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ARTICLES

YOUNG ZHANG WENTIAN AND HIS “GOETHE’S FAUST”*

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The aim of this study is to show how the first extensive Chinese article on J.W. Goethe’s *Faust* was written and to point out in this way the typical features of modern Chinese literary criticism in the age of transition between the old and modern treatment of literary problems.

Written on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of Johann Wolfgang Goethe’s birthday and of Zhang Wentian’s 100th *sui* [1]

In the history of Chinese literary criticism, the name of Johann Wolfgang Goethe was mentioned for the first time in 1878.¹ It was more than forty years before Chinese readers could be acquainted with the great German man of letters to a larger extent. In 1922 Goethe’s *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* was published in Chinese² and even before this time *Faust*, Part One, was also translated into this language in 1920, but due to some reasons, published only in 1928.³

In 1922, on the occasion of 90th anniversary of Goethe’s death, exactly on March 23, three short essays and one poem concerned with his life and work appeared in Xuedeng [6] Lamp of Learning, a column of the newspaper Shishi xinbao [7] The China Times. The three essays were written by three then prominent young men of letters: Zheng Zhenduo [8] (1898–1958), Hu Yuzhi [9]

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¹ QIAN ZHONGSHU [2]: *Hanyu diyishou Yingyushi “Renshengsong” ji youguan er san shi* [3] The First English Poem “Psalm of Life” And Two Or Three Things Connected With It. Guowai wenxue [4] Foreign Literature (Peking), 1, 1982, pp. 1–24. “Psalm of Life” is one of the best poems of H.W. Longfellow (1807–1872). One of those “things” analysed here, is concerned with Goethe and his *Faust*.

² *Guo Moruo zhuanji* [5] Guo Moruo’s Life and Work. Vol. 2. Chengdu, Sichuan renmin chubanshe 1984, p. 45.

³ Cf. ibid., p. 100 and GÁLIK, M.: *Reception and Survival of Goethe’s Faust in Guo Moruo’s Works and Translations (1919–1922)*. Asian and African Studies, 26, 1991, pp. 68–69.

(1898–1986) and Xie Liuyi [10] (1898–1945)⁴ and the author of the poem dedicated to Goethe was another woman poet Bing Xin [13] (1900–1999),⁵ who was only one month and some days younger than Zhang Wentian [15] (1900–1976).⁶

In her poem entitled *Xiangwang* [16] Desire, twenty-two year old Bing Xin begs the herald of world poetry, the believer in pantheism and in a pantheistic God, incorporating and expressing “ten thousand” creations, to go more slowly in front of her so that she can understand his serious message in relation to “truth” and “nature”. The “child” of his art seems to present for her a symbol of the “way leading towards freedom and a bright future”.⁷

Zhang Wentian’s attitude to Goethe and especially to his *Faust* seemed to be different.

1

The first who wrote a short Chinese introduction to Goethe’s *Faust* was an even younger, then sixteen year old middle school student from Nanking, who published a short essay *Gede yu Faust* [18] Goethe and *Faust* in the Shanghai journal *Xuesheng zazhi* [17] Students’ Magazine, a year earlier.⁸ His name was Lu Jiye [19] (1905–1951), later known as a traditional and modern Chinese poet and professor of literature. He pointed out three aspects important for his schoolfellows in the time after the May Fourth Movement of 1919 that, according to him, should be studied in relation to the poet and his work: the poet’s life, his place in the world of poetry and scholarship, and his impact on his own country. The young critic stressed especially the dynamic, creative aspects of Faust’s image and of Goethe’s personality, mostly unknown in China and in many countries of the Orient, before the strong impact of the Western civilization in the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries. Just as was needed by the Chinese intellectuals of that time who “claimed that not only Western scientific technology, laws, and political institutions ought to be introduced, but also China’s philosophy, ethics, natural science, social theory and institutions should be thoroughly re-examined and modelled after those of the West. It was not half-hearted reform or partial renovation which was being advocated, but a vast and fervent attempt to dethrone the very fundamentals of the stagnant tradition and to replace it with a completely new culture.”⁹

⁴ YANG WUNENG [11]: *Gede yu Zhongguo* [12] Goethe and China. Peking, Sanlian shudian 1991, p. 110.

⁵ Loc. cit. and *Bingxin shiji* [14] Bing Hsin’s Poems. 3rd ed. Shanghai, Beixin shuju 1934, pp. 24–26. This poem has been partly translated in GÁLIK, M.: *Goethe in China* (1932). Asian and African Studies, 14, 1978, p. 11.

⁶ Bing Xin was born on October 5, 1900 and Zhang Wentian on August 30, 1900.

⁷ Bing Xin’s Poems, p. 25.

⁸ Students’ Magazine, 8, 1921, 11, pp. 36–37.

⁹ CHOW TSE-TSUNG: *The May Fourth Movement. Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*. Stanford, Stanford University Press 1967, p. 14.

The second Chinese critic of *Faust*, Zhang Wentian, was some years older and more experienced. He was a good friend of the two Shen brothers, Shen Yanbing [20] (1896–1981), later better known as Mao Dun [21], a well-known literary critic, translator and writer, and his brother Shen Zemin [22] (1900–1933), who also started as a literary critic and translator, but ended as a representative member of the Chinese Communist Party. In the vicinity of these two, whether in Shanghai or in Wuzhen [23], Zhejiang Province, the native town of the Shen brothers, he had a good opportunity to discuss the questions of common interest or to come across the books, journals and different materials concerned with Western literature, philosophy and different branches of the social sciences.¹⁰

During his studies in Nanking after 1917 and in Japan in the second half of 1920 (in both places as a schoolfellow of Shen Zemin, Zhang Wentian began to devote himself to the social sciences. He was allegedly the first to write about Marxism even before Li Dazhao [28] (1888–1927),¹¹ then to the works of and translations from Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) and Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), political anarchism, altruism and non-resistance to evil, decadence and aestheticism of Oscar Wilde (1854–1900)¹² and reading of the *Bible*.¹³ After his return to China in January 1921, Zhang Wentian moved to Hangzhou where he lived and studied in the Chanist monastery Zhiguo chansi [34] under the Baochu [35] Pagoda.¹⁴ Maybe here in this time, or later, he began to read and study Goethe's *Faust*.

Certainly before travelling to Berkeley and studying at California University there,¹⁵ Zhang started and finished the long article entitled *Gede di Fushide* [36] Goethe's *Faust* which originally appeared in the magazine *Dongfang zazhi* [37] The Eastern Miscellany, XIX, 15, (Aug. 10), 17 (Sept. 10) and 18 (Sept. 25), 1922, and was later reprinted in the booklet *Dandi yu Gede* [38] Dante and Goethe in the series *Dongfang wenku* [39] Oriental Treasury in three reprints between 1923–1925.

¹⁰ Cf. CHENG ZHONGYUAN [24]: *Zhang Wentian yu xin wenxue yundong* [25] Zhang Wentian and Modern Chinese Literary Movement. Nanking, Jiangsu wenyi chubanshe 1987, pp. 20, 23–24 and ZHONG GUISONG [26]: *Renjian de Mao Dun. Mao Dun he ta de tongshidai de ren* [27] Among the Men. Mao Dun and the Personalities of His Age. Zhengzhou, Henan renmin chubanshe 1993, pp. 132–141.

¹¹ CHENG ZHONGYUAN: op. cit., pp. 16–18.

¹² Ibid., pp. 29–39.

¹³ Shen Yanbing exhorted him to read the *Bible* in his essay *Wudikangzhuyi yu "ai"* [29] Non-resistance and "Love", originally published in *Juewu* [30] Awakening, a supplement to *Mingguo ribao* [31] Republican Daily, July 5, 1921, reprinted in *Mao Dun quanji* [32] The Complete Works of Mao Dun. Vol. 14. Peking, People's Publishing House 1987, pp. 216–220. Zhang Wentian followed his older friend's advice and on January 25, 1922 he bought a copy of *Xin jiu yue quanshu* [33] *Bible. Old and New Testaments*, in its Mandarin Union Version, deposited now in Mao Dun Museum, Peking.

¹⁴ CHENG ZHONGYUAN: op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 43.

This was and remained up to this day an enigmatic piece of writing. Even recently some scholars highlighted its qualities. Professor Yang Wuneng, a well-known Chinese Germanist, was probably the first to point out that it was a solid piece with great value that introduced *Faust* to Chinese readers. According to Yang, Zhang Wentian “put this essay into the broad framework of the development of European culture and spirit of the time, into the concrete system of Goethe’s private life, his thought and personality. In order to understand the contents of this magnificent work, he quoted a wealth of material. Even from the contemporary point of view, one may say that it was not a superficial piece of criticism.”¹⁶

The essay would be really worthy of admiration, if it was really Zhang Wentian’s original work. It was a piece of writing very similar to those published mostly in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* [40] *The Short Story Monthly*, and quite common among the members of the *Wenxue yanjiuhui* [41] *The Literary Association*, and especially its most prominent spokesman Shen Yanbing and his friends. Western literary and critical works were the guidelines for the new essays in Chinese, which were more or less liberal and “unfaithful” *translationes cum interpretatione*. Sometimes the main source and reference works were indicated, but very often not. The value of such “exercises” in literary criticism was certainly doubtful and is often condemned as pure literary plagiarism, if judged by the ordinary Western standards of literary criticism, but in those times in China, in the early history of East-West literary relations, they could have a great value as the witnesses of the contemporary intellectual history.¹⁷

For many years, I have searched in vain for the *opus* which preceded one published under Zhang’s personal name: Wentian. I was lucky when I succeeded in finding it in the catalogue of the British Library.¹⁸ Zhang Wentian had this book, now completely neglected and unknown to researchers, in his hands, when writing this (for his age) really excellent article. The booklet was entitled *The Faust-Legend and Goethe’s “Faust”*, written by H.B. Cotterill, and published by George G. Harrap & Company, London 1912.¹⁹ A keen observer may see at the first glance that the second part of the title of Cotterill’s booklet and of Zhang’s article are synonymous. The first part of the booklet is different and

¹⁶ YANG WUNENG: op. cit., p. 111.

¹⁷ Cf. GÁLIK, M.: *Mao Dun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag 1969, pp. 15, 39, 151 and McDougall, B.S.: *The Introduction of Western Literary Theories into Modern China, 1919–1925*. Tokyo, The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies 1971, pp. 55–84.

¹⁸ The present writer expresses his deepest thanks to Dr. Bernhard Fuehrer for his sincere help in acquiring a microfilm copy of this valuable and rare book without which this study would have been impossible.

¹⁹ Zhang Wentian mentions Cotterill’s name once properly and once in its distorted form, as H.B. Cottereal, without any hint concerning using his book as the most important source for his study. See his *Goethe’s Faust*, Oriental Treasury, No. 65, Shanghai, Commercial Press 1924, pp. 40 and 43.

points to the general legend of Faust which might have interested Zhang Wentian at first, even more than Goethe's *Faust* itself. He began to study the natural sciences in Nanking, but later, as mentioned above, under the influence of the new intellectual awakening, he started to read widely in literature and the social sciences.²⁰

2

Probably before the summer holidays in 1922, and certainly after the 90th anniversary of Goethe's death, Zhang read the famous monologue by Faust in a "lofty-arched, narrow, Gothic chamber", sitting there in a "chair at his desk, restless",²¹ he could have some thoughts or feelings, similar to those of the old Magician:

I've studied now Philosophy
And Jurisprudence, Medicine, –
And even, alas! Theology, –
From end to end, with labour keen;
And here, poor fool! with all my lore
I stand, no wiser than before:
I'm Magister – yea, Doctor – hight,
And straight or cross-wise, wrong or right,
These ten years long, with many woes,
I've led my scholars by the nose, –
And see, that nothing can be known!²²

We do not know whether some Buddhist philosophical or theological *zhiguo* [42] the fruit of knowledge,²³ were also included there, but Goethe's *Faust* in Bayard Taylor's classical English translation and in Cotterill's explanation, meant a kind of "enlightenment" which *zhiguo* also implied, for young Zhang Wentian, who was frustrated with bookish knowledge and was just searching for an adequate means for socio-political action. Maybe, he even thought that, for the time being, he found it in this reading.

Zhang Wentian did not follow Cotterill's explanation from the beginning. He did not throw himself *in medias res*, but on the basis of some more general

²⁰ CHENG ZHONGYUAN: op. cit., pp. 13–47.

²¹ GOETHE, J.W.: *Faust. A Tragedy*. Trans. in Original Meters by Bayard Taylor. The First Part. London, Strahan & Co. 1871, p. 19.

²² Loc. cit. Zhang Wentian surely had in his hand Taylor's famous translation and used it in his article, for example, ZHANG WENTIAN: op. cit., pp. 91–93 and Taylor's translation of the *Faust*. The Second Part, pp. 506–507.

²³ SOOTHILL, W.E. and HODOUS, L. (eds.): *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd. (Taipei reprint 1975), p. 375.

source(s), unknown to us, he put Goethe's personality and work into the literary and historical framework against the background of ancient (Homer), late medieval (Dante) and early modern Western literature (Shakespeare).²⁴ From Zhang's literary preferences it ensues that he highlighted the literature of personal engagement, expressing the "inner demands", like his friends from the Chuangzaoshe [43] (Creation Society),²⁵ or the works written after intensive observation, individual experience, sentimental identification and inner agitation.²⁶

At the moment when Zhang Wentian started to speak about Goethe's *Faust* and its antecedents, he immediately reached for Cotterill's work. When introducing Faust as a "great Magician", he paraphrased Cotterill's opinions, or to put it better, "critical insights", but using more easily understandable words.

Here we shall show Zhang Wentian's indebtedness which he himself did not appropriately acknowledge. Here are some examples. The most important catchwords in the citations by both authors are underlined by me:

Cotterill: "At first we shall see our way more clearly if we consider what is really the nature of this **magic**, or black art, which played such an important part in the medieval imagination.

Perhaps we may say that by '**magic**' was denoted that art by which one was supposed to gain a **knowledge** of and a **power** over, the **prime elements of Nature and its cosmic potencies**, so as to be able to combine and use them independently of natural laws..."

In almost every age and nation we find a **vital Power**, and **ordering Force**, recognized as present in the **natural world**, and the human mind seems ever prone to believe such **Power** to have affinity to human nature and to be, so to speak, open to a bargain. The **fetish priest**, the **rain doctor**, the **medicine-man**, the **Hindu-yogi**, the **Persian Mage**, the **medieval saint**, and the countless **miracle-workers** in every age, have believed themselves to be, whether by force of will, or by ecstatic contemplation, or by potent charms, in communion with the great **Spirit of Nature**, or with mighty **cosmic influences**..."²⁷

Zhang Wentian: "All those who study the psychology of the aborigines and their legends, know the things we call **myths**, **magic** and **animism**. The so-called '**magic**' is a method of using the **forces of Nature** and their **secrets** for the needs of human life. The **Chinese shaman**, the **Buddhist monk**, the **Taoist**

²⁴ ZHANG WENTIAN: op. cit., pp. 31–33.

²⁵ More about "inner demands" see, GÁLIK, M.: *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism (1917–1930)*. Bratislava-London, Veda-Curzon Press 1980, pp. 69, 77, 121–129 and its Chinese version Chen Shengsheng [44] *et alii* (trans.): *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue piping fasheng shi* [45]. Peking, Shehui kexue chubanshe 1997, pp. 62, 77 and 115–123.

²⁶ ZHANG WENTIAN: op. cit., pp. 32–33.

²⁷ Pp. 18–19.

priest, the **Hindu yogi**, the **Persian Mage**, the **medieval saint**, and the **countless miracle-makers**, all employed this methodology. Faust, about whom we shall speak now, was one of them.”²⁸

We see that apart from the simpler wording, Zhang Wentian’s text is Sinicized. He adapted Cotterill’s explanation to the Chinese situation where the knowledge of world mythology was still rather poor²⁹ and the “accommodation” of the text to Chinese conditions and needs was quite appropriate. We also see that Zhang Wentian stuck to the text and the wording and its meaning in his literary and critical discourse was only slightly changed.

The examples of this kind abound in Zhang Wentian’s treatise. Immediately in Zhang’s text, and in that of Cotterill a few pages later, we may read:

Cotterill: “In the early ages of the Church the final appeal seems to have been an appeal to **miracles**, and we find the apostles and their followers claiming the sole right of working **miracles** in the name of the one **true God** and anathematizing all other **wonder-workers** with **Satan...**”³⁰ Later, “during these ante-Reformation ages the Roman Church claimed...a monopoly in **orthodox magic**. She could send a soul to hell, or by rites and exorcism she could save the sinner from his compact with **Satan**, as one sees in such legends as those of **Merlin**, of **Tannhäuser**, of **Robert the Devil**, and of that **Theophilus** who was converted by flowers sent him from Paradise by the Virgin-Martyr St. Dorothea.”³¹

Zhang Wentian: “After Christianity rose to power, there was a tendency to reject all heterodox teachings and except for their own way of acknowledging the **miracles**, all other were prohibited. Those who practiced them were recognized as apostates and put to death. In other words, it was only the Roman Church which had a monopoly in **magic**. She could send your soul to hell or to ascent the heaven. Using rites and prayers she could deliver the sinners from compacts with **Satan**. Such examples we may see in the legends as those of **Merlin**, **Tanhäuser**, **Robert the Devil**, and that of **Theophilus** who was converted by the flowers sent him from Paradise by the Saint Virgin.”³²

²⁸ P. 37.

²⁹ In 1922 China was only sparcely informed about world mythology. Shen Yanbing in his popular works written and published in the years 1924–1930 became its most important introducer. See GÁLIK, M.: *The Messenger of the Gods: Mao Dun and the Introduction of Foreign Myths into China*. Tamkang Review. 23, 1–4, 1992, pp. 639–669 and its Chinese version in Zhou Ning [46] (trans.): *Zhushen de shizhe: Mao Dun yu waiguo shenhua zai Zhongguo de jieshao (1924–1930)* [47] In: *Mao Dun yu Zhongwai wenhua. Mao Dun yanjiu guoji xueshu taolunhui lunwenji* [48] Mao Dun and Foreign Culture. Proceedings of the International Conference for the Study of Mao Dun. Nanking, Nanking University Press 1993, pp. 264–287.

³⁰ P. 22.

³¹ P. 27.

³² Pp. 37–38.

Here we may see the same, if not an even great measure of dependency of Zhang Wentian's text on that written by Cotterill.

Nobody can doubt about the dependency of the receiver on that of the sender.

On some places Zhang Wentian, word by word, quotes the text from Cotterill's booklet. For instance, the sentences from Cotterill's, pp. 36–37, we may find on pp. 41–42 in Zhang Wentian's essay. This time it is not even necessary to retranslate Zhang's rendering:

"He (i.e. Faust from legend, M.G.) now takes to 'Zauberei' – magic. Where four roads meet in the Spessart Wald, a forest near Wittenberg, he inscribes mystic circles and performs incantations for the purpose of summoning the devil. After all kinds of fearful apparitions and noises, by which Faust is almost terrified to death, a demon appears in the shape of a 'grey monk.' Faust invites him to visit him at his house in Wittenberg. The demon visits him there and tells him of all the horrors of hell. But Faust persists in his plan and makes a second rendezvous with the demon, who has now procured leave from his lord and master Lucifer to offer his service and attendance. The compact is made... The compact has to be signed with blood. Faust pierces his hand, and the blood flows out and forms the words 'O homo fuge!' – 'O man, escape!' – but Faust, though alarmed, is not deterred... He then reveals his name: Mephistopheles..."³³

All this is in Zhang Wentian's rendition, even the words in Latin.

3

Just like Cotterill, Zhang Wentian gives a synopsis both of Part One and Part Two of *Faust*. The first is more scholarly, the second simpler, since the Chinese readers at that time did not have possibility to read *Faust* in their mother tongue. Even here the dependence on Cotterill's text is quite obvious:

Cotterill: "Let us however dismiss criticism and turn to what Goethe as the poet has given us – perhaps the noblest picture that dramatic art can give: that of a man striving onward and upward in his own strength, confronting (as Goethe says in reference to Shakespeare's plays) the inexorable course of the universe with the might of human will. We might take as the Alpha and Omega of *Faust* these two lines from the poem:

Es irrt der Mensch so lang er strebt,

and

Nur rastlos betätigts sich der Mann,

the sense of which is that human nature must ever err as long as it strives, but that true manhood is incessant striving.

³³ Pp. 36–37.

It is a noble picture – perhaps the noblest conceivable.”³⁴

Zhang Wentian: “His (Faust’s, M.G.) strains were not concerned with the comfort of his body and the lust of his flesh. His aim was to achieve truth, and not with the help of abstract or scholarly reasoning, but through action and feelings. He went through sins and crimes in his strivings forward. He experienced sufferings and he opposed evil, and in this struggle achieved a better future and power.”³⁵

We may observe that Zhang Wentian did not pay the attention to Goethe’s reference concerning Shakespeare, since it was probably unknown to him, neither did he quote the two lines in German, a language he did not understand, but at the beginning of the analysis of Goethe’s text of *Faust*, he pointed to the aspect, which was most important for him and for his countrymen in Faust’s message: his uninterrupted, everyday strivings onwards in this life of ours on the earth. We may see that he changed Goethe’s *Faust* legacy a bit: he did not mention, or at least did not underline, the strivings upward, towards Heaven. This last strain was in harmony with the efforts of most Chinese intellectuals during and after the May Fourth Movement, and certainly with those connected with Pragmatism and Communism.³⁶ Lu Jiye was the first who pointed to this feature in his short essay, where he mentioned Faust’s change in St. John’s Gospel. He aluded to the difference between St. John’s: “In the beginning was the Word,” and “In the beginning was the Deed” in Goethe’s *Faust*.³⁷ The realm of action was the most important also in Zhang Wentian’s understanding of the Faustian message. Zhang followed both Lu Jiye and Goethe, although he more stuck to Cotterill’s text:

Cotterill: “‘In the beginning was the *Logos* – the Word.’ More than once comes from the poodle (Mephistopheles at his feet, M.G.) a growl of disapprobation. Faust threatens to turn him out and proceeds with his biblical criticism... ‘In the beginning was the *Logos*.’ How shall he translate *Logos*? It cannot mean merely a ‘word’... A word must have meaning, *thought* – and thought is nothing without *act*... So this ‘Word,’ this ‘*Logos*,’ must be translated as Act or Deed.”³⁸

Zhang Wentian: “He (Faust, M.G.) takes in hands the *Bible* and one metaphysical idea stirs his mind: ‘At the beginning was the *Logos*... He tries to trans-

³⁴ Pp. 62–63.

³⁵ P. 46.

³⁶ Cf. GRIEDER, J.B.: *Intellectuals and the State in Modern China. A Narrative History*. New York, London, The Free Press and Collier Macmillan Publishers 1981, 395 pp. and SCHWARTZ, V.: *The Chinese Enlightenment. Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press 1986, 393 pp.

³⁷ LU JIYE: op. cit., p. 37.

³⁸ Pp. 81–82.

late it into German. He thinks that it is not possible to translate it as a ‘word’. A ‘word’ must have meaning, “thought” – and thought is nothing without act. Then he translated it as: ‘In the beginning was the Act.’”³⁹

When translating the last sentence, Zhang Wentian used Bayard Taylor’s rendering. Zhang certainly owned the Chinese *Bible* translation he bought some months before writing the work under analysis here.⁴⁰ When speculating in this way, Faust has seen that the poodle metamorphosed into a monstrous form “huger than an elephant or hippotamus, with fiery eyes and enormous tusks in its gaping mouth”.⁴¹ Was it a symbol of the future accomplishment of this “Act” that changed the overall vision of the Western world with its good and bad, pleasant and terrifying sides.

This vision is a product of activism (*huodongzhuyi*) [49]. Zhang Wentian’s main aim in writing the essay to provoke this activism in the minds and bodies of his compatriots. Zhang Wentian wholeheartedly agreed with Faust’s idea from Part Two of the tragedy, which according to Cotterill was: “to devote the rest of his life to humanity, to the good of the human race.”⁴² In the country bordering the great Ocean, Faust “by means of canals and dykes, dug and built by the demonic powers,” tried “to reclaim from the sea a large region of fertile country and to found a kind of model republic, where peace and prosperity and every social and political blessing shall find a home”.⁴³ According to Zhang Wentian, who follows Cotterill’s analysis very closely, “Faust determined to devote the rest of his life to mankind, for the happiness of humanity. His project, of course, was not admired by the devil, but because of their compact, he could not do anything else only to serve him... win battles, reclaim from the sea a region of country and give it to Faust... where he could work for the people (*ti renmin gongzuo*) [50].”⁴⁴

“Work for the people” was in the time of writing Zhang Wentian’s essay, and still is a nice slogan, although quite often abused in China. But here he did not follow Cotterill’s analysis closely. The names of two old and poor people, called Philemon and Baucis, who according to the old Greek legend, offered hospitality to Zeus wandering among mortals, are withheld from the Chinese readers. They did not want to sell their small cottage in the sea of the property belonging to Faust.

Cotterill: “Faust’s happiness is in a moment changed into bitterness and anger. This cottage, this chapel, this little spot of land are as thorns in his side:

³⁹ P. 55.

⁴⁰ Cf. note No. 13.

⁴¹ COTTERILL: op. cit., p. 82.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 141–142.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 142.

⁴⁴ ZHANG WENTIAN: op. cit., p. 84.

they are the **Naboth's vineyard** which he covets and which alone interferes with his **territorial rights**. He has offered large sums of money, but the peasant will not give up his home.”⁴⁵

Zhang Wentian: “Faust's happiness suddenly changed into bitterness and anger. This cottage, this chapel, this little piece of land pricked his heart like thorns. It has destroyed his **inner harmony** (*hexie*) [51]. He paid a great amount of money for that but they did not comply.”⁴⁶

Here Naboth's vineyard is not mentioned and territorial rights are replaced by inner harmony. Naboth's vineyard was alluding to the crime from the *Bible*, *I. Kings*, 20, 1–19, where Ahab the king of Israel tried at first to persuade Naboth the Jezreelite, to sell him his vineyard, and when he did not succeed, he accused him of blasphemy against God, and with his helpers, also the elders and the nobles of the city, “stoned him with stones that he died” (*ibid.* 20, 13). Since many Chinese readers, and maybe even Zhang Wentian did not know this story, Naboth's vineyard was excluded from this “translation-adaptation”. In reality, the territorial rights of Faust were only an illusion and inner harmony was properly used in Zhang Wentian's text. Certainly not justified was Zhang Wentian's exclusion of Cotterill's criticism from the Chinese text. In order to make the character of Goethe's Faust more attractive to his Chinese readers, Zhang Wentian highlighted Faust's anger against Mephistopheles who set to fire Philemon and Baucis' property. In the flames they both lost their lives, just like Naboth in the biblical story. But he “forgot” to inform his countrymen about Cotterill's reasoning:

“Here I do not find it easy to follow Faust's line of argument. Fair exchange is certainly said to be no robbery – but this theory of ‘making everything good with money’ is one which the average foreigner is apt to attribute especially to the average Britisher, and **it does not raise Faust in one's estimation**. I suppose he thinks he is doing the poor old couple a blessing in disguise by ejecting them out of their wretched hovel and presenting them with a sum of money of perhaps ten times its value.”⁴⁷

If not directly from the juridical point of view, then certainly indirectly from the ethical one, Faust committed a *faux pas*, or even a crime. We may probably say that Zhang Wentian, being a well-meaning philanthropist, made this mistake because he too much believed in human progress. He made Mephistopheles guilty of the arson and murder, but he did not point out that the impulse to these misdeeds, if not intentionally, came in reality from Faust. History teaches us that real progress cannot be achieved through the violation of the laws and human rights of the individuals.

⁴⁵ P. 144.

⁴⁶ Pp. 84–85.

⁴⁷ COTTERILL: op. cit., pp. 145–146.

Work for the people, or even for the whole of mankind (with some exception as we have just seen), was the ideal of Faust. The way to it, as well to the release, or salvation, are the everlasting human strains. Where this is concerned, Zhang Wentian translates the song of angels ascending heaven and bearing Faust's soul:

The noble spirit is now free
And saved from evil scheming.
Whoe'er aspires unweariedly
Is not beyond redeeming,
And if he feels the grace of Love
That from on high is given
The blessed hosts that wait above
Shall welcome him to heaven.⁴⁸

When writing about Faust's activism, Zhang Wentian did not follow only Cotterill's analysis of Faustian spirit. "Nature is eternal activity, just as human life itself. More clearly: this activity is an outlet of two kinds relatively mutual or contradictory forces: of Goodness and Evil, Beauty and Ugliness, of upwards and downwards, of extending and shrinking, of the positive (*yang*)[52] and negative (*yin*)[53] principles... It has its fixed aim: that is progress, i.e. tendency towards Goodness, towards Perfection."⁴⁹

Here we may find not only traditional Chinese philosophy of the Yin-Yang School,⁵⁰ but also an echo of Henri Bergson's *élan vital*, whom Zhang Wentian also translated and very probably studied some months before his work on Goethe's *Faust*.⁵¹ Not only that! If we read the last part of Zhang Wentian's treatise, we may find that his studies in the Buddhist Chanist monastery left some imprints in his thought, too. "Human life is an interchange of desires and of sat-

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 153 and ZHANG WENTIAN: op. cit., pp. 90–91. Cotterill's translation is taken from that by B. Taylor, The Second Part, p. 384.

⁴⁹ ZHANG WENTIAN: op. cit., p. 94.

⁵⁰ RONAN, C.A.: *The Shorter Science and Civilization in China. An Abridgement of Joseph Needham's Original Text*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1978, pp. 142–164.

⁵¹ From Cheng Zhongyuan's book we know that already in December 1921 Zhang Wentian translated Bergson's *Le Rire; Essay sur la signification du comique*, which for the time being, together with another influential work of literary criticism, Leo Tolstoy's book *What is Art?*, published in Chinese in the same year, proved to be congenial to his tastes and needs. In Bergson he probably read that life is a "continuous process indefinitely pursued, an indivisible process, on which each visible organism rides during the short interval of time given it to live." Or: "So art, whether it be painting or sculpture, poetry or music, has no other object than to brush aside the utilitarian symbols, the conventional and socially accepted generalities, in short, everything that veils reality from us, in order to bring us face to face with reality itself...it is only through

isfaction. If one of these desires is satisfied, the second desire is born. If the second desire is satisfied, then the third is born... There is no end to this series. This is to say: the life is an infinite string of unfulfilled days.”⁵² Zhang Wentian, of course, did not have in mind the desires in Buddhist sense, but the different aspects of Faustian strains. Therefore Faust, in his eternal onward tendency, is an ideal of modern mankind.

According to Zhang Wentian, Faust was a model worth following for the Chinese of those days after the Fourth Movement of 1919. He strove for self-development (*ziwofazhan*) [56], and happiness for other people (*ti bieren mou xingfu*) [57], fought for their freedom (*ti bieren zheng ziyou*) [58]. He stuck firmly to human life and was for its full development.⁵³

*

Shortly after finishing his work on Goethe’s *Faust*, Zhang Wentian left on August 13, 1922, for Berkeley, California,⁵⁴ and for some psychic troubles and depressions, his enthusiasm for Faustian strains disappeared as the snow under the rays of the spring sun. He pondered suicide as the only possible means of solving his inner tensions and life suffering. The first months in California were, for him, a time of unbearable hopelessness and decadent feelings. In his letter to Yu Dafu he expressed his hope to meet this “young man of sorrows” in order to be his “companion in the Saharan wilderness”. He cursed the life, he had admired so much before, belittled the masses (*qunzhong*) [59], he highlighted later, and compared the Californian red leaves of November 1922 to the symbols of no escape.⁵⁵

At the beginning of 1924 Zhang Wentian returned to China and changed his attitude to life and to activity.⁵⁶ He participated in the activities of the young Communists, mainly of Shen Zemin and Xiao Chunü [60] (1896–1927), one of the first propagandists of the *littérature engagée* in China of that time, and during the May 30th Movement of 1925 he entered the ranks of the Chinese Communist Party.⁵⁷

ideality that we may resume contact with reality.” (Quoted according to HALL, Jr. V.: *A Short History of Literary Criticism*, New York, New York University Press 1963, pp. 147–149.) Zhang Wentian’s translation of Bergson’s work appeared in 1923 in Commercial Press, Shanghai. Bergson influenced to a great extent the literary theory of Yu Dafu [54] (1896–1945), Zhang’s good friend from the Creation Society. Cf. YU DAFU’s booklet entitled *Wenxue gaishuo* [55] Outline of Literary Theory, Shanghai, Commercial Press 1927, and literary and critical analysis by M. GÁLIK in his *Genesis*, pp. 119–121 and 123 and in its Chinese version, pp. 113–115 and 117.

⁵² ZHANG WENTIAN: op. cit., pp. 95–96.

⁵³ Cf. ZHANG WENTIAN: ibid., p. 96 and CHENG ZHONGYUAN: op. cit., pp. 134–136.

⁵⁴ CHENG ZHONGYUAN: op. cit., p. 43.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 47–48.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 64–66.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 312–342.

Zhang Wentian came back to Faustian strains as a part of his *Weltanschauung*, although not to Goethe himself. Only once, and secretly, he used the pseudonym Gete [61] which may be regarded as homophone for Goethe, when criticizing the so-called zuoqingguammenzhuyi [62] leftist closedoorism of some critics who later became members of the Zhongguo zuoyi zuojia lianmeng [63] Left League of Chinese Writers (1930–1936).

This, of course, is not a prolongation of Zhang Wentian's story from the year 1922. His work on Goethe still remains as a meritorious document in the history of Goethe's reception in China.

1. 歲
2. 鐘鍾書
3. 漢譯第一首英語詩“人生頌”及有關二三事
4. 國外文學
5. 郭沫若專集
6. 學燈
7. 時事新報
8. 鄭振鐸
9. 胡愈之
10. 謝六逸
11. 揚武能
12. 歌德與中國
13. 冰心
14. 冰心詩集
15. 張聞天
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17. 學生雜誌
18. 哥德與 Faust
19. 蘆葦野
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29. 無抵抗主義與“愛”
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31. 民國日報
32. 茅盾全集
33. 新舊約全書
34. 智果禪寺
35. 賀淑
36. 哥德的浮士德
37. 東方雜誌
38. 但底與哥德
39. 東方文庫
40. 小說月報
41. 文學研究會
42. 智果
43. 創造社
44. 陳生聖
45. 中國現代文學批評髮生史
46. 周寧
47. 諸神的使者：茅盾與外國神話在中國的界綴（1924–1930）
48. 茅盾與中外文化，茅盾研究國際學術討論會論文集
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56. 自我髮展
57. 替別人謀幸福
58. 替別人爭自由
59. 群眾
60. 蕭楚女
61. 歌特
62. 左傾開門主義
63. 中國左翼作家聯盟

„KLEINE AUGEN“ AUF GROßER FAHRT
Zur Sternnavigation in Rongorongo
(Teil II.)

Michael H. DIETRICH
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“Little Eyes” – on a Big Trip
Star Navigation as Rongorongo Inscriptions

An attempt is made here to prove that rongorongo does not reproduce coherent texts, creation chants, rituals, etc., as has been conjectured so far. All signs are symbols of stars and planets, quaters, winds, the moon, the guiding stars, etc.

The new endeavour to analyse the rongorongo signs is based on the accessible astronomical knowledge of Micronesia and Polynesia. The body of rongorongo signs consists of tropical descriptions of single stars, planets, zodiacal signs and other constellations. What has been registered are particular nights and, on the smaller tablets, general data on astronomical itineraries. The all in all about 12,000 rongorongo signs convey exclusively instructions for sidereal navigation within the Pacific.

This article deals with the signs which are supposed to represent the Pleiades (*matariki*) in rongorongo. More than half of all signs can only be understood through the astronomical knowledge of the New Zealand Maori. The present approach, then, provides the possibility to explain nearly all existing rongorongo signs, which hitherto was held to be an illusion.

This is the second part of the study; the last part will appear in the next issue.

Wenn Zeichen erfunden werden müssen, orientiert man sich an einem Vorbild, das dann abstrahiert oder zeichnerisch verkürzt den Sinn oder die Funktion des Vorbildes wiedergibt. Ein Bailer, also eine Schöpfkelle für eingedrungenes Wasser, lässt sich gut als ein Zeichen in Rongorongo vorstellen. Wenn das Grundzeichen nur geringfügig variiert wird, könnten sich damit mehrere Namen oder Begriffe fixieren lassen, die zusammengehören, ganz so, wie die Sterne im Sternhaufen der Plejaden. Ein Wasserschöpfer als Zeichen erfüllt gänzlich das zentrale Konzept *Nichts ist je es selbst*, denn ein solches Werkzeug in Rongorongo wäre zweifelsfrei als solches auch erkannt worden, aber gewiß nicht mit den Plejaden in Verbindung gebracht.



In allen Variationen lassen sich ungefähr 120 Vorkommen bestimmen. Nicht nur in diesem Fall, leider sehr häufig, muß ich unverbindliche Angaben machen, weil die Abschriften nicht so gut sind, wie sie sein könnten, weil ein Amateur diese Aufgabe von Barthel bekommen hatte.

In der aufrechten Form kann man das Zeichen nur sehr schwer als stilisierten Bailer erkennen. Kippt man es in die normale Ansicht, was in der Regel immer eine *Seitenansicht* ist, weil die Frontalansicht eine andere, außerordentlich wichtige Bedeutung in Rongorongo hat, wird deutlich, daß ein solches Zeichen für die Einarbeitung in Holz von einem Profi allererster Güte gemacht wurde. Das Zeichen läßt sich grafisch nicht verbessern, also ist es *absolut!*



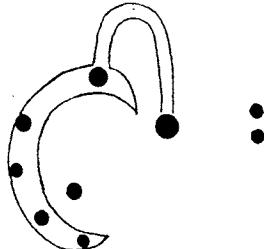
Kunst bedeutet *Reduktion*. Ein Wasserschöpfer besteht aus dem Schaufelblatt und dem Griff. Diese beiden Elemente sind in dem Zeichen unmißverständlich zu erkennen. Man muß sich immer wieder daran erinnern, daß Rongorongo-Kunst in teils nur acht Millimeter Höhe in hartes Holz gekerbt wurde. Für Schnörkel aller Art war kein Platz vorhanden. Das Zeichen trifft die „Seele“ eines Bailers, es ist optimal und durch nichts zu verbessern.

Diese beeindruckende Formensprache in Rongorongo kann nur von Menschen verstanden werden, die es gelernt haben, mit künstlerischen Tatbeständen umzugehen, niemals jedoch von Menschen, die zu Kunst keinen Zugang finden.

In einigen Vorkommen ist das Zeichen erweitert um einen kleinen Stern, der unmittelbar am Griff des Bailers steht. Welcher Stern könnte das sein? Das Zeichen sieht so aus.



Die erste Sternkarte zeigte bereits die Anordnung der Plejadensterne in der Form, wie wir sie von nördlichen Breiten aus sehen. Ich drehe die Karte nun um und lasse die Namen der Sterne weg. Oben ist jetzt Süden. Um diese Formation habe ich das Zeichen des Wasserschöpfers mit dünnen Linien gezogen. Zwar stimmen die Proportionen jetzt nicht mehr, aber trotzdem ist zu erkennen, was die Zeichnung aussagt.



Die Plejaden lassen sich als Bailer erkennen und der Stern am Griffende ist der hellste der Plejadensterne, es ist *Alcyone*. Schon wieder erweist sich eine geheimnisvolle Sternmythe als nichts anderes, als eine Beobachtung mit bloßem Auge. Aus *sechs* Sternen habe ich rekonstruiert, was die Maori über *sechs* Sternnamen angaben.

Meine These stimmt, daß es sehr einfach ist, die Zeichen zu verstehen, weil astronomische Notationen, die zum Teil schlicht und einfach vom Himmel abgezeichnet wurden, jeder verstehen kann, der in eine Sternkarte schaut.

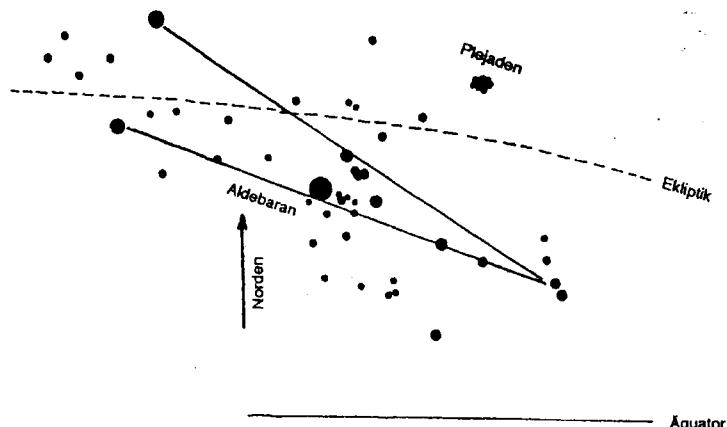
Ein weiteres Zeichen für die Plejaden verdeutlicht sehr eindrucksvoll, wie logisch durchdacht das ganze System ist.



Anstelle des Griffes sitzt ein kleines V-förmiges Zeichen auf dem Bailer. Ohne näher darauf einzugehen, erkläre ich nur, daß es sich dabei um die größte V-Formation von Sternen handelt, die am Himmel von nördlichen und südländlichen Breiten aus zu beobachten ist. Als Solo-Zeichen zeigt es sich in zwei Formen, nach oben bzw. nach unten geöffnet.

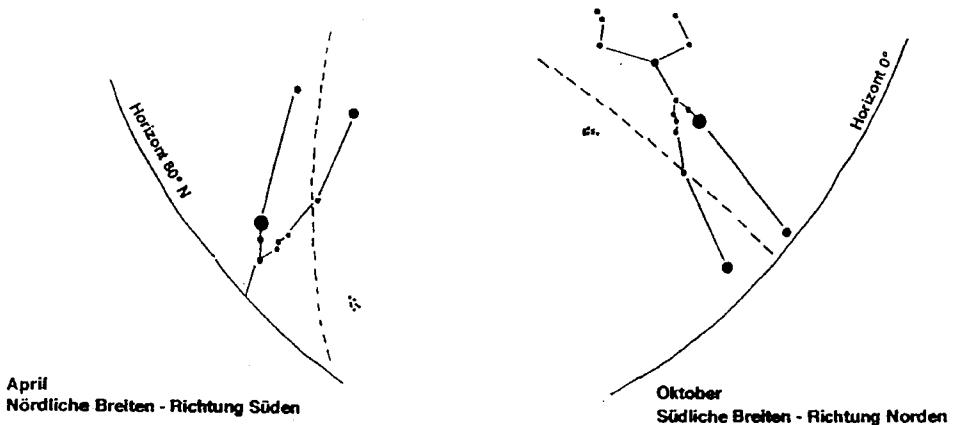


Das große *V* wird gebildet in der Sternregion Taurus. Aldebaran und die Hyaden liegen etwa in der Mitte. Der untere Schenkel geht von Zeta Tauri bis zu Xi und Omikron Tauri, der obere beginnt bei Beta Tauri.



Sternregion Taurus

Je nach dem Beobachtungsstandort zeigt sich die Formation oben bzw. unten geöffnet, also genau so, wie es das Zeichen in Rongorongo beschreibt. Daraus lässt sich erkennen, an welchem Himmel sich die Sternformation befindet.



In Verbindung mit dem Baler-Zeichen für die Plejaden, ist demnach das oben offene V anstelle des Griffes immer eine Notation von nördlichen Breiten mit Blickrichtung nach Süden.

Auf der Großen St. Petersburgtafel (Belegstelle Pr 4) findet man dieses Zeichen:



Auf dem unten geöffneten V steht der Griff des Baler mit dem Stern Alcyone. Das kann nur ein Blick sein von südlichen Breiten Richtung Norden.

Es gibt noch andere Zeichen für die Plejaden, ausgehend von dem Solo-Zeichen des Wasserschöpfers. Ein häufig vorkommendes Zeichen ist dieses:



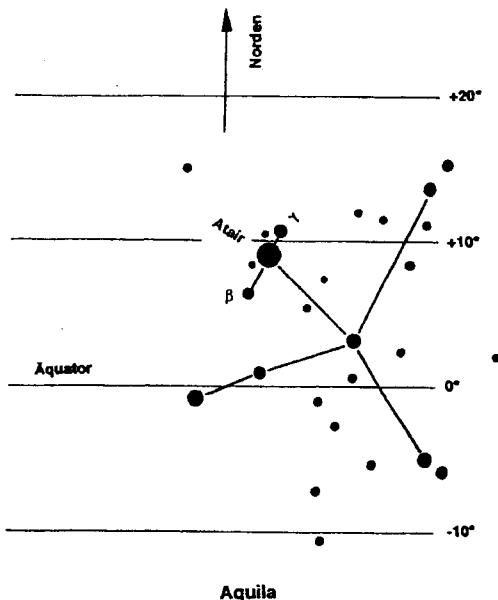
Das Solo-Zeichen, mit dem die Schaufel verbunden ist, besteht aus drei senkrechten Kerben, oben und unten offen, das ist dieses Zeichen:



Der Stern *Atair*, Alpha in *Aquila*, war von ganz besondere Bedeutung überall in Polynesien. Es gibt eine Menge Information über diesen Stern, deren Bewertung zeigt, daß amerikanische und europäische Forscher überhaupt nicht wuß-

ten, nach welchen Kriterien Astronomen in der Südsee ihr Bild über Sterne und Planeten konstruierten.

Aquila wird nach unserer Sichtweise so dargestellt:



Aquila

Maud Makemson listete insgesamt 772 Sternnamen auf. Unter Nr. 496 beschreibt sie den Stern *Poutu-te-rangi*. Er war ein sehr bedeutender Stern für die Maori. Übersetzt bedeutet der Name „*Himmelsstütze*“. Solche Stützsterne waren überall in Mikronesien und Polynesien bekannt. Sie verweisen in die Urzeit, als ein Hero den Himmel (Rangi) von der Erdmutter (Papa) trennte und ihn an vier bis zwanzig Stützsternen befestigte.

Die Forscher Best und Stowell erfuhren über den Sternnamen, daß es sich um *Atair* bzw. die ganze Konstellation Aquila handelt. Williams gab an, daß damit der Stern *Antares* gemeint sei. Das stimmt überein mit Traditionen von Tahiti, die unter dem Namen *Ana-mua* verstanden *Entrance pillar of the sky* und ebenfalls Antares damit bezeichneten. Atair war in Tahiti keiner der zehn Stützsterne, aber Antares wurde dazu gezählt. Also bewertete Makemson die unterschiedlichen Informationen dahingehend, daß Atair nicht von so großer Bedeutung sein konnte, wie Antares. Die Maori gaben an, daß *Poutu-te-rangi* ein Name sei für *Rehua*, der nach ihren Überlieferungen zweifelsfrei Antares sei.

Was wir als Widerspruch verstehen, ist Normalität in Polynesien. Grundsätzlich gilt unsere Denkweise nicht, die uns zwingt, bei Mehrfachnennungen sofort die Frage zu stellen *entweder/oder* – stattdessen gilt ausnahmslos die einzige richtige Feststellung: *Sowohl . . . als auch!*

Natürlich haben wir damit Schwierigkeiten. Sirius ist doch nur ein Name. Für uns ist es unvorstellbar, daß die Bayern damit den Polarstern meinen, die Hessen angeben, daß es Wega sei, in Thüringen soll Sirius aber das Sternbild Cassiopeia bedeuten usw. Das ist aber die Realität in Ozeanien! Der gleiche Stern kann im Laufe eines Jahres viele verschiedene Namen haben, er kann am Südhimmel einen anderen tragen, als während seiner Sichtbarkeit am Nordhimmel. Grundsätzlich gilt, daß alle Sterne in Nähe des Äquators und der Ekliptik von größter Bedeutung waren für die Navigatoren. Das ist so einleuchtend, daß jede Erklärung unterbleiben kann. Atair steht unmittelbar am Rand der Milchstraße und nur zehn Grad vom Äquator entfernt. Er kann am Nordhimmel von südlichen Breiten aus zwischen Ende Mai bis November beobachtet werden, von nördlichen Breiten aus ist er am Südhimmel natürlich in der gleichen Zeit zu sehen. Antares gehört zu Scorpius und ist von südlichen Breiten aus praktisch ganzjährig zu sehen. Auch Antares bewegt sich in Nähe der Ekliptik, aber natürlich weit entfernt vom Äquator.

Der mit großem Abstand schwierigste Sternname ist *Rehua*. Man gewinnt den Eindruck, daß dieser Name für jeden Alpha-Stern galt. Rehua erklärten die Maori als einen Vogel mit einem gebrochenen Flügel. Rehua kann aber auch das Sterndreieck aus Betelgeuze, Rigel und Sirius sein, jeder dieser Sterne hatte auch den Namen Rehua - und so geht das munter weiter.

Die Frage danach, welcher Stern denn nun Rehua ist, darf überhaupt nicht gestellt werden. Es gibt keine widersprüchlichen Informationen, sondern viele Wahrheiten, denn unsere Denkweise ist nicht das Maß aller Dinge.

Natürlich sind Antares und Atair über verschiedene Zeichen in Rongorongo notiert. Von Emory (1965) kennen wir den Sternnamen *Mairapa* oder *Mailapa*, den er von Kapingamarangi mitbrachte, der kleinen polynesischen Enklave in Mikronesien, unmittelbar am Äquator gelegen.

Mairapa ist der Stern *Atair* mit seinen beiden Begleitern Alshain (Beta) und Tarazed (Gamma) im Sternbild Aquila. Auch Antares ist flankiert von zwei Sternen!

Mairapa galt als *maker of rain*, genannt *hai-ti-ua*. Der Regen wurde aufgefangen von *Ti Kumate* (the Bowl), das ist das kleine Sternbild Delphinus. Die Schale bildet sich aus Alpha, Beta, Gamma und Delta Delphinus. Mit der Angabe, *Mairapa* spills it out in December, wissen wir, daß es sich um eine sehr alte Sternbeobachtung handeln muß, denn heute sind beide Sternbilder nicht mehr im Dezember am Himmel. Die Angabe scheint eine Beobachtung zu sein von südlichen Breiten gen Norden, denn an dem Himmel läuft Delphinus unterhalb von Aquila, am anderen dagegen oberhalb.

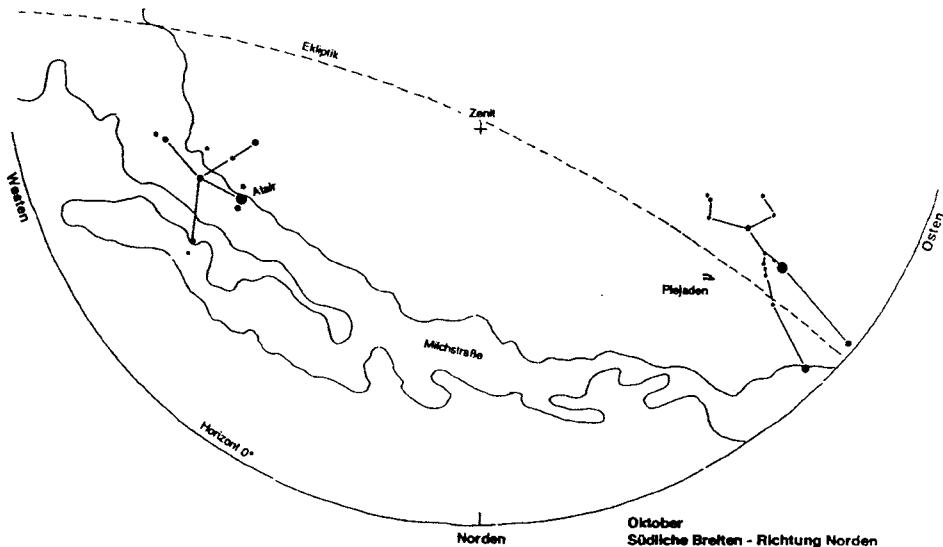
Den Namen *Mairapa* oder *Mailapa* hätte ich als Zeichen in Rongorongo nicht finden können, aber *the maker of rain* mußte ich finden können. Drei senkrechte Linie, oben und unten offen, sind das Zeichen für Regen. Insgesamt fand ich nur 12 Solo-Zeichen, aber 102 Zeichenkombinationen. Das Regenzeichen ist nur eines der Zeichen, die für Atair in Rongorongo zu finden sind.

Die Frage heißt nun, ist der Wasserschöpfer in Verbindung mit dem Regen eine Sternkonstellation zwischen den Plejaden und Atair oder ist die Zeichenkombination als Name zu verstehen? Wie läßt sich eine Antwort darauf finden?

Seit 1864 bis heute wurde noch niemals im Zusammenhang mit Rongorongo das überlieferte Sternwissen aus Mikronesien und Polynesien befragt. Niemals wurde auch nur eine einzige Frage gestellt, die einen unmittelbaren Zusammenhang zwischen polynesischer Astronomie und der vermeintlichen Osterinselschrift aufgedeckt hätte. Deshalb finden wir auch in der gesamten Literatur niemals eine klare Antwort, weil es solche Fragen nicht gab. Als es noch Zeit war, Fragen zu stellen, denn die Einschätzung, daß das alte Wissen bereits im letzten Jahrhundert verlorengegangen ist unzutreffend, unterblieben sie. Warum eigentlich? Auch – und sogar vermehrt – aus der jüngeren Literatur bezog ich Informationen, die bestens zur Entzifferung genutzt werden konnten. Es war also noch Zeit genug, solche Fragen zu stellen. Sie konnten nicht gestellt werden, weil ein einziger Forscher über dreißig Jahre hinweg die Rongorongo-Forschung so extrem dominierte, daß seine Ergebnisse andere Fragen überhaupt nicht aufkommen ließen.

Aber alle Fragen im Zusammenhang mit Rongorongo können über die seriöse und absolut zuverlässige Quelle beantwortet werden, die vorstellbar ist. Einzig Astronomie ist eine objektive Wissenschaft, denn die Sterne und Planeten entziehen sich unserem Einfluß von Anbeginn bis zum Ende der Welt. Wir können alles verfälschen, alles aus subjektiver Sicht von der Wahrheit entfernen, wir können selbstherrlich umgehen mit allem, worauf wir Einfluß haben, was sich unserer Macht unterwerfen muß. Wir können dreißig und dreihundert Jahre lang Wahrheiten unterdrücken, aber wir können keinen einzigen Stern bewegen, wir haben nicht den geringsten Einfluß darauf, was jede Nacht am Himmel geschieht. Rongorongo notiert diese Wahrheit, deshalb finden wir Antworten immer da, wo wir sie suchen müssen: am Sternhimmel!

Nur im Oktober und nur von südlichen Breiten aus ist eine Konstellation am Nordhimmel zu sehen, bei der Atair oberhalb von den Plejaden steht, wie die Sternkarte zeigt.

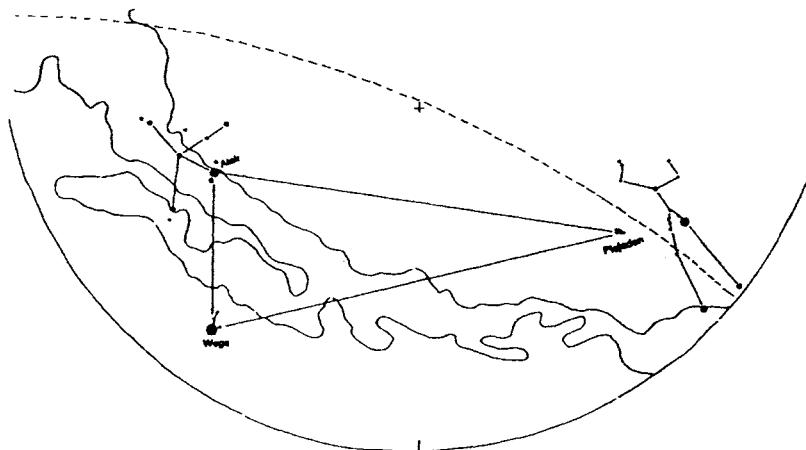


Das könnte doch bedeuten, daß mit dem Zeichen tatsächlich die Plejaden zusammen mit Atair gemeint sind. Was wäre, wenn das davor oder danach stehende Zeichen auch ein Stern ist, womit sich sofort ein Sterndreieck ergibt?

Solche Fragen hatte ich mir natürlich auch gestellt, bevor ich wußte, wie polynesische Sterndreiecke beschaffen sind. In der Literatur findet man darüber so gut wie nichts.

Aus Platzgründen habe ich in den folgenden Sternkarten die Bezeichnungen weggelassen und die Karten verkleinert. Ich bleibe im Monat Oktober, also gelten die Angaben der ersten Karte.

Um ein Sterndreieck zu bilden habe ich den Stern Wega dazugenommen, den ich hier bereits besprochen habe. Nun bildet sich eine Konstellation aus Atair - Plejaden - Wega.

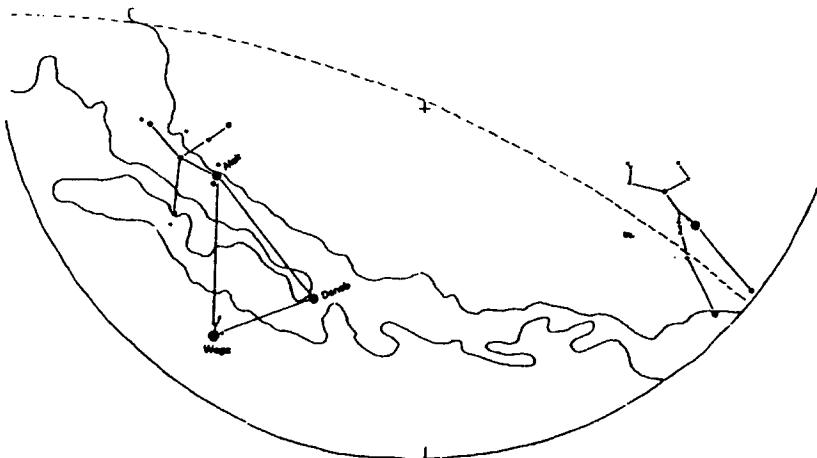


Aus dieser Darstellung wird jeder sternkundige Leser sofort das ablesen, was derjenige, der sich in Sternbeobachtung nicht so gut auskennt, unmöglich sehen kann.

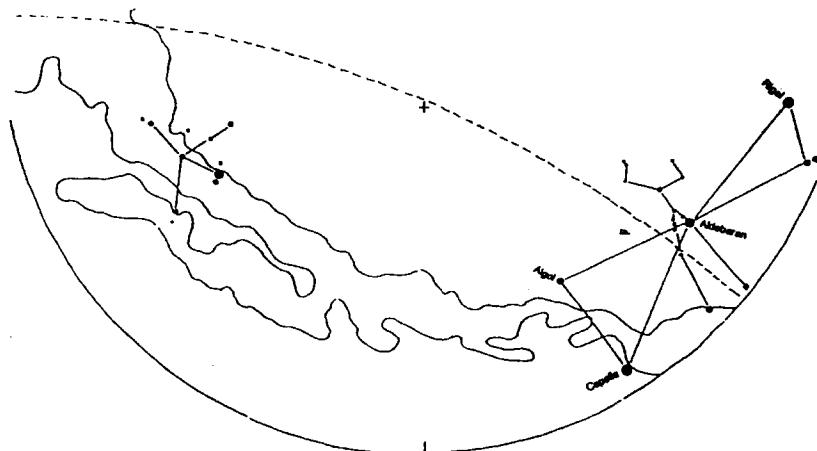
Wega und Atair stehen weit im Westen, die Plejaden weit im Osten. Um eine solche Formation zu beobachten, muß man Halsakrobatik betreiben. Es kann sich deshalb nicht um ein für die Navigation geeignetes Sterndreieck handeln, denn es ist unzweckmäßig. Ich habe inzwischen aus Rongorongo gelernt, daß Sternformationen aller Art nach Möglichkeit im Sichtfeld des Beobachters liegen sollten. Alles das, was der Navigatör ohne mit dem Kopf zu „rotieren“, sehen konnte, war geeignet, um sich am Himmel zu orientieren. Alle die Sterne, die außerhalb seines Sichtfeldes lagen, waren zur Orientierung ungeeignet. Er navigierte sein Boot in die Richtung, in die er die Sterne am Himmel sehen konnte. Es gibt in der Literatur viele Arbeiten über polynesische Sternnavigation, aber ich fand keine, die sich mit Rongorongo-Notationen deckt.

Bleiben wir am gleichen Himmel und nehmen einen Westkurs an, so sind eben alle Sterne im Westen zur Navigation geeignet, alle Sterne im Osten unge-

eignet. Der Navigator hätte z.B. in Fahrtrichtung Westen ein vorzügliches Stern-dreieck im Blickfeld gehabt, was die Karte deutlich zeigt.



Mit Atair, Deneb und Wega hatte der Navigator ein Sterndreieck zur Verfü-gung, das wir in genau der gleichen Formation bilden und es das Sommerdreieck nennen. Draußen in der Natur ist das schon eine gewaltige Sternformation, aber man kann sie sehen, ohne sich den Hals zu verdrehen. Bleiben wir im glei-chen Monat und nehmen nun einen Ostkurs an, gäbe es wieder vorzügliche Sterndreiecke zur Navigation, wie die Karte zeigt.



Die Verbindung von Atair mit den Plejaden ist deshalb ein Name, ganz si-cher keine Navigations-angabe. Für drei Namen der Plejadensterne wird „Was-

ser“ gebraucht, für Waiti (Resembling water), für Waita (Bail-water) und für Waipuna-o-rangi (Celestial Spring-of-water).

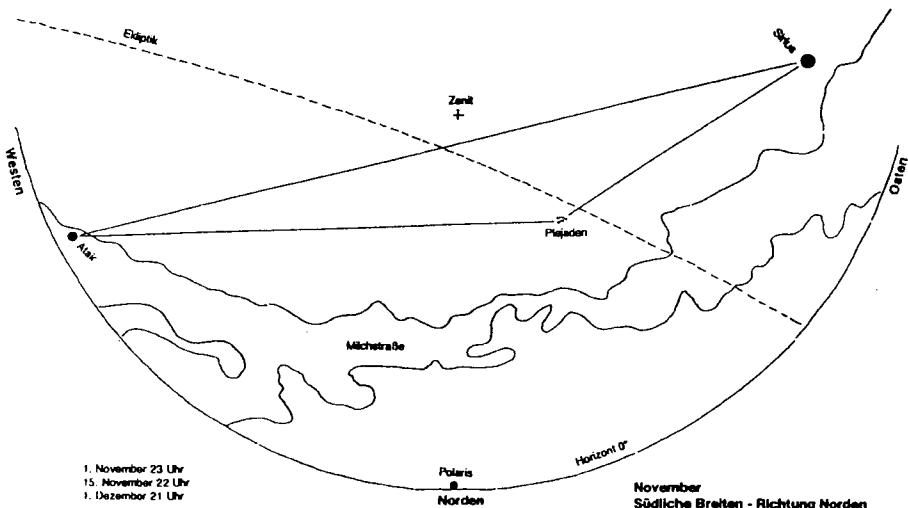
Ich kann nicht angeben, welcher der Plejadensterne gemeint ist, für dessen Name offenbar das Regenzeichen als Vehikel für Wasser gebraucht wurde. Aber dafür lohnt ja auch keine Minute Forschung. Kein Navigator hat das Boot gestoppt, weil er das Steinbeil nicht sehen konnte sondern „nur“ Wega. Kein Navigator ist nach irgendeinem der Plejadensterne navigiert sondern natürlich nur nach dem Sternhaufen.

Ein weiteres Zeichen von einem der Plejadensterne wird gebildet aus der Schöpfkelle, dem Regen-Zeichen und dem Flaschenkürbis, der als eines der Zeichen für Sirius gilt. Die Verbindung sieht so aus:



Hierbei müßte man eigentlich zwangsläufig annehmen, daß eine klassische Dreisternkonstellation gegeben ist. Die ständige Unsicherheit bei Entzifferungen ist eine geplante Absicht gewesen, es ist eine tragende Säule der Gesamtkonzeption Rongorongo. Natürlich können wir aus der Unsicherheit zur Sicherheit gelangen, aber dafür ist ein Forschungsaufwand erforderlich, der erst noch zu bewältigen sein wird. Meine eigene Zielsetzung habe ich bereits klar definiert, mir ging es in erster Linie darum, möglichst die Bedeutung aller Zeichen zu verstehen und nicht, die über 2.000 Zeichen auf der Tafel Tahua zu entziffern. Rongorongo kann noch nicht verstanden werden, wenn alle vorkommenden Zeichen erklärt sind. Das Verständnis hatte ich schon vor fünf Jahren. Das Rätsel, das nun keines mehr ist, wird nur in einem Planetarium gänzlich zu lösen sein. Auch die Konzeption des „Sowohl... als auch“ ist schließlich nicht unendlich, sie ist endlich!

Die Verbindung von den Plejaden mit Sirius und Atair zeigt diese Karte.



Die genauen Daten der Sichtbarkeit sind angegeben. Um ein Sterndreieck zur Navigation kann es sich natürlich nicht handeln. Ganz am Anfang meiner Studien ging ich davon aus, daß Rongorongo in irgendeiner Form als Kalendarium zu verstehen sein könnte. Die Sternkarte, die sich aus dem Zeichen ergibt, kann natürlich auch als Monat November zu verstehen sein. Nach Best (1922) führten die meisten Stämme der Maori das Plejadenjahr, das mit der ersten Sichtbarkeit des Sternhaufens begann. Atair ist aber im November von Maori Land aus nicht mehr zu beobachten, er befindet sich unter dem Horizont.

Wir kennen vier Bedeutungen der Plejaden von den Maori, die Sir George Grey notierte (Best:1922)

Matariki ahunga nui = provider of plentiful food-supplies

Matariki tupuapua = abundance of pools of water in the winter season

Matariki hunga nui = a large suite of persons engaged in collecting food-supplies

Matariki kanohi iti = „small-eyed Matariki“

Sowohl das „Wasser“ als auch der „Kürbis“ können deshalb sehr wohl als Namensbestandteil verstanden werden in den Zeichen, die sich vom Solo-Zeichen eines Bailers ableiten. So läßt sich denn auch das am Anfang erwähnte Zeichen der kleinen Augen in Verbindung mit dem Regen-Zeichen für Atair verstehen als ein Name und nicht als eine Sternverbindung.

Die einzige Regel, die ich in zehnjähriger Forschungsarbeit fand, lautet:

Es gibt keine Regeln in Rongorongo

Zeichenkombinationen können Sternformationen sein, sie können Namen bedeuten, selbstverständlich auch beides und sie können noch weitere Bedeutungen ausdrücken, die ich nicht fand. Diese Option muß ich in meinem eigenen Interesse offen halten.

Die Rongorongo-Entzifferung gliedert sich in zwei Arbeitsschritte. Es gibt sehr viel deskriptive Sternnamen, die aus umfangreicher Literatur gesammelt werden. Mit der Angabe „pictured as . . .“ für einen Stern oder eine Sternformation müssen ca. 12.000 Zeichen abgesucht werden, um genau das Zeichen zu finden, für das es die Beschreibung gibt. Wie man das macht, habe ich gerade an den Zeichen erklärt, die einen Wasserschöpfer in stilisierter Form zeigen. Das ist in erster Linie eine reine Fleißarbeit, die aufwendig, aber kaum kreativ ist. Natürlich braucht man dazu ein grafisch geschultes Auge, muß wissen, wie sich aus einem realen Vorbild ein grafisch verkürztes Zeichen entwickelt. Das können viele Menschen. Ist das Zeichen gefunden, legt man Listen an, in denen alle Vorkommen des Zeichens katalogisiert sind. Hierbei ist es ganz wichtig, alle Variationen und Verbindungen aus den Vorlagen abzuzeichnen mit Angabe der Belegstellen. Ich habe dafür inzwischen 15 Ordner (Füllhöhe 65 mm) angelegt. Diese Arbeit kann ein Laie nicht bewerkstelligen, hier sind erhebliche Kenntnisse über Grundlagen der Gestaltung von „graphics“ erforderlich. Aber auch das ist mehr eine Fleißarbeit, als kreative Forschung.

Meine Grundhaltung von Anfang an war, daß ich die feste Überzeugung hatte, daß das ganze Wissen für die Entzifferung von Rongorongo vorhanden ist. In fast dreihundert Jahren Forschung über die Kultur in Mikronesien und Polynesi-

en ist so unglaublich viel Wissen zusammengetragen worden, daß jede andere Grundhaltung nicht zulässig ist.

An diesem Punkt unterscheide ich mich von allen bisher in Erscheinung getretenen Rongorongo-Forschern. Es ist herzerweichend und tränенreich zu lesen, daß die Osterinselschrift niemals mehr zu entziffern sein wird, weil die letzten Rongorongo-Gelehrten ihr Wissen mit in das Grab nahmen.

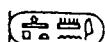
Welch eine unehrenhafte Kapitulation aus *allerhöchster* Unkreativität steckt dahinter. Es sind Wissenschaftler, die sich letzten Endes anmaßen, ein solches Urteil zu fällen und damit doch nur ein Urteil über das eigene Unvermögen zum Ausdruck bringen.

Die bisher einzige große Ausstellung über die Kunst und Kultur der Osterinsel wurde von der deutschen Ethnologin Heide-Margaret Esen-Baur in Frankfurt/Main vom 5. April bis zum 3. September 1989 vorgestellt. In dem Katalog zur Ausstellung „1500 Jahre Kultur der Osterinsel“ findet man einen Beitrag von Prof. Dr. Jean Guiart, Co-Director des Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Im Autorenverzeichnis wird angegeben: Weltbekannter Ozeanist mit Schwerpunkt Melanesien; grundlegende Forschungen über Neu-Kaledonien.

Sein Beitrag trägt den Titel: „Die Schriftzeichen der Osterinsel“. Nur der erste Abschnitt ist interessant. Guiart schrieb:

„Die Schriftzeichen der Osterinsel sind schon vielfach abgehandelt worden; ihre Enträtselung scheint jedoch ein unmögliches Unterfangen zu sein. Leider wurde bisher nichts gefunden, was mit dem Stein von Mariette vergleichbar wäre, bei dem zwei Schriften, von denen eine bereits bekannt war, gegenübergestellt waren. Auch die bisher von sowjetischer bzw. französischer Seite (bei IBM) unternommenen Versuche, die Schriftzeichen mit Hilfe der Informatik zu analysieren, erbrachten zwar weitere Erkenntnisse hinsichtlich der Bedingungen, unter denen die Zeichen erstellt worden waren, konnten jedoch keinen Aufschluß über die Bedeutung der Zeichen geben und werden auch künftig nicht in der Lage dazu sein, da uns hierfür jegliche Ansatzpunkte fehlen.“

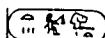
Als Beute aus dem Feldzug gegen Ägypten 1798 brachte Napoleon den „Stein von Rosette“ mit nach Frankreich, der seitdem im Louvre/Paris gezeigt wird. Auf diesem Stein befinden sich drei Inschriften in drei Sprachformen, Neuägyptisch, Demotisch und Griechisch. Der Franzose Champollion hatte die Hypothese aufgestellt, daß möglicherweise in den sogenannten Kartuschen Königsnamen der bisher unentzifferten Hieroglyphen stehen könnten. Die Abbildung zeigt einige dieser Kartuschen.



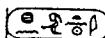
Imn-htp Amenophis



Dhwltj-ms Thotmosis



Hi.t-šps.wt Hatschepsut



ih-n-Itn Echnaton

	Twt-	Tutanchamun
	'nh-Imn	
	R'-ms-s	Ramses

Mit Hilfe des griechischen Textes wußte Champollion, welcher Name zu welcher Kartusche gehörte. Er fand heraus, welche Konsonantenverbindung zu welchem Symbol der Namensschreibung assoziiert ist. Das war der Durchbruch in der Entzifferung einer seit über 2.000 Jahren unentzifferten Schrift. Die Arbeit der Entzifferung ist noch immer nicht abgeschlossen.

Soweit die Klarstellung zu den Angaben von Guiart.

Es gibt hunderte von Artikeln über die Unentzifferbarkeit von Rongorongo. Aber der gemeinsame Nenner aller Autoren ist keinesfalls nur diese Einschätzung, sie lassen sich lang und breit darüber aus, warum das Geheimnis für immer ein solches bleiben wird, und ziehen dann wie Taschenspieler den Joker aus dem Ärmel. Auch der weltbekannte Ozeanist Guiart hatte natürlich seinen Joker eingebracht. Wie bei allen Autoren kommt auch sein Finale mit einer bisher unbekannten Variante. Er schrieb:

„Die Schrifttafeln der Osterinsel können nichts anderes bedeuten: Nämlich eine Folge von Personen und mit diesen Personen verbundenen Orten, an deren Position innerhalb einer Ahnen-reihe erinnert wird, um auf diese Weise die genealogische und damit soziale Position sowie den Bodenanspruch ihrer Nachkommen zu rechtfertigen.“

Warum ein so verdrehter Text? Grundbucheintragungen über Latifundien - das wäre doch vollkommen ausreichend.

Guiart bedient sich der Worte: „ . . . können *nichts anderes bedeuten*.“

Er steht damit in der Tradition der Rongorongo-Forschung, die von Anfang an als Spielregel setzte, daß die Behauptung der Beweis ist. Barthel trug jeden seiner Beweise damit vor, daß man sich unter diesem und jenem Zeichen sehr gut vorstellen kann, was bedauerlicherweise nur *er selbst* sich darunter vorstellen konnte. Einspruch dagegen blieb aus.

Der kreative Part in der Entzifferung von Rongorongo beginnt erst dann, wenn es für Zeichen keine Angaben gibt oder ich solche Informationen nicht fand. Das ist schließlich ein Unterschied. Bei diesem Zeichen für einen der Plejadensterne sind zwei beteiligte Solo-Zeichen bekannt, aber das dritte noch nicht.



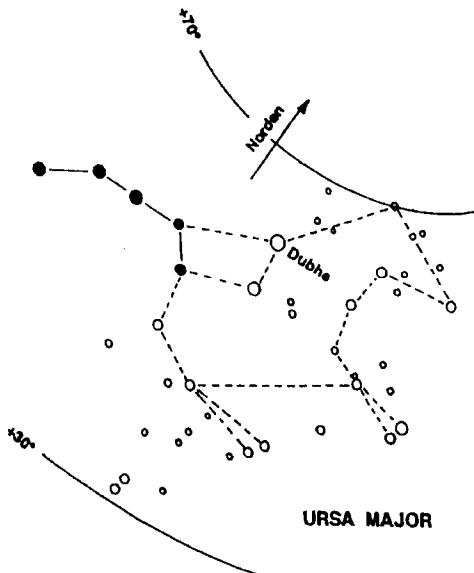
W. W. Gill sammelte die Information über die Drachen in Mangaia. Über fünf Federbüschel konnte er nichts in Erfahrung bringen. Insgesamt sind 143 Vorkommen des Drachenschwanz-Zeichens zu finden mit fünf Winkeln, die natürlich erklärt werden müssen. Wie kann das geschehen?

Rongorongo-Entzifferung wäre nicht reizvoll und keine Herausforderung, wenn sich alle Zeichen aus der vorhandenen Literatur erklären ließen. Ein wenig Spaß muß sein, sonst hätte ich die Arbeit längst eingestellt.

Wenn die Anzahl der Federbüschel identisch ist mit der Anzahl der Sterne, dann ist mit an Sicherheit grenzender Wahrscheinlichkeit davon auszugehen, daß fünf Winkel oder Federbüschel auch fünf Sterne meinen. Die relativ hohe Anzahl von Vorkommen läßt darüberhinaus den Schluß zu, daß es sich um eine große und wichtige Formation handeln muß. Solche Erkenntnisse gewinnt man erst nach vielen Jahren. Wären unter den ca. 12.000 Zeichen weniger als zehn Belegstellen zu finden, kann es sich nicht um ein wichtige Sternformation in der Navigation handeln.

Genaue Angaben fehlen, aber wahrscheinlich war es das erste polynesische Sternbild, das von arabischen Seefahrern bekannt wurde. Sie mußten zu ihrem großen Erstaunen feststellen, daß ihre polynesischen Kollegen das Sternbild Ursa Maior falsch zusammensetzten. (H. Werner: 1960)

Sie erkannten darin weder einen Bären, noch das Teilbild eines großen Wagens. Aber aus genau fünf Sternen bildeten sie ein großes Kanu am Himmel in der Nacht. Das sieht nun so aus:



Ich hatte bereits ein Kanu-Zeichen gefunden, das sich aus vier Sternen zusammensetzt, dieses:



Es ist eines der Zeichen für Orion und für Crux. Dieser „Sternbild Zwerg“ macht sich so breit in Rongorongo, daß ich noch immer nicht angeben kann, über wieviel Zeichen er vertreten ist. Crux ist natürlich das Sternbild des südlichen Himmels schlechthin. Wer von Norden kam und den Äquator überfuhr hatte Crux fast das ganze Jahr im Sichtfeld. Ich hatte auch bereits ein Kanu entdeckt, das sich aus fünf Sternen bildet, nämlich dieses:

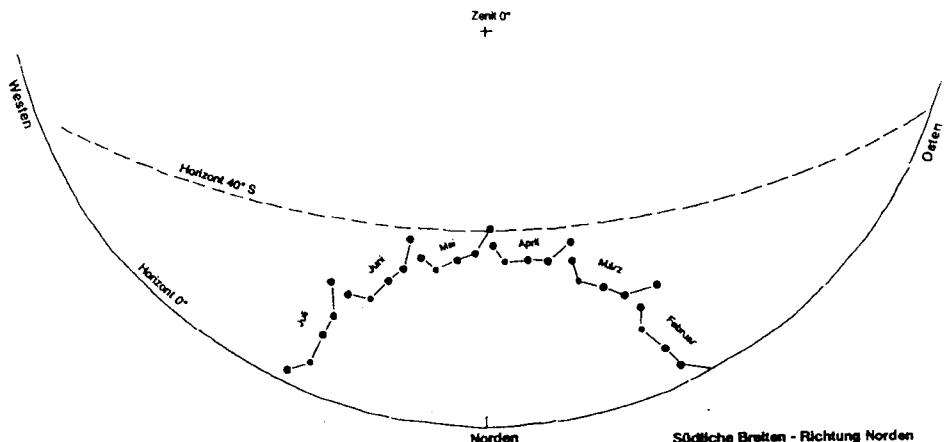


Über dieses Zeichen gibt es etwas ganz Bedeutungsvolles zu sagen. Zwei Ereignisse beunruhigten die Maori außerordentlich. Wenn böse Dämonen den Mond attackierten, darüber habe ich berichtet, und zweitens, wenn irgendetwas im Leben eines Maori asymmetrisch war. Der große Maori-Forscher Elsdon Best verstieß sich sogar zu der Feststellung, seinen geliebten Maori ihren Hang zur Symmetrie als eine krankhafte Neigung zu unterstellen. Das finden wir - wenn auch nicht ganz so kraß - bei allen Maori-Forschern bestätigt. Das allerhöchste Ordnungsprinzip war Symmetrie. Über dieses Dualitätsprinzip als eine Grundhaltung der Maori zu allem, was um sie herum geschah, gibt es hervorragende Forschungen auch aus jüngster Zeit, auf die ich nicht näher eingehe. Peter Buck, alias Te Rangi Hiroa, hat Beispiele darüber zusammengetragen.

Rongorongo ist die Schrift der Maori Neuseelands, was unwiderlegbar mit solchen Zeichen bewiesen werden kann, die hier nicht zu besprechen waren. Die grafische Grundkonzeption in Rongorongo ist die sogenannte Mittelachse. Jeder Maler und Grafiker wird sich jetzt die Haare raufen, weil wir diese Form der Symmetrie so hassen und fürchten gleichermaßen, wie der Teufel das Weihwasser. Wenn sich eine Sternformation aus fünf Sternen zusammensetzt, kann das Zeichen aus der Sicht von Maori niemals ungleiche Gewichte haben. Es wäre undenkbar, an eine Seite zwei, an die andere Seite drei Sternchen an das Kanu-Zeichen anzubinden. So ist es zwangsläufig überhaupt nicht anders zu machen, als den fünften Stern unten an die Kanuspitze zu setzen. Die erforderliche Symmetrie ist hergestellt. Aber weit über diese formalen Dinge hinaus, erwartete ich, daß es als Gegengewicht zum Süd-Kanu, wie ich es nenne, auch ein Nord-Kanu am Himmel in der Nacht geben mußte. Es kann nicht sein, daß nur Wega am Nordhimmel ein Atua von höchstem Rang sein konnte, also muß es ihn selbstverständlich auch am Südhimmel geben. Den vergöttlichten Ahn, der einzig dafür als Kandidat gelten konnte, hatte ich bereits bestimmt, lange bevor ich seine Zeichen entdeckte. Es ist „he who stands alone“. Ein tiefschwarzer Himmel in einem großen Bogen um *Canopus* konnte nur bedeuten „he was a very tapu person“.

Als ich noch nicht wußte, daß in Rongorongo das Sternwissen aus Indonesien und Mikronesien aufgezeichnet ist, ich noch davon ausging, alleine über polynesisches Wissen die Zeichen klären zu können, suchte ich ganz logisch alles das ab, was nördlich des Äquators über ein aus fünf Sternen bestehendes Kanu zu finden war. Es wäre doch geradezu kurios gewesen, ein am Nordhimmel be-

findliches Kanu bei den Maori zu suchen. Das aus fünf Sternen gebildete Kanu ist vom Äquator aus natürlich sichtbar, aber auf 40° südlicher Breite nicht mehr.



Das große polynesische Kanu kann unmöglich von Neuseeland aus beobachtet werden.

Der Sternname Nr. 348 heißt bei Makemson:

Manu-kaki-oa, Bird with a long neck; the Marquesan name for Ursa Major.

Als „Abfallprodukt“ meiner Suche nach einem Kanu fand ich einen *Vogel mit einem langen Hals*, den es natürlich in Rongorongo gibt. Hier zeigt er sich:



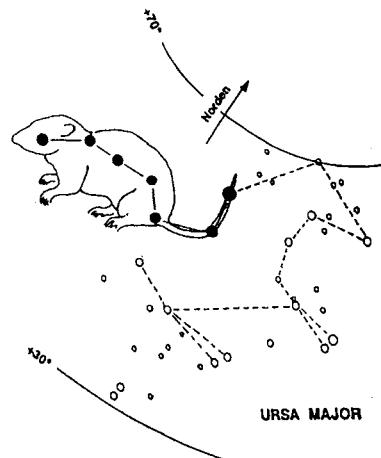
Weil alle Zeichen stets die gleiche Höhe haben, muß der Vogel eben nach unten schauen, sonst wäre der lange Hals nicht darstellbar. Na Hiku in der Übersetzung „Die Sieben“ als ein Name für Ursa Major von Hawai'i, habe ich schon genannt und die Namen der einzelnen Sterne angeführt im Zusammenhang mit dem Stern Pau, für den die Angabe „finished“, also „der letzte“ vorliegt. Eine Bildbeschreibung der Sternformation von Hawai'i gibt es zwar nicht, aber dafür eine sehr aufschlußreiche über den letzten Sternnamen mit der Nr. 772 von Makemson.

Te-Yiku-o-te-kiole, the Tail of the rat; pointed out to Beaglehole by Pau of Pukapuka as part of Ursa Major, although others insisted that it was Coma Berenices. The Bowl of the Big Dipper is the body and the handle is the tail of that rat, according to Pau.

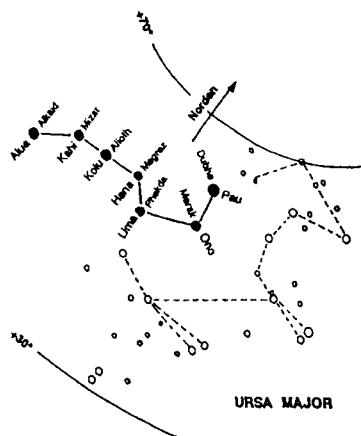
Wieder kein Kanu, dafür eine *Ratte*, die es selbstverständlich in Rongorongo gibt. Das kleine Tierchen sitzt brav auf der gedachten Grundlinie aber nicht in der Normalposition sondern hochgestellt.



Damit läßt sich nun ganz einfach in den Sternen das Bild einer Ratte erkennen, denn sie wird tatsächlich aus sieben Sternen in Ursa Maior gebildet. Außerdem kann nun jeder Stern den Namen zurückbekommen, den sternkundige Weise in Hawai'i wußten, denn wir wissen jetzt, wie gezählt wurde.



Über die präzise Angabe von Beaglehole, daß der Schwanz der Ratte durch den Stern Pau markiert wurde, konnte ich das Sternbild rekonstruieren. Wenn die daran beteiligten Sterne in der Reihenfolge der Aufzählung von Königin Liliuokalani übereinstimmen mit ihrer Abfolge in der Sternkonstellation, dann muß man nur rückwärts beginnen mit Pau als letztem Schwanzstern, der dann als Alpha in Ursa Maior mit Dubhe erkannt ist. Demnach ergibt sich diese Reihenfolge:



Die Rekonstruktion ist ohne jede Bedeutung, denn einzig und allein bedeutsam für das Verständnis der Zeichen ist nur, daß es die Ratte als Zeichen in Rongorongo gibt und sie mit Ursa Maior in Verbindung gebracht werden kann.

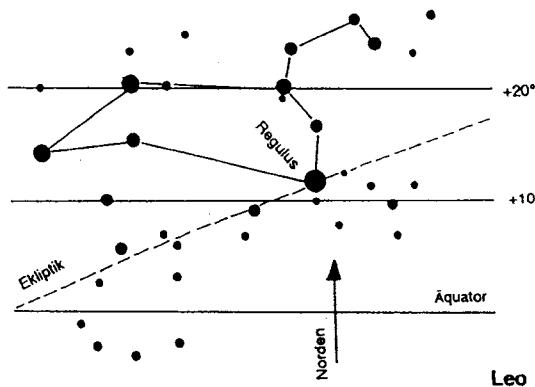
Unter keinen Umständen darf ausgeschlossen werden, daß eben auch Coma Berenice als Rattenschwanz galt. Ein eigenständiges Zeichen dafür habe ich nicht gefunden. Aber natürlich eine zweite Ratte!

Johnson/Mahelona (1975):

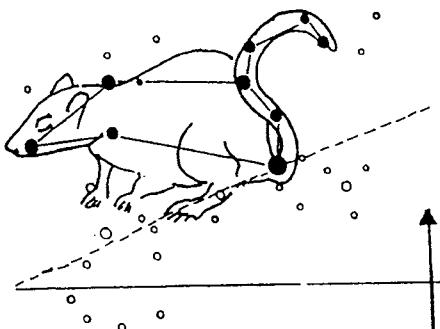
Micronesia: *Yis* (Mortlocks the rat (in Leo)

There may be a connection between the Rat in Micronesia as Leo and the Southeast Asian sign of Leo as the Octopus if one takes into consideration the legend of the Octopus and the Rat in Oceania, and how the Rat gets the Octopus to carry him across the sea.

Das Sternbild *Leo* ist in verschiedener Hinsicht von besonderer Bedeutung für Sternnavigation. Der Alpha-Stern Regulus läuft exakt auf der Ekliptik, die Sterne befinden sich alle in Nähe des Himmelsäquators.



Man braucht nicht viel Fantasie, um in dieser Sternkonstellation eine Ratte zu sehen, die von Regulus aus ihren Schwanz nach oben biegt, also etwa so:



Beide Ratten sind monatlang zeitgleich am Himmel. Wie läßt sich herausfinden, welche Sternkonstellation gemeint ist?

Grundsätzlich ist das eine Frage, die überhaupt nicht gestellt werden muß, denn das ist die Normalität in Rongorongo. Man muß nämlich nur die davor

und danach gekerbten Zeichen – also Sterne, Sternbilder, Planeten etc. – in die Entzifferung einbeziehen, um die Antwort zu kennen.

Diese Technik der Chiffrierkunst, daß ein einzelnes Zeichen niemals präzise Aussagen macht sondern nur im Zusammenhang mit vielen anderen Zeichen „Klartext“ spricht, ist im Sinne der Geheim-haltung geradezu famos. Aber natürlich ist das alles auch ziemlich kompliziert. So entschied man richtigerweise, die beiden Ratten über eigene Zeichen zu differenzieren. Aber wie sieht eine zweite Ratte denn nun aus?

Drei grafische Elemente sind erforderlich, um das Zeichen als Ratte zu erkennen. Unbedingt notwendig ist der lange Schwanz. Der gebogene Körper kann auch nicht substituiert werden. Es bleibt also nur noch der Kopf, um eine zweite Ratte als Zeichen zur Verfügung zu haben.

In der Sternkonstellation Ursa Maior sind zwei mikronesische Sternbilder enthalten sowie ein wahrscheinlich polynesisches. Mit *Manu-kaki-oa* haben wir den Vogel mit einem langen Hals, mit *Te-Yiku-o-te-kiole* kennen wir die Ratte und schließlich gibt es noch das aus fünf Sternen bestehende Kanu, für das ich keinen Namen fand sondern nur die Information darüber. Damit bietet sich eine vorzügliche Gestaltung an, denn die zweite Ratte erhält ganz einfach einen Vogelkopf!



Zwar hat ein Vogel keinen Rattenschwanz und eine Ratte keinen Vogelkopf, aber das ist unerheblich. Einzig die Tatsache eines zweiten Zeichens ist von Bedeutung.

Das Zeichen kommt in vielfältigen Variationen vor, auf die hier nicht näher eingegangen werden kann. Leider bin ich nicht in der Lage, zu erklären, warum der Vogelkopf auf dem Rattenkörper stets „schreit“, denn nichts anderes bedeutet der geöffnete Schnabel. Einen schreienden Vogel brauchen wir für einen Doppelstern in *Scorpius* ohnehin. Außer Frage ist, daß natürlich dieser Kopf eine wichtige Aussage enthält sonst hätte man sich nicht die Mühe gemacht, den Vogelkopf so aufwendig zu arbeiten.

Es gibt in Rongorongo eine Menge Zeichen, die man in der Forschung unter „zoomorphe Wesen“ zusammengefaßt hat. Darunter zählt auch das Ratten-Zeichen mit dem Vogelkopf, obwohl diese Erklärung bisher fehlte.

Diese Fabeltiere in Rongorongo – wie ich solche Zeichen populistisch nenne – sind der Nährboden für die Mystifikation der „geheimnisvollen Osterinselschrift“.

Mystizismus, das Kainsmal der Ethnologie, lebt von und durch Unkenntnis, Unwissenheit und Ignoranz. Mystizismus heißt der zerlumpte Deckmantel der Spekulation! Aber Mystizismus ist unsterblich.

Park Harrison, ein berühmter Schriftforscher am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts, erkannte Affen und Elefanten, Schlangen und Fische in Rongorongo, deren ursprüngliche Heimat Asien gewesen sein soll. Seetang, verheiratete und in wilder Ehe lebende Osterinsulaner erkannte ein deutscher Kapitän, der mit seinem Ka-

nonenboot auf Beutezug gen Rapanui unter kaiserlichem Befehl dampfte, Kapitänleutnant Geiseler. Hevesy, ein in den zwanziger Jahren dieses Jahrhunderts bekannter Forscher, erkannte eine Übereinstimmung mit den Schriftzeichen aus der damals gerade entdeckten Induskultur. Rund um die Welt entdeckte der deutsche Wissenschaftler Wolff überall Zeichen, die er in Rongorongo wiederaufgefunden. Thor Heyerdahl entdeckte das, was er entdecken mußte für die Theorie, daß die Osterinsulaner eigentlich südamerikanische Indianer sind. So fand er den Kondor, den König der Lüfte, und jede Menge Brüllaffen, die jeden, der das entsetzliche Geschrei nicht kennt, aus dem Urwald verjagen. Dazu gehörte natürlich auch der Tapir als ein typischer Vertreter der südamerikanischen Tierwelt.

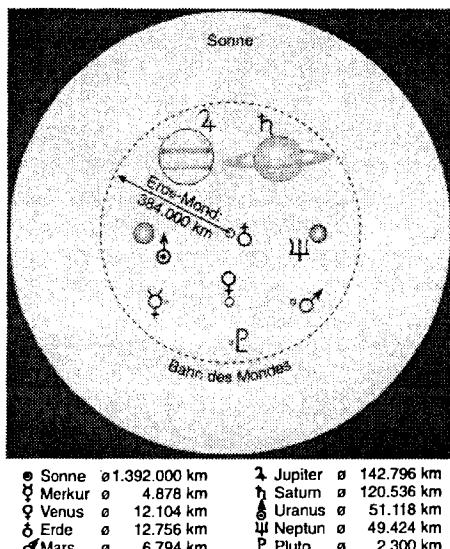
Eigentlich kann sich die Aufzählung damit begnügen, daß sich alle Rongorongo-Forscher die größte Mühe machten die Vorbilder der Zeichen irgendwo in der Welt zu suchen – nur nicht in Ozeanien. Das wiederum tat Barthel. So schrieb er über seine Fantasie die Kokospalme in Rongorongo hinein und folgerte, daß die Besiedler der Osterinsel deshalb aus dem Gebiet der Gesellschaftsinseln gekommen sind.

Wenn aber nun die Ratte mit dem Vogelkopf kein zoomorphes Wesen ist und alle anderen solcher Fabeltiere auch nicht das sind, für das sie sich ausgeben, wie soll man dann alle diese Zeichen eigentlich nennen? Wir lernen schon in der Schule in „Schubladen“ zu denken. Alles das, was nicht ordnungsgemäß abgelegt werden kann, keinen Platz in einer Schublade findet, ist Unrat.

Eine Klassifizierung der Zeichen ist irreführend und deshalb gänzlich falsch.

In den Naturwissenschaften finden wir tausende von Zeichen, ohne deren Vorhandensein Wissenschaft niemals möglich wäre! Mathematik, Physik, Chemie, Astronomie - alle Naturwissenschaften - brauchen Zeichen, um ihr Wissen zu konservieren, es lehrbar und erlernbar zu machen.

Deshalb sind die Zeichen in Rongorongo nichts anderes als solche Zeichen:



Es besteht also nicht der geringste Unterschied zwischen einem Zeichen, das einen Kreis mit einem nach oben weisenden Pfeil zeigt zu einem Vogelzeichen in Rongorongo, denn jeder, der diese geheime oder nicht geheime Nomenklatur kennt, wird damit den Planet Mars in Verbindung bringen. Es besteht nicht der geringste Unterschied zwischen einem Kreis, an dem unten ein kleines Kreuz hängt zu einem großen, hell leuchtendem Auge als Zeichen in Rongorongo, denn jedesmal ist die Venus gemeint.

Kein vernünftiger Mensch kommt auf die Idee mit dem Dreizack für Neptun etwas anderes zu verbinden als den römischen Gott der Gewässer, bzw. ihn als Zeichen für den gleichnamigen Planeten zu identifizieren.

Prinzipiell sollten Zeichen von allen an dem System Beteiligten in der gleichen Form verwendet werden. Das ist unter Astronomen ganz und gar nicht der Fall. Die abgebildete Tabelle habe ich entnommen aus: „H. U. Keller, Kosmos Himmelsjahr 1998, Stuttgart“. In „MEYERS GROSSES TASCHENLEXIKON (1990)“ wird das astronomische Zeichen für Neptun anders gezeichnet, nämlich so:



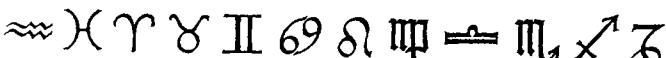
Wahrscheinlich gibt es noch ein drittes und vierstes ähnliches Zeichen für den Planeten. Je nach der Literatur, mit der ich gearbeitet habe, sind die Verbindungen der Sterne zu Sternbildern ganz erheblich unterschiedlich. Dennoch funktioniert das System.

Mit dieser Betrachtungsweise wird dem Mystizismus der Nährboden entzogen. Damit ist Rongorongo über jeden Zweifel erhaben *Wissenschaft*. Die bildhaften Zeichen basieren auf alten Überlieferungen, aber ihre Aussagen sind eben keine Märchen und Mythen, keine geheimnisvollen, unergründbaren Mythen, es sind sachlich fundierte astronomische Notationen.

Mystikern kann das nicht gefallen. Mystiker sind an Rongorongo gescheitert!

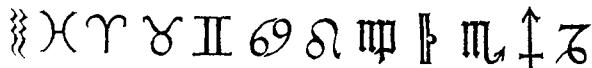
Die bekanntesten Zeichen in der modernen Astronomie sind die Zeichen für die zwölf Tierkreissternbilder. Ihr Ursprung liegt weit zurück, lange bevor Astrologie und Astronomie getrennte Wege gingen. Die Verwendung dieser Zeichen in astronomischer Literatur hat nicht den geringsten Bezug zu ihrer ursprünglichen Herkunft. Auch von den Strichzeichnungen der Tierkreissternbilder findet man verschiedene Vorlagen. Von einer einheitlichen Schreibweise kann überhaupt nicht die Rede sein.

Ein oft verwendet System der Tierkreiszeichen sieht so aus:



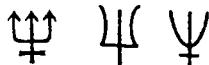
Aus grafischer Sicht handelt es sich bestenfalls um individuelle Zeichen und keinesfalls um ein einheitliches System, das unter gestalterischen Vorgaben entwickelt wurde.

Drei Zeichen passen nicht in diese Reihe, weil sie quer, und nicht wie die anderen, hochgestellt sind. Wären es Rongorongo-Zeichen, sähe die Reihe dann so aus:



Auch bei den heutigen Tierkreiszeichen wäre es erforderlich die Zeichen für Wassermann, Krebs und Waage entgegen ihrer Normalposition zu schreiben, sowie das Zeichen für das Sternbild Schütze in einem 90° Winkel auf die gedachte Grundlinie zu stellen.

Nehmen wir an, daß das astronomische Zeichen für Neptun für einen Fixstern gelten soll, dann hätte ich verschiedene Zeichen zur Auswahl.



Der Fachmann läßt sich dadurch nicht täuschen. Wer aber die Bedeutung nicht kennt, wird von drei unterschiedlichen Zeichen ausgehen.

Ein Sternbild kann ich in der gleichen Mechanik verdoppeln über zwei Zeichen, die als zwei unterschiedliche gesehen werden können, diese:



Nur wer die Bedeutung der nächsten Zeichen kennt, kann verstehen, daß es sich nicht um das gleiche Zeichen handelt in aufrechter und in nach unten gedrehter Form:



Das am Kreis hängende Kreuz meint den Planet Venus, das andere Zeichen steht als Symbol für die Erde. Nun läßt sich doch leicht vorstellen, daß es für alle Sternbilder Zeichen geben könnte, ebenso für die Alpha-Sterne und die Himmelsrichtungen. Damit hätten wir ein vergleichbares System zu Rongorongo.

Außer den linearen Zeichen für die Tierkreissternbilder gibt es noch ungezählte Systeme von stilisierten Zeichnungen. Das Sternbild der Fische könnte ich über das lineare und das stilisierte Zeichen in der oberen oder unteren Kulmination angeben, so:



Vergleiche sind meistens eine heikle Sache. Natürlich finden wir in Rongorongo kein einziges unserer Zeichen. Trotzdem kann niemand behaupten, daß ich in den Hokuspokus der Astrologie abgerutscht bin. Die modernen astronomischen Zeichen für Planeten und Tierkreissternbilder sind ohne den Makel ihrer Herkunft eine international gültige wissenschaftliche Nomenklatur.

Diesen Anspruch räume ich vorbehaltlos den Zeichen der vermeintlichen Osterinselschrift ein, die man nicht anders verstehen kann. Rongorongo war über 130 Jahre oft genug die Beute von Mystikern und anderen Scharlatanen.

Aber Rongorongo ist eine astronomische Notation, deren Zeichenbestand von Menschen erfunden wurde, die bis in unsere Tage ein mythologisches Weltbild präferieren. Wir sind durch nichts ermächtigt, unser naturwissenschaftlich geprägtes Weltbild höher zu bewerten. Unser Drang nach mehr Wissen, nach mehr Erkenntnissen, ist legitim und steht überhaupt nicht in irgendeinem Gegensatz zu anderen philosophischen oder religiösen Vorstellungen. In Rongorongo ist genau so viel Astrologie, wie heute noch Reste davon in moderner Astronomie zu finden sind, was die Tierkreiszeichen und die Zeichen für die Planeten ja wohl offenkundig zeigen.

Rongorongo war bereits eine hoch entwickelte Wissenschaft eingeweihter Männer in Neuseeland, als unsere Ahnen sich anschickten, die Götter und Geister am Himmel als Sonnen und Planeten zu verstehen. Deshalb konnte Rongorongo nicht verstanden werden, weil das längst überholte alte Wissen den Zeichen übergestülpt wurde. Rongorongo war bereits sehr viel moderner in seinem Anspruch, als jeder bisher in Erscheinung getretene Entzifferer zu denken in der Lage war. Aber erst dann, wenn alle Zeichen verstanden werden, wenn meine Irrtümer erkannt sind, und wenn alle Notationen in Form von Sternkarten vorliegen, kann es für Rongorongo eine abschließende Einstufung in das moderne Bild der Wissenschaftsgeschichte geben.

Mystizisten finden immer wieder eine Beute, weil die Dummheit so berechtigt ist, wie die Weisheit. Auch Wissenschaft und Forschung leisten dem Mystizismus Vorschub. Wenn ich unsere astronomischen Zeichen beispielhaft anführe, ist damit ein *Systemvergleich* verbunden. Natürlich wäre es unzulässig, Zeichenvergleiche anzustellen, dabei auf Gemeinsamkeiten hinzuweisen, die es objektiv nicht gibt, und aus diesem Gemisch z.B. eine gemeinsame Herkunft abzuleiten.

Als 1948 das Buch erschien „Island of Death“, das der nach Amerika ausgewanderte deutsche Wissenschaftler Werner Wolff geschrieben hatte, öffnete sein Text den Mystizisten Tür und Tor. Wolff fand *in der ganzen Welt* auf Grabsteinen, zerkratzten Knochen, Gefäßen aller Art usw. sowie in zahlreichen Schriften die gleichen Zeichen, wie er glaubte, sie in Rongorongo gefunden zu haben. Kaum ein anderer Forscher hatte so wenige Kenntnisse über Zeichen und Schrift, wie Wolff. Er hat so gut wie keine alte Kultur ausgelassen, die er *alle* für die Herkunft von Rongorongo als denkbar hielt. Immerhin war er so konsequent, Ozeanien aus seinen Forschungen auszuklammern, weil Rongorongo für ihn aus einer Zeit stammen mußte, als selbst die Götter noch nicht wußten, daß sie Götter sind. Die Arbeit von Wolff ist deshalb so ungemein gefährlich, weil er Unwahrheiten als wissenschaftliche Forschung anbietet. Es ist wirklich kein Problem, Ähnlichkeiten in *allen* jemals von Menschen erfundenen Schriften mit Rongorongo-Zeichen zu finden. Es ist nicht das geringste Problem in Felszeichnungen *überall* auf der Welt Rongorongo zu entdecken. Wolff war nach meiner festen Überzeugung nicht in der Lage, den Unterschied zu erkennen zwischen einem Viereck und einem Quadrat, zwischen einem Kreis und einem Oval. Eine andere Einschätzung ist schon deshalb nicht möglich, weil er selbst den Beweis in seiner Arbeit lieferte. Aber Wolff war nicht der erste – und wird auch gewiß

nicht der letzte – Forscher sein, der Rongorongo am liebsten allen Göttern dieser Welt „in die Schuhe schieben“ wollte. Alle Scharlatanen haben den gemeinsamen Nenner, grundsätzlich zu verleugnen, daß es den originären Schöpfungsakt gibt.

Dahinter steckt die Denkweise, daß hinter allem und jedem etwas Unerklärbares, etwas Mystisches stehen muß. Selbst dann, wenn jemand behaupten würde, daß Rongorongo auf dem Urkontinent von der Urrasse erfunden wurde, wüßten Mystizisten ganz gewiß, wer oder was hinter der Urrasse auf dem Urkontinent denn nun wirklich steckt.

Gewiß, unser Wissen über Schrift ganz allgemein hat einen gewaltigen Zuwachs erhalten seit den 60er oder 70er Jahren dieses Jahrhunderts. Aber schon am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts wußten Schriftforscher, daß Zeichenvergleiche nicht zulässig sind, wenn Raum und Zeit das nicht plausibel erscheinen lassen.

Grundsätzlich haben Zeichen *keine* Bedeutung, sie sind ohne jeden Inhalt. Wenn aber zwei – oder zweihundert Millionen – Menschen für nur ein einziges oder viele Zeichen eine Bedeutung vereinbaren, verabreden, dann erst haben Zeichen ihren Sinn bekommen. Wir haben uns darauf geeinigt, das diese Zeichen



eine genau festgelegte Bedeutung haben, und zwar in jeder Erscheinungsweise!

Die Urkonzeption der Geheimschrift ist aber, *festgelegte* Bedeutungen zu ändern, indem man *neue* Bedeutungen abspricht.

Solange Rongorongo ohne ein einziges Atom des Beweises als „Import“ irgendwo aus der Welt deklariert wurde, konnte kein einziges Zeichen verstanden und erklärt werden. Man benahm sich wie eine Witzfigur, die den verlorenen Schlüssel in der Nacht nicht da sucht, wo er verlorengegangen sein könnte, sondern unter der Laterne, weil es da schließlich hell ist. Heine-Geldern (1938) hatte alle Beweise gefunden, daß Rongorongo aus China kommend vor dreitausend Jahren den Weg in die Südsee fand. Möglicherweise war das den Göttern in der Südsee dann doch zuviel, denn Heine-Geldern starb, bevor er seine abstruse Theorie auch noch in die Welt setzen konnte.

Die Suche nach der Herkunft von Rongorongo irgendwo in der Welt hatte durchaus einen klar erkennbaren Hintergrund. Eine so großartige kulturelle Leistung, wie die Erfindung einer Schrift doch angeblich sein soll, wollte man den „Menschenfressern“ nicht zugestehen. Kunst und Kultur gab es auch in der Südsee, soweit war die Sache schon in Ordnung, aber Schrift? Nein, das ging dann doch zu weit!

Es konnte also gar nicht anders kommen, als daß ein einzelner Mensch da suchte, wo man von Anfang an hätte suchen müssen, der dann fast auf Anhieb feststellen konnte, daß das große Geheimnis nur ein ganz kleines ist.

Irgendwann, aber gewiß nicht vor langer Zeit, verabredeten Männer der Maori, Zeichen für Sterne und Planeten zu erfinden, die sie in die Lage versetzen, zu notieren, nach welchen Sternen man im Südmeer zielorientiert navigieren konnte. Sowohl die Erfindung von Rongorongo hat die Forschung den Men-

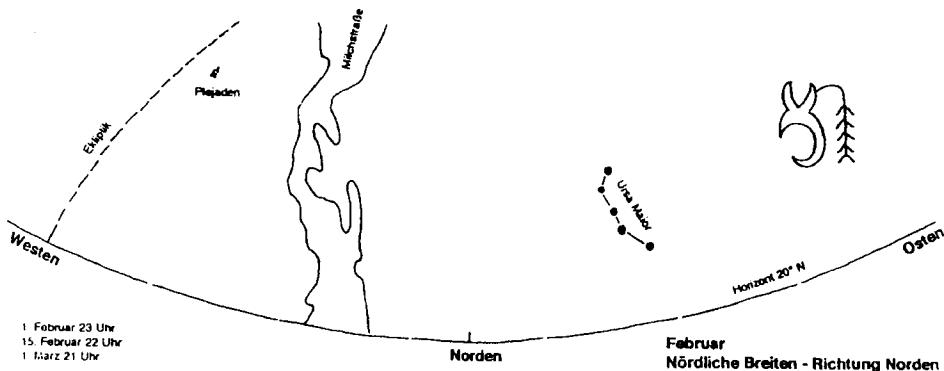
schen in Ozeanien glatt verweigert, als auch die zielorientierte Navigation nach Sternen. Was die beiden Wissenschaftler Johnson/Mahelona, die in Hawai'i leben und arbeiten, darüber 1975! zu sagen hatten, erfährt der Leser am Schluß meiner Arbeit.

Meine Suche nach dem Kanu, das sich aus fünf Sternen in Ursa Maior bildet, brachte kein Ergebnis aus den polynesischen Quellen. Deshalb suchte ich in Mikronesien. Auch das verlief negativ. Aus Indonesien kommt die Information *Bintang biduk, Bintang djung (Malay), little ship, junk* (Johnson/Mahelona: 1975).

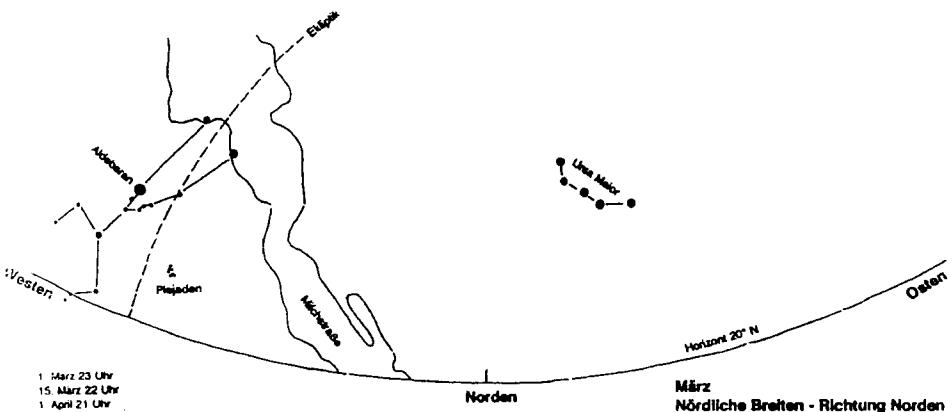
Offenbar ist das Sternbild einer Dschunke oder eines kleinen Bootes noch älter als die Information, die arabische Seefahrer aus Polynesien mitbrachten. Auf die Idee, daß möglicherweise die Maori Neuseelands etwas über dieses Kanu wußten, kam ich nicht. So war ich jedenfalls sehr überrascht, daß wieder einmal Elsdon Best (1924) die Antwort geben konnte. Die Maori erkannten nur fünf Sterne in Ursa Maior, aus denen sie ein Sternbild konstruierten. Welches das sein sollte, konnte Best nicht angeben. In Rongorongo finden wir die Antwort. Hier ist „Himmelskunde“ aus Indonesien über Mikronesien und Polynesien mit den Maori bis Neuseeland gewandert. Von ihrer neuen Heimat aus konnten sie das Kanu nicht mehr sehen. Aber bei Fahrten Richtung Norden kam es wieder in das Blickfeld der Navigatoren.

Nach meinen vorläufigen Ergebnissen ist das Drachenschwanz-Zeichen mit fünf Winkeln am Nordhimmel stets das große Kanu in Ursa Maior. Am Süd-himmel scheint es sich um eine andere Sternformation aus fünf Sternen zu handeln. Die Erforschung von Rongorongo hat schließlich erst begonnen. Die ca. 12.000 Zeichen, die das Corpus Inscriptionum Paschalis umfaßt, werden noch viele Jahre intensiver Arbeit abverlangen.

Die Zeichenverbindungen, also die Sterndreiecke und andere Konstellationen, sind eine präzise Angabe darüber, was der Navigator am Himmel finden muß. Die Zeichenverbindung der Plejaden mit dem oben offenen V in Taurus und dem von unten nach oben weisenden Zeichen für das große Kanu entspricht diesem Blick:



Das Kanu befindet sich deutlich erkennbar unterhalb der Plejaden. Die Stellung der fünf Winkel gibt diese Konstellation an. Aber bereits zwei Stunden später sieht der Sternhimmel natürlich anders aus.



Die Plejaden stehen nun unter dem großen Kanu. Auch diese Konstellation läßt sich selbstverständlich mit den Zeichen notieren. Der Drachenschwanz für die Plejaden muß dann aber von oben kommen und die Winkel müssen nach unten zeigen, also so:

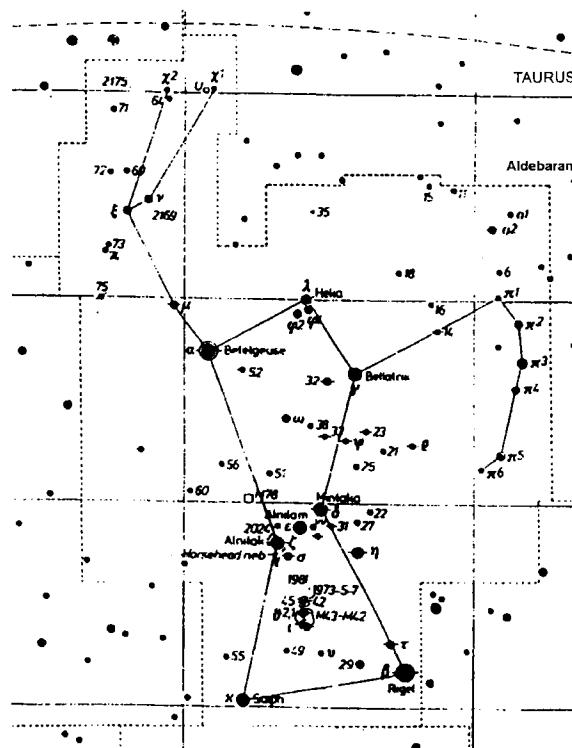


Ich fand keine Belegstelle für dieses Zeichen. Einige hundert Zeichenkombinationen, für die ich ebenfalls keinen einzigen Beleg fand, habe ich entworfen. Rongorongo verfügte zweifelsfrei über weitaus mehr Zeichen, als wir auf den zwanzig vorhandenen Objekten erkennen können.

Obwohl es nur noch das fragmentarische Wissen einer einst blühenden Wissenschaft von sternkundigen Männern auf allen Inseln im Pazifik ist, genügt es dennoch, die Zeichen in Rongorongo zu verstehen. Sogar die letzten Informanten konnten nicht mehr genau angeben, um welche Sternkonstellationen es sich handelte, die sie aber einwandfrei beschreiben konnten. So erfuhr Elsdon Best den Namen und die Zusammensetzung der Sterne, die mit Abstand in Rongorongo das am häufigsten notierte Sterngebiet bezeichnen.

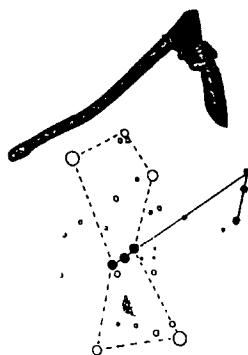
„The Belt of Orion seems to be known by two names. That of *Tautoru* includes the three bright stars in the Belt, while that of *Te Kakau* (The Handle) includes the same three stars and another row extending out from that at an angle that suggested the name *Te Kakau* to the Maori. These rows of stars are thought to resemble in form of the handle of an adze – the form of handle used for the old stone adze. This group is sometimes called the *Huihui-o-te-Kakau* (the assembly of *Te Kakau*).“

Ein Blick auf Orion genügt, um in dieser Information das große Steinbeil zu erkennen, das man Elsdon Best beschrieb:

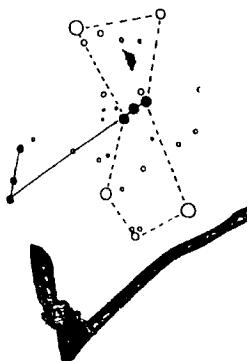


Wenn man eine Verbindung zieht von Alnitak, Alnilam und Mintaka zu den drei Sternen Pi 3, Pi 4 und Pi 5, also zu den Sternen, die wir den Schild des Orion nennen, wird das Steinbeil sichtbar.

Von nördlichen Breiten aus erkennt man das Steinbeil in dieser Form:



Von südlichen Breiten aus steht es auf dem Kopf:



Das Zeichen für dieses Sternbild wird gebildet zusammen mit den Gürtelsternen:



Über 250 Vorkommen davon sind zu finden. Es wird eine der umfangreichsten Einzeluntersuchungen werden. Nur von den Maori Neuseelands kennen wir das große Steinbeil, das in anderen Teilen Polynesiens nicht bekannt war. Rongorongo ist die Schrift der Maori, was sich an diesem und sehr vielen anderen Zeichen beweisen lässt.

Es gibt zwei Besonderheiten in Rongorongo, die bisher nicht erklärt werden konnten. Im Gegensatz zu wohl allen Schriftsystemen fehlen in Rongorongo Determinative. Man versteht darunter „Deutezeichen“, die in irgendeiner Form segmentieren. Auf allen Tafeln scheint die Abfolge der Zeichen unendlich zu sein, begrenzt nur durch das Format der Objekte. Auf dem einzigen erhaltenen Stab befinden sich dagegen exakt einhundert kleine senkrechte Einkerbungen, die man nicht zu erklären wußte und sie deshalb „Trenner“ nannte. Die Verteilung dieser vermeintlichen Trenner ist aber seltsam. Sie segmentieren ganz unterschiedlich lange Zeichenfolgen, auf einer Zeile des Stabes fehlen sie gänzlich.

Die zweite Besonderheit ist umso bemerkenswerter, weil ein Objekt ein „Leitmotiv“ erkennen lässt. In Rongorongo finden sich zwei Zeichen, die einen erigierten Penis darstellen. Eine Form des Zeichens habe ich bereits auf Seite 6 vorgestellt, die andere Zeichenform sieht so aus:



Läßt man den Santiagostab einmal außer acht, so lassen sich unter den verbleibenden ca. 10.000 Zeichen nur 65 Vorkommen des hier gezeigten Penis-Zei-

chens finden. Aber unter den mehr als 2.000 Zeichen auf dem Stab lassen sich 551 Belegstellen ausmachen. In der Schriftforschung spricht man deshalb von einem Leitmotiv.

Rongorongo notiert keine Texte und alles das, was bisher behauptet wurde, auch nicht. Rongorongo notiert Sternnavigation in der einzig logischen Form: *Ex Oriente Lux!*

Überall auf der Welt beendet das Erscheinen der Sonne die Nacht. Ob die Sonne rechts oder links vom Navigator aufging, in seinem Rücken stand oder der Bug seines Bootes direkt auf die Sonne hielt, ist unerheblich. Wo die Sonne aufgeht ist immer Osten, wo sie ins Meer versinkt ist immer Westen. Ihre äußerste Position im Norden und im Süden, was wir die Wendekreise oder Solstizien nennen, markierte die Welt der Navigatoren. Diese Welt war nicht eine flache Scheibe, sie war etwas gebogen, aber selbstverständlich keine Kugel!

Zwischen Osten und Westen bis zum nördlichen Wendekreis der Sonne beherrschte der mächtigste Atua der Maori die Welt – *TANE*. Ausgehend von der gleichen Linie nach Süden war es das Reich seines Gegenspielers und genau so mächtigen Ahn – *TANGAROA*. (Johnson/Mahelona 1975) Tane ist Norden, Tangaroa ist Süden. Selbstverständlich gibt es dafür Zeichen in Rongorongo, denn sonst hätte man keine wissenschaftlich korrekten Sternnotationen schreiben können. Westen und Osten sind über Zeichen geschrieben, die aus Mythen von Hawai'i bekannt sind. (Quelle w. o.)

Mit *KU*, in anderen Sprachen *TU* genannt, bezeichneten sternkundige Männer Osten. Tu war ein bekannter Atua bei den Maori. Übersetzt heißt sein Name „aufrecht, der Aufrechte“. Wie ist die Brücke zu finden zwischen Tu und Osten?

Die wichtigste Linie in der Navigation war der Äquator. Hier trennten sich die beiden Himmel, denn mit Blick nach Norden drehte sich der Himmel von rechts nach links, mit Blick nach Süden umgekehrt, also von links nach rechts. Aber unmittelbar am Äquator bewegt sich die Sonne und alle Sternbilder in der Nacht steil aufsteigend bis zum höchsten Punkt und dann genau so steil wieder absteigend, um im Meer zu verschwinden. Die Bewegung der Sonne ist Tu oder Ku – aufrecht!

Darin steckt eine nicht zu übertreffende Logik. Auch das Zeichen für Osten, mit dem in Rongorongo die einzelnen Nächte segmentiert werden, ist an geradliniger Logik nicht zu verbessern. Ein so oft zu verwendetes Zeichen *muß* von allergrößter Einfachheit sein, mehr noch, es *muß* das einfachste Zeichen in Rongorongo sein. Deshalb kann es kein anderes Zeichen sein als dieses:



Das einfachste Zeichen in Rongorongo ist das Stabzeichen für Osten. Mit diesem Zeichen bestand eine Möglichkeit, die Nächte zu segmentieren. Auf der folgenden Seite sind solche Nächte von mir zusammengestellt, wobei ich auf Belegstellen verzichte, die erst dann von Bedeutung sind, wenn ich damit weitere Erklärungen verbinde.

ଶୀର୍ଗାନ୍ତମୁଖେନ୍ଦ୍ରିୟରେ
 କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାନ୍ତମୁଖେନ୍ଦ୍ରିୟରେ
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ସୁମଧୁରମୁଖେନ୍ଦ୍ରିୟରେ
 କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାନ୍ତମୁଖେନ୍ଦ୍ରିୟରେ
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Es gibt weitere Möglichkeiten, die Nächte zu segmentieren. Sind die kleinen senkrechten Einkerbungen auf dem Santiagostab auch solche Trenner, wie bisher in der Forschung behauptet wurde? Alleine die Verteilung der Einkerbungen spricht bereits dagegen. Auf den 14 Zeilen des Stabes ergibt sich kein logisches Muster. Auf der 9. Zeile befinden sich 14 Kerbstriche, auf der 11. keiner, auf der 1., 2. und 13. Zeile je 4 usw.

Drei Befunde sind bemerkenswert, diese:



Die Zeichen befinden sich von links nach rechts auf der 5., 7. und 8. Zeile. Offensichtlich sind hier doch erst nachträglich kleine Trenner zwischen die Zeichen eingekettet worden, denn hätte der Meister sie von Anfang an gewollt, hätte er Abstand gelassen. Auch auf dem Santiagostab sind einzelne Nächte notiert zwischen dem Zeichen für Osten. Hier zeige ich nun einen Befund von der 6. Zeile des Stabes, der die Antwort gibt auf die bisher als Trenner angenommenen Einkerbungen.



Zwischen den beiden Zeichen für Osten sind deutlich erkennbar zwei senkrechte Einkerbungen zu sehen, die überhaupt keinen Sinn ergeben. Deshalb gehe ich davon aus, daß die angeblichen Trenner keine sind sondern nachträglich angebracht wurden. Wer auch immer das war, er hatte keine Kenntnisse über Rongorongo!

Nichts ist je es selbst – dann ist ein erigerter Penis als Zeichen auch kein solcher.

Lamotrek ist eine kleine Insel in *Mikronesien*, die zur Gruppe der Carolinen gehört. Der Sternname UL ist in Lamotrek belegt und meint „*the viril member*“ als eine literarische Umschreibung für Penis. Alpha-Taurus, also *Aldebaran*, war der Stern mit dem Namen UL. (Johnson/Mahelona: 1975).

Damit ist Aldebaran das Leitmotiv auf dem Santiagostab. Unter dem bisherigen Zeichenverständnis, daß alle bildhaften Zeichen als das zu verstehen sind, was sie vorgeben zu sein, war natürlich das Penis-Zeichen das Spekulationsobjekt ersten Ranges. Ich verzichte darauf, die sogar pornografischen Fantasien mancher Rongorongo-Forscher hier vorzutragen.

Das Jahr 1995 wird eingehen in die Geschichte der Rongorongo-Forschung, weil in dem Jahr der letzte große Irrtum als Entzifferung der Osterinselschrift publiziert wurde.

„*Nevertheless, the rongorongo code has finally broken.*“ Das jedenfalls behauptete der amerikanische Linguist Steven Roger Fischer im „*Journal of the Polynesian Society*“, (Vol. 104, September 1995). Diese gute Nachricht fand schnell weltweites Interesse, obwohl einige seriöse Publikationen noch abwarteten, weil Rongorongo schon zu oft entziffert wurde. Fischer selbst schränkte

seine gute Botschaft ein, indem er schrieb: „In other words, we know now what most inscriptions say – but we cannot read them yet.“

Die Ausgabe vom JPS kann sich jeder bestellen, aber ich weise mit Nachdruck darauf hin, daß man alles über 130 Jahre Rongorongo-Forschung wissen muß, wenn man den Aufsatz von Fischer verstehen möchte. Das trifft leider auch zu für die meisten – wenn nicht sogar für alle – wissenschaftlichen Publikationen über die vermeintliche Osterinselschrift. Auch die stets auf die wahre Meldung bedachten Redakteure in den Wissenschaftsredaktionen überall auf der Welt, konnten Fischers Beitrag nicht verstehen, aber sie wollten sich natürlich als kundige Rongorongo Kenner ihren Lesern gegenüber zeigen und druckten deshalb die Meldung – zwar vorwiegend total verstümmelt – aber immerhin ab. Sogar das überaus renommierte englische Wissenschaftsmagazin „Nature“ verweigert sich der erfolgreichen Entzifferung nicht, weil auch diese Redakteure nicht wußten, ob es der amerikanische Linguist nun vollbracht hatte oder nicht.

Was war eigentlich wirklich so sensationell neu, daß Fischer behaupten konnte, den bisher nicht gefundenen Code entdeckt und gleichzeitig enttarnt zu haben?

Alle bekannten polynesischen Klischees wurden bisher schon in Rongorongo vermutet oder höchst unglaublich aus den Zeichen entziffert. Heine-Geldern (1938) überprüfte die Annahme, daß möglicherweise „Creation Chants“ in den Zeichen verborgen sein könnten. Er kam zu dem Ergebnis, daß diese Annahme nicht zutrifft. Von verschiedenen Inseln in Polynesien und Mikronesien sind Schöpfungsgesänge von den ersten Missionaren notiert worden und damit der Forschung als außerordentlich wichtiges Material zugänglich gemacht. Unter höchst zweifelhaften Bedingungen wurde von Schiffszahlmeister Thomson 1871 auf Rapanui ein Schöpfungsgesang von Ure Vaeiko aufgenommen, den der Osterinsulaner vortrug von der Tafel Atua Matariri. Das haben bereits im letzten Jahrhundert einige Rongorongo-Forscher überprüft und sind einhellig zu dem Ergebnis gelangt, daß der Gesang des Osterinsulaners unter keinen Umständen auf dieser Tafel verzeichnet ist.

Das alles wußte natürlich auch Fischer. Er bringt aber nun eine neue Variante ins Spiel, indem er behauptet, daß auf dem Santiagostab Creation Chants verzeichnet sind. Der Code in Rongorongo ist nach seiner Ansicht nichts anderes als die Formel

$$X \text{ kopuliert mit } Y = \text{es entsteht } Z$$

Diese Triaden in Form einer Massenkopulation fand Fischer über das Penis-Zeichen auf dem Santiagostab. In seiner ersten Begeisterung genügte dieser Befund, um nun alle Objekte als Texte über Schöpfungsmythen zu deklarieren. Erst später bemerkte er dann, daß sich unter ca. 10.000 Zeichen nur 65 erigerte Penis-Zeichen „verstecken“.

Fischer konnte es sich nicht leisten, die Behauptung aufzustellen den Code gefunden und gebrochen zu haben ohne eine einzige Entzifferung vorzulegen. Stellvertretend für ca. 12.000 Zeichen glaubte der amerikanische Linguist seine Theorie mit drei Zeichen bewiesen zu haben. Auf der 12. Zeile des Santiaogostabes fand er die drei Zeichen, diese:



Fischer machte dann genau das, was seit über 130 Jahren stets mißlang. Er interpretiert die Zeichen nach ihrem Erscheinungsbild. Das erste Zeichen ist ein Vogel mit einem menschlichem Arm und dem Penis-Zeichen, angebunden an die Schwanzfedern. Fischer behauptet nun, daß dieser Vogel kopuliert mit dem folgenden Zeichen, das einen Fisch darstellt. Das Ergebnis der Zeugung ist das dritte Zeichen, daß bereits von Anfang an als Sonne interpretiert wurde. Frei übersetzt bietet Fischer an:

Alle Vögel kopulieren mit allen Fischen, es entsteht die Sonne.

Polynesische Schöpfungsmythen sind für uns unverständlich und es sind geradezu lächerliche Texte, die man manchmal in wissenschaftlicher Literatur als Erklärungen dieser Creation Chants findet. Weder aus Polynesien noch irgendwo in Ozeanien ist ein Schöpfungsgesang überliefert, der die Geburt der Sonne als Kopulationsprodukt zwischen Vögeln und Fischen erklärt.

Obwohl der kopulierende Vogel insgesamt 24 solcher Kopulationen auf dem Santiagostab vorführt, speist Fischer uns mit nur einer einzigen Entzifferung ab. Warum?

Auch der Fisch und die Sonne kopulieren auf dem Stab, ob Fischer das etwa nicht gefunden hat, bleibt sein Geheimnis.

Ein Zeichen für die Sonne habc ich nicht in Rongorongo gefunden, denn für Sternnavigation braucht man kein Sonnenzeichen. Mit Osten, mit TU, ist die Nacht beendet. Auch Fischer hat natürlich nicht alle Vorkommen des vermeintlichen Sonnen-Zeichens untersucht, sonst hätte er wohl kaum seine „simple triads“ als Code für Rongorongo nennen können. In allen Variationen gibt es etwa 250 Vorkommen des vermeintlichen Zeichens für die Sonne.

Welcher Stern ist es denn nun wirklich, der sich in Rongorongo über ein Zeichen zu erkennen gibt, daß man durchaus als die Sonne verstehen könnte, wenn es nicht die vielen Variationen gäbe?

In allen alten Kulturen kannten die Menschen den hellsten Fixstern am Himmel: **SIRIUS!** Bei Johnson/Mahelona findet man die Zeichenerklärung für Sirius:

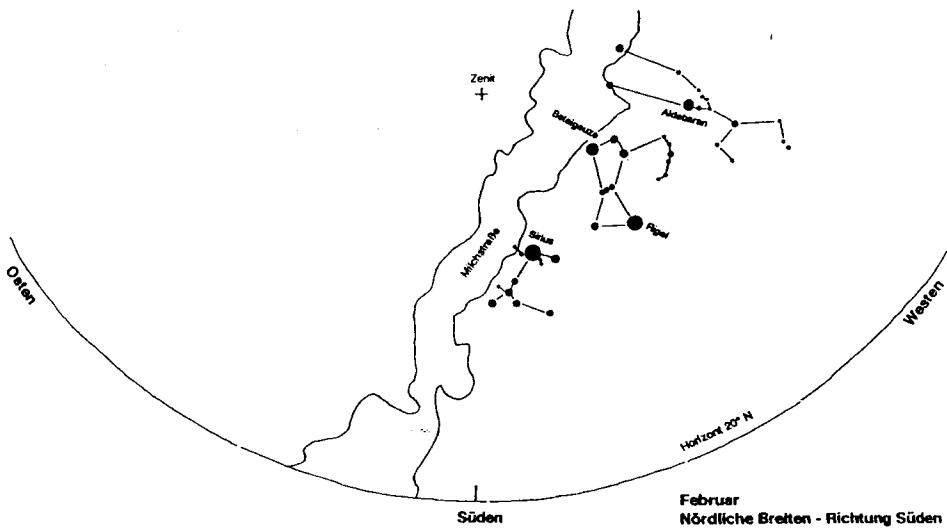
A'a - Sirius, the first magnitude star in the constellation Canis Major. Lit., burning bright. It passes directly over Tahiti as a powerful beacon and according to tradition was used as a navigation star to return to Tahiti from Hawai'i.

Der hellste Fixstern am Himmel muß auch der hellste Fixstern in Rongorongo sein. Makemson listet Namen von Sirius in Futuna, Hawai'i, Mangaia, Manihiki, Marquesas, New Zealand, Pukapuka, Society Islands, Tuamotus. In Rongorongo gibt es viele verschiedene Zeichen für einen der wichtigsten guiding stars im Pazifik.

Auf der 7. Zeile des Santiagostabs findet man dieses Zeichen:



Sirius ist verbunden mit Aldebaran, der rechts von Sirius steht, wie das Zeichen unmißverständlich angibt. Von nördlichen Breiten mit Blickrichtung Süden ist diese Konstellation zwischen November bis März zu beobachten.



Die Verbindung zwischen Sirius und Beteigeuze, ebenfalls in der Sternkarte zu sehen, wird über dieses Zeichen geschrieben:



Ein Stern mit Namen *Ta' ero-aru* ist von Tahiti bekannt und heißt übersetzt „the arm, the right hand of the giant“ (Johnson/Mahelona: 1975). Es ist einer der Namen für Beteigeuze und nur eines der Zeichen für diesen Stern.

Ein häufig vorkommendes Zeichen für Sirius ist dieses:



NOMINAL PHRASE IN MARQUESAN (A SURVEY)*

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This paper is a description of nominal paticles in Marquesan. Most examples are quoted from *Récits marquisiens* collected by H. Lavondès. Problems of low phonetic redundancy and orthography are also discussed.

A scheme of the nominal phrase

-2 slot	-1 slot	0 slot	+1 slot	+2 slot
o genitive inal.	te	tau	CORE	attribute
a genitive al.	he - 'e	mou		nei this
				nā that
				'ā yonder
no emphatic genitive inal.	a (pers. after 'i)			
na emphatic genitive al.	deict./poss. pronoun			
to neutral genitive inal.				
ta neutral genitive al.				
'i accusative				
'i direction to location in instrument?				

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- iō** at, in (preceded
e.g. by **ma**)
- i** agent of stative
- e** agent of passive
- me** with
- ma** through, via
- mei** from
- 'o** specific (focus)

The subsequent description of Marquesan nominal phrase is in its essential features modelled after B. Biggs (1960, 1969, 1974), J. E. Buse (1960, 1963), and A. Pawley (1961, 1966).

The word is considered to be the basic lexical unit in all languages of the world. Unlike the inflective Indo-European languages, in Marquesan just as in other Polynesian languages, the word as such contains hardly any explicit markers of those grammatical characteristics to which we are accustomed in the familiar European languages. An inflective word comprises grammatical affixes and each time it occurs in speech it is represented by one of its forms. Thus a particular form is selected from the paradigm of its morphologically varying variants in accordance with its syntactic function within the utterance. Thus it may be said that the word is, at least in the inflective languages, not only a fundamental lexical unit but also a minimum syntactic unit. However, the situation in the Polynesian languages including Marquesan is quite different because of the radically different typology of these languages. Here any word typically acquires its proper grammatical (syntactic) markers when actualized in the speech. These markers are defined as particles. Almost all grammatical functions are fulfilled by the particles that are as a rule prepositive. Therefore most grammatical properties of words are expressed externally, i. e. outside these words. There are only two types of inflective (or internal) grammatical markers in Marquesan: affixes and reduplication. Affixes are very scanty and their list includes remnants of a passive suffix (-'ia, -tia, -a), a nominalizing suffix(-'ia, -na, -ka, -tina) and a causative prefix **haka-** or **ha'a-**. Reduplication (either full or partial) may also be regarded as another inflective feature and is known to occur both in nominal and verbal phrases. Partial reduplication consists in repeating the first syllable of the largely disyllabic morphemes.

An autosemantic word may be surrounded not only by grammatical particles (usually filling the functional slots before it) but also by modifying particles (in most instances following the word). The former constitute the skeleton of a phrase as the minimum syntactic unit.

* * *

From the point of view of function in a sentence, there are two basic types of phrases in Marquesan: nominal and verbal phrases.

While the verbal phrase typically functions as a syntactic predicate, the nominal phrase often takes up the position of the syntactic subject and in addition to this it may occur as one of a variety of complements of other nominal (e.g. attribute) or verbal phrases (object, spatial or temporal circumstance) or as a predicate of a nominal sentence.

The nominal and verbal phrases differ considerably in the inventory of their grammatical particles. Due to the morphological poverty of Marquesan word structure, the criteria for their inclusion in one of the word classes have to be looked for in their distribution, especially in their compatibility with other words and in particular with the grammatical particles.

The nominal phrase comprises two functional positions preceding its core word. The immediately preceding position is occupied by the so-called articles. The definite article is **te**, indefinite article **he** or **e**, e.g.: 'A tahi 'a pe'au atu **te** tuehine 'i **te** tukane "Afterwards said the sister to her brother"; U i mai Kue'enui 'i **te** ke'e'e "Kue'enui asked the messenger"; Ka'uo'o **te** toua "War will be difficult"; 'A'e **he** mea i toe "Nothing has remained". The definite article **te**, however, is lacking any quantitative parameter so that it may sometimes be described as being generic. It is insensitive to quantity as proved by the following example where the adjectival predicate is reduplicated to denote plurality: 'U nunui **te** to'iki "There are many children". If the need arises to quantify a noun, the so-called definite article **te** may be complemented with one of the plural markers such as **tau**, **mou** (cf. Tahitian **tau**, **mau** or Hawaiian **mau**) or some of the auxiliary quantifiers of nominal origin, e. g. **po'i** people (**te po'i** mō'i "the girls"), **hatu** group (**te hatu** tama "the children"). The paucal marker **na** (cf. its equivalent **nā** "plural marker" in Hawaiian and **ngā** "plural marker" in Maori) has the syntactic value of the definite article that denotes two or a few objects (**na** mata "two eyes", **na** vehine "two /or a few/ women"), 'Ua tihe io **na** pakahio "He came to two old women". The so-called indefinite article (**he**, **'e**) often occurs in nominal predicatives, for example **He** tama na Vakauhi ia "He is Vakauhi's son," **'E** hamani tenei "This is a book". The article **he** often occurs after prepositions: 'Ua tihe Haneamotua io **he** one "Haneamotua came to the beach," 'O au mei io **he** vehine 'a Taheta "I have issued from Taheta's wife," Na te mea **he** kui no te haka'iki "Because she is the chief's mother." **He** and its variant **'e** is not a true equivalent of the English or German indefinite article. In this function the Marquesans may use **titahi** "one, a certain". Maybe the article **he** or **'e** is used to mark new information while **te** denotes either individual familiarity or generic meaning. After all, what is generic is inevitably familiar.

The proper (or personal) article **a** known, for example from Maori, occurs in Marquesan only after the prepositive particle **'i** before a personal pronoun (**'ia** 'oe "to you") or a proper noun (**ia** 'Akahe'e "to 'Akahe'e").

The articles belonging to this functional slot are substitutable by the demonstrative pronouns **tenei** "this", **tenā** "that", **terā** "that yonder", **hua** "that, the same", **titahi** "a, an, a certain", **tahipito** "several" and possessive pronouns such as **to'u** "my", **to ia** "his", etc. These demonstratives are used in other East Polynesian languages. However, **hua** seems to have a cognate only in Hawaiian

ua (e.g. **ua** hale lā “that, just mentioned house”). Examples: **Tenei** 'enana 'o Pahaka'ima'oa “This man is Pahaka'ima'oa”, 'A'o'e au e inu 'i **tenā** mea “I shall not drink that”, **Te'ā** 'akau 'e temanu ka'uo'o “That tree is a big temanu”, I tua 'ia ai **hua** temanu “That (already mentioned) tree has been cut down”, **Titahi** 'ā 'ua he'e Pota me to ia tau hoa 'i te henua ti'ohi “One day Pota and his friends went to look at the country”; 'Ua he'e 'i te keu me **tahipito** to'iki “(He) went to play with several children”.

The particles occurring in the functional position immediately before the phrase core may and often are preceded by a different set of particles making up a paradigm of their own. This paradigm at the leftmost margin of the nominal phrase comprises prepositions that fulfil either (a) purely syntactic, relational functions or express (b) adverbial meanings such as location, direction, movement, etc.

* * *

The grammar of Marquesan (just as that of its closest neighbours Tahitian and Hawaiian) suffers from problems specific to languages displaying very scanty phonological inventories and relevant for their smooth functioning in speech. In these languages, /k/, /ŋ/ or even /r/ may wear down to glottal stops and even if the latter do not ultimately disappear, then at least they are not easily perceived although they are phonologically relevant. This is confirmed by some of the early grammars whose English or French authors may be ranked among the least competent observers of phonetic facts strange to their own languages. Erroneous or at least insensitive orthographies devised by these scholars further decrease the extremely low phonetic redundancy of some of the monosyllabic particles. Since the glottal stops are often written down only sporadically, the interpretation of texts in most Polynesian languages is a highly exacting and precarious affair. Let us take as an example (1) particles reduced to writing as **i** or **'i** and (2) particles written down as **'o** or **o** in Marquesan texts. Various authors write the glottal stops only occasionally and, besides, they often disagree as to where the glottal stops occur and where they do not. And no wonder, because this phoneme is absent from both the English and French phonological systems. Since **'i** or **i** is used to mark both dative (or directional) and accusative, and in addition also the agent or cause of stative verbs, the ideal solution would be to distinguish at least **'i** as the marker of dative (directional) function from **i** as the marker of the accusative – provided this semantic distinction would be paralleled in the pronunciation. Agentive **i** (in other Polynesian languages it is always **i**, not **ki**) is no source of ambiguity because it occurs only with a closed set of very few stative verbs. East Polynesian languages notable for a somewhat richer consonantism than Marquesan, do clearly distinguish accusative **i** from dative **ki**. Compare Rapanui He ti?a'i te ?a?ata i te pokī “The men were hitting the boys”, Ka ki koe **ki** a ia! “You tell him!”, Ko 'avai 'a au **i** te puka **ki** ta'aku pokī “I gave the book to my son” (Du Feu 1996: 47, 114–115), Tuamotuan Rave atu Maui **i** na vaevae o Ri “Then Maui seized the two legs of Ri”, E haere **ki** te moana vaivai – ka mate he

ariki! “He shall go to remote oceans – mayhap the Prince will die there!” (Stimson 1934: 39, 53); Maori *Ka inu te tangata i te rongoa* “The man drinks the medicine”, *Ka taka te raakau ki te whenua* “The tree is felled to the ground” (Biggs 1969: 30), Rarotongan *Te mātipi nei a māmā i te kuru* “Mother is peeling the breadfruit”, *Kāre au e 'aere ki reira* “I will not go there” (Rere 1961: 22, 38).

On the other hand, Hawaiian and Tahitian, the two languages most closely related to Marquesan, do not distinguish dative (directional) and accusative particles; both have fused into one phoneme – *i* in Hawaiian and *'i* in Tahitian. Cf. Hawaiian *Ua 'ai ke kanaka i ka poi* “The man ate the poi (accusative)”, *Ua hele ke kanaka i Maui* “The man went to Maui (directional)” (Elbert – Pukui 1979: 39). Examples from Tahitian: *'E haere pinepine au 'i te 'oire* “I often go to town”, *'O vai te vahine tei tunu 'i te ūfi?* “Which woman prepared the yams?” (Tryon 1970: 59, 77).

The semantic and functional scope of the Marquesan direct case (accusative) and indirect case (dative, directional, etc.) marker, i.e. of *i* or *'i* (including the forms *ia* and *'ia* before personal pronouns and proper nouns) is quite extensive as documented by the following examples: *'A ta'ai 'otou 'i* (accusative) *tu'u vaka?* “Will you carve my canoe?”, *Ia tihe atu 'atou 'i* (directional) *te'a henua , 'i Nuku-Hiva te motu, eia titahi 'enana 'i* (locative) *'oto o te'a ka'avai, 'i Hakapu'uvai* “When they came to the island of Nukuhiva, there was a man in the valley of Hakapu'uvai”, *'I titahi 'ā me te he'e 'i* (purpose) *te poromene 'i* (locative) *te henua ti'ohi...* “One day they went for a walk, to have a look at the country...”, *'Ua kite na mata'eina'a ia Akahe'e-'i-vevau* “The people have seen Akahe'e-'i-vevau”, *'A 'oko te motua me te kui 'i* (accusative) *hua tekao 'o te mata'eina'a 'i* (concerning) *te po'ea 'o Akahe'e-'i-vevau* “The father and the mother heard those words of the people about the beauty of Akahe'e-'i-vevau”, *'A tahi 'a vevete te tuehine 'i* (accusative) *to ia 'ouoho me te hakakanahau ia* (accusative) *ia* “Then the sister let her hair down and made herself beautiful”.

The third variety of *i* (sometimes written *'i*) in Marquesan may be defined as the agentive marker of stative verbs homonymous with the accusative marker of active verbs: *'Ua hemo au 'i te ua io he a'anui* “I have been halted by the rain upon the road”, *'Ua pao 'i te kio'e* “It was consumed by rats”. As mentioned above, this marker might be written without the preceding glottal stop (*i*), which would conform to the situation in other closely related languages.

Another serious problem is the distinction of the genitive (possessive) marker and the focusing (specific) marker. For example, Lavondès and Zewen write both of them as *'o*: *'Ena Vakauhi ma te tua 'o* (genitive) *te ha'e* “Vakauhi was behind the house” (Lavondès II 1966: 69) – *'O* (focusing) *'Etie 'e tuhao mei io titahi ka'avai io titahi ka'avai* “*'Etie was jumping from one valley to another valley*” (Lavondès II 1966: 43), *Penei ho'i te po'otu 'o* (genitive) *tu'u tuehine* “The beauty of my sister is really like this” (Zewen 1987: 95) – *'O* (focusing) *ai te haka'iki oko nui 'omua 'i Nukuhiva? 'O* (focusing) *Pakoko* “Who is the strongest chief in Nukuhiva? Pakoko” (Zewen 1987: 94). Teikikeuhina Kimitete, on the other hand, writes both markers without the glottal stop: *O* (focusing) *Teikikeuhina te hakate'e haka* “Teikikeuhina is the leader of the dance”

(Teikikeuhina 1990: 2) – Ua mate te tuehine **o** (genitive) te haka’iki **o** (genitive) Taipi “The sister of the chief of Taipi died” (Teikikeuhina 1990: 6). However, Kaiser and Elbert have decided to distinguish both markers: E pohu’e a’ā Ātea me ta ia vahine **’o** (focusing) Atanua “Ātea lived with his wife, Atanua” (Kaiser – Elbert 1989: 77) – ‘Ua hatu ia te ‘ou po’ā **o** (genitive) te ha’e “He plaited the coconut leaves of the house” (Kaiser – Elbert 1989: 80).

Here it is suggested that the genitive marker should be written without the glottal stop (**o**) which would help to distinguish it from the focusing (specific) marker that ought to be always written with the glottal stop (**’o**). This orthography has been standardized for Hawaiian; Tryon writes both markers in Tahitian as **’o** (cf. Tryon 1970). Lazard and Peltzer, however, distinguish them: ‘Ua hāmani te tāmuta i te fare **o** (genitive) Teri’i “The carpenter built Teri’i’s house” (Lazar – Peltzer 1991: 3) – **’O** (focusing) mātou tā ‘oe mau tamari’i “We are your children” (Lazard – Peltzer 1991: 13).

* * *

Purely syntactic functions are fulfilled by the prepositive particle **i** (sometimes **ia**) that marks the object of the verb: ‘A tahi ‘a ‘oko te motua me te kui **i** hua tekao ‘o te mata’eina’a “Then the father and the mother heard the words of their tribesmen”, ‘A ‘au’ā koe **i** te makamaka me te ‘au “Cut off twigs and leaves”, ‘I tenei pō e ha’atū au **i** to tāua ha’e “Tonight I will build our house”, ‘Ua kite na mata’eina’a **ia** ‘Akahe’e-’i-Vevau “The people saw ‘Akahe’e-’i-Vevau”.

Particle **e** marks the agent of action in the passive construction: ‘I ke’i **i** ia ai **e** Vakauhi to ia ‘ua pakeho **ia** vai mata ma te tua ‘o te ha’e “The hole for his tears was dug by Vakauhi behind the house”.

Particle **i**, **ia** marks the agent of a stative verb: Mei kiu mai, ‘a’o’e nui i ‘oaka **i** titahi vehine o ‘atou i te haka mai me he mea nei “Since long time no woman was able to dance like this one”, Tuhakana, e mate **ia** koe Taheta? “Tuhakana, will you kill Taheta?”, **na** is the emphatic agentive marker with transitive verbs and, finally **’o** is a focusing or specific particle. Upon the syntagmatic level, **o** and **a** mark a genitive relation between two nominal phrases.

Spatial (adverbial) relations are denoted by **i** toward, **ia** toward a person, **io** location and direction, **mei** direction from, **ma** by the way of, through, at (temporal), **me** with. The latter particle, however, has the quality of a conjunction in the sentence and its nominal nature is obvious because the verb that follows it is nominalized by means of the article **te**: Me te ‘oko anamai **i** hua tekao o na mata’eina’a, ‘a tahi ‘a hano ai te motua me te kui “When they heard those words, the parents went to have a look”. Example of **mei**: E pu’ā te ui’ā **mei** te ‘aki “The lightning flashed from the sky”, ‘Ua topa te ipu kava **mei** te ‘ima ‘o te maha’i “The cup of kava fell from the youth’s hand”, ‘A va’ā **mei** te hiamoe, “Wake up from your sleep” ‘Ua tihe Vakauhi **mei** te hi ika, “Vakauhi came from fishing”. Examples of **me** “like” follow: **me** he haha like the mouth, **me** “with (and)": ‘Ua hoe te vaka, ‘ua kau te tuehine **me** te ta'a atu “(They) were paddling

the canoe, sister was swimming with crying (= and crying). Particle **io** may express both movement and location: 'A tahi 'a he'e atu ai **io** to ia mata'aina'a "Then he went to his tribesmen" (movement), 'A tahi 'a nonoho 'aua **io** na pakahio "They lived with the two old women". Example of **ma: ma** he vahi 'enana ko'e "in an uninhabited place", **ma** te o'io'i "in the morning".

Particle '**io** (**io**) is semantically akin to the directional and locative particle '**i**. There is no agreement on its orthography. Zewen in his grammar uses '**iō** : 'U tuku mai ia 'i te poe taetae oko mei '**iō** ta ia tau poe "He has given me the most precious of his pearls" (Zewen 1987: 98). Lavondès writes **io**: Me te hua **io** na pakahio "And he returned to the two old women" (Lavondès II 1966: 75) like Teikikeuhina: O te tama hou tei ha'apae 'ia. Ua hu'i 'ia **io** he 'ua ma "Only the boy was saved. He was thrown into the ditch for ma" Teikikeuhina 1990: 18). Kaiser and Elbert, however, write **iō**: 'Ua ha'amau 'o Ātea i te oka mei **iō** he hiva, tahi **iō** ke ka'ava a'o "Ātea attached the oka (rafters) from the hiva (ridge-pole) to the ka'ava a'o (front wall plate) (Kaiser – Elbert 1989: 79). Dordillon gives only **io** in his dictionary with the meaning *chez, dans, sur* (Dordillon 1931: 192). It may deliver both the meaning of movement and location, e.g.: 'A tahi 'a kite ai ia 'i te vehine po'otu **io** (location) he vai "And then he saw a pretty woman in water" – 'A'i haka'oko te tuehine, 'ua topa **io** he tai "Without listening to anything, his sister jumped into the sea" (Lavondès II 1966). The particle **io** may combine with the preceding particle **mei** "from", and the resulting **mei io** means "from inside": 'E vehine ho'i **mei io** he vai "A woman from water", **mei io** titahi ka'avai io titahi ka'avai "from one valley into another".

The particle **io** (or '**io**) does not occur in other related languages. If the parallel with Maori is not due to chance, it might perhaps be explained as a compound of the locative or directional particle **i** (or '**i**) and the reduced locative noun '**oto**, cf. Maori *Ka noho ano a Ngātoro i rō pā* "Ngatoro lives in the pah" (Williams 1957: 344), *Ka ngaro ana rātou ki rō ngahere* "They disappeared inside the forest", *Ka tukua ki rō o te wai* "They were sent to water" (Tregear 1891: 420).

The particles **o**, **a** may be compared with the genitive markers in inflective language. Their meaning is often described as possessive but they sometimes denote a more general relation than possession, namely the inclusion of an item in a larger, superordinate whole where that can be interpreted as "possession" only with a grain of salt. The two particles are synonymous except that in one respect they are contrasted: **o** is the marker of so-called inalienable possession. The referent of the noun preceded by **o** cannot be owned individually by the referent of the grammatically dominant noun. The latter is in a subordinate, inactive relationship to the former, in a relationship that is given apriori. Examples: 'Ua mate te tuehine **o** te haka'iki **o** Taipi "The sister of the chief of the Taipi died", te tau 'eka'eka **o** te pohu'e 'ia "the pleasures of life", te tau kuhane **o** te Henua 'Enana "the souls of the inhabitants of the Country of Men (i.e. Marquesas)", na pō **o** mua "the nights of long ago". On the other hand, the particle **a** denotes an active, individual, alienable attitude of the possessor to the item linked to him or

her by means of **a**: Mea hauhau te hana **a** tu'u motua 'i au "My father's acting to me was bad", 'A tahi 'a he'e atu ai te tokete me te vahana 'i hua kaikai **a** te haka'iki "Then the sister-in-law went with her husband to the chief's feast", E hiti ana, me te ma'akau ana'u **o** te to'ete 'i hua tekao **a** te vehine "When they went, the sister-in-law was thinking of the words of that woman".

The particle **no** includes the inalienable possession (or relation) marker and usually denotes appurtenance (to someone or somewhere) origin, provenance, introducing the nominal phrase fulfilling the function of a nominal predicate. Examples: Mea nui te tau ka'avai **no** Haneamotua "Many were the valleys of Haneamotua", **No** Hiva'oa tenei maha'i "This boy is from Hiva'oa", **No** hea mai 'oe? "Where are you from?" As such it furnishes us with new information and thus contains a certain degree of indefiniteness. It may also express (temporal) consequence, cause or reason of something: **No** te tihe mai 'i nei, 'ua mau 'ia hua ko'oua "The old man was arrested after he came here", **No** te aha 'oe nei? "What is the purpose you are here?", **No** 'oe te teka "The fault is yours", 'A'e au i kite 'e kui **no** 'oe tenā vehine "I did not know that woman is your mother". In all these instances **no** introduces new information and is thus an instrument of the functional sentence perspective.

The particle **na** is used analogically. However, unlike **no** it marks alienable relation or possession: **Na** 'oe tenei ika "This fish is yours", **Na** Tuki te p eto nei "This dog is Tuki's", **Na** te Etua i hana 'i te mea paotu "It is God who has created all things" (transitive actions and their results are defined as alienable), **Na** te Kuhane Meita'i i ha'ama'ama 'i to 'atou koekoe "The Holy Spirit has illuminated their minds".

Both **no** and **na** may be used in the meaning of "for": 'E iko a **no** tana tama "Name for his child", 'E ika **na** tona tuehine "Fish for his sister", **Na** 'oe te meika nei "This banana is for you".

There are two neutral definite possessive particles **to** (inalienable) and **ta** (alienable) that are widely used in Marquesan: I titahi 'ā, 'u pe'au Atanua 'i **ta** ia vahana 'o Ātea "One day Atanua said to her husband Ātea", 'Ā tahi 'a tihe te ma'akau o Ātea 'i **to** ia tau etua tapata'i "Then Ātea thought of his ancestral gods", I tenei pō e ha'attū au i **to** tāua ha'e "Tonight I will build our house", 'Ua ke'i 'o Ātea e tahī 'ua mea ha'apa'o to'ito'i **ta** ia hana "Ātea dug a pit so as to completely finish his work". In possessive sentences the nominal phrase containing the particle **to** or **ta** functions as its subject: 'E tau anani **ta** te to'iki "The children have oranges", He ha'e kanahau **to** matou "We have a beautiful house", 'E aha **to** ia? "What has he?" If the nominal possessive phrase is to take over the function of predicate, it is preceded by the focus (or specific) particle **'o** and moved to the beginning of the sentence: '**O** ta Uki peto tenā "It is Uki's dog", '**O** to taua tuehine tenā "That is our sister". The particle **'o** introduces a nominal predicate as new information, e.g. 'Eia me ta Taheta vehine 'omua **'o** Mataheiau "Taheta's wife formerly was Mataheiau", '**O** O'ohatu te tama hakataetae 'ia e Taheta "It was O'ohatu who was the child cherished by Taheta". In the following sentence **'o** is used to focus upon the topicalized objects of both of the clauses: '**O** te tukane, 'ua tuku te motua mc te kui io he tahukahi, '**o** te tuehine 'ua tuku

te motua me te kui io io he paepae ka'ioi "As for the brother, father and mother put it toward the hearth, as for the sister, father and mother put them upon the paepae of the ka'ioi".

In the right-hand periphery of nominal phrase we may sometimes find one of the three demonstrative particles **nei** (close to the first person), **nā** (close to the second person) and **'ā** (far from both). These postpositive demonstrative particles co-occur with the definite article (**te** or **na**) preceding the noun in question: **te vehine nei** "this woman", **te motu nei** "this island", **te ha'e nā** "that house", **te 'enana 'ā** "that man". If the core of the phrase is occupied by a locative noun, by a proper noun, or by a pronoun, the definite article is absent: **'i tai nei** "here at the seaside", **'o 'aua nei** "they two here". It is quite common, however, for the demonstrative pronouns to occur before the nominal core: **tenei ha'e** "this house", **tenā motu that island**", **te'ā 'enana** "that man".

Words capable of functioning as the core of a nominal phrase can be divided into several classes. This classification is based upon their compatibility or incompatibility with various types of nominal particles. The latter thus mark various subtypes of both nominal phrases and classes of words functioning as the cores of these phrases. Syntactic compatibility of the individual words, however, reflects their semantics. The most clearcut class is the fairly small set of words referring to spatial orientation. These so-called locative nouns always combine with the particles of the slot -2 (namely with prepositions that do not fulfil purely syntactic functions) being at the same time incompatible with the particles defined as belonging to the slot -1 (articles and quantifiers). Locative nouns include, for example **'una** above, **'a'o** below, **'oto** inside, **mu'i** behind, **mua** before, in front of, **vaho** outside, open sea, **tai** seaward, **uta** interior. Examples: **Kotao 'a'o, 'a'o, 'a'o** "Let us dive down, down, down"; **'O 'a'o te mea meita'i, 'o 'una te pe** "Below is good, above is bad"; **'I 'una Ferari, 'i 'a'o teia** "France is farther than this country"; **'I hakamamao ai te vaka 'i vaho 'oa 'o te mate** 'a Haneamotua "The canoe moved into the distance, in the direction of the open sea, away from the threat of death by Haneamotua"; **'U ti'ohi te tama mei 'uka** "The child looked from above"; **'Ua hua Apeku'a me te ue 'i te ha'e me te hano io Etieitetoatahi 'i uta io to ia noho** "Apeku'a returned crying to her house and went to look for Etieitetoatahi who lived behind the house, toward the mountains". Some of the locative nouns may also function in the core slot of full-fledged nominal phrases as autosemantic words, cf. **'Ua piki O'ohatu me ta ia mata'eina'a 'i 'oto 'o to ia vaka** "O'ohatu and his people climbed into his canoe" – **Toi 'ia e te vai tihe io te 'oto tai** "He was taken by the river into the interior of sea"; **Titahi 'ā, 'ua he'e 'i tai 'i te mei nunu me tahipito to'iki** "One day he went to the seaside to bake breadfruit with some children". The class of locative nouns includes some temporal expressions as well (**inenahi** yesterday, **epo** soon, in a while).

Another nominal subclass is that of proper nouns that are incompatible with the articles and quantifiers and compatible with the personal (or proper) article / **a/** the occurrence of which has been reduced in Marquesan to the position after

the particle **'i** (**i**) with which it has fused into **'ia**: 'Ua kite na mata'eina'a **'ia** 'Akahe'e "The people saw 'Akahe'e". This subclass includes personal pronouns as well: 'A tahi 'a piki te tuehine io hua tumu kehika me te vevete **'i** to ia 'ouoho me te hakakanahau **'ia** ia "Then the sister climbed up the kehika tree, let her hair loose and made herself beautiful".

Many of the words capable of occurring in the nominal phrase can also function in the verbal phrase fulfilling the predicative function and are compatible with the markers of passive and gerund. A word containing the gerund marker is compatible with the nominal article **te** and its chief function is to express the subordinate clause within the complex sentence. Since it is formally a nominal construction, the agent of the (nominalized) action takes up either the genitive **o** (for the inalienable relation) or **a** (for the alienable relation). Here it is very important to orthographically distinguish the genitive **o** from the focus particle **'o**. A nominal phrase containing a gerund usually consists of the verb either in active or in passive voice preceded by the article **te** and the preposition **'i** referring to the timing of the action relative to the action of the main clause.

Examples: **'I te tihē 'ia** io hua vai, 'u tia'a **'ia** me te ke'a ve'ave'a **'i** 'oto "Having come into that river, she was warmed up by hot stones in it", **'I te piki 'ia o** Vakauhi io he tumu 'ehi **'i** 'uka "When Vakauhi climbed the coconut palm, the palm turned taller", **'I te 'oko 'ia o** te motua **'i** te tekao hou, 'u 'emi'e'e te ko'oua "When the old man heard the news, he turned angry", **Te inu 'ia o** Potateuatahi **'i** te kava, **'i** hao **'ia ai e** Haneamotua te toki mei te **'ima o** Potateuatahi "While Potateuatahi was drinking kava, Haneamotua jerked out the axe from his hands", **'I te hemo 'ia, 'i kave 'ia ai io** Apeku'a, io he vaka, hakanoho **'i** te a'o "When he was taken (captured), he was taken to Apeku'a's, to the canoe, and made to sit in front of her", Mei io he **'ua te 'oaka 'ia o** Haneamotua "Haneamotua was pulled out from the ditch", **'A'i haka'oko te mata'eina'a, 'ua hana anaiho 'i te vaka o te haka'iki tihē 'i te pao'ia o te vaka** "The people did not hear, they were just making the canoe until the completion of the canoe", **'Ua 'oko** Vakauhi **'i** to 'atou 'eo **'i te pe'au 'ia** "Vakauhi heard what they had said", **Te hika 'ia, tihē io he tai te pukupuku temanu me te 'au** "Having fallen down, the fruits of temanu and the leaves got into the sca".

Nominal **te** is often preceded by the preposition **me** "with", which underlines the nominal character of the construction:

'Ua hua 'Apeku'a, **me te ue**, io Nunuiapukatea "Apeku'a returned crying and went looking for Nunuiapukatea", **Me te hakai a na pakahio** "The two old women have brought him up". Here the particle **a** marks the alienable characteristics of **na pakahio** in relation to **hakai** "to feed, bring up".

The nominal character of the phrase with **te** is supported by the presence of the preposition **'i** "to, toward, in order to":

'Ua tihē Vakauhi **'i te keu** ma he 'eita "Vakauhi went to play in the weeds".

In relation to the hierachically higher unit (i.e. to the sentence) the gerund behaves as a nominal phrase because it may be preceded by an article and also by a preposition (usually **me** "with" and **'i** "location in time"). The same is true of its relation to the logical subject linked to it by means of genitive particles (**o**

“inalienable” or a “alienable relation”). However, in relation to the object as its subordinate unit the gerund preserves its verbal nature because it is linked to it by means of the accusative particle ‘i. Examples: Te inu ‘ia o (genitive inalienable) Potateuatahi (logical subject) ‘i (accusative) te kava (logical and grammatical object)... “While Potateuatahi was drinking kava...”; ‘I (temporal location) te tihe ‘ia atu o (logical subject) ‘atou, ‘a tahi ‘a to’o ai te haka’iki ia Apeku’a, me te (concomitative with) pe’au atu ‘i (accusative) na mata’eina’a “After their arrival there, the chief took Apeku’a and said to the people...”; ‘I (temporal location) te piki ‘ia o (logical subject) Vakauhi io (direction) he tumu ‘ehi, ‘ua ‘oa te tumu ‘ehi ‘i ‘uka “When Vakauhi climbed the coconut palm, the coconut palm became taller”.

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ON THE CATEGORY OF ASPECTUALITY IN SLOVAK ROMANI*

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The category of aspectuality reflects a viewpoint of progression or of functionality of verbal action. From the viewpoint of aspectuality, the following features of the Slovak Romani verb are considered essential: duration of action, iterativity, intention, and specification (beginning, end, suddenness, completion, space specification, etc.) of verbal action. All of these features are expressed by different grammatical means, mainly suffixes.

In the ample literature on the theory of parts of speech two basic complexes of problems are discussed. First, the question of semantic definition of a part of speech and second, the question of grammatical categories by which a given part of speech is characterized.

In Slavistics, the solution by Eugen Pauliny (1981) has achieved a positive response. When defining a part of speech, Pauliny speaks about the denomination of phenomena. According to his view, a substantive is a denomination of independently existing phenomenon without expressing duration in time, adjective is a denomination of unindependently existing phenomenon without expressing duration in time and a verb is a denomination of unindependently existing phenomenon with expressing duration in time.

As is evident, duration in time is considered to be one of the basic criteria. This criterion is reflected in the grammatical category of tense as well as in the grammatical category of aspect and lexico-semantic category of *Aktionsart*. In a broader sense, the last two categories, i.e., the category of aspect and the category of *Aktionsart*, can be included under one concept, i.e., aspectuality, which reflects a viewpoint of progression of action or a viewpoint of functionality (see e.g. Bondarko, 1962).

From the viewpoint of aspectuality the following features of the Slovak Romani verb are considered essential: 1. duration (or progression) of action, 2. iterativity, 3. intention, and 4. determination (specification) of verbal action.

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All of these features are expressed by different grammatical means, mainly suffixes.

1. The first feature of aspectuality, i.e., the duration of action is a basic feature of the verb. Every action takes place on a thought time axis as past, present or future with regard to the moment of speech. In language, this fact is reflected in the existence of the system of grammatical tenses which presents a categorial (i.e. grammaticalized) means for location of an action and its duration in a time space.

The duration of action can be unlimited or limited.

If neither beginning nor the end of an action is expressed, we speak about unlimited duration: *denašel* – to run, *kerel* – to do, *phirel* – to walk, *phiravel* – to carry, *daral* – to be afraid, *daravel* – to frighten, etc.

On the other hand, if the verb denotes a limited, completed process, we speak about limited duration of an action. Naturally, there are various means for expressing the limited action in various languages. For instance in Slavonic languages this feature of aspectuality may be expressed by the help of different lexemes (Slovak limited *vziať* or Russian limited *vzjať* vs. Slovak and Russian unlimited *brať*, Slovak limited *povedať* vs. unlimited *hovoriť*; as in English limited *to tell* vs. unlimited *to speak*) or by the aid of an infix already in the infinitive of a verb (Slovak limited *bodnúť* vs. unlimited *bodať*, Czech limited *kopnout* vs. unlimited *kopat*). In some other languages, for example in Bengali, the opposition limited vs. unlimited duration of an action is expressed only in the finite form of a verb by the aid of specific morphemes: limited *kar-e-chi* (I have done), *kar-e-chilam* (I had done) vs. unlimited *kar-i* (I do), *kar-o-chi* (I am doing), *kar-o-chilam* (I was doing). Similarly in Romani the limited action is also expressed by the finite verb form, i.e. with the aid of the past perfect tense paradigm: *ker-d'-om* – I have done, *asa-ň-om* – I have laughed. The limited duration is expressed only in the past tense also due to the fact that limited verbs often express the result of an action, a state achieved by an action.

As this tense expresses not only a past action with regard to the moment of speech but also the limitedness of an action, it is denoted by aspect terminology as the “dokonavy” = “perfective” past tense (and the preterite as the “nedokonovaný” = “imperfective” past tense) in Czech works on the Romani language (Hübschmannová 1974, 1976, 1991, Lípa 1963) though aspect does not belong to the category of tense.

2. The next feature of aspectuality, i.e., iterativity is to a large degree analogical to the feature of plurality of substantive. Iterative verbs express the quantitative progression of a verbal action.

In the Romani language, the iterativity of verbal action is formally expressed by the suffixes *-ker-* or *-av-*: *ker-ker-el* – to do repeatedly, *phirav-ker-el* – to carry repeatedly, *čhiv-av-el* – to throw about. With some verbs both iterativity markers can be used. For instance alongside the above mentioned *čhiv-av-el*, *čhiv-ker-el* also occurs in texts. Often these two forms are synonymous or slightly change the meaning of the verb (as Hübschmannová and Bubník also point out, 1997: 140). Sometimes even both suffixes (*-ker-* and *-av-*) occur at the same time: *čhiv-av-ker-el*, perhaps in order to intensify the iterative mean-

ing. In such cases suffix *-av-* usually precedes suffix *-ker-*. We can also find the reduplicated *-ker-* in the same function: *phir-ker-ker-el*.

The reduplication of the iterative suffix is not exceptional phenomenon in the Romani language. It occurs also in some other languages, for instance it is quite common in the Slovak language: *chodil* > *chodieval*, *chodieaval* or in the Czech language: *nosil* > *nosíval* – *nosivával*, but it is less common in Russian.

The process denoted by iterative verbs is often characterized by the inner itemization (*kerkerel*, *phiravkerel*). Iterative verbs express an action occurring several times, disconnectedly or in different directions. Such action may not be actual in the present tense, as it does not take place in the moment of speech, but can be usual or sporadic (*sikhľuvkerav* – I learn all the time, *davkerav* – I give usually, all the time).

Sometimes the present forms of iterative verbs may also denote an actual repeated action: *čhivavel* – to throw about.

3. A further feature of the Slovak Romani verb expressed by a grammatical morpheme is that of intention, that is, directionality of an action. Verbs have zero (or negative) intention if an action is not directed towards any object (*de-našel* – to run), or positive intention, if an action is oriented (directed) towards an object. Positive intention is either progressive or regressive.

Progressive intention means that an action is oriented to the object of an action and is expressed by the aid of morpheme *-ar-*: *bar-ar-el* – to make sb. to be big, to bring up, *barv-ar-el* – to enrich sb., *kal-ar-el* – to blacken, but also *rovľ-ar-el* to make sb. cry, *asal'-ar-el* – to make sb. laugh, etc.

Regressive intention, that is, orientation (direction) of an action back towards the subject of an action and secondarily also achievement of some result or state is expressed by two means. First, by the aid of reflexive verb: *nand'arel pes* – to bathe oneself, *mel'arel pes andre* – to become dirty, and second, by the morpheme *-ol* by the aid of which it is expressed that a subject has achieved some state: *melal'-ol* – become dirty, *barval'-ol* – become rich, *kal'-ol* – become black. Sometimes boths ways of expressing the regressive intention occur with the same verb, e.g., *melarel pes* as well as *melalol*. According to Hübschmannová (1995:38) the reflexive verb is used when the subject of the action causes something to himself on purpose. On the other hand, the forms with the morpheme *-ol* imply a spontaneous or an unwanted action.

4. The last feature of aspectuality of the Slovak Romani verb is the determination or specification of verbal action, that is, expression of its beginning, end, suddenness, completion or a space specification.

The specification of action is expressed by two means. First, by the aid of phrasal verbs, and second, by the help of Slovak prefixes.

Phrasal verb consists of a verb and an adverb, usually an adverb of space: *avri* – outside, *andre* – inside, *tele* – down, *opre/upre* – up, *pale* – back. Adverbs modify the meaning of the verb with which they form a unit in which various degrees of abstraction from the original meanings of its components can be followed.

In the case of space specification of the progression of an action, both components keep their usual meaning to a large degree: *džal opre* – to rise, liter. to

go up, *avel pale* – to return, liter. to come back, *perel tele* – to fall down, *anel avri* – to carry out, etc.

A greater degree of abstraction can be seen in cases where an adverb loses its space meaning and helps to express, for instance, the completion of action: *chal opre* – to eat up, *labol opre* – to get burnt.

Phrasal verbs in which the meanings of verb and adverb merge form idiomatic meanings with the greatest degree of abstraction from the usual meanings of their components: *kerel opre* – to instigate, *asal andre* – to flirt, *phenel avri* – to disclose, *mardarel andre* – to turn off, to switch off. A natural shift to various abstract meanings coheres with a gradual shift of an adverb to the category of prefixes (written together with a verb): *arifarbinel* – to paint up, *ariavel* – to rise (about sun), etc.

In Slovak Romani, the specification of verbal action is very often expressed with the aid of Slovak prefixes. Many of them are borrowed quite mechanically and have exactly the same meaning as Slovak prefixes in Slovak verbs in the same context as can be seen, for instance, in the texts of fairy tales by Elena Lacková (1992) or in short stories by Ilona Ferková: *podiňa leske a zvičind'a* – she handed it over to him and exclaimed, the prefix *po-* in *podiňa* specifies the verb *del* spacially (direction to the object) and *z-* in *zvičind'a* expresses the suddenness of the action. Similarly *O rikono chudňas le babenca te odčhivkerel o bara a telo bara vareso zaľabilas* – the dog started to draw aside stones by his legs and something flashed up under a stone, where the prefix *od-* in *odčhivkerel* expresses the spatial specification of the action, that is, direction aside from an object, and prefix *za-* in *zaľabilas* expresses the suddenness of the action. Similarly, we find some other verbs with Slovak prefixes expressing, for example, the completion of the action, for example, *dochal* – to eat up which occurs alongside the phrasal verb *chal opre*; or expressing the end of the action: *dokerel* – to finish a work, *zasovel* – to fall asleep, etc.

However, it must be said that there are great differences as regards borrowings of Slovak prefixes in regional variants of Slovak Romani and also with different authors. Some of them express various specifications of verbal actions by Slovak prefixes very often while, some others use them much more rarely.

It seems that some Roma even consider the use of Slovak prefixes in Romani to be “impure”. Perhaps the increasing number of Romani books and the development of Romani as a language of literature and the press will lead to attempts to replace Slovak prefixes with other, “more Romani” elements as is happening in the lexicon where an effort to enrich the vocabulary with different neologisms formed on the basis of Romani verbs can be found.

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TURKISH MIMETIC WORD FORMATION

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This paper attempts to find systematic correspondences among some Turkish mimetic words. Mimetic words semantically related to one another are examined. The examination reveals certain phonological correspondences among them. Alternations of particular sets of vowels and consonants as well as addition of certain 'extenders' expressing subtle shades of meaning in Turkish mimesis are proposed.

0. Terminology

Mimesis is the concept which is commonly referred to as sound symbolism or onomatopoeia. However, there is a slight difference in connotation between 'mimesis' and the other two. 'Sound symbolism' and 'onomatopoeia' often refer exclusively to sound imitation such as bow-wow, bang!, and oink. On the other hand, the term mimesis tends to be used to cover a broader conceptual range; It is used for **mimetic words** that comprise not only sound imitating words (or phonomimes), but also psychomimes and phenomimes which imitate psychological state and manner, respectively.

Let us look at some examples of phenomimes and psychomimes from Japanese which is known for its utilisation of an enormous number¹ of mimetic words. *warau* and *suru* in the chart below mean 'laugh' and 'do; perform', respectively.

Phenomimes (*gitaigo*) taken from Tamori (1989)

gera-gera warau	giggle
kera-kera warau	giggle
kusu-kusu warau	titter
kutu-kutu warau	chuckle
niko-niko warau	smile
nita-nita warau	grin
hera-hera warau	laugh flatteringly

Psychomimes (*gijougo*)

yaki-moki suru	be anxious
ira-ira suru	get irritated
hara-hara suru	feel uneasy
sowa-sowa suru	be restless
dogi-magi suru	be confused
waku-waku suru	be thrilled
saba-saba suru	feel refreshed

¹ *Nichiei Taishoo Giseigo Jiten* (Mito & Kakehi 1981) contains about 1,100 mimetic words.

Taking into account the large number of phenomimes in Turkish mimesis, I will employ not ‘onomatopoeia’ and ‘onomatopoeic words’, but only ‘mimesis’ and ‘mimetic words’ in this paper.

1. Admission of Mimetic Words

Admission of mimetic words can be a difficult task which requires deliberate selection as well as a good knowledge of the subject language(s). Garrigues’ (1995) survey of a Turkish-English dictionary on mimesis includes the word *güle-güle* as a mimetic word. Nevertheless, the word is actually the verb stem *gül-* to which the suffix *-e/-a* is attached and the reduplication is grammatically required. Virtually, any verb can take this form eg. *sev->seve seve, ağla->ağlaya ağlaya, bak->baka baka*. Therefore, words such as these are of verbal origin and can not be accepted as mimetic. I excluded words of non-mimetic origin from the data.

2. Object

In the present paper I will attempt to identify systematic correspondences in a group of semantically related Turkish mimetic words. The system consist of what I call **vowel alternation**, **internal vowel alternation**, **consonant alternation**, and **extenders**,² which work among the mimetic words. These terms are discussed immediately below.

3. Accounts for Vowel Alternation, Internal Vowel Alternation, Consonant Alternation, and Extenders

3.1 Vowel Alternation

In Japanese, systematic correspondences among a number of mimetic words have existed since the earliest written records. For example, in 8th century Japanese, the mimetic words *saya*³ and *söyö*, which are used adverbially with the suffixation of *ni* or *tö*, coexist. We can contrast the two words with each other as follows.

<**a-ö**> **saya** ↔ **söyö**

We can see the vowels *a* and *ö* are altered with each other in the mimetic words *saya* and *söyö*. As long as the vowel alternation does not occur in the course of reduplication (in which case it will be called internal vowel alternation) it will be treated simply as vowel alternation. The following mimetic words from 8th and 17th century Japanese are also examples of vowel alternation.

<**a-ö**> **kawara** ↔ **köwörö**⁴

<**u-o**> **suru-suru** ↔ **soro-soro**

² This terminology is adopted from GARRIGUES (1995).

³ This mimetic word derives the verbs *saya-mu* and *saya-gu* and the adjectival noun *saya-ka* which in turn derive the noun *saya-gi* and the adjective *saya-kësi*, respectively. The derivation of words of mimetic origin in Xâkânî, Modern Uyghur, Turkish, 8th, 17th, and modern Japanese is discussed in details in Ido (1997).

⁴ *köwörö* is the ‘mimetic stem’ of the reduplicated mimetic word *köwörö-köwörö*.

3.2 Internal Vowel Alternation

Internal vowel alternation is the vowel alternation that takes place in the course of reduplication. To account for internal vowel alternation, we can find more appropriate examples in Turkic languages than in Japanese.⁵ Let us look at the following examples in the 11th century Xâkânî Turkic, which was the official language of the Karakhanids:

<**a-u**> çar-çur, çart-çurt, şal-şul, qart-qurt, qarç-qurç, yaki:-yuki:
<**a-o**> çak-çok, çağı:-çoğι:

The pairs of vowels found in English mimetic words may also serve as examples of internal vowel alternation such as, <**i-o**> ding-dong, tick-tock, flip-flop.

3.3 Consonant Alternation

Some mimetic words have consonant alternated counterparts. An example of consonant alternation from 17th century Japanese is shown below.

<**ɸ-b**> foto-photo ↔ boto-boto

3.4 Extenders

A number of mimetic words have a counterpart with an ‘extender’. For instance, in 8th century Japanese, there are such pairs as *tödö* ‘the sound of knocking, the footsteps of a horse/horses’ and *tödörö* ‘a loud sound’. What morphologically differentiates the two is only the occurrence of *rö* in *tödörö*:

<**-rō**> tödö ↔ tödörö

4. Turkish Mimetic Word Formation

In this section, I will attempt to account for some semantically related variations of Turkish mimetic words in terms of the above explained alternation patterns and extenders. English translations of mimetic words are taken from Iz and Hony (1993).

4.1 The Vowel Alternation <**a-i**>

The vowel alternation *a-i* that produces slight differences between the meanings of mimetic words can be identified in Turkish. The connotations with which *i* is associated are lightness, smallness and quickness, in comparison with those with which *a* is associated. In other words, *i* is diminutive compared to *a*.

a	i
pat	‘thud’
pat-pat	‘thudding’

⁵ In Japanese and Korean, vowel alternation appears to generate new words rather than reduplicated parts with different vowels, which contributes to the extensive and systematic use of mimesis. The Japanese mimetic words with internal vowel alternation are hence small in number. Moreover, many of such mimetic words can be recognised as compounds of two semantically close mimetic stems. Taking *kara-koro* in the chart below as an example, *kara* and *koro* can be identified and the mimetic stem of the mimetic word *kara-kara* and the mimetic word *koro-koro*, respectively.

Japanese <**a-o**> kara-koro gata-goto gasa-goso gara-goro gatan-goton

patır-patır	'sound of footsteps'	pıtır-pıtır	'sound of rapid footsteps'
şap	'sound of kissing'	şıp	'plop; a sudden slight noise'
şapır-şapır	'smacking of lips'	şıpır-şıpır	'falling in drops'
parıl-parıl	'ablaze, very brightly'	pırıl-pırıl	'very brightly, brilliantly, flashing'

4.2 The Internal Vowel Alternation <a-u>

In Turkish *a* and *u* involve in Internal Vowel Alternation. For example:

çar-çur	'in a wasteful/squandering manner'	hart-hurt	'munch crunch'
car-cur	'loud and continuous noise/talk'	fart-furt	'talking nonsense'
har-hur	'confusion'	zart-zurt	'(give orders/talk) in a loud blustering manner'
tak-tuk	'tack!, tock!'	farta-furta	'talking nonsense'

In Turkish, as shown in the immediately preceding section, the *a-i* alternation is used to generate one pair of 'mimetic stems' eg. *çatr-çatır* and *çitır-çıtır* whereas the *a-u* alternation is used for vowel modification in the reduplicated part, that is in internal vowel alternation eg. *çatır-çutır*. Some examples are shown below.

çakır-çukur	'chewing noise'	çangır-çungur	'clink-clank'
çatır-çutır	'cracking/clashing noise'	langır-lungur	'random/tactless talk, in a loud voice, with a vulgar accent'
gacır-gucur	'creaking'	tangır-tungur	'loud clangling noise'
hapır-hupur	ye- 'gulp down noisily'	cangıl-cungul	'ding-dong, noisily'
haşır-huşur	'crunching, crushing (sound)'	çangıl-çungul	'of harsh broken speech; foreign/provincial accent'
hatır-hutır	'harsh crunching'	dangıl-dungul	'boorish'
katır-kutır	'crunching'	çarpık-çurpuğ	'crooked, deformed'
şapır-şupur	'smacking of lips'		
takır-tukur	'alternate tapping and knocking'		
şakır-şukur	'rattling , banging'		

When the reduplication of a mimetic stem in the C¹V¹C²V²+r form is asymmetric, interestingly enough, the stem is always CaCır. Therefore asymmetrically reduplicated C¹V¹C²V²+r stems can only take the form of CaCır-CuCur. (Most of C¹V¹C²V²+r stems are in either of the following forms due to various phonological constrictions⁶ on the form: CiCır, CaCır, CoCur, CüCür.) The CaCır-CuCur form is though not the result of two different internal vowel alternations, i.e., <a-u> for the first syllable and <i-u> for the second. In this form, the internal vowel alternation occurs only in the first syllable. This means only *a* in the initial syllable of the stem becomes *u* and the *u* in the reduplicated part in turn requires the

⁶ The phonological restrictions are described in details in Ido (forthcoming).

following *u* according to the rules set by vowel harmony. This can be confirmed by looking at the reduplication of stems which are not in the form of CaCir, for instance, *çarpık-çurpuk*. The fact that all the reduplicated parts in the mimetic words in the chart have only *us* as their vowels shows the validity of the idea of single internal vowel alternation.⁷

Vowels involved in the external and internal vowel alternations in the mimesis of Turkish (as well as Uyghur and Xâkânî) are, unlike in Japanese and Korean mimesis which have such vowel alternation pairs as *a-i* and *a-e* (see Garrigues 1995), confined to the back vowels *a*, *u*, and *i*.

4.3 The Consonant Alternation <k-t-p>

Consonant alternation is applied in mimetic usage in Turkish to a certain degree. However, it is difficult to present all sets of consonants since the number of Turkish mimetic words is insufficient to detect every relationship between particular consonants. There is a possibility that there could be more sets of consonants involved in Turkish consonant alternation than I propose in this section. Etymological studies and comparative studies between Turkic languages may help finding more sets of consonants. Taking the meanings of mimetic words into account, possible sets would be *f-h*, *s-ş*, *h-k*, and *k-t-p*. The following are examples of the *s-ş* and *f-h* alternations:

faşır-faşır	fışır-fışır
‘splashing, rushing’	‘hiss (of burning/running water)’
fişır-fişır	hışır-hışır
‘rustling’	‘rustling’

Among the above possible sets of consonants, *k-t-p* is the only set which can be said with certainty to be involved in consonant alternation. Some examples are shown below.

t-k	tak-tak	‘knock knock’	takır-takır	‘clippety-clop’
	tik-tik	‘ticking’	tıkır-tıkır	‘with a clinking/rattling noise’
t-p	tip-tip	‘tap-tap, pit a pat’	tipır-tipır	‘drip-drip, pat-pat’
p-t	pat-pat	‘thudding’	patır-patır	‘sound of footsteps’
	pit-pit	‘(heart) palpitate rapidly’	pitır-pitır	‘sound of rapid footsteps’
k-t	küt-küt	‘sound of knocking, heartbeating’	pütür-pütür	‘rough/chapped (skin)’
			kütür-kütür	‘(eating) with a crunch’
			kıtır-kıtır	‘crackling, crunching, gnashing’
p-t-k	pat-küt	‘sound of repeated blows’	katır-katır	‘sound of crunching’
			patır-kütür	‘with the noise of footsteps’
			paldır-küldür	‘with great noise and clatter’

⁷ This applies also to modern Uyghur, eg. *taqır-tuqur*, *çaqır-çuqur*, *kaldır-kuldur*, *taraqturuq*, *djaṭgur-djungur*, *yaras-ŷurus*, *šar-ŷur*, *par-pur*, *yart-yurt*, *paj-puj*, *waj-wuj*, *gaj-guj*, *paj-puŋ* etc.

Noticeable is that the consonants *k*, *t*, and *p* are all voiceless plosives. The bilabial, alveolar, and velar voiceless plosives share the same characters in terms of manner of articulation and voicedness. The phonetic characteristics *k*, *t*, and *p* have in common are apparently associated with the semantic implications shared by the members of the group of mimetic words linked with the consonant alternation.

As can be seen in the above table, in Turkish, the alternating phonetic quality among the sets of consonants involved in the consonant alternation is the place of articulation. This sort of alternating phonetic characteristic among semantically related mimetic words can be different in other languages. For example, in Japanese mimesis, generally speaking, it is voicedness that alternates in the consonant alternation.

4.4 The Extenders <-Vr, -Vi, -t>

Turkish appears to have a number of extenders, though the existence of them is not as evident as it is in Japanese. In the above chart we can find the mimetic words in the left column also appearing in the right column with the extender -Vr suffixed to them (V is subject to vowel harmony rules), e.g., *tip-tip* and *tipir-tipir*. Note, however, mimetic stems in the C¹V¹C²V²+r form does not necessarily have the corresponding C¹V¹C² form. For example, *homur-homur* and *kivir-kivir* exist while *hom-hom* and *kiv-kiv* do not. Nevertheless, by my estimate, 72 per cent of C¹-C² sets that occur in stems of mimetic words in the C¹V¹C²V²+r form also occur in the C¹VC² form. Moreover, 71 per cent of C¹-C² sets occurring in stems of mimetic words in the C¹V¹C²V²+l form also occur in the C¹VC² form. These percentages suggest the existence of the extenders.

Aside from the above mentioned -Vr extender, there are some others such as -Vi, -t. Some examples in which these extenders appear are shown below

har-har	fir-fir	zir-zir	car-cur	gür-gür
harıl-harıl	fırıl-fırıl	zırıl-zırıl		gürül-gürül
hart-hart	firt-firt	zırt-zırt	cart-cart	

It may be possible to assume some infixing extenders such as -mb-, -ng-, -ld-.
 fıngır-fıngır zıngır-zıngır cangıl-cungul gümbür-gümbür
 güldür-güldür

5. Conclusive Remarks

In the present paper, I have attempted to identify some common patterns in groups of mimetic words which are semantically subtly related. Many of the mimetic words in such a group systematically correspond to one another in terms of phonology. Such correspondences are indicated according to the following four rules:

1. The Vowel Alternation <a-i>
2. The Internal Vowel Alternation <a-u>
3. The Consonant Alternation <k-t-p>
4. The Extenders <-Vr, -Vi, -t>

However, it should be noted that these rules apply only to a part of the Turkish mimetic lexicon, but not to its entirety.

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SOME ASPECTS OF RELATIVIZATION IN EGYPTIAN COLLOQUIAL ARABIC

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The study surveys main structural properties of the Egyptian Arabic relative clauses and examines some critical border-lines of their grammaticalness.

1. Phenomena associated with the structural and semantic properties of relativization are one of the dominant topics in Arabic syntactic studies. The interest in the structure and functioning of relative clauses (RC's) is evidently due to the prevailing trend on the linguistic scene since about the seventies. Relativization has mostly been conceived as part of a more comprehensive linguistic field of *wh*-constructions, side by side with *wh*-question formation and topicalization. Most immediately, the interest in *wh*-constructions has been triggered by Ross' dissertation (1967) and its traces may be found in a number of methodologically important studies of general linguistic interest, and the Arabic syntactic studies are not quite free of its influence, either.¹

In accordance with the formally and notionally supported preferences, Arabic in all its varieties, may more conveniently and more insightfully be described in sentence-related than in discourse-related terms or, in Keenan's terminology (1972), Arabic is a subject-prominent rather than a topic-prominent language. Of course, this does not imply that Arabic, or any of its varieties, could not be analysed along the topic-comment axis or that every morphological type of the subject has to be explicitly expressed. As for the latter feature, Arabic unlike English, shows subject pronoun deletion in verbal sentences since all subject-related pronominal markers are reflected in the Arabic verb inflections.

1.1. The ambiguity called forth by the semantic property of what Downing terms modification (1978:379) results from the fact that the latter is present in

¹ General: LI, Charles N. and Sandra A. THOMPSON (1976); KUNO, Susumu (1953, 1976); Arabic-related: LEWKOWICZ, N. (1971); KILLEAN, Carolyn (1972); WAHBA, Wafaa A. (1984); EI'D, Mushira (1977); MOUTAOUKIL, Ahmed (1985); etc.

only some RC's, namely those usually classified as adjectival or restrictive, as opposed to appositive or nonrestrictive RC's (for the terminology adopted, see *ibid.*). In order to distinguish between the two, it seems here to be quite sufficient to state that restrictive RC's (RRC's) narrow down the scope of reference of the head nominal, defined as antecedent in what follows, while their nonrestrictive counterparts (NRC's) merely convey additional information. Let us consider the following sentence:

(*sukkān il'utr ilmasri*) *biyirkabu sayyarāt* [*bitista^cmil maddit iddīzil*]²

"(the inhabitants of Egypt) ride in vehicles using diesel oil" (Mitchell, 178-9).

The RC, enclosed in square brackets, in its RRC-interpretation reduces the set of what is conveyed by the head noun to only such vehicles that are propelled by diesel engines, as against its NRC-reading that leaves the scope of reference open to all other kinds of vehicles including those using diesel oil.

Of course, the same type of ambiguity occurs also with nominalized RC's (reduced relative clauses: Wise 1975:90), as in:

biyimšu^cala sikak [*marşūfa bil'asfalt*] "they walk on roads made with asphalt" (Mitchell, 178-9), where *marşūfa bi-* "made, paved with" corresponds, at the verbal level, to *'itraşafit* (past) or *bititrisif* (present).

RRC: only on roads made with asphalt, in contrast to:

NRC: inclusively of roads of the above type.

Apart from a basic assumption, there is no convincing evidence of the functioning and formal marking of the RRC/NRC distinction in Arabic. There are hardly any contrastive examples available in the literature, like those quoted by Downing (1978:379) for English, where the distinction between both types is formally supported by a number of specific suprasegmental features which are further marked by a distinctive comma-orthography:

RRC: *The children who have green tickets will be admitted free;*

NRC: *The children, who have green tickets, will be admitted free.*

The semantic contrast between both types of RC's will be perceived even more clearly in the following pair of sentences quoted by Keenan (1985:168-9):

RRC: *The Japanese who are industrious now outcompete W. Europe;*

NRC: *The Japanese, who are industrious, now outcompete W. Europe.*

It is clear that only NRC implies that the Japanese now outcompete Western Europe whereas RRC does not.

For ECA, the distinction between both types is described by Wise (1975:87) as being marked, with NRC, by pauses that delimit the embedded clause, and by a specific intonation pattern.

² In Romanizing the ECA data, drawn from various sources with widely differing writing techniques, an attempt has been made at unifying the formal presentation. Mitchell's (1960) way of writing has been taken as a guiding model (consistent notation of the word-initial glottal stop except when in close transition in a number of morphonological environments; marking epenthesis and vowel elision; etc.). For technical reasons, epenthetic vowels have been marked, somewhat misleadingly, by circumflexes.

In general, the RRC/NRC distinction need not necessarily have a consistent formal rendering and in a number of languages both types may be formally undistinguishable from each other (for Japanese, see S. Kuno 1973:235). To avoid undue complications, as the matter is of no immediate relevance to the present inquiry, all RC's examined in what follows, will be regarded as members of the RRC-subclass.

1.2. The RRC/NRC ambiguity is not the only one in this structural domain. The last quoted sentence, apart from its RC-classification that may be confirmed by its verbal paraphrase: *biyimšu ‘ala sikak [itraşafit / bititrişif bil’asfalt]*, may evidently be related to a coordinated attributive clause deep-structure pattern: *biyimšu ‘ala sikak wi hiyya (kānit) marşūfa bil’asfalt*. Nevertheless, the latter ambiguity cannot occur in sentences with a definite head noun: *biyimšu ‘ala-sikak ilmarsūfa bil’asfalt*, since here the verbal RC would obligatorily be introduced by *‘illi*.

2. In contrast to verb-final languages like Japanese, Korean or Turkish, where RC's as well as all types of modifiers typically precedes the head nominal, in ECA, as a SVO language, RC's follow the head noun. The terminology used to describe this distinction differs between authors: Schwartz (1971:139-171) speaks about prospective and retrospective, while Downing (1978:375-418) talks about prenominal and postnominal RC's.

In spite of a number of distributional alternatives, a RC is always related to another clause through one of its terms which is coreferential with a term of the clause the RC is related to. At least one of these terms should always be overtly expressed.

Basic concepts:

śuft irrāgil [illi-štara-I^carabiyya]³ “I saw the man who bought the car”:

’irrāgil: in relation to RC, head noun or antecedent (A);

‘illi: relative word (R);

A-R: coreferential terms;

RC: attributive (adjectival) clause providing a statement about the head noun (A) of the clause it is related to.

Or, preliminarily, for a case of definiteness-sensitive (indefiniteness-motivated) deletion of R:

śufti rāgil [ø ištara-I^carabiyya] “I saw a man who bought the car”:

A: *rāgil*;

R: *ø*;

or, the deletion of A:

ø [’illi-ybuşşili-b^cen] ’abuşşili bil-itnēn “if someone treats me well, I'll treat him even better” (Badawi 1986:614), or:

hud ø [ill-inta ‘awzu] “take what you want” (Mitchell 150-1).

³ Coreferential terms in § 2 (Basic Concepts) are printed in bold characters.

3. Main types of the ECA RC's.

Symbols used:

- A (+) : presence of A (head noun);
- R (+) : presence of R ('illi);
- A (ø) : deletion of A;
- R (ø) : deletion of R;
- R (+) . . . Pro : pronominal component of R;
- R (ø) . . . Pro : pronominal substitute of R.

(1) A (+) ~ R (+):

(11) *huwwa-rrāgil illi-byiz^cal bisur^ca* “he’s the man who loses his temper quickly” (Mitchell 57); or: (*'idduktūr*) *šaddī sinnu bilkammāša-lli-btilma^c* (the doctor) pulled his tooth with that shining pair of pliers” (Harrell 27.1); or: *da-ssu'āl illi mafrūd yits'i'l* “that is the question that should be asked” (Badawi 392); or: *‘ašān rummāna ḥatiggawwiz iggada^c ikkayhān iṣṣadnān illi kānit bithibbu zamān wi liṣṣa bithibbu lil'an* “for Rummāna will marry that incompetent and worthless fellow who she has been since long in love with and who she loves up to now”

(12) *wi mīn da-lli ḥayidfa^chumlu?* “and who will pay him (these pounds)?” (Malina 165: Wahba 97-101); for a deleted A, here represented by a demonstrative, see § 3.(5) in what follows;

(13) *kull innās illi fiddunya 'arāyib* “all people in the world are relatives” (Malina 88: Wahba 337); or: *kabbari-kkubayāt illi aṭṭarabēza* “put bigger glasses out on the table” (Badawi 731);

(131) *'ana ārif ilmudarrisa-lli labsa 'iswid fiswid* “I know the teacher dressed all in black” (Wise 92); etc.

In Arabic, including ECA, a definiteness-controlled RC-pattern: A (definite) - 'illi, as against A (indefinite) : ø ; for the latter case see § 3.(3) below. The verb in the RC clause need not immediately follow R (12) and, of course, the verb, in RC, may be represented by a nominal predicate (13), (131).

The definiteness-controlled restructuring of (131) in indefinite terms, i.e. *'ana ārif mudarrisa labsa 'iswid fiswid* seems to allow an appositive reading, as that shown in 1.2 above.

(14) *bass ilḥagāt illi 'andak 'ağla min ilḥagāt illi fi-Imahallāt ittanya* “but the goods in your shop are more expensive than those in other shops” (Mokhtar 206); or: *'ana hallaṣfi kull ilḥagāt illi filmatbah* “I’ve finished everything in the kitchen (Mitchell 146-7).

The deletion of 'illi that introduces unrepresented copulative verbs and verbs of occurrence (Verben der Befindlichkeit) may lead to grammatically acceptable paraphrases outside the structural domain of RC's:

(141) *'ana hallaṣti kull ilḥagāt filmatbah* (the English translation, as given above, seems to hold, substantially, for the present paraphrase as well). Nevertheless, the (14) RC '*illi filmatbah*' might be perhaps more insightfully rendered in English by “(everything) that was (to do) in the kitchen”, as against the (141) paraphrase where the prepositional complex *filmatbah* operates as a verb-related circumstantial place-marker.

(2) A (+) ~ R (+) . . . Pro:

(21) *ti^cmil hisāb ilmaṣarīf illi ṣaraftāha* “reckon up (lit. make the account of) what you spent” (Mitchell 146-7); or: *šuftī ya sīdi-lkalām illi biy’ulūh filgarāyid?* (ibid. 58) “have you seen what they’re saying in the papers (my friend)??” (ibid. 278);

(22) *’ilhikāya-lli-smi^ctāha-di / ’ilhikāya-di ’illi-smi^ctāha* “the story that I heard” (Wise 96); or: *tišhad ya^cni^cala ḥawādīs itturmāy zayy ilhadṣa-lli šuftāha-di* “that is, you will testify to the streetcar accidents as to an accident you have (really) seen” (Malina 165; Wahba 97-101); or: *’ana ̄awiz iṣṣinīyya . . . wi-ḥiġwēša-lli-hnāk-di* “I want the tray . . . and the bracelet that is over there” (Mokhtar 207);

(23) *’ilyomēn illi bit’ul ̄alēhūm, dōl agāza maraḍīyya* “the two days you’re talking of were sickleave” (Mitchell 126-7);

(24) *’ādi-ḥqaryā-lli māt fiha saḥbi* “here is the village in which my friend died”;

(25) *’ādi-irragil ill-inta ̄awzu* (ibid. 278) “that’s the man you want” (ibid. 59); etc.

From the set of functions, signalled by the pronominal suffix, the subject-referencce is missing while the object- (21-23; 25) and adverb-related (24) links are represented. The structural compactness of RC’s is illustrated on the alternating phrasal structures in (22).

(3) A (+) ~ R (ø): subject-related:

(31) *huwwa rāgil biyiz^cal bisur^ca* “he is a man who loses his temper quickly” (Mitchell 57); or: *awzīn ̄ṣala-tṣil tultumīt nafar* “they want a hall which can accommodate three hundred people” (Badawi 496); or: *’ana ba^crafi rāgil biyi^cmil mīt ginēh filyōm* “I know a man that makes a hundred pounds a day” (Harrell 17.4);

(32) *’andāha qurḥa ̄ayza amaliyya* “she has an ulcer that needs operation” (Badawi 601-2); or: *’ana ̄andi muškila filbēt šaġlāni giddan* “I’ve a problem at home which is worrying me a lot” (Mitchell 126-7); etc.

As already hinted at (cf. §§ 3.(1.2) and 3.(131)), RC’s related to an indefinite head noun allow unwanted paraphrases (relativeness/appositeness).

(4) A (+) ~ R (ø) . . . Pro:

Pro: object-related:

(41) *huwwa ̄arif hāga ma yi’darṣi-y’ulha* “he knows something (that) he can’t tell” (Harrell 17.4); etc.

(42) *fih ḥagāt ḥaḍritak miḥabbiha ̄alayya?* “is there anything (lit.: any things) you conceal from me?” (Malina 180; Wahba 372-8); etc.

Pro: adverb-related:

(43) *kān ̄ayiz ṣanṭa-y’huṭṭi fiha-hdūmu* “he wanted a suitcase (that) he could put his clothes in” (Harrell 17.4); etc.

Pro, in the predicate slot of a nominal RC, may also operate as a formal A-related identity-marker that makes up for the missing R and other A-related identity markers (e.g., inflectional elements in verbal RC’s).

(44) *kan marra rāgil ̄andu walad ṣugayyar* “there was once a man who had a small boy” (Mitchell 122-3); or: *biyaklu akli malūš ta^cmī ḥāliṣ* “they eat food which has no taste at all” (Wise 87); etc.

The interpretational ambiguity, typical of RC's related to an indefinite A, formally signalled by R(ø) in the RC structural pattern, is present in this subclass, as well (see (32) above).

(5) A(ø) ~ R(+): subject-related:

(51) *'istanna-šwayya lamm-amašši-lli 'uddāmak* “wait a minute while I deal with those in front of you” (Mitchell 132-3); or: *tirkabi-lli yi^cgibik minhum (humār)* “ride whichever you (fem.) please” (ibid. 152-3); or: *'illi "awzīn yisafru lāzim yidfa "u dilwa'ti* “those who want to leave, have to pay now” (Mokhtar 115); etc.

(52) *'ulli-lli ḥaṣal* “tell me what happened” (Badawi 722); or: *'āl li-mrātu 'alli ḥaṣal* “(he) told his wife (about) what happened” (Mitchell 150-1);

(53) *'iddīni wāhid milli 'andak* (ibid. 58) “give me one of yours” (ibid. 278); etc.

A(ø), in the examples quoted, may best be identified in the deep-structure matrices, like *humma-lli* (51), (*ēh*) *huwwa-lli* (52), and *min humma-lli; min dōl illi* (54); etc.

Relativization, especially in the present A(ø)~R(+) structural pattern, is frequently used to create a topic to be emphasized. The latter is mostly subject-oriented, as in:

(54) *hiyya-lli hatigawwiz miš ḥadritak* “it's her who will marry, not you” (Malina 26: Wahba 356); or: *'ana-lli dāfi^c filūs ilma^czūn* “I'll pay money to the official” (Malina 89: Wahba 331).

The same holds for interrogative sentences:

(55) *'ēh illi ḥaṣal?* “what happened? (lit. what is it that happened)” (Malina 89: Wahba 347); or: *wi mīn illi gayy* “who is coming?” (ibid. 89: 380); etc.

RC's of this structural pattern frequently appear in an anaphoric shape:

(56) *w-illi yihṣal yihṣal* “what is happening, is happening” (Malina 89: Wahba 335); or: *'illi yimši yimši* “who wants to go, let him go” (ibid. 89: 379); etc.

(6) A(ø) ~ R(+) . . . Pro: object-related:

(61) *'aftikir innak ārif ill-anā ha'ulūlak* (Mitchell 278) “I think you know what I'm going to say to you” (ibid. 59);

(63) *hud-ill-inta 'awzu* “take what you want” (Mitchell 150-1); or: *'illi 'ana 'awzu 'arūh šaylu* “whatever I want, I take” (Badawi 33); etc.

4. In right-branching languages (cf. §2), like Arabic, English or Slovak, there is no problem in serializing RC's. Long subordinate-clause sequences, like those created by Yngve (1960): *he cried because she hit him because he called her names because she wouldn't give him any candy*, could easily be represented in the structural domain of the RC's, as well. In ECA, however, in view of the fact that the R ('illi), as an inflectionless unit, cannot operate as an unambiguous A-related identity-marker, a number of interpretational problems cannot safely be avoided without resorting to additional means. Some of them, relying on pronominal markers, will be illustrated on the following pair of examples:

(41) *'irrāgil illi 'ābil ṣahbu-lli šatamu* “the man who met his friend that he insulted / who insulted him” obviously allows two interpretations:

(42) *'irrāgil_a illi 'ābil ṣahbu_b-lli šatamu_a* as well as:

(43) *'irrāgil_a illi 'ābil ṣahbu_b-lli šatamu_b*

In order to paraphrase away the latter type of ambiguity, the pronominal subject-related identity-marker is used:

(44) *'irrāgil illi 'ābil sahbu-lli huwwa šatamu*, to obtain an unambiguous interpretation equaling that of (42).

4.1. In ECA, there is some evidence, not yet adequately attested, showing that even RC's which do not provide immediate statements about the head nominal might be recognized, by some authors at least, as grammatical. Let us consider the following clause:

(1) *'ilwalad illi kallimt ilmudarris illi šatamu* * “the boy who I talked to the teacher that he insulted” (Mushira Eid 1987: 172).

The RC quoted violates one of the very fundamental constraints imposed on relativization, notably what Kuno (1976: 420) calls thematic constraint on RC's, according to which a RC must be a statement about its head noun (A). As evident, neither of the two RC's, when taken separately, provides any meaningful statement about the head noun. To do it, the whole RC_1 - RC_2 complex is necessary and this is apparently why this RC cannot be classed as grammatical, in English at the very least.

When accepting, for all that, the grammaticalness of the last sentence quoted, the problem of the A-related identity has to be solved in similar terms as those applied to RC's in 4. (42) – (43) above.⁴

4.2. When giving credit to Keenan (1985: 156), Egyptian Arabic admits relativization into a coordinated structure. The example quoted, however, is a faultily presented Standard Arabic RC-clause,⁵ here corrected and rewritten in the transcription code adopted for the present paper: *ar-rağulu-llađi huwa wa-bnuhu dhababū 'ilā N. Y.* “the man that he and his son went to New York”. With the risk of being misguided without a native speaker's control, we propose the following ECA reading: *'irrāgil illi huwwa wi-bnu rāħu N. Y.* The structure can be accepted as grammatical with a high degree of probability since coordinate structures with a plural agreement, such as *'issawwā' wi-lkumsāri-btū' ilħadsa* “the driver and the conductor (involved) in the accident” (Malina 44: Wahba 117), are of quite common occurrence.

4.3. The coordinate structure constraint, formulated by Ross (1967; requoted after Wise 1975: 98), which states that no element in conjunct in a coordinate structure may be questioned or relativized, does not seem to be operative in ECA, either. According to Wise (ibid.: 99), this is so because ECA, unlike English, uses place-marking pronouns instead of moving the pronoun to the beginning of the clause, as in: *šuft il^carabiyya-lli 'ahūya bā^c ilħuṣān wi-ħtarāha* * “I saw the car that my brother sold the horse and bought”.⁶

⁴ The procedure is described by Mushira Eid (1987: 172). In RC's with inflectionally differentiated constituents a similar ambiguity cannot take place; cf.: *'ilwalad illi nadya 'agabitha-larabiyya-lli-ħtarāha* * “the boy that Nadia liked the car that (he) bought.”

⁵ cf.: *al-rajul allathi hua wa ibna-lu thahabu ille New York*.

⁶ The English sentence is marked with an asterisk by the author of the present study.

5. Summary

5.1. A typical ECA RC is a statement about the head noun (A) outside the structural domain of the RC. Nevertheless, in some types of ECA sentences with serialized RC's, the latter constraint is only met by the whole RC complex collectively, and not individually, by any single RC within this complex. The grammaticality of such RC sequences is, all the same, recognized by some authors (cf. 4.1 above).

5.2. The head noun of an ECA RC can be either overt or covert. The RC may be introduced by a relative word (R) or may not. The R cannot be deleted in RC's related to a covert A. The relationship between both these coreferential terms, A and R, underlies the typology of RC's, proposed in this study.

5.3. The explicit expression of R depends on the definiteness state of A the RC is related to: the R is explicitly expressed only when related to a definite A while, in the opposite case, it is deleted.

5.4. In ECA RC's with an indefinite A, relative and appositive constructions cannot be formally distinguished from each other at the surface structure level (cf. § 1.2, as well as all other paragraphs dealing with structural patterns that contain A(ø) as one of their constituents).

5.5. Another type of ambiguity may affect the identity of A-constituents in serialized RC's. The ambiguity may be avoided by resorting to the subject-marking pronominal suffixes (§ 4.1).

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON NEW DEPARTURES IN MODERNIST INTERPRETATIONS OF ISLAM IN CONTEMPORARY TURKEY: *FETHULLAH GÜLEN CEMAATİ*^{*}

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This paper is an attempt to analyse the thoughts and activities of Fethullah Gülen, the leader of the Turkish religious order called after him the *Fethullahciler*. Within the modernist framework he offers an alternative to the rejectionist tendencies in Islam and provides an Islamically based rationale for religious, social and educational reform in Turkey. Also, through Gülen's personality the transformation of *sufi* religious orders into faith movements becomes more apparent. Whereas so called Islamic fundamentalism is normally used to prove that Islam and politics means almost the same, this article tries to uncover those modernist trends which claim that politicizing of Islam means an insult to religion.

Muslim responses to the challenges of our post-modern age are often described in terms of various "fundamentalisms".¹ The widespread Western view of Islam as a religion conducive to mass anti-Western mobilization is nevertheless one-dimensional, ahistorical and unjust. Moreover, outside the fundamentalist orientation an Islamic modernism also exists. Although it is not easy to find an accurate definition for modernism, certainly not easier than to describe fundamentalism, one is tempted to make at least some preliminary remarks. The Muslim version of modernity as understood here is clearly not the quest for solutions by Muslim fundamentalists as suggested elsewhere.² Modernism as

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¹ For a useful discussion of fundamentalism see KROPÁČEK, L.: *Islámský fundamentalismus (Islamic Fundamentalism)*, Vyšehrad, Praha 1996, pp. 11–33, or KROPÁČEK, L.: *Facing the West: Ideologies of Contemporary Islamic Movements*, pp. 17–24, in: KRUPA, V.: *Intercultural Contacts and Communication Between East and West*, Proceedings of the International Conference, Bratislava, 17 September 1996.

² Islamic fundamentalism is understood as a Muslim version of modernity e.g. by Daniel PIPES, see: *Západní smýšlení radikálního islámu (Western Apprehension of Radical Islam)* in: *Proglas* 3/1996, pp. 20–25.

analysed here proposes that Islam has an adequate ideological base for public life. At the same time modernism claims that Islam allows for positive dialogue with the West, other ideologies or religions.³ Its flexibility can also be seen in the search to accommodate “modern” values such as democracy, human rights or equality.⁴ The very basic question then is to see how the contemporary modernist Muslim expresses himself and whether there is an Islamic way of life capable of meeting the demands of modernity. Unlike fundamentalism, modernist approaches are sensitive to the dialogue between Islamic and secular ideologies and try to prepare their followers for discussions with Western intellectuals. This is true even when modernists are reluctant to adopt Western ideologies. Muslim modernists do not see mortal enemies in imported solutions, but if humanism is to flourish, it should be Islamic humanism.

Jamāluddīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad Abdūh and Sayyid Ahmad Khān were probably the most prominent representatives of Islamic renewal and modernism (*nahḍa*) which began in the first half of the 19th century. Their activities are associated with what is called “the opening of the gate of *ijtihād*”, or the possibility of free interpretation of the *Qur’ān*. If traditionalists often had to agree to face historical changes by granting concessions to modernizers, modernists used tradition and religious symbols to justify change. Abdūh and Khān, for example, realized that it was a vital question to adjust Islamic interpretation to all new scientific discoveries, however the approach of the two men was not the same. While Abdūh never forgot that he was speaking to the Muslim audience in a broader sense, thus trying to reconcile orthodox Muslim scholars, the uneducated masses and new Western science, Khān, on the other side, has become acceptable almost exclusively for Muslim intellectuals and Westernized people. Abdūh’s view that the sphere of interaction between the individual and society (*mu‘āmalāt*) is to be regulated by free judgement (*ijtihād*) reinforced, although unintentionally, the secular tendencies which were allowed in by the back door.⁵ In the area of law Abdūh also stressed individualism which is an important concept of secularism, too.⁶ For the modernist approach of Sayyid Ahmad Khān

³ GÜNEŞ-AYATA, A.: *Pluralism and Authoritarianism: Political Ideas in Two Islamic Publications*, p. 256, in: TAPPER, R.: *Islam in Modern Turkey. Religion, Politics and Literature in a Secular State*, I.B. Tauris, London 1994.

⁴ More on modernist view on human rights in KROPÁČEK, L.: *Islam and Human Rights* in KREJČI, J. (ed.): *Islam in Contact with Rival Civilizations – Four Views of the Challenge and Response*, Filosofia Publications, Prague 1998, broader analysis of the same problem is presented by AN-NA’IM, A. A.: *Toward an Islamic Reformation. Civil Liberties, Human Rights and International Law*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse 1990.

⁵ See, for example: HOURANI, A.: *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798–1939*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1962.

⁶ According to his apprehension of *maṣlaṭa*, it is possible to draw specific principles from general ones. Likewise, he gave big stress on *talfiq*, or piecing together, in the sense that he not only consulted the opinions of the representatives of four *maḏhab*s, but he also admitted individual judgement inspired by various other sources.

the importance of the *Qur'ān* was mostly in what it points to, while for more traditionalist views it is more in what the *Qur'ān* says.

In the Turkish context, with all the secularist legacy of this century, Islamic modernism is probably even better placed to accommodate the Western notions of liberalism and humanism. Naturally, modernism too produces mythologies, manufactures ideological slogans and haunting images. Also, its representatives may share a common reformist agenda, but differ in orientations and accents.

Binnaz Toprak showed that the functions and roles of Islam in Turkey have varied during different periods.⁷ In the Ottoman period Islam defined individual identity and political legitimacy and functioned as a mechanism of social control. During the transition from an empire to a nation state, Islam provided a source of national unity against invading foreign powers and the nationalist leadership owed much to the cooperation of a large number of local clerics and the use of religious symbolism by the nationalists themselves as a means of rallying mass support. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 Islam was a means of protest against one-party regime, whereas still later, during the transition to democracy, it served as a means of political mobilization for opposition. As the right-left polarization became to play a central role in the 1960s Islam became less central.⁸ A growing "Islamization" in Turkey has found expression in society and politics again since the 1980s.

Many aspects of the role of Islam in Turkey through the centuries have been underlined elsewhere but for an improved understanding of Turkish Islam two of them seem crucial for an outsider. As Wilfred C. Smith put it: "*Two illusions then go hand in hand...first, the idea that Islam went through its 'golden age' at the beginning of its career, the significant period of its history coming to an end in what is now the fairly distant past – in effect, before the Turks came substantially on the scene, and secondly, the idea that in the twentieth century, when Islam is now felt to be pulling itself out of its subsequent torpor and is once again on the move, undergoing its 'renascence', the Turks have rejected Islam.*"⁹

Furthermore, without going into further detail it seems to be necessary to mention that the spread of Islam in Anatolia – and also in India, Central Asia and Africa – was carried on through *sufi* brotherhoods, and *sufism* in all these zones made compromises with the spiritual milieu already existing.¹⁰ Until today, *sufi* orders in Turkey are usually understood in terms of personalized and emotional beliefs, as the source of spiritual learning under the guidance of sheikhs. While this is still true for Turkish regions with long *sufi* influence, especially in Western Turkey orders twisted into faith movements. In a setting

⁷ TOPRAK, B.: *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*, E. J. Brill, Leiden 1981, pp. 123–124.

⁸ TOPRAK, 1981, pp. 123–124.

⁹ SMITH, W.C.: *Islam in Modern History*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1957, p. 168.

¹⁰ RAHMAN, F.: *Islam*, Chicago 1966, p. 6.

where universal education has been implemented with success, where industrial relations and mass communications are looming larger every day, *sufi* orders have been transformed into mass religious movements which show new distinctive characteristics.¹¹ In this respect *neo-sufi* movements can no longer be considered to be an obstacle toward Muslim reformism as understood by the *salafya* movement. Religious movements and orders have their representatives in various, even secular, political parties, as well as in the so-called Islamist Prosperity Party (*Refah Partisi* – sometimes translated as Welfare Party, outlawed in 1998, today continues former activities as the Virtue Party – *Fazilet Partisi*). Whereas during the early decades of this century, there had been tacit agreement between the most important *sufi* brotherhoods, such as *Nakşibendis* and *Nurcus*, and the secular establishment that if political parties left the religious brotherhoods alone, they would in turn give their political support to the parties, later, the brotherhoods became more active lobbying for the economic ventures established by Islamist groups in textile and construction industry, or banking.¹²

A closer look at the revival of Islam in Turkey since the 1980s proves that the emphasis shifted toward Islamic brotherhoods and the number of religious publications together with the role of media strikingly increased.¹³ Newer orders are increasingly focused on belief instead of practice and political engagement is overshadowed by self-improvement. In their majority these brotherhoods adopted an evolutionary and not a revolutionary approach as far as the Islamization of everyday life is concerned.¹⁴

The leader of one branch of the *Nurcu* (*Disciples of Light*) movement, which is most commonly called the *Fethullahcıs*, is sheikh Fethullah Gülen (Hocae-fendi).¹⁵ As a Muslim thinker, writer and entrepreneur active in Turkey and Central Asia, Fethullah Gülen (born 1927) presents Islam not as a dogmatic religion but as a system which is able to cope with the changes in society and challenges of our era.¹⁶ *Fethullahcilar*, a growing Islamic group of the late 1980s

¹¹ MARDİN, Ş.: *Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey. The Case of Bediuzzaman Said Nursi*, State University of New York Press, Albany 1989, p. 230.

¹² AYATA, S.: *Patronage, Party and the State: The Politicization of Islam in Turkey*, in: *The Middle East Journal* 50, no. 1 (Winter 1996), p. 45 – quoted in: HEPER, M.: *Islam and Democracy in Turkey: Toward a Reconciliation?*, in: *The Middle East Journal* 51, no. 1 (Winter 1997), p. 38.

¹³ AYATA, S.: *Traditional Sufi Orders on the Periphery: Kadiri and Nakşibendi Islam in Konya and Trabzon*, in: TAPPER, 1994, p. 223.

¹⁴ ÇAKIR, R.: *Ayet ve Slogan. Türkiye'de İslami Oluşumlar (Verse and Ideology. Islamic Formations in Turkey)*, Metis Yayıncıları, İstanbul 1990, p. 23.

¹⁵ Fethullah Gülen objects to his religious movement being called after him “*Fethullahcıs*” because he does not consider himself to be a sheikh.

¹⁶ Gülen’s most important writings include for example *Sonsuz Nur* (*Eternal Light*), *Yeşeren Düşünceler* (*Green Reflections*) and *Asrin Getirdiği Tereddütler* (*Hesitations Brought by Modernity*) etc.

and 1990s, invested a lot in the media sector and the highest selling Islamic daily *Zaman* has a circulation of over 350,000.¹⁷

Due to the fact that Fethullah Gülen in many respects continues the work of Bediuzzaman Said Nursi (1876–1960), the founder of the *Nurcu* order, attention must be focused on the latter, too. On the whole it is undeniable that Nursi's concern has been much more with the written texts than with traditional *sufism* with personal ties to a charismatic leader. At the top of their preoccupations, *Nurcus*, which started taking ground in the first half of this century among provincial intellectuals, tried to make the teachings of the *Qur'ān* available to the majority of Turks.¹⁸ Later, two groups emerged from the *Nurcu* movement, *Yeni Asya* (New Asia) and the *Fethullahcis*. Following Nursi's death in 1960, Gülen established his "religious empire". In the beginning this was more or less on a private basis, but it grew increasingly public in the 1990s. His field of activity is wide, but concentrates mainly on the educational sector (private schools, religious newspapers, TV-channels etc.). Gülen represents the image of a liberal Turkish version of Islam. He is actively engaged in dialogue with Christianity and other religions which is also obvious from the articles published in his daily *Zaman*. Fethullah Gülen, however, is certainly more traditional in his style than some Islamist intellectuals (such as Ali Bulaç) who appear modern in form and style, and see Islamic beliefs and practices as sufficient for life in contemporary society.

According to Fethullah Gülen the mosaic structure of the Ottoman Empire and tolerant attitudes in Turkish culture nourished a positive impact on the practice of Islam in Turkey. He does not approve of Islam practised in the Middle East and in contrast to Erbakan's "Arabization" of Turkish international relations he carries on his activities in Central Asia. In assessing relations between the Turkic people and the Arabs Gülen feels that because the Turkic people share a common history, Asian people have more sympathy towards the Turks than the Arabs.¹⁹ He indicated that the lack of freedom of expression in countries like Iraq or Saudi Arabia differentiates Turkey from the Arabs, moreover, it is unwise – as is usually the case in Saudi Arabia – to urge people to visit mosques without being deeply persuaded.

Fethullah Gülen encourages a different Islamic project from that of Necmettin Erbakan and his party. In contrast to *Refah* which had a political aim, Gülen's movement has primarily social aims and is active in the area of education in order to reconstruct the daily lives of Muslims in Turkey. Representing cultural Islam which gives priority to individual faith over political factors, Fethullah Gülen challenges the political Islam of the *Refah*. The difference be-

¹⁷ *Zaman* (Time) has been published since 1986 as an international newspaper. It also started publishing in Germany, the USA, the Netherlands, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Romania, Azerbaijan, Central Asia, Tatarstan and Bashkortostan. Other magazines include *Sızıntı* (Trickle), *Bizim Aile* (Our Family), *Zafer* (Victory), *Sur* (Success). Gülen's famous TV-station is called *Samanyolu* (Milky Way).

¹⁸ MARDİN, 1989, pp. 36–37.

¹⁹ CAN, E.: *Ufuk Turu* (Tour to the Horizon), AD Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 1996, p. 61.

tween cultural and political Islam is that whereas the former aims at having autonomy from the state, the latter seeks state power. Here what is meant by cultural Islam is a social movement which conceives Islam as a culture that is based on the traditions and beliefs of the community. The difference between cultural and political Islam also lies in Gülen's preference for Muslim society but not for an Islamic state. The non-exclusivist nature of his ideas on Islam were reinforced by the suggestion that we should sympathize with both practicing and non-practicing Muslims. Harmonious relations within the society and respect for human rights are expressed in his sympathy for both the practicing and non-practicing Muslims. The importance of this multi-colouredness also results in attempts to foster Muslim-Christian dialogue as well as dialogue with other religions. It is obvious from his effort to prevent conflict between civilizations because, as he claims, mosque, church and synagogue must shake hands.²⁰ Meetings with various Catholic or Greek orthodox dignitaries at home and abroad took place in a great number of occasions.

Gülen's claims that politicizing of Islam represents one of the biggest insults toward religion stands very close to the famous statement of the outspoken Muhammad Sa‘id al-‘Ashmawī, namely that "God intended Islam to be a religion, but men have attempted to turn it into politics".²¹ Paradoxically, it is by this attitude that Gülen enters the political domain. The fact that he interprets *Refah*'s activities as the acceleration of the polarization in society underlines his latent political struggle with Erbakan. With his affinity for the West Gülen tries to counter Erbakan's understanding of Islam which he finds retrogressive. Among politically hot issues one should point out that while Erbakan's party opposes the accession of Turkey into the European Union, Fethullah Gülen, on the other side, supports it.

According to Gülen the Turks are heirs of a militarist past and therefore they are not inclined toward individualism which is so central in his efforts to communicate Islam and improve the democratic culture. That is also why individuals take shelter in communities. But Islam, he thinks, has an individualist approach to people and only when an individual reaches maturity is he prepared to live in society.

Gülen's respect for Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the secular Turkish Republic in 1923, is one of the most significant aspects of his views. He not only praised Atatürk for his leadership and intellect, but went so far as to say that the founder of the republic was a military and administrative genius.²² The integrity of the Turkish state has always been in the forefront of his behaviour and he never attempted to fight the state authorities (even after the military takeover in 1980) because in his view bad government is better than anarchy. To the extent

²⁰ Words pronounced during his meeting with Cardinal John O'Connor in New York. See *Zaman*, 22 September 1997.

²¹ see introduction of AL-‘ASHMĀWĪ, M. S.: *Al-islām as-siyāsī* (Political Islam), Dār Sīnā, Cairo 1987.

²² All this in spite of the fact that Atatürk played a key role in efforts to ban religious brotherhoods in 1925, see LEWIS, B.: *Modern Türkiye'nin Gelişimi* (trans. from *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*), Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1970, pp. 400–407.

that the Turks – unlike the Arabs – did not experience Islam to be an element of the emerging nationalism in the first half of 20th century, current efforts in strengthening Islam are therefore also an attempt to incorporate Islam deeper into Turkish nationalism.

There are voices which claim that the *Nurcu* movement under the leadership of Fethullah Gülen is undergoing a process of nationalization and situates itself under state control. These tendencies, some say, are linked with “*dadaş* soul” the main characteristic of which is the acceptance of the primacy of state over religion. Especially around Erzurum and Bayburt in eastern Anatolia the state is thought to be the prerequisite for the preservation of Islam.²³

There is a gradual change from man in his relation to God to a man in his relation with society, cultural integrity and interpersonal relations.²⁴ Like the *nahḍa* generation of Abdūh and Khān, Gülen’s followers would like to end the inferiority of the Islamic world in comparison with Christianity. This aim, however, cannot be achieved without preparation, patience and good timing. At the practical level then the first step is to bring up a new “golden generation”. As a follower of Said Nursi, who attempted to reconcile the education in secular schools which is based on positive science and that of *madrasas* based on religion, Gülen proposes a marriage between the school and the *madrasa*.²⁵ Nursi already attempted to save the students attending *madrasas* from fanaticism and the students attending public schools from atheism. Traditionally established schools have been opened in order to give education to the poor whereas schools established by the *Fethullahcis* selected the best students via demanding tests before they were admitted. Mystic tradition combined with the elitist attitude is the way how to create a perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*).²⁶ Islam can be diffused then from an enlightened cadre to the people. There has been considerable educational activity by Gülen’s brotherhood in the Turkic republics of Central Asia, especially in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. “High morality” is being spread here in more than thirty secondary education schools and at least one university. The aim, according to Gülen’s words, is to rehabilitate the republics of Central Asia after long years of communist rule and integrate them into the Islamic world.

In contrast to the *Refah*, the *Fethullahcis* try to appeal to the Turkish economic and political élites. The manner favoured by Gülen is not to establish a mass movement through mass psychology and populist appeals but rather to bring people together. Here his distinction between community and society is also important. Community is composed of individuals sharing common beliefs and feelings. In society, however, there are many people who do not share common thoughts and we are obliged to find bonds to overcome particularist interests.²⁷

²³ Interview with Hakan Yavuz in Turkish daily *Milliyet* on 3 August, 1996.

²⁴ MARDİN, 1989, p. 38.

²⁵ CAN, 1996, p. 75.

²⁶ See CELNAROVÁ, X.: *The Perfect Man in Islamic Mysticism*, in: *Human Affairs* 5 (1995), Slovak Academic Press, Bratislava, pp. 184–192.

²⁷ CAN, 1996, pp. 19–23.

The debate about the nature of Gülen's thoughts and activities will continue to blossom, but several assumptions have already been made. Commenting on his message one observer argued that "in the current climate of a 'cultural open buffet' in Turkey, Gülen's plate is full of various dishes, i.e., identities, some of which do not go well together".²⁸ Still another holds that Gülen created a post-modern religious movement which is a mixture of Turkish nationalism, élitist project and traditional political Islam.²⁹ On matters related to the role of Protestantism in building up a capitalist entrepreneurial mentality within the Christian world, Fethullah Gülen is thought to play a comparable role within Turkish society.³⁰ Although the majority of the Turkish establishment views Fethullah Gülen – at least officially – as somebody who is aiming to destroy secularism and would like to bring Islam back into politics by using a different (maybe more conciliatory) strategy, on the other side his thoughts have been welcomed by certain other elite groups while being labeled liberal by some others. Due to his distance from politics it is not clear how far can he be seen as a rival of Erbakan and his party, which nowadays represents the established form of political Islam in Turkey.³¹

If Abdüh's and Khān's generation sought to bridge the gap between secularism and Muslim traditionalism, the *Fethullahcis* in a certain sense try to reconcile secularism and rejectionism (most frequently labeled fundamentalism), and to foster their pluralist version of Islam. For both generations, however, disregarding even the whole century which separates them, the West appears both as the problem and part of the solution.

Recently the well-known article by Harvard politologist Samuel P. Huntington maintained that the Turks, rejected by the European Union and suspicious about the Arabs, are focusing on Central Asia in search of a new Pan-Turkic role. In obvious disagreement Fouad Ajami stated that "it is on Frankfurt and Bonn – and Washington – not on Baku and Tashkent that the attention of the Turks is fixed".³² But, are these two journeys really so incompatible? It appears that the case of Fethullah Gülen proves that one can retain balance and move simultaneously in both directions.

²⁸ KADIOĞLU, A.: *Republican Epistemology and Islamic Discourses in Turkey in the 1990s*, in: *The Muslim World*, vol. LXXXVIII, number 1, January 1998, p. 18.

²⁹ LAÇİNER, Ö.: *Postmodern Bir Dini Hareket: Fethullah Hoca Cemaati (Postmodern Religious Movement: Fethullah Hoca's Congregation)*, in: *Birikim* 76 (1995), p. 5.

³⁰ Here one could refer to his successful Asia Finance Institution.

³¹ All the comparisons between *Refah Partisi* and the *Fethullahcis* throughout this paper have not been intended, however, to situate the former at the extremist pole of Turkish Islam and politics. It has been observed many times that only small minority among Turkish Islamists organized in relatively marginal groups opposes the Turkish secular order and for a long time *Refah* has functioned within the democratic order and establishment. See e.g. HEPER, 1997, p. 43.

³² AJAMI, F.: *The Summoning*, Foreign Affairs 72:4 (1993), p. 5, see also HUNTINGTON, S. P.: *The Clash of Civilizations?*, 72:4 (1993), pp. 22–49.

THE HISTORY AND CURRENT SITUATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE CARE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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Information about the contribution of Sub-Saharan Africa to the diversity of world culture is either missing or very insignificant. The author found it vital to point out some facts regarding the history of cultural heritage care in Sub-Saharan Africa, to identify the current problems and propose some possible means to overcome the existing problems. After assessing the alarming situation how the number of representatives of cultural heritage personnel from Sub-Saharan Africa decreases at international conferences, symposia and congresses, the paper also tries to propose how to kill two birds by one stone, i.e. to establish one department/training centre for related subjects as Archaeology and Cultural Heritage care in Sub-Saharan African countries.¹

History

For most of the world, Sub-Saharan Africa is a synonym of poverty and a politically unstable part of our planet. News of this kind attracts media coverage, but intentional information about the contribution of Africa to the diversity of world culture is either missing or very insignificant. When did Sub-Saharan Africans begin searching and caring for their cultural heritage? What are their concepts and current situations? And do they have any perspectives? This paper tries in a very brief manner to answer these questions. Sources devoted to the history of cultural heritage care in Sub-Saharan Africa trace the possible beginning of cultural heritage care in Sub-Saharan Africa to the period of the scramble for Africa by the colonial powers. As A. Holl. precisely described it as “a child of the colonial enterprise” (A. Holl in Robertshaw 1990:297). It was started around 1850 by colonial settlers, administrators and amateur researchers, who began to search for artefacts from the past of Africa and under the cover of “better understanding” immediately smuggled them back to their respective countries. British explorer Seton Karr in course of numerous journey in the horn of Africa made a large collection of artefacts and then distributed them to fifty different museums throughout the world (J.D. Clark 1954:22). It was dur-

¹ The author is a graduate of Comenius University where he also obtained his PhD in the field of Archaeology.

ing this period that the colonial powers took an interest in the indigenous cultures. For instance, in 1897, when Great Britain sent her army to conquer the West African city of Benin, the officers and some members of the army, who participated in this invasion, brought back bronze statues from the Ife Culture, some of them life-size. In 1910-11, the German anthropologist Leo Frobenius also pilfered Ife cultural artefacts (K. Willett 1967:18, J. Kense Francas in Robertshaw 1990:140). About 1929-30, these foreigners tried to publish a book about the past of the continent, on the basis of sporadic research, and mostly concerning the northern and southern parts (A. Bruel, 1931). About the same time, another effort produced "South Africa's Past" (M. Burkitt, 1928). Around 1931, recording, investigation and protection of archaeological and cultural heritage sites was put in the hands of professionals and of course these were foreigners. After Africa was almost fully colonized, and especially after the Second World War, the colonial powers began to set up institutions. They had already prepared the legislative framework and started to research and record the continent's remote history, for example the foundation of IFAN (Institut Français d'Afrique Noire) with its centre in Dakar, and the British Institute of East Africa. The establishment of these institutes helped to ensure that the continent's cultural heritage was also studied in Africa. Before this, all collected artefacts had been sent to France or Britain. From this time onwards, artefacts began to be analysed in Africa, in the respective centres at Dakar and Nairobi. This basis for experience and technical infrastructure, later became the starting point for cultural heritage care in the new independent states, especially after about 1960, when the majority of African nations regained their independence. These activities created the pre-conditions for establishing national museums, for example in Accra, or archaeology departments, for example at Legon, the first Black African university (Thurstan in Robertshaw 1990:209).

If we examine the Nigerian case, in 1920 a colonial education officer conceived the idea of conserving Nigerian traditional works of art, and another officer was appointed to search the impact of European influence on the indigenous culture. This ultimately led to the establishment of what was initially called the Nigerian Antiquities Service. By 1950, government functionaries of Nigerian origin had a growing awareness of the importance of their indigenous cultural heritage. In 1953, this led to the enactment of a cultural management law (N. Nzewunwa in D. Miller, M. Rowland, C. Tilley 1989:34). In Togo the National Museum was founded in 1975, and from this time onward sites and monuments were put under its control. In Ghana proper cultural heritage care started in 1948 (K. Myles 1989:118). Legislative measures protecting the heritage of Madagascar can be traced back to 1937, when the French colonial government brought out a decree on sites and monuments of natural or historic interest (D. Rasamuel in H. Cleere 1989:128).

In the Portuguese colonies, although rock paintings were reported to the Portuguese Royal Academy in 1721, very little notice was taken of the past of Mozambique until the beginning of the 20th century (P.J.J. Sinclair in P. Stone & MacKenzie 1989:152).

The post-war economic boom of the later 1950s and 1960s, which was accompanied by the independence of many colonial territories, enhanced the activity of cultural heritage care over the whole continent. Many newly independent Sub-Saharan African countries believed that the colonial regime had disrupted their cultural continuity, so they were enthusiastic about researching their past. Almost every country has at least an embryo of an archaeology, antiquities and museum service, but they also repeat a mistake of the colonial period. The colonialists mostly focused on care for the heritage of their own past in Africa. The independent states also focus on their own past and neglect their colonial remains. The situation in Asia and Latin America is similar. In my opinion, the colonial period also belongs to our past.

Countries, which were not subjected to colonial rule, have the advantage of preserving their cultural authenticity because of isolation, but the disadvantage of having to tackle all the difficulties common to developing countries, without experience in the areas of legislation and training from the period of colonial rule. Ethiopia is a typical example.

Today, the former colonies use the forums they have created (the Commonwealth, Francophonie or other) to establish training programmes to facilitate cultural heritage care in their countries.

Concepts

The concept of cultural heritage care in Africa is exactly the same as in any other country of the world. There is sufficient understanding that preserving and protecting the cultural heritage helps to shape the identity of the nation and local communities. The sum of knowledge and experience is well recognized as the basis for decisions about the future at all levels of society. Monuments are also protected for their educational value. The importance of the cultural heritage for tourism is rapidly growing. It is also important to preserve the cultural heritage as a database for academic study.

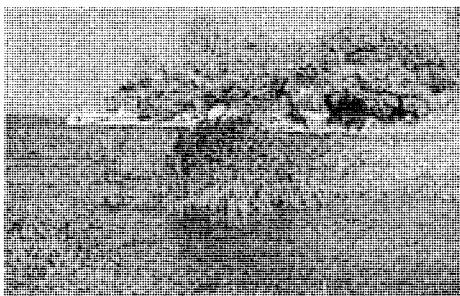
In developing regions such as Africa:

The members of a tribe or clan are bound together by their religion, which embodies the corporate traditions of the group and is usually expressed in tangible terms by association with certain sites or constructions. Most of the nations in Sub-Saharan Africa do not possess written historical sources, so preserving oral traditions has great value. Natural habitats and wild life exist in sufficient abundance to form a foundation for strong conservation programmes.

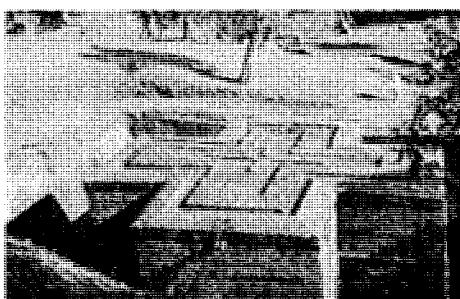
The cultural heritage of Sub-Saharan Africa includes historic towns, districts, sites and monuments, and movable objects likely to be collected by museums. It also includes the signs and symbols used in art and literature, as well as languages, traditions, beliefs and ceremonies.

The Current Situation

Although the continent faces many social, economic and political problems at present, by January 1996, 17 African cultural sites were included in the world



National park [Malawi] listed on the world heritage list [1984]



Rock-hewn church [Ethiopia] on the world heritage list since 1978

and poor infrastructure complicate heritage care activities in Sub-Saharan Africa. To achieve a comprehensive view, we will examine the impacts of political, economic and social factors, and of development programmes.

I. Political Impact

Although most of Sub-Saharan Africa (48 countries) has undergone major political and social changes since 1990, and most of close observers agree that some countries seem to be following a “progressive” path to democratic transition, coups d’etat and ethnic conflicts, mostly headed by army officers, are a regular practice in the continent (C. Monga 1997:156). After seizing power, these officers immediately replace the high officials, including those in culture, with their own supporters. This process affects the application of existing cultural policies, and is associated with the constant drafting of new policies, leaving cultural heritage care without long-term continuity.

We all know that different ethnic groups inhabit the majority of Sub-Saharan African countries. A new government may represent only one group, or a minority of the population. Usually, they give priority only to the culture of their own ethnic group. Not in the remote past, but in recent times, we have seen that

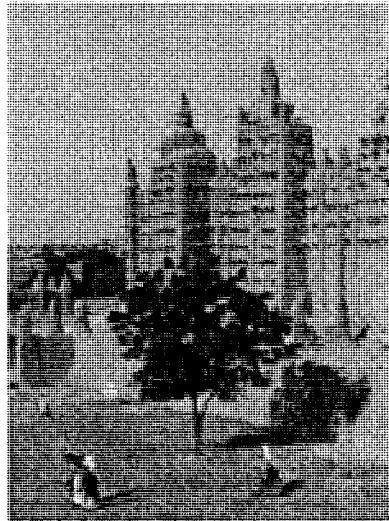
cultural heritage list. They are situated in eight countries: Benin, Ethiopia, Ghana, Mali, Mozambique, Tanzania, Senegal and Zimbabwe (see appendix 3).

According to some African scholars, the number does not represent the real situation. They stress that the African cultural heritage is especially underrepresented. That is why the African experts have discussed the African cultural properties already on the list, and proposed an initial approach to the types of African properties, which should be nominated for inclusion in the list (World Heritage Newsletter 11/96:4-5).

They have also drafted a new approach to the convention, which they consider to be well-situated and innovative, and which would allow the consideration of types of cultural property, which are almost unrepresented on the present list, although they are essential to many of the world’s cultures (*ibid*). Apart from the above mentioned problems, drought, famine, ethnic conflict



The royal palace of Abomey [Benin] listed since 1985



Old town of Djenné [Mali] listed on the world heritage list since 1988 (right)

the replacement of one social group or ideology by another has led to the destruction of all cultural assets associated with the old regime. Unfortunately such ugly experiences have occurred not only in Africa, but also in Eastern and Central European countries.

II. Economic Impact

a. Inadequate Finance

Apart from a few selected countries, the majority of Sub-Saharan African states face severe economic problems. The situation deteriorated especially after the end of the Cold War. The rich countries have focused their attention on the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, where the conditions are much better than in Africa, and towards Asia, which has become a very promising trade zone. This has influenced the shift of capital investment, as a result of which Sub-Saharan Africa remains where it was. Since we all know that cultural institutions are financed by state subsidies, we can imagine what level of effective performance can be expected from these institutes. In such a deteriorating economic situation, the cultural heritage centres are not in a position to employ new qualified personnel, and there are times when they are also forced to dismiss experienced workers. This results in insufficient work and storage space, laboratory equipment and vehicles, and insufficient documentation (maps, air photography, subscriptions to journals). In addition, private funding of academic research is still not encouraged through tax incentives.

Today, any conservation or preservation activity requires big investment and adequate know-how. The total budget of some museum, archaeology and cultural heritage departments in Sub-Saharan African countries, does not exceed \$50,000. We can see from this, the circumstances under which cultural heritage

care is carried on, and how much money might be needed for conservation purposes (Hasen and Abera 1997).

Some countries benefit from fees paid by some international research expeditions. According to my information, foreign researchers must pay 10% of their total project capital. Since this is a way to increase state revenue, these foreign excavators are privileged compared to native archaeologists. There have even been cases, where the projects of domestic researchers have been rejected simply because they required government finance.

Such limited funds, accompanied by lack of skill in applying for grants, and lack of familiarity with the variety of potential funding institutions and agencies, handicaps the native scholars. In my opinion, spreading modern management approaches might reduce these shortcomings. Fund raising know-how seems to be as important as the ability to devise strong projects, which address national priorities as well as the grantor's interests.

Increasing the ability of African cultural heritage personnel to compete with foreign consulting agencies will produce a healthier and more productive research climate.

b. Enable to Attract

In Sub-Saharan Africa, archaeology graduates from African universities could be employed only as museum curators or secondary school teachers. If a graduate is lucky, he can be a practical archaeologist, or work in preserving cultural heritage. All these activities are financed by state budgets and mean being employed by the ministry of culture and education, which is not very attractive. As is well known, men are the main providers of income in African households. Women usually make no significant financial contribution, and remain as housewives. It is not easy to support a large family (with an average of 4.5 children), so skilled men are forced to seek better incomes.

c. Poor Facilities

Surviving cultural objects, such as monasteries, churches and ancient centres of civilization, are situated far from the main centres, and the poor infrastructure services of these countries hinder the preservation, protection and monitoring of them. Most museums in Sub-Saharan Africa are concentrated in urban areas, but the majority of the population still lives in rural areas. Some efforts have been made to solve this imbalance. Museums have initiated programmes to serve the rural communities, for example travelling exhibition services, mobile units, museum caravans and travelling boxes (PREMA News Letter 6/96:24).

III. Lack of Skilled Man Power

In the majority of Sub-Saharan countries, the number of trained personnel is too small to carry out any significant work in this field. This provides fertile ground for the establishment of a permanent patron-client relationship between Africa and the developed world. I think this is why we still observe the continu-

ing imbalance of knowledge, power and money, which ensure the long-term dependence of Africa.

Let us demonstrate this fact using some randomly selected data, comparing the numbers of native African and other participants in training courses, symposia or conferences at regional or international levels.

The international symposium held at Poznan (Poland) in 1984, devoted to the "Origin and early development of food producing cultures in North Eastern Africa", had 77 participants, but only two of them were native Africans (one from Sudan and the other from Kenya) (L. Krzyżaniak & M. Kobusiewicz 1984:13-14).

The fifth international meeting of experts on the "conservation of earth architectures" at Rome in 1987, delegations from all the continents except Africa participated (A. Alejandro & H. Hoben 1987).

The sixth international conference on the "conservation of earth architecture" in the USA in 1990, had 80 participants from 30 countries, but only three of them were from Africa (1990:vii-x).

The number of African representatives remained the same at the seventh international conference on the "study of conservation of earth architecture" in Portugal in 1993, but here the total number of participants increased to 110.

The twelfth international congress of the International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences (XIIth UISPP), held at Bratislava in 1991, had more than 900 participants from 52 countries of the world, but there were only 14 native Africans, from 8 countries.

At the ICOMOC-CIF international conference on "conservation training needs and ethics" in Finland in 1995, only two of the 75 participants were native Africans (A. Ahoniemi & Cale 1995:231).

According to the list of participants in ICCROM from 1966-1990, from 82 countries, 99 people from 29 Sub-Saharan African countries joined ICCROM courses (ICCROM Newsletter, 1991, 11) (see appendices 1, 2).

IV. Social

a. Backward technology

The majority of the population of Africa (60-80%) is engaged in the agricultural sector of the economy and equipped with very backward agricultural equipment. Where there is no sign of change since time immemorial, with working conditions forcing people to spend two thirds of their time in the fields, it is hard to expect people to participate in cultural heritage care in any way. If we want active participation from this group, radical measures are required in the economic area.

b. Development programme

Some development programmes, mainly influenced by industrial manufactured materials and the so-called modern way of life, are leading to the countryside steadily losing its traditional architecture and settlement pattern, together with social values and meanings.

Recommendations

1. The top priority must be to settle the political situation:

Settling past grievances,

Restoring legitimacy,

Showing solidarity and compassion,

Expanding the political market,

Ensuring military neutrality (C. Monga 1997:68-69).

To design an effective strategy to improve social well-being.

The single path towards this goal is to teach parliamentary pluralism, taking into account the multi-ethnic composition of the country. Achieving political stability means opening the door to the investor. The final result will be economic growth, which is the key to solving the above mentioned problems.

2. How to prepare trained manpower?

There are different approaches to training cultural heritage personnel. The model recommended here could be applied in countries where archaeology, art history or architecture has been a first degree programme in universities. These degree courses could provide the option of specialization in cultural care. The other alternative is to establish a centre, at least on the advanced diploma level, within the framework of an NGO. Short courses (2-3 months) or workshops could be organized at regional level (for instance for East Africa, West Africa, South Africa, North Africa) in close cooperation with international organizations such as ICCROM and ICOMOS. Rural settlement patterns and traditional architecture (adobe buildings) must be supported by modern facilities (electricity, infrastructure).

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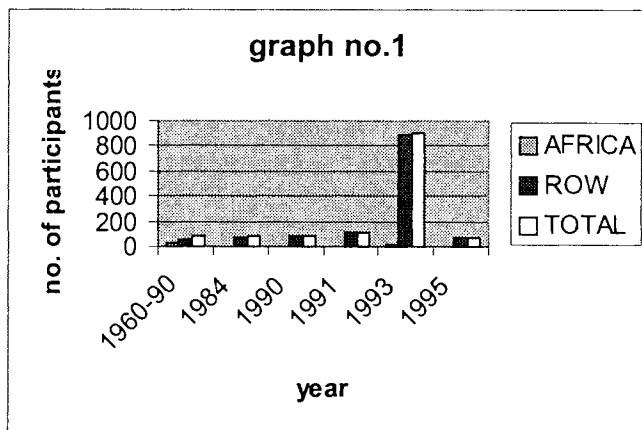
APPENDICES

The 17 African cultural sites included in World Heritage List up to 1st January 1996

Benin	Royal Palaces of Abomey
Ethiopia	Rock-hewn Churches, Lalibela Fasil Ghebi Lower Valley of the Awas Tiya Aksum Lower Valley of Omo
Ghana	Forts and Castles, Volta Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions Ashante Traditional Buildings
Mali	Old Towns of Djenné Timbuktu Cliff of Bandiagara (Land of the Dogons) (mixed sites)
Mozambique	Island of Mozambique
United Republic of Tanzania	Ruins of Kilwa Kisiwani and Ruins of Songo Manara
Senegal	Island of Gorée
Zimbabwe	Great Zimbabwe National Monument Khami Ruins

Statistically illustrated the above data's (pages 13-14)

YEAR	AFRICA	%	ROW*	%	TOTAL
1960-90	29	34.4	53	64.6	82
1984	2	2.6	75	97.4	77
1990	3	3.8	77	96.3	80
1991	3	2.7	107	97.3	110
1993	14	1.6	886	98.4	900
1995	2	2.7	73	97.3	75



*ROW=Rest of the World

REVIEW ARTICLES

A NEW WORLD LITERATURE SERIES IN WILD PEONY

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The aim of this review article is to introduce to literary comparatists, especially those interested in Western and East Asian genetic-contact relations or typological affinities, the first two volumes, published recently (1997–1998) by the University of Sydney World Literature Series.

Wild Peony is the name of a publishing house specializing mostly in the literature and culture of East Asia (China, Japan and Korea), which in 1988 started to introduce to the English reading public books (or booklets) of translations, studies, essays and textbooks connected mostly, but not exclusively, with the East Asian cultural area. The first of these books was *Shijin – Autobiography of the Poet Kaneko Mitsuharu 1895–1975* by A.R. Davis and edited by A.D. Syrotokomla-Stefanowska. Then followed nearly twenty others, among them *The Virtue of Yin. Studies on Chinese Women* (1994) by Lily Xiao Hong Lee, or *Another History: Essays on China from a European Perspective* (1996) by M. Elvin. Two important volumes of essays: *Modernization of the Chinese Past* and *Modernity in Asian Art*, the last being edited by John Clark, appeared even earlier in 1993.

*

Mostly due to another editor, Professor Mabel Lee, in 1997 Wild Peony started the series just mentioned. Her long friendship with Professor Yue Daiyun, a well-known literary comparatist from Peking, brought her into the activities of the ICLA/AILC (International Comparative Literature Association), and she was asked to edit and to publish two volumes of conference and congress materials. The first one brings to interested readers the papers read at the International Conference on Cultural Dialogue and Cultural Misreading, Peking, Oct. 9–11, 1995, and the second a part of the papers concerned with East Asia and the West, read at the XIVth ICLA Congress, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada, Aug. 15–

20, 1994. Both are welcome to the students of comparative literature, especially by those who devote themselves to the East Asian literatures.

1. *Cultural Dialogue & Misreading* was edited by Mabel Lee and Professor Meng Hua, a younger colleague of Yue Daiyun and an important activist among the literary comparatists on Chinese Mainland. The international conference was jointly hosted by the Institute of Comparative Literature and Culture of Peking University and the Chinese Comparative Literature Association on the occasion of the ICLA Executive Council Meeting, Peking, Oct. 7–8, 1995. At this occasion not only the comparatists from the PRC had the opportunity to participate, but also the highest members of the ICLA, some other earlier members of the Executive Committee, and foreigners from Canada, France, Germany, The Netherlands, USA, Austria, Australia, Denmark, Switzerland, India, Japan, Brazil, Hungary, Greece, Romania and Portugal.

The editors arranged the papers into three parts: 1) Dialogue which “explores the territories and limitations of cultural interchange”, 2) Misreading which “isolates specific texts for scrutiny to demonstrate how crossing cultural boundaries often have fascinatingly creative aspects”, and 3) Identity which “examines how cultural identity is constructed in literature” (*Foreword* by Mabel Lee).

The first part is opened by G. Gillespie, President of ICLA/AILC (1994–1997), and his paper entitled *The Significance and Limits of Cultural Relativism*. His sway is impressive and he starts by pointing out that the “European speculation on relativism can be traced as far back as Plato’s comments on Protagoras’s views in the *Theaetetus*” (p. 3). The cultural relativism which always was and still remains one of the features of all cultural identities beginning with Near Eastern, South Asian, East Asian, Graeco-Roman and later legacies, is our legitimate heritage. East and West may find their way out of the difficulties of the present age only in common communication and understanding, in the tendency towards cross-fertilization of cultures and literatures. The cultural imperialism of the era preceding our times should come to its end and we have to follow the necessity dictated precisely by this cultural relativism and attempt at mutual cultural and literary enrichment. According to Gillespie, one of the most impressive achievements in the field of comparative literature is Earl Miner’s *Comparative Poetics: An Intercultural Essay on Theories of Comparative Literature* (1991). The problem of cultural relativism is also a topic of the following two essays by Paul Cornea *Le Défi Relativiste et la Compréhension de l’Autre* and by Amiya Dev *Cultural Relativism and Literary Value*. Even two representatives of Peking comparatists Ding Ersu *The Tale of the Impossible: A Semiotic Critique of Cultural Relativism* and Yue Daiyun *Cultural Relativism and the Principle of Harmony in Difference*, try to deal with the same question. To me the most attractive treatment is that of Yue Daiyun who confers upon it a typical Chinese flavour. During twenty one years of “inner exile” in Maoist China, Yue Daiyun had enough time to ponder over the “eternally” valuable components of Chinese philosophy, among which Harmony in Difference (*he er bu tong*), had

a prominent place. Instead of philosopher Mencius (ca.371–ca.289), most humanistic among the ancient Chinese Confucian philosophers, to whom she devoted much *operam et oleum* in the time after her “banishment”, she preferred to quote Confucius himself (571–479), according to whom: “The true gentleman is conciliatory (*tong*) but not accomodating (*bu tong*). Common people are accomodating, but not conciliatory” (*Lunyu*, XIII, 23).¹ Yue Daiyun finds modern representatives of this kind of reasoning in B. Russell and J. Habermas.

D. Fokkema who was probably the first among modern students of comparative literature who highlighted the problem of cultural relativism in *Cultureel relativisme en vergelijkende literatuurwetenschap* (Amsterdam, Arbeiderspers 1971), and slightly later in *Cultural Relativism and Comparative Literature*, Tamkang Review, 3, 1972, 1, pp. 59–72, and once again more than ten years later in *Cultural Relativism Reconsidered: Comparative Literature and Intercultural Relations*. In: *Douze cas d'interaction culturelle dans l'Europe ancienne et l'Orient proche ou lointain*. Paris, Unesco 1984, chose another subject much in vogue in the last years among literary comparatists: *Western, Eastern and Multicultural Canons of Literature*. Fokkema proposed one that would be “guided by the possibility of code-switching... and focus on contrastive values, on the difference between traditions, on criticism of prevailing ideologies, and on variety of models for moral behaviour and private life. It will include texts of complex literature from all majors cultures of the world...” (p. 42).

Two papers concerned with modern Chinese literature and its contacts with European (Italian) and Latin American (Mexican) writers, are very close to my own work as a Sinologist and comparatist: R.D. Findeisen's *Two Aviators; Gabriele d'Annunzio and Xu Zhimo* and Mabel Lee's *Discourse on Poetics; Paz's Sunstone and Yang Lian's Yi*. They have much in common. Both are, to a greater or lesser extent, written under the impact of Dionýz Ďurišin's concept of interliterary process, the topic of both is concerned with flying whether real or imaginary, and both transcend the great intercontinental distances: China and Italy, or China and Mexico. Two papers under review were written by scholars who know in detail the contexts in the different systemo-structural entities within the analysed frameworks. Through comparing *Città morta* and *La Gioconda* with Xu Zhimo and Lu Xiaoman's play *Bian Kungang*, Findeisen discovers the decadent face of both writers, husband and wife, unknown up to now, as far as I know, in modern Chinese literature. Since Yang Lian read, according to Mabel Lee, only a “limited amount of Paz's works” (p. 94), her paper is a piece of typological (or parallel) study. Paz's *Sunstone* and Yang Lian's *Yi* “have both been inspired by ancient calendars which provided in both cases symbolic and concrete confirmation for their thinking about cyclical time in human history” (p. 95). Therefore they are to a great extent similar and their comparison has its *raison d'être*.

¹ CONFUCIUS: *The Analects* (*Lun yü*). Trans. by D.C. LAU. Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1983, pp. 128–129.

In his paper *On the Use and Limits of Multiculturalism* M. Szegedy-Maszák deals with another topic, now much in vogue, to which the next XVIth Congress of ICLA in Pretoria, South Africa, in 2000 should be devoted. Multiculturalism is one of the most peculiar features of our era and its impact is visible in all aspects of social consciousness, culture, literature and art inclusive. Here the dialectic of centre and peripheries, cosmopolitanism vs provincialism, cultural imperialism and ethnocentrism, identity and *differance*, are discussed mostly within the framework of literature and music. “The world is extremely fragmented and yet the canons, highly institutionalized and based on accessibility, are very rigid,” according to the Hungarian comparatist. He calls for reorganization of all education and research, with deconstruction of the opposition between Western and non-Western cultures. A kind of vacillation is discernible both in Szegedy-Maszák’s and Fokkema’s paper: they are not clear enough in pointing to the end product – canon or canons of literature of our global age.

The second part is opened by John Boening and pays attention, as mentioned above, to misreading. In his paper *Comparative Literature, Incommensurability and Cultural Misreading*, he takes into account mostly very different and mutually distanced cultures, with multilingual, multietextual background and perspectives. Here some lesser or greater extent of misunderstanding is possible and often done. I do not believe wholly in the incommensurability of cultures, and in our case of literatures, since I think that, for example, Europeans may find different aspects of these cultures as comprehensible as their own. Most important is knowledge and experience in both fields of research and the linguistic or other equivalence, and if possible, even exactness. Often an exotic attitude is the cause of these misreadings, or political, cultural traditionalism of the receiving environment the most important cause.

The impact of a biased exotic “knowledge” may be observed in a paper by W.F. Veit *Misunderstanding as Condition of Intercultural Understanding*. The ostensible *contradictio in adjecto* present in this judgement has its reason in some cases, as that described by G. Foster’s famous travelogue *Voyage Round the World* (1772–1775) concerned with meeting of the author and his companions with a fat man who was probably the chief of the district feeding himself “by handfuls the remains of a larged backed fish, and several bread-fruits, which he swallowed with a voracious appetite” (p. 164–165). For Foster this man was a monster of laziness, frugality, of unbridled *carpe diem* completely contradictory to the views of Christian and mostly Protestant ethics of his time. Not, of course, for the aborigines who saw in such a chief the paradigm of the man in this position. Understanding is possible, if misunderstanding is overcome by more mutual knowledge. Understanding is not always identical with knowledge. Since it comes in the process of communication, hermeneutic practice should be part of it and good will to communicate and, at least a minimum of mutual sympathy between communicating agents, is necessary.

Wang Yiman in the paper *Misreading at the Meeting of Two Hermeneutics: Ezra Pound’s Invention of Chinese Poetry*, introduces Ezra Pound as a “paragon

misreader” and agreeing with T.S. Eliot, as “the inventor of Chinese poetry of our time”, he pinpointed Pound’s misreading as a method of new understanding. According to Wang Yiman, Pound unconsciously came near to the original Chinese hermeneutics, proposed concretely by Wang Bi (226–249), famous commentator and philosopher of Taoist orientation. In comparing the method of Wang Bi and Pound, he contrasts it with the structuralist methodology of Steven Owen, of Harvard University, and finds the last, although he admits distorting procedures by Pound, as equally valuable (although he does not assert it explicitly).

Tanaka Takaaki in the paper *From Short to Long Forms of Narration: Genji Monogatari and Tang Chuanqi Tales*, presents a noteworthy study from the realm of the old East Asian interliterary community. Usually the impact of Bai Juyi’s (772– 846) on later Japanese literature, his long poem *Changhen ge* (*Song of Everlasting Sorrow*) was highlighted, and later Tang *chuanqi* (tales of the marvelous) were neglected, although they are more similar to Japanese literary works. This applies especially to *Changhen gezhan* (*The Story of the Song of the Everlasting Sorrow*) by Chen Hong. There are no positive proofs that Murasaki Shikibu (ca. 1000) used precisely Chen Hong’s work, but she often quoted Bai Juyi’s masterpiece. It is possible to assert that the last was known to her due to the use of similar narrative devices. By the way, this tale was known in Japan in the Heian period. Here, maybe, the case of hidden reading is involved, without acknowledgement of the debt, quite typical for Oriental countries before the advent of the modern age.

Quite usual, and for China just before and even after the May Fourth Movement of 1919 characteristic, is the case presented in the paper by Tao Jie entitled *The (Mis)reading of Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, a novel translated into classical Chinese (*wenyan*) as *Black Slaves Appeal to Heaven* (*Hei nu yu lu*). Lin Shu (1851– 1924), famous translator of his time, partly changed the content of the novel, deleted parts delineating Christianity, and presented it as book written for males who should feel sympathy towards the black slaves, just as towards Chinese workers on the Trans-Pacific Railroad who were badly treated and discriminated against. Even in 1950s and 1960s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* has been “associated with racial discrimination and the struggle for freedom and independence” in Mainland China.

The third part of the book under review on identity, presents one of the most discussed and controversial issues of our decade in the humanities. It originally represented the first section of the XIVth Congress of ICLA in Edmonton and its aftermath we may feel, quite explicitly in the following papers.

Media and Nations: Global Communication and Cultural Identity by A. Kaes shows the importance of media, specifically Hollywood’s mass culture, for example, its television production on the construction and affirmation of national cultural identity on the one hand, and on its defence, on the side of non-American populations on the other. Electronic communication on the internet and fax which in some developed countries “transcends even more radically than television or movies” (p. 302) is not analysed here in more detail, but it

should be taken into account together with the “questions of movement and migration, immigration and displacement, exile and diaspora” (*ibid.*), which have become very important elements of cultural change and development in multicultural milieus.

The best contribution among all papers in this part of the book is R.T. Segers’ *Cultural Identity: New Perspectives for Literary Studies*. He tries to find and construct a viable methodology for cultural (and mainly) for literary studies in the time of globalization, intercultural communication and systemic approaches to literature. This paper, very probably identical with that he read at the Edmonton ICLA Congress, was written after two studies, both concerned with Japanese cultural identity, that appeared in 1992 and 1994, is a solid piece of research and speculation on this weighty and still not satisfactorily solved subject. I think that those who deliberate over the issue of cultural identity should consult the studies by Professor Segers. Where the literary identity is concerned, in my view it is a bit problematic, whether the systemic and empirical approach to literature is the most plausible of all we may use. It is probably too extensive and broad.

Meng Hua in her short contribution *Quelques Réflexions sur la Temporalité du Stéréotype* analyses quite common stereotypes of foreigners according to traditional Chinese typization, such as *hongmao fan* (Red-haired Barbarian) or *yang guizi* (Foreign Devil), used after the first meeting with European foreigners in the 16th and 17th centuries nearly up to World War II.

Tania Franco Carvalhal’s *Latin America: Cultural Dialogue from the Periphery* treats the problem of cultural identity and of (mis)reading as of intentional and creative apprehension of the read texts in the new receiving context. According to this one of the foremost Latin American comparatists of our days, “we have to consider if European heritage was transplanted it was also transformed. Out of their native context the cultural models changed because *transplantation implies transformation*” (p. 393). In the literature of the Latin American countries we have to see most of “local colour” and the transformed cosmopolitan ideas and literary values in the new receiving structures.

Song Weijie’s *Local or Global: Cultural Identity in Multicultural Contexts* presents some valuable insights, among them probably most up to point is that in this situation perhaps “the idea of universal identity (for these societies, M.G.) should be abandoned and relatively suitable identities sought in multicultural contexts. That is to say, we should reflect local and global transformations and communications and reject all assumptions based on pre-multicultural contexts, and we should not use one kind of ‘pride and prejudice’ to resist another” (p. 413). The author is sure that Mainland China is not a multicultural, but “pluricultural society”, since there allegedly the problem of ethnicity or of race, do not play as great a role as culture, religion and gender (p. 410). This is, of course, a matter of discussion.

Reconstructing Chinese Literary Discourse by Cao Shunqing closes the whole book. Cao shows that Occidentalization (according to Said’s apprehension), insulted the Chinese people with inscriptions, such as “Chinese and dogs

are prohibited”, but also brought the disturbed minds into existence. The literary works of the time after the May Fourth Movement of 1919 produced the characters presenting the images of cultural discontinuity. In our global age, certainly in the last thirty or forty years, the world become pluralistic, and China, like many Asian and African countries, could not fully follow the West, or its/their tradition/s. It is necessary to follow the objective demands of intercultural understanding, communication and mutual exchange. The great disadvantage ensuing from the lack of contemporary Chinese literary and cultural discourse should be overcome. Too much Westernization in nearly all fields of social consciousness is in reality much more detrimental than useful. But first it is necessary to study the achievements of the traditional Chinese literature and culture and on their bases to build the new set of theoretical and practical devices for such a new discourse.

2. *Literary Intercrossings. East Asia and the West* was edited jointly by Mabel Lee and A.D. Syrokomla-Stefanowska. It is one of six books of selected papers from the XIVth ICLA Congress 1994 published under the general editors Milan V. Dimić and Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek.² Chinese, Japanese and Korean literature and culture, including philosophy, aesthetics, is treated here against the background of East-West relations or affinities.

The first paper was put into the volume by a sheer mistake. Christopher Gibbin's “*Lines of Escape*”, *Cross-Cultural Encounters and The Pilgrim's Rules of Etiquette* as a work of the originally Iranian author Taghi Modaresi, has nothing to do with East Asia.

I find Sang-Kyong Lee's paper *The Eastern Spiritual World and the Dramatic Works of T.S. Eliot, with Special Reference to Murder in the Cathedral*, as one of the best studies in his career. Its connection to Japanese No theatre is very clear and richly documented against the background of the contemporary literary scholarship and translational and other activities: that of Ernest Fenollosa, Ezra Pound, William Butler Yeats, James Abbot McNeill Whistler and others. Its similarities as well as differences to No are richly illustrated.

The paper entitled *Hangjungnok as Historiographical Autobiography*, although it is of no comparative character and treats the literary biography of Korean dowager queen Lady Hong's (1735–1815) family, with atrocities caused by

² 1) de Valdés, M.E., Valdés, M.J. and Young, R. (eds.): *Latin America and Its Literature. Review of National Literatures*, 1995, pp. 1–219, 2) Tötösy de Zepetnek, S. (ed.): *International Perspectives on Reading. Reader: Essays in Reader-Oriented Theory, Criticism and Pedagogy*, 35–36, 1996, pp. 1–120, 3) Delcheva, R., Osadnik, W. and Vlasov, E. (eds.): *Littérature et Film. Canadian Review of Comparative Literature/ Revue Canadienne de Littérature Comparée*, 23, 1996, 3, pp. 637–886. 4) Beller, M. (ed): *L'Imagine dell'altro e l'identità nazionale: metodi di ricerca letteraria. Il Confronto Letterario*, 24, 1996, pp. 1–213, 5) Tötösy de Zepetnek, S., Dimić, M.V. and Sywenky, I. (eds.): *Comparative Literature Today. Theory and Practice / La Littérature Comparée aujourd'hui. Théories et réalisations*. Paris, Honoré Champion 1998, and 6) the volume under review here.

mental illnesses of her father-in-law and her husband killed by his father king, is a good contribution. It is worthy of attention for the literature written by Korean women educated to “be mute, deaf and blind in order to be virtuous” (p. 59) according to the demands of Confucian ethics. One may admire the author’s sincerity and courage. Usually the works of this kind were annihilated in China, which was a model for Korea during many preceding centuries.

Midori Matsui is one of two authors in this anthology who did not resist the temptation to read two papers at the congress. This is really a problematic habit, since it is somehow a bit exhibitionistic, exalting one’s own abilities, at the expense of the others, who are expected to be present and to listen. The first of them: *(De)constructing Where There is No Structure?: The Debate over Post-modernism in the 1980s in Japan and the Formation of the New Critical Trend in Visual Art*, is certainly an interesting topic, even written in a sophisticated way, but especially in its theoretical part, often beyond the possibility to apprehend its message. What does “structureless structure” mean in Japanese social consciousness? Or what is to be understood under the theory of the “eternal embrace” by Maruyama Masao? Was it Japanese totalitarianism in the form, for instance, of *yokusan* made on behalf of the unity of the Japanese people in 1940? The second one: *The Implicit Return: Kobayashi Hideo’s Failure to Achieve Modernism and the Problems Concerning His Ideological Conversion* (*tenko*), comes out of the same premises and is concerned with the results of typically Japanese brainwashing through the centuries up to World War II. Kobayashi Hideo, one of the most prominent Japanese literary critics, is shown here as a typical representative of this conversion. In a few years after 1933 and official sanctioning war ideology introducing wholesale totalitarianism, he departed from the propagation of literary modernism and turned back to his Japanese *kokyo* (home) and its very doubtful values of *kokutai* kind.

Two papers are connected with Dante Gabriel Rosetti’s *The Blessed Damozel* and its impact on Japanese and Chinese poetry.

In the first case, Sugawara Katsuya’s *Biblical Imagery Transposed to the Japanese Tradition: The Vision of the Heavenly Spring*, analyses one motif from Rosetti’s famous poem in the work of Kambara Ariake (1876–1912), “the most representative Japanese Symbolist poet” (p. 132), Doi Bansui, Iwano Homei, and Susukida Kyukin, pointing to its *biblical* sources, but also to the Japanese parallels, which probably prepared the soil for its reception in the new literary structure. Even more interesting, and refreshingly new, is the impact of Rosetti’s poem on the works of representative romantic poets in China of the 1920s. Linda Wong in her paper *The Problem of Self: Adaptations of Dante Rosetti’s “The Blessed Damozel” by Xu Zhimo and Wen Yiduo*, points to the poems *Liangdi xiangsi* (*Lovesick on Both Sides*), *Wo tenghou ni: wo kanjian ni* (*I’m Waiting for You, I’m Looking at You*) by Xu and *Li Bai zhi si* (*The Death of Li Bai*) by Wen, where Rosetti’s work is a source of creative inspiration. All three poems are good examples of indebtedness, but also valuable for their creative inventiveness. In the case of Xu it is more sentimental and romantic, and in the case of Wen it is intellectual and emotionally more controlled.

Janet A. Walker's *Futabatei Shimei's Ukigumo as a Vehicle of Cognitive and Emotional Reorientation in a Period of Cultural Change* is a good example of comparative study in Japanese-Russian literary relations at the beginning of modern Japanese literature in the second half of the 1880s. She presents her deep knowledge both of this first work of modern fiction in the Meiji era and of its Russian models, mostly I.S. Turgenev's *Rudin* and *On the Eve*, I.A. Goncharov's *Oblomov* and *The Precipice*, together with the impact of Russian "superfluous men" on the characters of Bunzo, Noboru, Osei and others.

Terry Siu-han Yip in her paper *In Quest of Identity: A Comparative Study of the Romantic Self in Chinese and Western Literature* analyses in a typological way the *Bildung* process of two important "fictional selves" Stephen Dedalus in James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* from 1916 and Gao Jue-hui in Ba Jin's *Jia (Family)* against the background of two different cultures during times of great changes and the endeavours to achieve transvaluation of values both in Europe and in China.

The most interesting contribution to this second book, for me personally, is the last one in the series: Ho-Byeong Yoon's *Baudelairean Poetic Meaning and Verlainean Poetic Musicality in the Formation of Modern Korean Poetry*. Dr. Yoon impinges briefly but efficiently upon the most important borrowings of Korean Symbolist poetry from the great French predecessors and models. This excellent essay is very probably the outcome of his PhD thesis *French Symbolism and Modern Korean Poetry: A Study in Poetic Language and Its Social Significance in Korea*, State University of New York at Stony Brook 1986, which, unfortunately, I never had the opportunity to read. It is a pity that his hope to have "another opportunity to discuss other Symbolist lines in the formation of modern Korean poetry" (p. 215), was not realized as yet.

It is necessary to mention that the covers of both books present impressive ink paintings by the well-known Chinese contemporary writer and playwright Gao Xingjian.

*

The two volumes under review are the first two swallows coming to the interested readers in the spring after a period of hibernation. They are tracing the earlier footsteps of the pioneering *Critical Issues in East Asian Literature. Report on an International Conference on East Asian Literature, 13–20 June, 1983*, Seoul, International Cultural Society of Korea 1983, 295 pp., and *Chinese Literature and European Context. Proceedings of the 2nd International Sinological Symposium, Smolenice Castle, June 22–25, 1993*, Bratislava, Rowaco Ltd. & Institute of Oriental and African Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences 1994, 255 pp.

Readers and students interested in the interliterary process of East Asian countries are requested to devote more attention to this new series launched by Wild Peony Publishers.

BOOK REVIEWS

EID, Mushira (Editor): *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics VII. Papers from the Seventh Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company 1995. VII+192 pp.

The book presents eight papers (out of eighteen) read at the Seventh Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics, held on March 5–6, 1993 at the University of Texas in Austin. Two other papers (Safi & Broselow et al.), presented at the Eighth Annual Symposium, have been included in the volume for thematic reasons.

The corpus consists of three main sections:

Section One: Agreement in Arabic. The papers included, mostly guided by Chomsky-related techniques (most frequently derived from his government binding theory) deal with various aspects of agreement in Arabic. Naomi Bolotin (*Arabic and Parametric VSO Agreement*, 7–27) examines the agreement asymmetry in the subject-verb relationship in SVO and VSO word orders. Mark S. LeTourneau (*Internal and External Agreement in Quantified Construct States*, 29–57) deals with agreement asymmetries between the verb and a quantified construct state where the verb may agree with the quantifier or with its complement. The asymmetry is explained on the basis of NP-internal and NP-external agreement. Wafaa Batran Wahba (*Parasitic Gaps in Arabic*, 59–68) examines the licensing of parasitic gaps (base-generated empty pronominals) in Standard and Jeddah Arabic. Ibrahim Mohamed & Jamal Ouhalla (*Negation and Modality in Early Child Arabic*, 69–90) studies the status of negation as a functional category in early child language acquisition (Palestinian Arabic).

Section Two: Perspectives from Experiment-Based Studies – presents papers based on results from various types of experiments related to morphology: Sabah Safi-Stagni (*Morphological Structure and Lexical Processing: Evidence from Arabic*, 93–106), and phonology: Bruce L. Derwing et al. (*Experimental Investigations of Arabic Syllable Structure*, 107–118) and Ellen Broselow et al. (*The Timing Structure of CVVC Syllables*, 119–138).

Section Three: Discourse and Phonological Perspectives - deals with various aspects of discourse, phonology and morphology of Arabic. Ahmed Fakhri (*Topic Continuity in Arabic Narrative Discourse*, 141–155) examines the phenomenon in Al-Kabisi's story *al-Hajalah* (The Hopscotch). Fakhri adopts here the technique developed by Talmy Givón (*Topic Continuity in Discourse*, 1983). Munther A. Younes (*On Vowel Shortening in Palestinian Arabic*, 157–171) examines two types of word-internal vowel shortening – closed syllable and open syllable shortening – in three varieties of Arabic: Modern Standard, Cairene and Palestinian Arabic. The last article, by Michael McOmber (*Morpheme Edges and Arabic Infixation*, 173–189), provides a nonlinear morphological analysis with respect to infixation in Arabic.

Summarily, the volume is a highly valuable item in the Current Issues in Linguistic Theory series. The attention of the authors and the editor is primarily focused on new linguistic theories and techniques, and on their efficiency for Arabic linguistic research.

Ladislav Drozdík

OLIVERIUS, Jaroslav: *Svět klasické arabské literatury* (The World of Classical Arabic Literature). Brno, Atlantis 1995. 386 pp.

OLIVERIUS, Jaroslav: *Moderní literatury arabského Východu* (Modern Literatures of the Arab East). Praha, Univerzita Karlova 1995. 216 pp.

Although divided in two separate monographs, the subject of the author's valuable scholarly work is only one: the fascinating world of the Arabic literature. Faced with a spectacular diversity of data, the author had to cope with a challenging problem of selection, classification and interpretation.

Classical Arabic literature is usually considered to extend from the sixth century up to the end of the Arab Middle Ages (the end of the 18th cent.). Modern literature is traditionally delimited by the last two centuries. This basic division is reflected in that of Oliverius' two monographs.

Classical literature is presented in seven basic sections as follows:

- i. Pre-Islamic era (10–78);
- ii. Rise of Islam and the Koran (79–96);
- iii. Early Islam (632–661) (97–106);
- iv. Umayyad era (107–162);
- v. Abbasid era (163–312);
- vi. Muslim West from the 8th to the 12th cent. (313–336);
- vii. Era of the late Middle Ages (337–374).

The book is closed by a Selected Bibliography (375–380) and Personal Index (381–6).

Each section is introduced by a short but informative survey guiding the reader through his reading of what follows.

The pre-Islamic poetry, the core of the first section, is presented in its tribal affiliation which adds a social and partly even political dimension to its purely aesthetic values. The predominant descriptive nature of the archaic *nasib*-modelled lyricism, radically different from what is usually understood by lyrics outside the Arab poetic tradition, is made clear not only by the author's scholarly analysis of the matter but also by expertly selected specimens of the best representatives of the genre.

The privileged position of the pre-Islamic poetry – archive of the Arabs (*diwān al-‘arab*) – is also rightly presented in its role of the highest criterion and indispensable key to the study of the Arabic language, genealogy, glorious events in history, and even to the philological exegesis of the holy text of the Koran.

The concise section devoted to Islam and the Koran offers a comprehensive picture of Muhammad's mission and its impact on the Arab society. Extraordinarily well selected specimens of the Koran guide the reader to a more thorough understanding of the prophet's revelations on the background of Jewish and Christian elements. The excellence and superiority of the Koranic style, mirrored in the widely accepted doctrine of 'inimitability' ('iṣḡāz

al-qur'ān) has, no doubt, far-reaching stylistic and aesthetic implications (viz., the time-honoured predilection for what is known as rhymed prose (*saḡ*) in some literary genres).

Poetic creativity of the Umayyad era, in the voluptuous urban milieu of the Umayyad aristocracy, offers a dramatic contrast to that of the desert poets of the Arab *gāhiliyya*.

The Abbasid era, the Golden Age of Classical literature, was apparently the most challenging part of the monograph. Herc, Oliverius, once again managed to select the best out of an enormous variety of competing men of letters, masterpieces and ideas.

Mystical poetry (307–311) is represented by three great personages: Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāğ (* 858), ecstatic Sufi, great poet and martyr, restored to life in the lyrical drama by the Egyptian poet ʻAbdāṣabbūr “Martyrdom of al-Ḥallāğ” (*Ma'sāt al-Ḥallāğ*, 1983); Ibn al-Fāriḍ (* 1181) and Muhyiddīn ibn al-ʻArabī (* 1165).

Al-Ḥallāğ’s spiritual assets and perhaps also his martyrdom attracted the attention of numerous scholars, perhaps the most prominent of them being Louis Massignon who devoted forty years of his scholarly activities to exactly this personage (*La passion d’al-Ḥallāğ*, 1922, and an enormously expanded version of the latter, 1975; followed by a full-length Princeton University translation by H. Mason, *The Passion of al-Ḥallāj. Mystic and Martyr of Islam*, i-iv vols., 1982).

With Ibn al-ʻArabī, I missed (in a flood of data it is always easy to miss what one would be glad to see) my favoured collection of mystical poems *Tarġumān al-ʼašwāq* (Interpreter of Desires) which does not cease to be subject to controversial interpretations: love poems in a mystical disguise or rather true mystical odes that merely use erotic imagery to articulate spiritual messages.

Notwithstanding the fact that works of no direct literary orientation are, by definition, unrepresented in the monograph, with some epoch-marking intellectual and scholarly achievements an exception was made. Ibn Ḥaldūn’s (* 1356) *al-Muqaddima*, an exceptional work of unsurpassed value and innovative power, cannot be left unnoticed (355–366).

Modern literature is treated in the following sections:

1. *Nahḍa* in the Arab East.

1.1. Ottoman Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries.

1.2. Beginnings of Modern Arabic Literature.

2. National Literatures in countries of the Arab East.

2.1. Modern Literature in Egypt.

2.2. Modern Arabic Poetry.

2.3. Modern Literature in Lebanon.

2.4. Literature of Lebanese and Syrian emigrants in the U.S.A.

2.5. Modern Literature in Syria.

2.6. Modern Literature in Iraq.

2.7. Modern Literature in Palestine.

2.8. Modern Literature in the Sudan.

In modern literature, the regional restriction to the ‘Arab East’ is, of course, understandable for more than one reason, but nonetheless it leaves a gap that has somehow, sometimes, to be filled. To mitigate the remark, it must be said that several serious studies of Prague provenance already exist: Svetozár Pantůček, *Literatury Severní Afriky* (Literatures of North Africa), Prague 1978; *La littérature algérienne moderne*, Prague 1969; *Tuniskaya literatura*, Moscow 1969; *Tunesische Literaturgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1974.

Since I do not feel competent to enter into detailed comments on Oliverius’ valuable work that could not be, after all, other than positive, I would like to add some casual remarks of highly subjective ring.

While going through the passage on the well-known Egyptian historian and philologist Aḥmad Amīn (1886–1954), I missed, once again, his extraordinarily instructive autobiography *Hayātī* (My Life), Cairo 1950; recently translated into Spanish (*Mi vida*, Madrid 1993). Somewhat different from the superb lyrical autobiography *al-’Ayyām*, by Ṭāhā Husayn. Amīn’s autobiography offers a truly panoramic and thoroughly authentic picture of scholarly activities of the Cairene intellectual élite in the first half of the 20th century.

As a matter of coincidence, another personage of the same name caught my attention: Amīn Qāsim (1865–1908), well-known Egyptian publicist and reformer, indirect initiator of the women’s liberation movement in Egypt. As a propagator of women’s education and ‘abolition of the veil and women’s seclusion’ (henceforward *termini technici* in the movement), he is apparently far from seeking equality between women and men. Amīn’s ideal, when viewed from the angle of recent radical feminists, is an educated veil-less woman, who can nevertheless be integrated into the traditional orthodox pattern of patriarchal society (Leila Ahmed: *Women and Gender in Islam*. Yale U.P, New Haven-London 1992). When giving credit to the latter interpretation, we must simultaneously admit that such an ideal cannot exist beyond the limits of virtual reality.

*

In spite of the lack of individual topic-related references and notes, Oliverius’ monographs represent fine pieces of scholarship with high informative and cognitive value. Reading them is a real pleasure and quite a new experience. Arabic literature, both Classical and Modern, is rearticulated in a thoroughly innovative way that will be a valuable source of information for serious students and the wider audience alike.

Ladislav Drozdík

DALY, Martin W.: *The Sirdar. Sir Reginald Wingate and the British Empire in the Middle East*. Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society 1997. VII+345 s.

Francis Reginald Wingate (1861–1953) undoubtedly belongs to the long line of those outstanding British officials who distinguished themselves in the British colonial administration leaving a serious trace on the modern history of the Near and Middle East. The period of almost forty years (he came to Egypt in 1883 shortly after the British occupation of the country and left it on the eve of the 1919 popular uprising) which Reginald Wingate spent in the services of the British Empire in Egypt and in the Sudan was of extraordinary importance in the political social and economic development of these two countries.

The author divided the whole work into three parts. In the first part entitled “For Egypt, For Empire” subdivided into 14 chapters, the author deals with the span from the birth of Reginald Wingate in 1861 to the end of 1899 when he was named to succeed Kitchener as governor-general of the Sudan and when the Khedive of Egypt, ‘Abbās II Hilmī promoted him to the rank of lieutenant-general (al-fāriq) and appointed him *sirdār* (Commander in Chief) of the Egyptian Army. Regardless of the first two chapters that are concerned with his youth, childhood, family circumstances and education, in the following chapters the author already deals with Wingate’s activities in Egypt where he arrived as a young lieutenant in June 1883. At that time the situation in the Sudan became increasingly complicated, with the uprising of Muhammad Ahmad better known as al-Mahdi already exceeding the boundaries of the province of Kordofān. Wingate witnessed the defeat of the Egyp-

tian expeditionary force commanded by the British general Hicks. Wingate began to work in the Egyptian War Office as “a sort of assistant secretary” to Sir Evelyn Wood, *sirdār* of the Egyptian army. The fatal end of the British general in Egyptian service Gordon Pasha who departed Cairo for Khartoum, at the beginning of 1884, with the task of salvaging the Egyptian civilian and military population in the Sudan, and the Sudanese who wished to leave, correctly evaluated by the author, who says that “Gordon was the wrong man for the task at hand and was selected for the wrong reasons”. He adds that “the ill-assorted hopes and expectations of the British public, press – and of Gordon himself and his superiors in Cairo – were based on ignorance of the Sudanese situation and exaggeration of his ability” (p. 22). At the end of January 1885 al-Mahdi attacked and conquered Khartoum and in the battle Gordon was killed. As a consequence of this failure in the Sudan which at the same time required preparations for the defence of Egypt, Sir Evelyn Wood resigned the *sirdarship* and Sir Francis Grenfell succeeded him. Wingate too decided to leave the ranks of the Egyptian army. He returned to Great Britain and continued his service in the British army. But he discovered very soon that he had made a serious mistake because the prospects of service advance for an officer who was talented but impecunious and the prospects for the increase of his financial income were much more modest at home, than they were in the Near East. For that reason he gladly welcomed the possibility of rejoining the Egyptian army, and after less than a year he was back in Cairo. In 1889 Wingate was put in charge of the new intelligence office and organized the Egyptian army’s intelligence system. The offered chance gave him the opportunity to strengthen his position but it must be underlined that his good command of both literary Arabic and some local dialects was of great advantage. It is worth mentioning that in this period he wrote a book entitled “Mahdiism and the Egyptian Sudan” which was published in London in 1891 and deals mainly with the military history of the period 1883–1889. Professor Daly suggests that it was the urgent need for an additional income which induced Wingate to write books and articles. In his writings Wingate clearly favours Anglo-Egyptian advance into the Sudan and concentrates his attention on a single goal: the overthrow of the Mahdist state. In 1892 Grenfell resigned and in his place Colonel Herbert Kitchener was appointed, “with whose fortunes Wingate’s would be mingled for the next quarter of century” (p. 44).

The following chapters deal with the preparation of forces and equipment for the regaining of the Sudan from the Mahdist insurgents. The relations of Wingate to the Austrian adventurer and author of the book “Fire and Sword in the Sudan” Slatin Pasha is remembered. Professor Daly gives a detailed account of the military preparations for the Sudan campaign that began in 1896 and ended in early September 1898 with the crushing defeat of the Sudanese. In this regard he again correctly looks at the military possibilities of the Sudanese stating that “reckless bravery was no match for modern weapons ...” (p. 106). Nevertheless, Kitchener despite his flaws became a national hero for the British. However, shortly after the victory a serious British clash with the French occurred which was related to the colonial partition of Africa. At the town of Fashoda (today called Kodok) on the White Nile in Sudan, an advancing British-Egyptian force, encountered a French force under Captain Marchand. While Daly points out Wingate’s merit in the peaceful solving of the incident, he correctly states that “the Fashoda Incident, like many episodes in the Scramble for Africa, was decided in Europe. In the end it was the relative strength of high-seas fleets, not of Nile flotillas and collapsible steamers, that won the day for the British” (pp. 115–116).

However, Wingate’s professional advance was also the result of coincidence and of his patience. As Daly picked out, Wingate’s eventual success depended upon Kitchener’s lack of immediate prospects elsewhere and other’s refusal to serve under him any longer in

Egypt. Cromer decided to remain as agent and consul-general in Cairo, blocking that avenue to Kitchener's advance. No first-class command in India was available, so Kitchener decided to stay too, in the dual role of sirdar and governor-general of the Sudan. When it became clear, both Rundle and Hunter (superiors to Wingate) decided to go, Hunter to India, Rundle to Britain. "Thus Wingate was finally made a pasha of Egypt and promoted adjutant-general of the Egyptian army" (p. 118).

Kitchener's tenure as governor-general of the Sudan was short lived. In the first half of December 1899 British troops suffered several heavy defeats in South Africa, so lord Roberts was appointed as new commander-in-chief and Kitchener his chief of staff and second-in-command. The way was finally opened to Wingate, who, on 22 December 1899 was named to succeed Kitchener. The Khedive promoted him to the rank of Lieutenant-General (al-fariq) and appointed him *sirdār* of the Egyptian army (p.127).

The second part of the book entitled "Governor-General of the Sudan" is divided into 8 chapters and is related to the sixteen-years period in which Wingate acted in both the high posts. He spent most of his time in the Sudan in relative independence of his immediate superior – the High Commissioner of Egypt. Daly precisely shows the functioning of the Condominium saying that "the tacit bargain of condominium was that the British ruled while the Egyptians paid (p. 151). Very interesting are the Daly's remarks about the cool relationship between Wingate and Cromer's successor in the high commissionership Sir Eldon Gorst (1907–1911). As Financial adviser to the Egyptian government (1898–1904) Gorst had been Cromer's understudy, with direct control of the Sudan budget, and as early as 1900 had written on Wingate's "administrative incompetence" (p. 171) but it seems exaggerated. Although the tense relationship between the two men was interrupted by Gorst's sudden death in 1911, the appointment of Kitchener who was in a powerful position caused Wingate's mixed feelings (p. 189). However his feelings proved false and during Kitchener's tenure his position became even stronger. Daly's familiarity with the events is shown in his comparison of Cromer's, Gorst's and Kitchener's approach to the treatment of political and economic issues. The outbreak of the World War I had serious consequences for Egypt too: Kitchener was appointed secretary of state for war, Britain declared a protectorate over Egypt, and in Kitchener's absence the new British representative in Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon, was styled high commissioner. The more experienced Wingate successfully administered the Sudan and played an indirect but important role in forming the Arab policy. He even took up the arming of the Arabs in Hijaz. Administrative and personal problems connected with the war made McMahon's task in Egypt more difficult. His weakness and "the appearance on the scene of powerful soldiers blurred the distinctions between civil and military administration and confused chains of command" (p. 240). McMahon's administration had been judged a failure; but if even in peacetime he would have faced a formidable task in Cairo, the war complicated it to the point of impossibility. So at the end of 1916 Wingate replaced McMahon as high commissioner for Egypt and Lee Stack succeeded Wingate as *sirdār* of the Egyptian army and governor-general of the Sudan.

The third part entitled "Egypt and Beyond" divided into 7 chapters deals with Wingate's activities from his appointment as high commissioner of Egypt until his death. But the stress lies on the chapters about his sojourn in Egypt and especially the problems related to the Egyptian revolution of 1919. Professor Daly throws new light on many events which have been of crucial importance for the postwar development of Egypt.

Professor Daly in his work based mainly on documents used for the first time correctly depicts Wingate as an able and ambitious man who made his way to high offices thanks to his assiduity and knowledge and partly to patience and luck. Wingate realized very soon

that because of his modest origin and lack of money he could not count on high offices at home so he preferred the colonial service. Throughout the book we witness his struggle with financial problems. The attitude of the British ruling class towards him was typical and appeared in awarding him only a baronetcy not the expected peerage. Similarly, the manoeuvres of the leading Foreign Office personalities relative to his dismissal from the high commissionership were in fact not fair. On the other hand when Daly gives assessment of this man of modest origin, he does not hesitate to say that “Wingate was an archimperialist. Acquisition and administration of territories and peoples are the context of his career” (p. 266).

In his well-argued and convincing book based mainly on Wingate’s voluminous private papers and on archival sources in Britain and the Sudan, Professor Martin Daly, while giving a full biographical treatment of Wingate, one of the distinguished figures in Britain’s Empire in the Near East, also masterfully guides the reader through a crucial period (1883–1919) in the historical development of Egypt and the Sudan.

Karol R. Sorby

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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

