of African traditional religion and Judaism on the other.[14] This peculiar trait of religious syncretism which is embodied by the Ethiopian Church offers her remarkable identity.

2.2.1 Efforts to improve the Church

The Church has been trying to come out of its isolation for a long time. Some signs of this effort are its enrolment in the universal family of the World Council of Churches, foundation of an Ethiopian branch of the Church in Amer-

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[11] Cf. BAUR, op. cit., pp. 130-132.

[12] BRIGHT Martin, "Rastafarianism", in: *BBC English* (London, 1994), p. 7 f; also see D. ALLEN and R.W.J. OHNSON: *African perspectives. Papers in the history, Politics and Economics of Africa. Presented to Thomas Hodgkin.* (Cambridge, 1970). The five essays in the section "Colonial Misfortune and Religious Response" reveal a wide range of interpretations. See specially POST's, "The Bible as ideology: Ethiopianism in Jamaica, 1930-38" (pp. 185-207), cf. Donald CRUMMER," Shaikh Zäkaryas: an Ethiopian Prophet, in: *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* vol. IX No 1 (Addis Abäba, 1971), note 6, p. 56.

[13] HRBEK, I. ed., " Africa in the context of world history" in: *General History of Africa III.* (California, 1988), pp. 8, 12.

[14] ULLENDORFF, p. 15.

ica which was consecrated by Aba Theophilus, archbishop of Harar province in December 1959. Besides this, as the truly Christian outpost in the African continent, a more effective branch was established in Trinidad. Another important aspect of this effort is the translation of the Bible into the more intelligible Amharic which was done at the initiative of Emperor Haile Selassie I, who also encouraged sending of more theological scholars to Coptic institutions in Egypt. The Theological College at Addis Ababa, founded towards the end of 1944, and which has been enlarged under government auspices is part of the signs that show the success of Ethiopian Christian Church.[15] The College was interrupted and it became largely impossible for the Church to expand its educational service throughout the country, after 1974, when Ethiopia was plunged into a socialist revolution,[16] followed by the Marxist military dictatorship known as the *Derg*. With the collapse of the Derg towards the beginning of 1991, the country seems to have returned to normality and all the religions in the country seem to have achieved equality based on the pluralistic principles of democracy. It thus seems that dawn is breaking on the Ethiopian horizon, but a great deal of adjustment and labour are still necessary to preserve the custom of friendship between religions in the country in general and to bring this ancient and august Church into line with the swift pace of modern developments in particular.

2.3 Church Buildings

Although the original basilica or rectangular and cruciform styles have been preserved in a multitude of ancient churches, the Ethiopians have developed their own peculiar octagonal or round churches, inspired by their conception of the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem.[17] On the other hand, it has been asserted that this may have purely a reproduction of the customary southern Ethiopian habitation, which was circular.[18]

Style and church construction: three styles can be observed in the structural pattern of Ethiopian church construction. The oldest Ethiopian churches *(Däbrä Damo, Aksum Zion)* not only exhibit rectangular structure but a wood-and-stone "sandwich" style of construction.[19] The latest ones are either circular or octagonal style and are most familiar form of churches in Ethiopia. The countryside is spotted with such churches. These churches are usually built on elevations and with thatched roofs. The third type of Ethiopian churches is the historic rock-hewn group founded by the pious monarch Lalibela (1181-1221) of the Zagwè dynasty. Because of their monolithic character, architectural skill, massive di-

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[15] ATIYA, p. 166; BAUR, p. 401 ff.

[16] Cf. BAUR, op .cit., pp. 401 ff.

[17] ATIYA, pp. 59-60; PANKHURST, pp. 37, 38.

[18] ATIYA, p. 160 f.

[19] Cf. GERSTER, p. 865; MEKOURIA, T.T., "The Horn of Africa": *General History of Africa III*, p. 570.

mensions, carefully carved colonnades, arcades and vaulted ceilings, these churches are considered by archaeologists to rank amongst the finest achievements in ecclesiastical architecture of any age throughout Christendom.[20]

Individual church status: there are three types of Church status in Ethiopia.[21] The most common is church of venko (geter). A Farni church (däbr) has a somewhat higher status, a däbr church is often situated around Imperial or Royal capital and enjoyed the Imperial attention more than other churches,[22] and married priests can hold service here. The third type of church which possesses the highest status is called gedam. The church service here is carried on by unmarried priests and monks *(menekusewoch)*.

Architecture of the Lalibela churches: the churches are sculptured from a single block of tuff. Their exterior imitates the ancient Ethiopian wood-and-stone "sandwich" style of construction.[23]

The Lalibela churches, eleven in number, possess the general air of ancient Egyptian temples.

These churches have often been compared in their grandeur to the rock-hewn temples of Abu Simbel in Nubia, of Petra in Jordan, and of Ellora in the Indian state of Hyderabad – all monuments of singular exotic beauty, as they were well portrayed by Atiya. Though carved from the live rock in the mountain side, these monolithic structures were detached from the body of the mountain by excavating deep trenches around each of them.

The roof was gabled or carved flat, cruciform or simple, invariably with an attractive cornice. Afterwards, the craftsmen set themselves to hollow the interior and to design extraordinary forms of architecture which could never have been accomplished by normal building processes and techniques. Some churches had three naves, others five, with rows of impressive columns, capitals. Arches, windows, niches, colossal crosses and swastikas in bas-relief and haut-relief, decorative rock mouldings and friezes of geometrical shapes, apses and domes – all these and other features have truly rendered the Lalibela churches enduring monuments of Christian architecture in the heart of the African continent.[24]

Däbra Damo monastery: Däbra Damo is a monastery Gedam built probably as early as the seventh century by Emperor Gäbrä Mäskäl and still standing atop a plateau, or rather mountain peak, accessible only by means of the rope. After building it, the emperor ordered the connecting staircase to be demolished. The centre of the monastery is occupied by a church that is a jewel of Abyssinian ecclesiastical architecture. Its stone and wood carving is exquisite. The panels

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[20] Cf. ATIYA, op. cit., p. 161 f.

[21] Cf. PANKHURST, pp. 37-38; cf. ATIYA, p. 60; also see POLÁČEK Zdeněk, "Etiopská ortodoxní církev", in: *Nový Orient, 6* and *7 /93*.

[22] Haile Gäbriel DAGNE, "The Gebzena Charter 1894", in: *Journal of Ethiopian Studies, vol, IX., No 1*, (Addis Abäba, 1971), p. 74.

[23] Cf. MEKOURIA, pp. 570, 572-3; cf. GERSTER, 1968, 1970, 1974.

[24] Cf. ATYIA, p. 161.

of animal haut-relief and the geometrical friezes are reminiscent of specimens to be found in early Coptic art. Its mural structure has the obelisk patterns of Aksum. The use of massive wooden beams and stone in alternating horizontal tiers lends an unusual charm to its outward appearance. The design of alternating layer of wood and dressed masonry with the distinctive protruding beams called "monkeyhead", dates from before the dawn of Christianity. Ethiopian architects used the style for more than 1,000 years.[25]

Round the church, the monastic cells spread out in greater intimacy than in most other monasteries. As a rule, Ethiopian monasticism is marked by severe austerity and a tendency toward eremitism.[26] It is estimated that there are about 850 monasteries in the country.[27] The famous ones are *Däbrä Libanos, Däbrä Damo, Däbrä Bizen, Zikwala* and the huge Ethiopian monastery in Jerusalem called *Däbrä Genet.*[28]

Cave church architecture: another notable type of Ethiopian mediaeval ecclesiastical architecture is the cave church pattern. Of this type, the most famous examples are Imrahanna Kristos and Jammadu Mariam. The first was built inside a tremendous cave in the Lasta Mountains by the Emperor who imparted his name to it after deciding to retire from the throne to monasticism. He died and was buried in that church about the middle of the twelfth century. The second was built by Emperor Yekuno-Amlak about 1268, also in the Lasta Mountains, to commemorate the restoration of the line of Solomon with the support of the great Ethiopian saint, Täklä Haymanot. All these and other similar monuments were probably built by anonymous monastic architects as an act of faith.[29]

Church interior: the church building (*bete krstiyan*) in Ethiopia invariably consists of three concentric rings: a square sanctuary *(mäqdäs)* or the Holy of Holies (*qdduse qddusan*) is situated in the middle of the circle and is screened. The Ark (*tabot* or *tsilat)* and its contents with its container or mämbära tabot are treasured here. Only priests and the king can enter into this part of the church.[30]

Next to the qdduse qddusan comes the second part of the church (*qddist*). This is an area reserved for those receiving Holy Communion. The rest of the congregation stands in the outer ring, always barefooted, on the floor covered with matting. This is the third part reserved for the choir and is called (*kine mahlet*). Men and women are separated by a partition. Priests circulate in their midst while praying, blessing and swinging their censers until the interior is

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[25] Cf. MEKOURIA, pp. 569-578; cf. GERSTER, pp. 880-1.

[26] Cf. POLÁČEK, 6 and 7/93.

[27] ULLENDORFF, pp. 91-2.

[28] Ibid., p. 15.

[29] Cf. ATYIA, p. 162.

[30] Cf. POLÁČEK, 6 and 7/93; cf. ATIYA, p. 160; cf. PANKHURST, pp. 37-8.

filled with clouds of incense. The interior is decorated with wall paintings and the usual icons.[31]

The Ark: the Ark and its contents have never been described in an official Christian sources and is kept top secret *(msttir)*. Muslim chroniclers tell us that the hidden treasure in the case of the Cathedral of Aksum is a large white stone inlaid with gold[32] whereas in other churches the "tabot" appears to be an icon carved from a convenient timber, as confirmed by the famous Ethiopian saying, "a man is chosen for a post a piece of wood is likewise chosen for a "tabot" *(käsäw märttow läshumät käinchät märttow lätabot)*". The "tabot" is a model of the Ark of the Covenant of the Old Testament. It is a flat block of wood, which is blessed by the Bishop and carried on the head of the priests in important processions wrapped up in coloured clothes. So the "tabot" is a sort of portable altar, which might be described as a model of the tables of the Law which Moses placed inside the Ark, and like them it usually has the Ten Commandments written on it. The "tabot" rests on a cupboard-like container with an open cupola at the top. Many Ethiopians still believe that the Church at Aksum contains the real Ark of the Covenant.

The Cathedral of Aksum: the oldest Ethiopian church is of course the Cathedral of Aksum, dedicated to Our Lady of Zion, in whose sanctuary the Mosaic Ark is enshrined and where the imperial coronation took place.[33] Though the church itself has been burnt to the ground many times and its present structure dates only from 1854, the ancient rectangular form of its building has been preserved. Erected on a raised platform with an impressive facade, three main entrances, some side chapels and a forbidden sanctuary, as scholars confirm, the Cathedral is lavishly decorated with paintings from biblical scenes in the traditional Ethiopian style in which the artist has concentrated on the theme and bright colours rather than on proportion. The central objects are the coming of the Ark, the Virgin and the Infant Jesus, St George and the Dragon, and a pictorial record of the Nine Saints. As a rule, paintings were made on canvas which was then pasted to the walls, in accordance with Abyssinian artistic techniques. During the succession of invasions, the emperors craftily concealed the treasured Ark, or tabot, and later reinstated it. Although all Ethiopian churches are normally open to both sexes, the Cathedral of Aksum is an exception, since women are not permitted to set foot on its floor. This rule dates from the time when a former empress is said to have desecrated the building.[34]

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[31] PANKHURST, p. 167; LIPSKY, p. 109, quoted in: ATIYA, p. 160.

[32] Cf. ATIYA, p. 161; DORESSE, p. 206, quoted in: ATIYA, p. 160; Eric PAYNE, *Ethiopian Jews* (London, 1995), p. 17 ff., also see Deut. 10:5, 31:26 Heb.9:6 and 7, 2 Sam.6:14 to compare the Ethiopian case with Old Testament rites.

[33] Ibid., p. 160.

[34] Cf. ATIYA, p. 160. The number of Ethiopian churches vary from author to author. According to ATIYA they are estimated at 20,000, GERSTER insists 14,000 and POLÁČEK recently reduced the number to 2,000. If all types of churches are taken into account, then the number would reach 12,000, at an average.

Number of churches and ecclesiastics: the country is estimated to have over 12,000 churches. Some villages have more than one church, and each of them must have two ordained priests in addition to numerous *däbteras* and deacons. On this assumption, the number of *ecclesiastics* throughout Ethiopia has been estimated at approximately twenty-five per cent of the whole male Christian population.[35]

2.4 Church Hierarchy, Priesthood and Administration

The departure from the former obedience to a Coptic abun, the consecration of native Ethiopian bishops since 1959[36] and the establishment of a local native synod for Ethiopia are modern nationalist trends which the pope of Alexandria and patriarch of the sea of St Mark honoured with all the concessions which left no room for doctrinal aberrations or dogmatic cleavage between the two great native churches of Africa.[37]

The Ethiopian Church enjoyed immense prestige and its hierarchy, which had great influence, was held in deep respect at both the national and local level.[38]

The Holy synod: the Holy Synod (*kiddus sinodos*) is the leading body of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (*ye etiyopia ortodox täwahdo betekrstiyan*). It comprises the highest Church leaders (archbishops and bishops). The synod is responsible for religious matters and is chaired by a Patriarch *(patriyark)*, who pastors the Church. His full title is read: His Holiness... the Head of the Archbishops and Patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (*bicú wä-kiddus abune... ri-ise likane papasat wä-patriyark zä etiopia, abun...* lit, "our father", is a title used before the name of the patriarch, the archbishops and the bishops who represent the Church in the provinces as well).[39]

The council of churches is a body responsible for the administration of churches in general.

The Abun (bishop): is the highest post in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church hierarchy. He is the one who ordains those people who need to be ordained from all over the country.[40] The Abun can conduct every holy service. He is the only authorized churchman to ordain the priests and deacons. He consecrates new churches, altars (*mämbäroch*), and the tabot to give sanctity to the area where

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[35] Cf. ATIYA, p. 163.

[36] Ibid., p. 157, 165.

[37] Ibid., p. 165.

[38] PANKHURST, p. 202.

[39] Cf. POLÁČEK, 6 and 7/93. The ge'ez term *Abuna* (Our father) is used as a title before the bishop's name. It is also used with the name of the patriarch and the archbishop. An equivalent term *Abba* or the Amharic word *Abbaté* has a sense of my spiritual father and is used as a title for priests. Also see BAUR, p. 39, cf.

[40] PANKHURST, p. 34.

the tabot dwells. He also crowned the Emperor on accession until the coronation of the last Ethiopian Monarch in 1930. The Abun's political authority was extensive. He used to be a member of the State Council and the council of Regency. His jurisdiction is over the faithful, the priests, the deacons and all ministers. In accordance with long-established custom, the Abun, or Metropolitan came from Coptic Church of Egypt. The Coptic Abun shared power with two principal Ethiopian ecclesiastics: the *Aqabé säat*, an important churchman attached to the palace, and the *ečägé* (ge'ez for elder) originally the prior of the great monastery of Däbrä Libanons, and latter of the monks in general. The Aqabé säat, or Guardian of the hour – a functionary dating back at least to the fifteenth century reign of Bä'edä Maryam – acted for the Emperor in many matters of state. In Alvares's opinion the "second person" in the kingdom, he was to all intents and purposes "a great lord", and travelled like the *Abun* with a great many tents.

The Ečägé: is head of the monastic communities,[41] or council of Churches.[42] He ranks next to the Abun in the hierarchy and is peculiar to the Ethiopian Church. According to Alvares, he was almost equally important, and was "the greatest prelate" after the *Abun*.[43]

The tradition of placing a Coptic monk from Egypt at the head of the Ethiopian Church which had started when Frumentius was consecrated for the new diocese, remained in force as a custom until the agreement of July 1948 liberated the Ethiopians from the bond of an Egyptian abun, and Aba Basileus was consecrated at Cairo on 28 June 1959 by Pope Cyril (Kirollos) VI, as the first Abyssinian patriarch, in the presence of Emperor Haile Selassie.[44]

After getting autocephalous status the latter post is also held by an Ethiopian bishop Abun, patriarch. He is the chief Ethiopian ecclesiastic who is appointed from among, and installed by the laying on of the hands of two or three bishops. The Patriarch in turn ordains the bishops and the priests. Ordination is of two levels, highest and lowest. The highest level is that of the Abun, patriarch, while the lowest level of ordination is that of a priest (*kés*) and deacon (*diyakkon*). They are consecrated by the patriarch.

The priests: the priest can perform all the holy services but he is not authorized to ordain. The way he dresses is also dissimilar from that of the bishop. The priest is dressed in white in daily life, and only the *shämä*, thrown over his shoulder, has an embroidered edge of subdued colours. His turbans are also white, unlike those of bishops, whose robes are identical with those of their Coptic peers in Egypt, which are entirely black. When officiating, however, the Ethiopian bishop uses a snow-white silk turban decorated with crosses in gold thread, whereas the Copt wears a mitre or a jewelled crown.[45]

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[41] Ibid., p. 35; cf. ATIYA, p. 158.

[42] Cf. POLÁČEK, 6 and 7/93.

[43] Cf. PANKHURST, p. 35.

[44] ATIYA, p. 152.

[45] Cf. PANKHURST, pp. 36-7; ATIYA, p. 165 cf.

Abunä késis is an additional title to a priest who is supposed to evaluate the activities of deacons.

Likä kahnat is the head of all ecclesiastics. He claims he is bestowed upon by the holy spirit the right of observing and judging disciplinary matters of the group.

Archpriest (*Gäbäz*) appears between the priest and the bishop in the hierarchy. He is more responsible to protect the tabot, the church, and church properties including land.[46]

Nubräid is an important title offered by the bishop through laying hands on the head of recruits who are supposed to lead the temple of Mary in Aksum and the Church of Addis Alem in Shoa. The latter was founded by Minelik II in 1902 as the "southern" equivalent to the Temple of Aksum.[47]

The *deacon* or *deaconawit* (female) whose main task is assisting all church services comes at the bottom of the hierarchy.

2.4.1 The däbtära and their unique position in the hierarchy of Ethiopian Church

The *däbtära* occupy in the Ethiopian Church an intermediate position between the clergy and layman. Though the däbtära are not ordained, no service can properly be held without their presence. It is their chief duty to chant the psalms and hymns. The professional class of däbtära appear to be very much closer to the duties with which the Levites were charged.

According to Ullendorff the two-fold division of the Israelite priesthood is paralleled in Ethiopia by the categories of *Kahen* and *däbtära*. The office of the latter is in most respects comparable to the tasks entrusted to the Levites, particularly in their role as chantors and choristers.[48]

Similarly the däbtära look after the administration of the larger churches and their musical and liturgical requirements. Gerster Georg tells us his experience about the däbtära: "...one day I stood through an hour-long service with the debteras, and like them, I held a sort of crutch clamped under my arm as a support. The debteras are a class of non-priests unique to the Ethiopian Church. They are experts in reading and liturgical song and are administrators of the church's traditional wisdom. Once, when with aching feet I wondered aloud why the faithful must remove their shoes before entering an Ethiopian church, an elderly debtera with the look of a Biblical patriarch countered with the question, and would you tread on the toes of the angels who crowd a church during services?, his turbanlike temtem, the standard headpiece of debteras and mar-

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[46] Cf. Haile Gäbriel DAGNE, p. 74.

[47] POLÁČEK, 6 and 7/93 cf. The hierarchy is: Patriarch, Archbishop, Bishop (regional), Episcopos, Archimandrite, Priest, Deacon, sub-Deacon and Debtera. See WONDMAGEGNEHU, cf. p. 39.

[48] ULLENDORFF, pp. 91-2 cf.

ried priests, shadowed his face, I could not see his eyes well enough to know whether he winked".[49]

They are trained in the study of Amharic and Ge'ez, but their attainments in the latter in particular are apt to vary widely. They undergo instruction in poetry, sacred hymns (kiné), songs (zéma), dancing and rhythmical movement (akkwakwam), and at least in theory, also in the Bible, the Fetha Nägäst and canon law.[50]

They study spiritual subjects longer than priests, devoting about 20-30 years of their life time to acquiring religious knowledge. Ritual dances that are conducted by the däbtära at times of important religious ceremonies are accompanied with cultural musical instruments such as the drums of different sizes (käbäro, nägarit), which are made of a hollowed-out tree-trunk, good to indicate rhythm, and sistram (sänasel). The co-conductor of the dancers who stands on the left hand side of the church is known as gra géta and on the right hand side stands the main co-ordinator märi géta. Out of churches, the däbtära also perform magical rituals, astrological activities, and provide amulets and medicines prepared from various herbs to scatter demons and to avert disease.[51] One of the oldest Ethiopian books the awdänägäst (a book of astrology and medicine) written in Amharic, whose author is still unknown, is dedicated to such healing practices of the däbtäras. These notable survivals of magical practices and prayers in Abyssinian Christianity, after combining a pagan substratum with a hastily and belatedly superimposed layer of divine invocations or references to the Virgin Mary and the Saints, are probably derived from the old Cushitic pagan beliefs or from the ancient East where demonology and magic craft were widespread. This attitude of superstitious and magical practices which is common among the däbtära puts them somewhere on the margin of Christianity in the hierarchy of the Ethiopian churches.

2.4.1 Monastery Hierarchy

Besides the Churches, the monasteries which are governed by the rules derived from St Antony and St Pachomius of Egypt,[52] serve as a centre for religious life and cultural tradition. They are open for people who are not engageddeacons, widowed priests and all who ignored the worldly life, these are the monks known as mänäkuséwoch. They submit a commitment of three standards. Those who belong to the first group possess a girdle (kinat), the second holds a hood (kób) and the third will have scapulary with twelve crosses (askema). Another sign of these monks is the T-shaped crutch (mäkkwamya) and a coat made of leather (daba). The leader of a monastery is the mämhir – teacher, and his deputy is the afä mämhir. The mägabi is responsible for food distribution and

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[49] GERSTER, p. 877.

[50] Cf. ULLENDORFF, p. 92.

[51] Ibid., p. 79; ATIYA, p. 158 cf.

[52] Cf. ATIYA, p. 152; HYATT, pp. 31-2; DORESSE, pp. 64-81.

for the property of the monastery. The *ardit* is the one who is in charge of the monks. Those monks who did not submit any commitment and live in isolation from the community are called *bahtawiyan.*[53]

2.5 Doctrines of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church

The Ethiopian monophysite Church, like other Eastern Churches, i.e. the Coptic, Syrian, Armenian and Indian Churches, is strictly dedicated to the monophysite doctrine. According to the Ethiopian monophysitic doctrine in the personality of Christ reveals one divine nature *(bahriy)*, which arose due to absolute merging *(täwahido)* of the natures of God and man. The reason for the frequent mention of the word *täwahido* in the title of the Ethiopian Church is to indicate her monophysite belief.[54] Although, the Christological doctrines accepted at the council of Chalcedon (451), condemn monophysitism as a heresy, the Ethiopian Church piously acknowledges it with deep devotion.[55] In fact the traits of Judaism are predominant in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. On the other hand parallels with the Churches in the East are also greatly observable. The Church rather uniquely embodies traits of different Christian areas instead of assuming a single place of origin.

2.5.1 Point of later controversy within the Church

The subject of polemics within the Ethiopian Church over the last three centuries was the way by which Christ was able to become the son of God. The controversy continued over the last three centuries, resulting in the emergence of two different schools of thought. The disciples of the first school known as *tsägawoch* defended the idea of Christ becoming son of God by the Grace *(tsäga)* and the followers of the second school *(kibattoch)* insisted that it became possible by the anointment of the Holy Spirit *(kibat)*. This dispute is still continuing.[56]

2.5.2 Church practices

Like her sister Churches of the Orient the Ethiopian Church also recognizes seven sacraments of the Christian Church.[57] The administration of the sacraments include baptism, confirmation, holy communion, penance, matrimony, unction of the sick and holy order.

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[53] POLÁČEK, 6 and 7/93 cf.

[54] POLÁČEK, 6 and 7/93 cf.

[55] ATIYA, p. 153 cf.

[56] Cf. POLÁČEK.

[57] WONDMAGENGEHU and MOTOVU, cf. pp. 31-39; POLÁČEK, cf.

Baptism (timkät): is difficult service requiring the presence of several priests and deacons. The process takes place by submerging a person in water three times. The priest says "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit", after which he makes the sign of the cross as a blessing.[58] A male is baptized on the fortieth day of his birth and female on the eightieth. On this occasion the child is given a Christian name according to the synaxar, he or she will also get a God father or mother respective to their gender and a special coloured thread *(mahtäb)* is tied around the neck to announce that the child is baptized.

Confirmation (kib atä méron) takes place immediately after baptism. The majority of members often fail to keep their confirmation principles.

Holy Communion (qurban) is received by ritually clean people, such as small children and a few devoted adults who are strongly related to church activities. The bread and wine *(siga wä dämu, lit. his body and blood)* are prepared by the deacon from dried grapes and water before each service in a separate house called *bétä lihäm*, which is situated near the church. Bells ring and believers, prostrate themselves when the Holy Eucharist is in procession. It is believed that the bread and wine are changed and remain flesh and blood until they are completely consumed. Communion is consecrated and given on the same day. Believers go and communicate in the church. In the case of the very sick, the priest takes communion to those who are near; for those who are far he consecrates communion in a tent.

Penance (nisha) is the Sacrament in which a Christian receives, through the mediation of the priest, forgiveness of sins on repenting and confessing them to the priest. It does not demand the regular attendance of believers. If a member is too weak to see his confessor *(yä-näfs abbat)*, the confessor, who is also his priest, will pay him a visit at his residence. The process takes place as persons confessing prostrated themselves at the feet of the priest, who was seated, and accused themselves in general of being "great sinners and having merited hell", without descending to particular sins they had committed. After this the priest, holding the Gospels in his left hand, and a cross in his right, touches, with the cross, the eyes, ears, noses and mouths of the penitent, recites prayers over him, and makes several signs of the cross over him, gives him penance and dismisses him.[59]

Matrimony (teklil) is the holy service through which a man and a woman are united and given the divine grace that sanctifies their union, makes it perfect and spiritual like the unity of Christ and his Church, and gives them strength to abide by the contract which mutually binds. This is done by the marriage procession ceremony known as *siratä täklil*, held in the presence of both partners, in the church. This church marriage is also called Communion Marriage because the couple are married by communion; they receive Holy Communion

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[58] PANKHURST, pp. 41-2.
[59] Cf. PANKHURST, pp. 41-2.

during the wedding Mass. The priest takes the man's hand and places it in the hand of the woman, blessing them with the sign of the cross. The bride is reminded that wives are subject to their husbands. The ceremony is completed with a nuptial Mass in which both parties receive the sacrament. According to this principle, which is now-a-days less binding, divorce or remarriage is permitted only if one of the partners departs by death. Otherwise it can be interpreted as adultery. Unlike the civil laws which recognizes customary and civil marriage, the Church recognizes but one marriage, religious marriage, which is solemnized with a nuptial Mass or wedding Eucharist. This tie is binding and should it be broken by divorce excommunication follows automatically, communion is no longer given to the parties either guilty or not, because they are held to be impure. Church marriage generates strong monogamic relations and is known as the "Eighty Bond" with a woman.

Anointing of the Sick (kendil) is a service offered to persons who are on their death bed. It is a proccess by which sin is cancelled before the person dies. The ceremony takes place either in the church or at the person's home. It is a Sacrament through which the priest anoints the body of the sick asking for divine grace to cure both body and soul. The healing power is not attributed to the oil but to the prayer. The oil with which the sick is anointed is consecrated. Those who consecrate it according to the words of the Gospel and the Apostle James (Epistle 5:14,15), are the ministers. The manner of consecrating this holy oil is contained in the book called "The Book of the Lamp" (Mäshafä Quendil) in which there is written a portion of the Gospel and of the Epistle of the Apostle James.

Holy Orders (qdus kehnät) is a sacrament through which an ordinand receives authority to administer the sacraments and conduct other religious services. The bishop by the imposition of hands confers on the fit chosen persons a portion of grace appropriate for the ecclesiastical office to which they are raised. Not ordained man cannot celebrate the Eucharist or perform any office of a priest. Degrees of the Holy Orders include the major and minor orders. The major ones are that of the episcopate, priesthood and deaconate, where as the minor ones include those of subdeacons, deaconesses, anagnosts or masters of ceremony, singers, door-keepers and others. A bishop is consecrated by the laying on of the hands of three bishops or two, saying prayers of consecration.

3. Conclusion

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church, in which Jewish and Christian traditions are blended into one indissoluble whole is one of the most remarkable features of the syncretic Abyssinian civilization.[60] The Old and New Testaments and a number of apocryphal books unknown to other Christian Churches are used. Besides these, the *kbrä negäst* (the honour of kings) which is of purely Abyssin-

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[60] ULLENDORFF, p. 135.

ian origin and was compiled, in 14th century, to lend support to the claims and aspirations of the Solomonic dynasty, is also acknowledged as a repository of Ethiopian national and religious feelings.[61] It is obvious that the Ethiopian Orthodox Church has retained Judaic elements such as the tabot, hospitality to strangers, circumcision of a boy eight days after birth, priestly dances with drums and the concept of clean and unclean meat. If an Amhara or any orthodox member of the Ethiopiaan Church wishes to eat meat he will almost certainly slaughter it himself, making sure that all the blood is drained away. Never would he eat what a man of a different faith has slaughtered, nor any meat which the Old Testament calls unclean. The Amharas have never derived these from the Copts of Egypt who eat pork for instance, which suggest that such prejudices must be of Jewish origin earlier than the fourth century. Like the Jews of old an Amhara prefers never to eat with any man who is not a Christian and like them he will also fast twice a week. He will also keep various monthly feasts according to his own calendar, which is based on the ancient Egyptian one, and starts with New Year's Day in September (as with the Jews and Greeks) and with New Year thought and customs which are Jewish in origin. The Coptic Church in Egypt is more Arab than African, and has been for too long subservient to a Muslim Government to do much more than survive. The Ethiopian Church, on the other hand, is clearly African and free, yet ancient and non western in origin. The western sort of Christianity itself has conquered much of Africa south of the Sahara Desert, but its appeal to the people is limited because it has been interpreted to them by western missionaries. It demanded reinterpretation by Africans to give it a deep meaninig. A few Judaic elements cannot prove that the Ethiopian Church is not Christian. Inspite of a few Jewish similarities she remains quite Christian, indigenized and more African.

The country's considerable adherence to religious and secular education as a solution to the problems of progress did not, however, have enough results, even today as in the past.

Habits on one hand and modern institutions that appear around as a contrast on the other has brought both the Ethiopian Church and the Ethiopian society of a bygone era face to face still with the stark realities of a new and changing world.[62]

In fact the Church has great merit for resisting both the anti-Christian forces and the colonizing aspect[63] of European Christian missions over the last centuries having been able to preserve her identities up to the present time. This has lifted the Church to the position of an example at a regional level bearing the concept of Ethiopianism.

Inspite all her achievements, the way of reform always becomes inevitable for the Church. As the result of limitations imposed upon the religious activity

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[61] Ibid., p. 75.

[62] ATIYA, p. 165.

[63] ATIYA, pp. 150-151; NIWAGILA, pp. 50-51.

of foreign missionaries, both Protestant and Roman Catholic or other "Independent" Churches of modern times also had no significant impact on the native Church in the past. Their very existence within the country, however, has aroused the request of young Ethiopians for ecclesiastical reform. Of all Ethiopian monarchs in history, Haile Selassie is said to have worked, to educate his people and to cope with the forward march of modernizing influences, though without breaking away from time-honoured tradition.[63] He was succeeded by the Marxist military regime in 1974. The communist ideology of the new military government soon resulted in anti-religious pressure exerted on officials and Church leaders: the patriarch and eight bishops were deposed and the extensive lands of the Church nationalized. Individual priests suffered harshness and some churches were closed.[64] After the downfall of the military government in 1991 the Church seems to enjoy relatively more freedom based on pluralistic democracy. But analysis of the fragile social, political, religious, economic and cultural issues of the country still raises challenging questions to the oldest Ethiopian Church and its future survival as a repository of Ethiopian national culture as we approach the beginning of the twenty-first century.

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[64] Cf. BAUR, op. cit., p. 401; cf. ATIYA, p. 166.

BOOK REVIEWS

ZEBIRI, Kate: *Muslims and Christians Face to Face*. Oxford, Oneworld 1997. 258 pp.
ISBN 1-85168-133-7.

Mutual perceptions of Christians and Muslims have been the focus of Dr Zebiri's
interest for quite a some time now. If her previous book, *Mahmud Shaltut and Islamic
Modernism* (1993), approaches new departures in Qur'anic interpretation in modern
Egypt, this monograph by the lecturer in Arabic and Islamic Studies at the School of
Oriental and African Studies (London) aims at contributing to the study of comparative
religion while looking at Muslim writings on Christianity and Christian writings on Is-
lam in the post-World War II period. The study focuses more specifically on religious
issues and theological reflection. The Muslim writings which are analysed in this publi-
cation have mostly originated and have been published in the West. It should also be
borne in mind that the literature surveyed in the book is of very disparate academic
quality, scholarly and popular, different in function and intended audience.

The author divides her book into five parts. The first part looks at factors which play
a decisive role in Muslim-Christian relations today. After a brief overview of the histori-
cal legacy the account goes on to observe what is new in the field of ecumenical and
interfaith movements, especially as far as the Muslim-Christian dialogue is concerned.
Muslim-Christian dialogue, it is underlined, is very much influenced by theological pre-
suppositions and existential situation of the actors. As indicated, dialogue has been a
Western Christian initiative and Muslims often feel that they are only invited guests. Se-
rious attention is devoted to the characterization of Christianity and Islam as missionary
faiths with Muslims increasingly adopting missionary strategies which in the past origi-
nated in the Christian world.

Chapter two concentrates on *Muslim Popular Literature on Christianity* and draws
on sources written either by Western converts to Islam, such as Maurice Bucaille,
Maryam Jameelah, Abdalhaqq Bewley and Ahmad Thomson, or, by authors originating
from the Indian subcontinent – Ahmad Azhar, Muhammad Ansari, Kauser Niazi, Mu-
hammad 'Ata ur-Rahim, M. H. Durrani and others. This part deals very little with doc-
trine and is primarily devoted to the relationship between Christianity and the modern
Western world. According to the findings of the book Muslim authors constantly use
quotations of Western scholarly works to highlight their attachment to academic discus-
sions, but their constantly negative attitude in presenting these data and their biased in-
terpretation invalidate the claim. Their texts fulfil a primarily apologetic function as is
obvious from the work of Ahmed Deedat. Muslim authors generally stand closer to the
biblical scholarship of a century ago than to contemporary writings. An important re-
mark should be quoted here: "Muslim anti-Christian polemic goes relatively unnoticed,
even in the age of mass media, because it occurs within an almost exclusively Muslim
market, and is rarely subjected to critical scrutiny" (p. 89). Recalling this fact it would

be interesting to see how Muslim writers interpret Christianity in their indigenous languages even if English can be seen as an increasingly "Islamic language".

Protestant Missionary Literature on Islam is the title of the third chapter. It concentrates on works written by Phil Parshal, Chawkat Moucarry, Ida Glaser, Abdul Saleeb, Abdiyah Akbar Abdul-Haqq, John Gilchrist or Bill Musk. Broadly speaking, the attempts to interpret Islam by missionaries should not be evaluated only on academic grounds because missionaries are not necessarily academic specialists, moreover, they often do not claim neutrality or academic accuracy. Furthermore, it comes out that these studies cover areas which are increasingly rare in more academic works, such as more controversial aspects of Muhammad's life or subjective evaluation of the literary style of the Qur'an. But whereas there are many missionaries who refute Islam, others seek to understand it and to be as non-polemical as possible. Some may regret and even not agree with the fact that Kenneth Cragg's writings have not been included in this chapter (but in part V) with the argument that his works are scholarly creative and original whereas the ideas treated here are rather derivative.

After two chapters with an analysis of mostly "popular" material, the second part of the monograph examines essentially scholarly works. In the fourth section *The Study of Christianity by Muslim Intellectuals* Zebiri's account focuses mainly on Isma'il al-Faruqi's treatment of Christianity. His presentation is according to the author the most sophisticated and sustained because Faruqi succeeded in using "epoché" and acknowledged that Christianity does have distinctive qualities. In contrast to part II on Muslim popular literature this chapter deals with Muslim criticism of Christian doctrine. Some of the changes taking place in the Muslim study of Christianity appear to be an increasing diversity in interpretation due to the cross-cultural communication. The most contentious, I would argue, is the presentation of Mohammed Arkoun's views within the framework of Muslim intellectuals because he reflects much more of a postmodernist than an Islamic response to religions in general and Christianity in particular. To understand more completely the ecumenical movement from the Muslim side one would welcome besides authors who are active mostly in the West or in India also major voices coming from the Arab world (namely M. S. al-Ashmáwí).

In the last chapter the author gives a survey of approaches to Islam by Christian islamicists and theologians. Among them are Kenneth Gragg, Giulio Basetti-Sani, Wilfred Cantwell Smith, William Montgomery Watt, Youakim Moubarac, Willem Bijlefeld, Robert Caspar, Hans Küng, Robert Zaehner and many others. Most of the reflection on Islam combines in varying degrees the standpoint of the study of religion with the theological point of view. After a brief overview of Christian (both Catholic and Protestant) individuals and institutions engaged in reflections on Islam the author points out that all reviewed Christian scholars were tempted by evaluating the Qur'an in the light of the Bible which is usually seen as a combination of divine and human elements. Since revelation and scripture in Muslim understanding does not correspond with such an approach, Muslims often regard it as subversive. The section includes interesting information on the shared Abrahamic legacy of both Islam and Christianity. As the author stresses, recent Christian and Western writings denied any strong discontinuity between Muhammad as preacher in Mecca and Muhammad as soldier, diplomat and politician in Medina. Next she compares and contrasts some Christian interpretations of the Qur'an, especially those of Basetti-Sani and Cragg. While Basetti-Sani believes that the real meaning of the Qur'an has been hidden from Muslims and only Christians are able to perceive it, Cragg by reading Christian meanings into the Qur'an is more sympathetic and sometimes neglects differences between Christianity and Islam.

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In conclusion Zebiri summarizes that because of fundamentally different categories, criticism across religious boundaries often misses the mark. An example of this is the Muslim doctrine of *tahrif*, usually understood to mean that the Jewish and Christian scriptures have been "altered" and "corrupted" by Christians or Jews themselves (p. 232). On the other side, for Christians, Islam appears as a retrogression to the Jewish model of law and prophecy (p. 7). Even given a sincere desire to be fair, one is likely to give greater weight to elements which are most prominent in one's own tradition, such as law or social institution in Islam, or God's redemptive love in Christianity, and find the other wanting in comparison (p. 230).

Although the book requires a careful reader it can be recommended to all who are in need of a valuable "encyclopedia" of Muslim-Christian relations in the modern age, moreover, the author provides us with very comprehensive bibliography and abundant notes. The substantial general introduction and conclusion as well as conclusions of all chapters temper the complexity of the problems discussed. By its nature it is a remarkable synthetic work. Given the fact that the book provides an overview of authors increasingly available in Slovakia (such as M. Bucaille or A. Deedat) the work has to be considered also as a welcome contribution for those in our country who struggle with their religious and cultural identity.

Gabriel Pirický

SAKKOUT, Hamdi, Ph.D.: *The Modern Arabic Novel. Bibliography and Critical Introduction (Ar-Riwāya al-ʿarabiyya al-ḥadīta. Bibliyūgrāfiyā wamadḥal naqdī).* (1865-1995). Department of Arabic Studies. American University in Cairo. Cairo, Supreme Council for Culture (National Library Press - A Limited Review Edition) 1998. Vol. I. 1 - 688 pp.; II. 689 - 1267; III. 1268 - 1841; IV. 1842 - 2412; V. 2413 - 2965,

The international conference on the modern Arabic novel (Cairo, 22 - 26 February 1998), initiated and organized by the Supreme Council of Culture, was accompanied by another important event: the appearance of the first comprehensive bibliogrphy of the Arabic novel. As it comprises the interval between 1865 and 1995, it mirrors the whole lifespan of the Arabic novel as an autonomous literary genre. This giant Bibliography lists nearly 4600 Arabic novels easily retrievable in various types of bibliographical arrangement. Besides novels, the bibliographical units recorded include a spectacular amount of relevant studies and critical essays related to them.

First, the structure and contents of this masterwork:

I / 1 - 7 : Introduction to the Modern Arabic Novel (*Madḥal 'ilā r-riwāya al-ʿarabiyya al-ḥadīta)*;

13 - 21 : Beginnings of the Arabic Novel (*Bidāyāt ar-riwāya al-ʿarabiyya)*;

25 - 286 : The Novel - Fiction (*ar-Riwāya al-fanniyya)*:

25 - 98 : The Novel in Egypt (*ar-Riwāya fī Miṣr)*;

99 - 202 : The Novel in the Arab East (*ar-Riwāya fī al-mašriq al-ʿarabī)*;

203 - 286 : The Novel in North Africa (*ar-Riwāya fī šamāl 'Afrīqiyā)*;

II / 289 - 1550 : Bibliography of the Novel. The Novel Alphabetically Arranged and the Critique Written About Each Novel (*Bibliyūgrāfiyā ar-riwāya wamā kutiba ḥawla kull ar-riwāya min naqd)*;

1269 - 1550 : General Critique (*an-Naqd al-ʿāmm)*:

1271 - 1515 : General Critique of the Novelists (*Naqd ʿāmm ḥawla r-riwā'iyyīn)*;

1517 - 1550 : General Critique of the Novel (*Naqd ʿāmm ḥawla r-riwāya*);

III / 1553 - 2964 : Indexes (*al-Fahārīs*):

1553 - 1841 : The Novel Alphabetically Arranged (*ar-Riwāya murattaba 'abjadiyyan*);

IV - V / 1843 - 2169 : The Novel Chronologically Arranged (*ar-Riwāya murattaba zamaniyyan*);

2171 - 2625 : The Novel Geographically Arranged (*ar-Riwāya murattaba juġrāfiyyan*):

2173 - 2412 : The Novel in Egypt (*ar-Riwāya fī Miṣr*);

2413 - 2621 : The Novel Outside Egypt (*ar-Riwāya fī ḫārij Miṣr*);

2624 - 2625 : Unidentified (*Majhūlūn*);

2627 - 2964 : The Novelists (*ar-Riwā'iyyūn*).

From a methodological point of view, the introductory chapter, dealing with the intricate problem of what the modern Arabic novel really is and what date has to be recognized as its starting point (viz., *Bidāyāt ar-riwāya al-ʿarabiyya,* pp. 13-21), is of the utmost importance and has a decisive impact on the main classificatory issues of the whole work.

The three indexes included, based on an alphabetical, chronological and geographical arrangement of entries, enable the investigator to readily obtain precise answers to relatively specialized questions. What is the total production of novels in the Arab world? What in a given Arab country? And what in a given period of time. They further make it possible to approach the identification of any given unit from any of the three starting points: name of the novel or that of its author, time and/or place of its origin.

The Bibliography, for all its merits and reliability of presenting relevant data, leaves some important sources unexplored. The priority given to the native and Western sources is quite understandable. It is to a considerable extent justified by the amount of scholarly work done in these cultural areas, as well by the relatively easy availability of the necessary sources. Nevertheless, the investigations carried on in the former *ostblock* countries (Central and Eastern Europe) should perhaps have been more systematically evaluated. The well-known Prague journal *Archiv orientální* (ArOr), for instance, established in 1929 as an international academic periodical for Oriental and African studies, as well as some other Central Europe periodicals and annuals, published in the last decades a number of important theoretical studies of immediate relevance to the Arabic novel. At least some of them:

Jaroslav Oliverius: *Die Kritische Reaktion auf die Zeit Gamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣirs in manchen Werken der ägyptischen Literatur.* In: *ArOr* 61, 1993, 161-172;

ḲḲḲ : *Trilogie de Naǧīb Maḥfūẓ.* In: *Acta Universitatis Carolinae (AUC), Philologica 2.* Prague 1965, 35 - 46;

ḲḲḲ : *Zur Auffassung von Literaturgeschichte und -Kritik bei Ṭāhā Ḥusain.* In: *AUC, Philologica 4.* Prague 1985, 45 - 70; etc.

The quotation of foreign references is extraordinarily good and, by its qualities and precision, it markedly surpasses that currently observable in many recent scholarly works of Arab provenance. (This cannot be said, for instance, about the foreign language quotations in another valuable document, published by the Supreme Council of Culture: *Liqā' ar-riwāya al-miṣriyya al-maġribiyya. Qirā'āt (Encounter of the Egyptian and Maghribi Novel. Readings),* Cairo 1998, where the amount of very various errors and misprints, especially in French quotations, is frustratingly high).

The number of misprints and errors in the recent review edition of Bibliography is rather modest and it does not exceed the acceptable level of errors which cannot safely be avoided in a work of the present size. Some of them are due to the failure of the computer-based typing, like *ṣibyānṣiġār,* instead of *ṣibyān ṣiġār* (3:1405), or they are simply current human errors, such as *Revew* instead of *Review* in *A Limited Review Edition,* on the back

cover of all five volumes; or the wrong page indications in the Contents, Vol. I, page *mīm* : 1271 - 1625, instead of the correct 2171 - 2625 pp.:*ar-Riwāya murattaba juġrāfiyyan;* etc.

The recent Bibliography is an epoch-marking achievement in the history of modern Arabic literature. It opens quite new possibilities to the Arab and foreign investigators working in the domain of the Arabic novel, practically through the whole lifespan of this literary genre up to very recent times. It will, no doubt, become a valuable source of information in both native and international centers of Oriental and Arabic studies.

Ladislav Drozdík

ENDERWITZ, Suzanne: *Liebe als Beruf. Al-ᶜAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf und das Ġazal.* Beirut, In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart 1995. X+250 pp.

Al-ᶜAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf (d. 807 in Baṣra or Baghdad) is an important milestone in the evolution of the Arabic love poetry. Unjustly overshadowed by his renowned predecessors, like Baššār ibn Burd (d. 783) or ᶜUmar ibn Rabīᶜa (d. 712), as well as his highly celebrated contemporaries, like Abū Nuwās (d. 813), Ibn al Aḥnaf did not find the place in the literary history he deserves. In contrast to the Syrian and Mesopotamian cultural centers of the Umayyād period, cultivating poetry in the tradition of the pre-Islamic desert poets, Ḥiǧāz became the birthplace of a new type of love poetry, closely related to more general patterns of social and cultural behavior. On the subsequent historical scene of the ᶜAbbāsid Empire, the love poetry of the courteous Ḥiǧāzi inspiration, together with music and songs, had a decisive impact on the formation of what could perhaps be characterized as a way of life, known az *ẓarf,* typical of the urban upper classes of that epoch. Al-ᶜAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf, for a time a reputed court poet of Hārūn ar-Rašīd, was one of the top representatives of this new poetic and cultural development.

Apart from an Introduction: Zur Entwicklung von Ġazal (*towards the evolution of ġazal*), the book contains three main sections: A. Fatā und Ẓarīf (*fatā and ẓarīf*); B. Leben und Werk (*life and work*); C: Dichtung und Denken (poetry and thouht). The book further offers a rich bibliography, two indices (index of names and index of subjects), and two comprehensive summaries (English and Arabic). The book is closed by a short final chapter: Zum Schicksal des Ġazal (*the destiny of ġazal*).

Ibn al-Aḥnaf's poetry is presented in close interaction with the prevailing behavioral patterns (*futuwwa, ẓarf*) that determine the general social and cultural atmosphere of the poet's times. Enderwitz's monograph is a highly valuable methodological and factographical contribution to the literary and cultural history of the ᶜAbbāsid epoch.

Ladislav Drozdík

HASTINGS, A.: *Oxford History of the Christian Church. The Church in Africa 1450-1950.* Oxford, Clarendon Press 1996. XVI+706 pp.

The book is about the Churches within black Africa. It is a result of more than one and half decades of intensive study of the historical development and character of the whole Christian Church in Africa within the limit of five centuries. It links together Ethiopian Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism, Protestantism and other 'Independent' churches of modern times. The shaping of church life, its relationship to traditional values and the impact of political power are the focus of the monograph. A space is also

devoted in the book, to compare the relation of Christian history to the comparable development in Africa of Islam.

The book comprises an introductory part (v-xiv) and three main parts as follows: Part I. 1450-1780: A Medieval Environment (1-169); Part II. 1780-1890: From the Anti-Slavery to Total Subjugation (171-392); Part III. 1890-1960: The Christianizing of Half a Continent (395-610). Further, two Appendices are added: (1) Kings of Ethiopia and Kongo Referred to in the Text; and, (2) Maps. The book is concluded by a useful Bibliography (621-685) and an Index (687-706).

This extraordinarily wide-ranging volume contains twelve chapters, they are: 1. The Ethiopian Church in the Age of Zara Ya'iqob; 2. Africa in 1500 and its Christian Past; 3. The Kongo, Warri, Mutapa, and the Portuguese; 4. Riches to Rags: Ethiopia 1500 – 1800; 5. Equiano to Ntsikana: From the 1780s to 1820s; 6. The Lion revived: Ethiopia in the Nineteenth Century; 7. The Victorian Missionary; 8. Kings, Marriage, Ancestors, and God; 9. Christian Life in the Age of Bishop Crowther; 10. A variety of Scrambles: 1890 – 1920; 11. From Agbebi to Diangierda: Independency and Prophetism; 12. Church, School, and State in the Age of Bishop Kiwanuka.

The first four chapters which embrace twenty-eight sub-topics belong to Part I. of the book. Chapters 5-9 with their thirty-three sub-topics form Part II. Part III. contains the remaining three chapters with their thirty-five mini-topics.

Part I assesses the medieval environment and significant events of Christianity in Africa from 1450-1780. The first chapter discusses the state of the Ethiopian Church during the reign of Emperor Zara Ya'iqob (1434-69), with an enormous emphasis on his effort in 1449 at Däbra Mitmaq, a monastery situated in Shoa province, where he resolved the problem of the status of the Jewish Sabath which had formed a divisive issue within the Church for centuries. The other three following chapters focus upon, respectively, Africa's societies, states, statelessness, and religion including African Islam; Portugal overseas and mission, churches in Kongo, Benin, and Mutapa, the Jesuits, the Capuchins, the Antonian movement, the evangelization of Angola, Sierra Leone, Warri, and Mutapa, the slave trade; the state of the Ethiopian church from the reign of Emperor Lebna Dengel (1504-40) to that of Emperor Fasilads (1632-65).

In this part, the year 1500 is fixed to be conventional between scholars about the beginning date of a common continental history of Africa, from which it explores, very roughly, the state of the continent as a whole. The development of Khami and Mutapa, after the abandonment of Great Zimbabwe, that Ife, Ijebu, Benin, Kongo and Ethiopia were recognizable states of considerable power, size, wealth culture, religion and reputation, Africa of that time is well discussed. The fusion of small kingdoms into more consolidated ones that marked a new sort of history in central and west Africa, the arrival in increasing numbers of Arab and Berber merchants, crossing the Sahara in search of gold and slaves, who brought with them a new religion Islam, which, in this period, became already the official religion of the kings of most of these parts as far south as Hausaland is carefully observed.

It also investigates how, by that time, European Christians carried a war of expansion across the sea to Africa, to conquer non-Christian societies through colonization and Christianization. The leading role of the Portuguese in finding the way of coming into contact with, the legendary Prester John of the Indies attached to the mysterious call from Ethiopia, and thereafter with, the two strong kings – Mani of Kongo and Mwene of Mutapa in today's Zimbabwe and Mozambique are emphasized.

Narrating about Ethiopia of 1500-1800, it evidently revises the talk between Emperor Lebnä Dengel and the Portuguese Ambassador, Dom Rodrigo de Lema in 1520,

which summarized the need for commercial and military alliance of both Christian states. As was indicated by Francisco Alvares, this connection was known as True Relation of the lands of Prester John, the sole description by an outsider of Ethiopia in the age of its glory. King Galawdewos (1540-59), a gifted, scholarly and deeply religious monarch, who had been supported by the Portuguese and defeated the Muslim Gragn in 1541, was proved to be worthy of the title Prester John. He was also encountered, later on, with the Jesuit mission, where he expounded the Alexandrian Christology and defended the peculiar Ethiopian rites as was also confirmed by John Baur in his book, *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa* [I compared it].

Finally, the attempt of the Portuguese to rebaptize the Ethiopian Christians, which evoked a rebellion that caused the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1632 by Fasilads, and the halt of Ethiopian official contacts with western Christendom, until 1830, when a new era of relations began, with the arrival of the Protestant mission, is made plain.

Part II presents a picture of Africa of 1780-1890. It narrates about the anti-slavery agitation, the beginning and flourishing of Protestantism, the advance of Islam, the case of Kongo, South Africa, Khoi; the age of the Ethiopian Princes, Tewodros to Menelik; the Catholic revival, Verona Fathers and White Fathers, missionary characteristics and life-style, Christianity, civilization, and commerce; Crowther and the Niger diocese, Yoruba Christianity, Buganda, revival in the Kongo and the Niger purge.

The penetration of Protestant missions into Sierra Leone and Kongo in West Africa and thereafter to South Africa, and the lower response of the inhabitants as compared with the onward marching of Islam is nicely explained. It thoroughly outlines the development of African clergy in remarkable number, of which Crowther was the first bishop to be ordained in 1843, where as by 1899 at least 100 West African 'native clergy' had folowed him. The destruction of the Niger diocese and Crowther's keeping hold of the Delta Church, the handing over of the whole country to the White Fathers and the development of an African Church with a mind of its own are issues well elaborated in this part.

Part III treats aspects related to the context of Christian conversion from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. It also deals with the partition of Africa which had taken place at large in 1890s, whose consequences led to the colonial revolution. A room is devoted to explain, how Islam had, for the first time, established indigenous communities as far inland as around Tabora and Ujiji or among the Yao and the Baganda, followed by the steadily advancing Islamization of much of West and East Africa which had marked African religious history of the scramble period. The changing shape of missionary endeavour, the ownership of land by missionaries whose positive motives of converting, educating, or protecting the natives from injustice had turned away into large commercial benefit, in many parts is satisfactorily digested. Moreover, the idea of Ethiopianism with its varieties as a religious nationalistic movement, that attempts to escape the most glaring aspect of white culture domination, through the establishment of an African black variant, often assuming the organizational forms of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which spread among African Churches is given attention.

The last two chapters tell us the recent state of African Churches and their leadership with a highlight to the waves of secessions, the dissimilarities between Independency, Prophetism and Zionism, how a significant number of black Christians belonged, particularly, to Independency Church by the 1950s.

The spreading everywhere of Black National Organizations which, grounded upon far more than 90 per cent of the population, in this period, is clearly described. The massacre of the entire Ethiopian monastic community of Dabra Libanos in 1937 that fol-

lowed the Italian occupation of Ethiopia, and the emerging of the fundamentalist neo-Calvinist theology which described apartheid as an issue of faith, in South Africa, within the spiritual context of Afrikaner nationalism, in one way or an other contributed, to reinforcing black nationalism elsewhere in Africa. Black nationalism assumed an anti-Christian and still more an anti-missionary face. Christianity was damned as the fourth wheel of the white man's chariot in the heat of the 1950s. The Churches of the moment became contestants for political rather than ecclesiastical control. Politically, the Churches north of the Zimbazi were clearly turning to the "left" while the south remained equally emphatically "right". Many missionaries could see such prospects only with foreboding, expressions of the advance of 'communism'. A number of African nationalists were still unsure whether the missionary Churches should be seen as friend or foe. It was a period of transition in which Churches of a highly colonial type subsisted side by side with signs of rapid change. Basically the African Churches represented a moderately independent way for the new Christian élite to shape itself, a path which in every country led by the1940s and 1950s to the formation of political parties. The obvious relationship between the Church institutions and political parties is adequately painted. The mention of men like Levi Mumba or Dr Banda or Kenneth Kaunda, in central Africa, and Luthuli, Z.K.Matthews, and Oliver Tambo in English-speaking Africa, who belonged at one and the same time to a Church world, and a political world, makes the relationship very clear.

Finally, an account is made, about the diminishing growth of the leading Protestant adaptationist theory in the East and the revival of Catholicism after the emergence of a book of essays entitled *Des Prêtres noirs s'interrogent*. Its authors were a dozen young black priests from Dahomey, Togo, Cameroon, the Belgian Congo, and Rwanda, who had studied in Rome, Louvain or Paris and had been influenced not by missionaries but by the new wave of West European progressive theory of Congar, Danielou, and De Lubac. How these African priests were able to earth the themes of the book within the African Church, and how they were, far from being suppressed, soon being made leaders, bishops or professors in the newly developed universities, and that in the end the 1950s was a decade less of achievement than of promise are deeply surveyed.

All the parts of the book attempt to chart different aspects of the Church in Africa over the course of five hundred years. They discuss how Christianity provided the constitutive identity of historic Ethiopia from long before the fifteenth century, and from the nineteenth how it entered decisively into the life and culture of an increasing number of other African peoples. Furthermore, they elaborate how African Christians have become a major part of the world Church, in the course of the twentieth century, and the powerful Christian element, without which the whole modern African history would have been hardly intelligible.

Hastings's monograph, backed by deep scholarly experiences and the tradition of the Oxford University Press, is a major volume of great importance in which there is something new for a reader of advanced standard.

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GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

Manuscripts submitted for publication in ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES should conform to international standards now generally recognized as regards presentation and format.

If possible, the contributions should be sent on floppy discs, nonformatted, in ASCII (WP, Win-Word, T602). The authors are requested to give their full name and institutional affiliation. The contributors from abroad should submit their papers in English.

References should be used as follows: author's name and year are given in brackets inside the text and the final References are arranged in alphabetical order.

Footnotes should be written on a separate sheet.

Illustrations, Figures, Diagrams, Tables must be numbered in Arabic figures and marked in pencil at the back with the author's name. Relevant notes should be typed on a separate sheet. Illustrations must be drawn neatly on white paper and lettering must be legible after reduction in size for printing. Photographs must be submitted unmounted on white glossy paper. A note in the margin should indicate the approximate place for the illustrations to be inserted.

We would like to inform our readers that since 1992 our periodical ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES is published semi-annually in journal form rather than annually in book form. The conception of our journal, however, has not undergone any major changes.

The Editors