Book reviews

Reviewed books

Rainer M. Voigt, Die infirmen Verbaltypen des Arabischen und das Biradikalismus-
problem. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literaratur – Mainz. Veröffentli-
chungen der orientalischen Kommission, Band XXXIXI. Franz Steiner Verlag,
Stuttgart 1988. 232 S. Kart. DM 98,–

This study by Voigt was initially a *Habilitationsschrift* submitted to the University of
Tübingen (im Fach Semitistik) in 1983. The revised version now included in the series of
the German Oriental Commission is a massive piece of scholarship which deals with a
great number of topics beyond the wording of the title. The following short presentation
describes only the main themes of the book.

The nature of the so-called weak roots has been discussed eagerly since the rise of
comparative Semitic studies, and the theory of their biradical origins has gained more and
more appeal. Voigt has revisited this more than central problem in its entirety not only in
Arabic; he starts from the beginning of the history of research, evaluates the earlier results
and demonstrates his own, in principle triradical interpretation by a thorough review of
the different classes of weak verbs in Arabic, Akkadian and Ethiopic, in particular.

It is very surprising to see on how unsteady a foundation the biradical theory in fact
has been constructed. A great amount of support has been imported from "Hamitic"
languages and parallel, biradical roots occurring in them. As an expert in both the Semitic
and "Hamitic" branches Voigt is now able to reveal the weakness of this argumentation
and even the ridiculousness of its mythology: no serious linguist would consider the
German words *Art : Bart : Wart* or *gross : grandios : grob : kolossal* to be related one
to another, while similar comparisons are a normal case in "Hamito-Semitic" studies (p.
80, 86).

On the constructive side of the book, Voigt makes use of an *a-Ablaut* concept in
order to provide an explanation of the relationship prevailing between the vocalism of
prefix and suffix conjugations in Semitic verbs irrespective of the number of radicals
(*Hauptaspektkorrelation*). In transitive verbs of action (*Handlungsverben*), Akkadian
has retained the older stage in which the *Ablaut* partners are the preterite and imperative
(*u, i, a*) and the present (*a*) (but *i* in statives) while in Western and Southern Semitic
languages the prefix conjugation (with *u* or *i* as the character vowel) is the base which
through the *a-Ablaut* leads to the suffixal forms. However, we have to pay attention to
the fact that in Akkadian the transitive verbs of action with *i* in both forms (*iqbir —
iqabbir,* etc., p. 116) are not compatible with this explanation.

The verbs which denote a state *(Zustandsverben)* display a reversed construction: in
them the suffix conjugation (with *u* or *i* as the character vowel) is the primary and the
prefix conjugation (with *a*) the secondary one. Voigt presumes that the Akkadian statives
and the West Semitic past forms may go back to one paradigm in common; however, the
characteristic *ā* (*parsāta* etc.) of Akkadian statives does not receive a new explanation (p.
124, fn. 15).

On the basis of this general *Ablaut* approach Voigt goes through the system of weak

verbs mainly in Arabic (but also in Akkadian, Ethiopian etc.) and succeeds in describing most of the peculiarities as "regular" reflexes of triradical roots (with a vowel or semivowel as the third radical); as a rule his explanations are more consistent and less complex than what has been presented earlier. Of course, the probability of each particular solution varies, and the persistent effort of Voigt to avoid analogy proofs occasionally leads to quite complicated excursions (e.g. the theory of the weakening effect of marginal morphemes on the kernel morphemes, *ui, iu* —› *uu* [e.g. *yaqnū*] p. 189-192). The successful treatment of weak verbs in Arabic gives additional support to the correctness of Voigt's *Ablaut* ideology, on the one hand, and to the supposition of the common origin of Akkadian and Ethiopian "long imperfects", on the other.

In conclusion Voigt is able to state with all reason: "Wie man es auch dreht und wendet, eine synchrone Analyse ohne Annahme von drei Radikalen (welcher Art auch immer) ist unmöglich" (p. 162) and that "nur beim mediae geminaten Wurzeltyp die Annahme eines biradikalen Ursprungs (scheint) sinnvoll zu sein" (p. 209). The book also includes an exceptional wealths of other innovative ideas and observations. It will constitute an indispensable source and tool in many fields of Semitic studies.

TAPANI HARVIAINEN

Edward Ullendorf, Studia Aethiopica et Semitica. Äthiopische Forschungen heraus-
gegeben von Ernst Hammerschmidt, Band 24. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1987.
325 S. Leinen. DM 78,–

The book is a collection which consists of 18 articles written by Edward Ullendorf between 1956 *[Hebraic—Jewish Elements in Abyssian (Monophysite) Christianity]* and 1981 *[*David Biale, *Gershom Scholem: Kabbalah and Counter-History* (review) and the obituary of *Stefan Strelcyn]*. In the preface the writer states that "these studies have been reprinted without being doctored or altered in any way." Some corrections and additions have been included in the brief introduction (4 pages). Of the 18 articles, 11 appear under the heading *Aethiopica,* while the other seven deal with *Semitica.*

More than a hundred pages have been devoted to Amharic documents and letters as well as to their translations and explanations. Part of them shed light on the political history of Ethiopia (e.g. *The Treaty between Great Britain and Ethiopia*) or on leading personalities (*Haile Selassie at Bath*); some others have a more private character (letters of Eugen Mittwoch etc.).

The Bawdy Bible deals with *naturalia & erotica* of the Old Testament. It is a welcome admonition to all those who tend to imagine that the Bible only speaks of spiritual and celestial matters. In fact, the whole sphere of life is included in the books of the Bible which differ so widely one from another. The article (with a word list) is a useful help also for modern Bible translators.

The article *Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek: the Versions underlying Ethiopic Translations of Bible and intertestamental literature* deals with the entangled question of the

Vorlage(n) of the Ethiopian Bible translations. Research work which goes back to a sufficiently large and dependable body of material has been done on this field only preliminarily. The corrections based on the Hebrew text are the concern of Ullendorf in this paper. While it seems to be certain that they constitute one of the numerous layers in the rise of the Ethiopian Bible, the historical context of these Hebrew contacts remains regrettably obscure.

As for the oldest and most central article *Hebraic–Jewish Elements in Abyssian (Monophysite) Christianity* (1956) Ullendorf writes in the introduction that "on the most careful examination of the substance of that paper I found that, apart from some details, I generally stood by the 1956 version". Nevertheless, one may still ask, what was the actual rôle of the Jewish people or Jewish contacts in the development of the Ethiopian Christianity. Why can vestiges of the post-Biblical rabbinical lore (through Islam?) be maintained to exist in the Ethiopian church traditions while the characteristic trends of the post-Biblical Judaism (use of Hebrew, synagogues, *kashrut* and other religious laws outside the Pentateuch, rabbinical literature, new fasts and feasts etc.) are lacking? Why does an Ethiopian church not look like a synagogue? Why is it more or less like a copy of a *theoretical* Temple of Solomon in the ancient Jerusalem (cf. p. 21-2 = 235-6)?

The Ethiopians have been convinced of being the heirs of Israel as the Chosen People and as the new Zion (p. 35=249). What is the duty of the Chosen People? Is it not the veneration of the Book of the Covenant, i.e. the Old Testament and the Hebraic law and lore contained in it (p. 31=245)? And did not Matthew (5,18) expressly say that not one jot or one tittle shall pass from the Law (p. 30=244)? Following this line of argumentation based now on Ullendorf's own statements, the following alternative explanation of the "Hebrew-Jewish elements" could be outlined once again.

The heirs of Israel in the new Ethiopian Zion venerated the Holy Book of the Law to the effect that they put every jot into practice. As a consequence they materialized numerous laws and habits of the Old Testament which among other Churches were considered to be a part of "the serfdom of the Law" and were disregarded in the name of Christian freedom. Hence the Ethiopian Christians received a Jewish appearence in the eyes of other Churches, although the Ethiopians merely had adopted the *whole* Bible more in earnest. On the same line of reasoning, the Falashas could be regarded to have been the one-sided extremists of the New Zion movement who at least, willing or un-willing, remained outside the Church as "new Jews". In order to prove the Hebrew-Jewish thesis, one should point out essential themes of the Ethiopian Christianity which cannot be deduced from the Bible by venerating and practical-minded readers; only these kinds of elements would be attributed to carriers of Jewish influences — about the identity of which, however, "we possess no information" (p. 12=226).

TAPANI HARVIAINEN

Edward Ullendorf, A Tigrinya (Təgrəñña) Chrestomathy. Äthiopische Forschungen
    herausgegeben von Ernst Hammerschmidt, Band 19. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart
    1985. 242 S. Leinen. DM 86,–.

The subtitle of Ullendorf's Tigrinya Chrestomathy reads *Introduction – Grammatical
tables – Tigrinya texts – Letters – Phrases – Tigrinya-English glossary – Select
bibliography*. The introduction gives a concise description of the history of Tigrinya
studies as well as the main features of the language and literature.The grammatical tables
(in transcription) are included on pp. 21-25, the texts (only in Ethiopian script which does
not record gemination or ə vowels) comprise pp. 27-154 and the glossary pp. 155-236.
The first texts have been selected from the Old and New Testament (published in Tigrinya
in 1956-57 and 1933, resp.) and from other religious literature *(Imitatio Christi,* publ. in
1939-40, and five stories from the *Apologhi ed aneddoti,* 1902). These are followed by a
Tigrinya version of the Robinson Crusoe story, two codes of customary law which
initially derive their origin from local oral traditions, and various, mainly literary texts
published since 1942 in newspapers in Asmara and elsewhere in Eritrea. The main part of
these specimens was published between the years 1943-1966; the last fifteen years with
the intense political and cultural change are not reflected in the chrestomathy.

   While Tigrinya is "after Arabic and Amharic, the living Semitic language with the
largest number of speakers — comfortably exceeding the figures for contemporary
Hebrew in Israel" (p. 11), the students of this language have long been compelled to
resort to *F. Praetorius'* grammar book from 1871 and the few texts included in it.
Rainer M. Voigt's "Das tigrinische Verbalsystem" (Berlin 1977) and *Ullendorf's*
Chrestomathy presented here open new gates to the peculiar linguistic world of Ethiopia.
Let us hope that the plans for a large dictionary and a modern grammar book would be
realized soon.

                                                            TAPANI HARVIAINEN

An Index to English Periodical Literature on the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern
    Studies. Volume I. Compiled and Edited by **William G. Hupper**. ATLA Bibliog-
    raphy Series, No. 21. The American Theological Library Association and The Scare-
    crow Press, Inc., Metuchen, NJ & London 1987.

The Index is a list of articles published in over 600 journals from the first year of issue
(the first one in 1793) through 1969/70 or until publication ceased prior to 1969/70. The
entries have been arranged under headings like *Exodus, Job, Nahum, Israel in Egypt,
Dietary Laws, Trade, Numismatics,* etc. There is no alphabetical listing of authors or
titles in the Volume I. As a consequence, it is almost impossible to find relevant material
on topics which do not have a heading of their own. The arrangement has been based on
keywords which occur in the titles of articles. Now an innocent reader will be convinced
that e.g. Jonah has been dealt with in no more than *five* articles during the years 1793-
1970! In fact, there are a great number of important studies on Jonah and his book the

writers of which did not happen to put the name of Jonah in the title. In addition to them, there is a gieater number of scholars who did not write in English, although they wrote on Jonah well and put his name in the title. For an orientalist, at least, there is no need to know which articles have been written on a theme in English. It is important to know what has been written on the theme in scholarly circles in any language. Every reader deserves a more reliable bibliography of the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern studies in which the compiler has paid attention to the contents of articles instead of listing titles and casual keywords. Many libraries regularly buy every bibliography and index. Since the flood of new publications is increasing and funds diminishing, quality should be given preference.

TAPANI HARVIAINEN

Alexander Borg, Cypriot Arabic. A historical and comparative investigation into the phonology and morphology of the Arabic vernacular spoken by the Maronites of Kormakiti village in the Kyrenia district of North-Western Cyprus. *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 47:4. Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden. Stuttgart 1985. 204 pp.

Cypriot Arabic is an isolated and peripheral Arabic dialect spoken by ca. one thousand Maronite villagers of Kormakiti in the Turkish-occupied zone of the island. Since 1974, the majority of the villagers have lived scattered in the main urban centres of the Greek-controlled area. The members of the speech community are bilingual (Cypriot Greek and dialectal, unwritten Arabic), and it is apparent that their local Arabic vernacular is bound to die out in a few decades.

The dialect in question seems to have been unknown among linguists until 1951, when the Lebanese scholar Fouad E. Boustany drew attention to its existence. Since then it has been object of a number of studies, viz. a paper by Brian Newton in 1964 (10 pp.), a monograph by Maria Tsiapera in 1969 (69 pp.), a critical review article of the last-mentioned study by Otto Jastrow in 1977 (29 pp.), and a monograph by Arlette Roth in 1975 (110 pp.). In these studies, only the verbal system of Kormakiti Arabic (henceforth KA) described by Roth is adequately documented, whereas Tsiapera's sketchy mono-graph leaves many questions unanswered and also gives some misleading information.

The socio-political changes in Cyprus during the past fourteen years have made the need for further study of KA urgent. This is illustrated by the fact that Roth, who col-lected her KA material mainly in 1973-74, still had access to Kormakiti and had the advantage of studying the dialect *in situ*, whereas only six years later, Alexander Borg was compelled to gather his information among speakers living outside their traditional habitat. As stated by Borg, the majority of the villagers still residing in Kormakiti are old and retired; that is why most of the best informants of KA are to be found in the village. Therefore the question arises about the representativeness of the linguistic material used by Borg in the study under review. However, a closer inspection of the study provides unmistakable evidence of the adequacy and sufficiency of the linguistic corpus. Although

the number of informants recorded or consulted is not higher than twenty, they all had lived in Kormakiti up to 1974, they use their Arabic dialect in their families, their ages range between eighteen and eighty years, and they represent both sexes; as a matter of fact — contrary to most collections of Arabic dialect texts — almost half of the 12 pages of sample texts originate from female speakers. The texts also differ as to their contents and style. Thus, there are ten descriptive texts and four personal narratives, each type filling approximately the same number of pages. The transcription is adequate, the translations are good, the footnotes are instructive, and the contents reveal interesting information about the traditional life of the community. It should also be pointed out here that these are actually the first KA texts ever published.

The most interesting phenomena typical of isolated and peripheral dialects are — as stated by Otto Jastrow in *ZDMG* 127:2 — that they have preserved many inherited traits which are no longer to be found in the levelled language forms spoken in central areas and that they also tend to have a deviant character as the result of an internal evolution of their own. KA undoubtedly displays several noticeable cases of the two types. Therefore the comparative and diachronic scope of Borg's study is well founded, actually the most pertinent way of presenting the linguistic structure of KA. The comparisons made are not inner-Arabic alone, but the investigator carefully observes the influence of language contact between Cypriot Greek and KA, which has resulted in considerable interference from Cypriot Greek in the phonology and lexicon and, to somewhat lesser but still noticeable degree, in the morphology and syntax of KA. The effects of the language contact have been taken into consideration attentively and with circumspection by the author.

Earlier on, it was taken for granted that the Maronite community in Cyprus had its historical origins in Lebanon, and that KA therefore has to be regarded as an offspring of Lebanese Arabic. To be sure, the ancestors of the community probably emigrated to Cyprus from the Syrian-Lebanese coast, but it must be borne in mind that the language spoken by the community at the time of the emigration was not Lebanese Arabic but rather a variety of sedentary East Mediterranean Arabic from the beginning of the second millennium A.D. and thus a language form which cannot be reconstructed on the basis of comparison between KA and contemporary dialects spoken in Lebanon and the adjacent areas only. In fact, in such a comparison all sedentary dialects of the Greater Syrian dialect area must be considered. But, as shown by Haim Blanc, there is a linguistic continuum between the old sedentary *qǝltu* dialects of Mesopotamia and the sedentary dialects spoken in the Syrian oases (Sukhne, Qarītēn, Palmyra, described by Jean Cantineau in 1934 and 1956) and the Aleppo region. Thus it is most probable that the typological differences between the sedentary dialects spoken in Syria and Mesopotamia at the beginning of the second millennium A.D. were relatively small, at any rate considerably smaller than at the present. In the diachronic study of Cypriot Arabic, the old sedentary Mesopotamian dialect type must therefore be taken into consideration. Until recently these dialects were poorly documented, but since Haim Blanc's pioneer work *Communal Dialects in Baghdad* (1964) the situation has been drastically changed, and, due to Otto Jastrow's extensive investigations (*Die mesopotamisch-arabischen qǝltu-Dialekte* I, 1978; II,

1981), they now belong to the most well-documented dialects of Arabic.

This ample material has been utilized by Borg in a profitable manner. It is noteworthy that isolated and peripheral dialects turn out to be a very fruitful source of diachronic studies of Arabic. Thus, Borg shows that "the most salient structural affinities of KA within the Mesopotamian *qəltu* dialect group as a whole are with the S.E. Anatolian branch" (p. 158), i.e., the most isolated and peripheral branch of the *qəltu* group. Such features are, e.g., use of copulas derived via contraction of independent pronouns, reflexes of 2nd and 3rd p. plural pronominal suffixes with final /n/, a reflex of *ḥattā*as a verbal modifier signalling the future tense, and a genitive exponent probably deriving from *ḏayl*. In spite of the fact that KA shares with sedentary Greater Syrian dialects important structural traits that set it apart from the majority of *qəltu* vernaculars, e.g., a reflex of the *b-* prefix as a noncontingency marker in the imperfect, *-t* instead of *-tu* in the 1st p. singular in the perfect, and *-ī, -ū* instead of *-īn, -ūn* in the 2nd p. singular and in the 2nd and 3rd p. plural of the imperfect, KA also has traits which indisputably distinguish it from the majority of dialects spoken in Greater Syria, the most important of which is the vocalically-conditioned *imāla* of Old Arabic medial /ā/. If it is supposed that KA has its historical origins in a sedentary dialect spoken on the Greater Syrian coast at the time of the Maronite emigration to Cyprus, the linguistic connections shown by Borg are conclusive evidence of a relatively homogeneous sedentary dialect area in Syria and Mesopotamia during the Abbasid caliphate. Differences such as *-t* vs. *-tu*; *-ī, -ū* vs. *-īn, -ūn* and the *b*-imperfect, however, already existed between Syrian and Mesopotamian Arabic.

Borg's monograph abounds in diachronically intriguing linguistic material. An interesting example is the diachronic character of the KA fusions of Old Arabic /ᶜ/ and /ġ/ into /ᶜ/, and of /ḥ/ and /x/ into /x/, discussed by Borg (p. 36). The fusion of these pairs of phonemes, although not exactly with the same result, is well known from Hebrew and Aramaic. In the sphere of Arabic it is known from Maltese, where the merger of Old Arabic /ᶜ/ and /ġ/ into /ᶜ/, and of /ḥ/ and /x/ into /ḥ/ has taken place. Borg states, however, that the mutual relevance of the Maltese and KA ostensible parallel developments is questionable, the Maltese development almost certainly being the product of foreign language contact, whereas the fusion in KA is "quite conceivably an inherited dialectal trait harking back to pre-Arabic substratum influence from Aramaic". According to Borg, "one compelling reason supporting this view is the KA retention of the pharyngeal segment in the OA voiced series. Had the diachronic merger of OA /ᶜ/ and /ġ/ in KA transpired within the context of linguistic interaction with Cypriot Greek, it should have logically yielded the voiced, back velar fricative /ġ/, which closely approximates Cypriot Greek /ġ/". In spite of the good argument based on the logical result of linguistic interaction, one problem still remains to be solved. Because it is out of the question that the Aramaic substratum in this case had influenced only the Arabic dialect of those Maronites who emigrated to Cyprus, Borg's theory actually implies the existence of such substratum influence in parts of Greater Syria at the beginning of the second millennium A.D. In that case it must have disappeared later on, obviously through dialect levelling. One could, however, expect that more traces than a few isolated cases of interchanges of /ᶜ/ and /ġ/

would have been preserved in the dialects of the area.

Cypriot Arabic by Alexander Borg is a major contribution to the comparative Arabic dialectology and to the history of Spoken Arabic. The importance of the study is enhanced by its character as a painstakingly careful and exact documentation of a very interesting dialect threatened by extinction in the near future. Due to the solid method and the sharp linguistic analyses, the material has grown into a thorough study which can be expected to give impetus to many further diachronic studies. This study will remain a standard work of reference for all interested in the history of Spoken Arabic.

<div align="right">HEIKKI PALVA</div>

Bruce Ingham, Bedouin of Northern Arabia. Traditions of the Āl-Ḏhafīr. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London/New York/Sydney 1986. 136 pp.

The Āl Ḏhafīr are a composite tribe whose traditional *dīrah* comprises the area between the Euphrates and the Great Nafūd, in southeast Iraq and northeast Saudi Arabia. Only to the east is the boundary of the tribal area fairly definite, whereas the other borders are vague, or the tribal area overlaps with the *dīrahs* of the neighbouring tribes. According to their own tradition, the Ḏhafīr have come from the Hijaz, probably in the early 1600s. At the present, the confederation includes very heterogeneous elements: the majority of the tribe are Sunni Bedouin, but there are also Shīᶜa Bedouin, Iraqi Shīᶜa shepherd tribes, and Bedouin tribes of client status; even more unusual components of the tribe are the Anṣār, descendants of Christian prisoners taken from the Turks in the First World War, and the Āl Ḥumaid, a Shīᶜa tribe of the Euphrates, also partly ex-Christian, all of whom are counted as Ḏhafīris and Muslims.

Ingham's study should not be placed in the same category as anthropological studies on the social and economic structures of Bedouin tribes, such as Lothar Stein, *Die Šammar-Ǧerba, Beduinen im Übergang von Nomadismus zur Sesshaftigkeit* (Berlin 1967); Emanuel Marx, *Bedouin of the Negev* (Manchester 1967); Donald Powell Cole, *Nomads of the Nomads. The Āl Murrah Bedouin of the Empty Quarter* (Chicago 1975); or William Lancaster, *The Rwala Bedouin Today* (Cambridge 1981). Rather, it has much in common with the older works *Langue des bédouins Anazeh* (Leide 1919) by Carlo de Landberg, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York 1928) by Alois Musil, and especially *Contes poétiques bédouins recueillis chez les Šammar de Ǧezīré* (Bulletin d'Études Orientales 5, 1935, pp. 33-119) by R. Montagne. Musil's book, rich in the Rwala lore, abounds in pieces of Bedouin poetry and dialectal expressions but there are no texts in prose, while Montagne first gives an ethnographic description of the tribe and devotes the latter half of his study to poetry, published with the dialectal narratives belonging to the poems. As suggested by the title of Montagne's study, the ethnographic analysis mainly serves as an introduction to the narrative and poetic texts. In a similar way, the texts can be regarded as the focus of Ingham's study. The 14 texts, all consisting of both poems and narratives, constitute an essential part of the stock of the oral traditions of the tribe, and the collection is the result of a collective

effort: members of the Ḍhafīr have themselves had an opportunity to decide which traditions should be included. Consequently, the choice was not made on the basis of the researcher's anthropological or linguistic interest, but on the basis of criteria accepted by the tribe itself for a *dīwān* of tribal tradition.

Ingham has not, however, been contented with a mere collection of tribal traditions, but he has also used written documents from different sources: from the historical annals of Najd, from material originating in the British Government's India Office reports, and from the writings of travellers in the area. The comparison shows that the Ḍhafīr tradition in broad outlines tallies with the written documents, although most details of earlier history have faded. The earliest traditions recorded are about 300 years old; the event in question is the war between the shaikh of the Ḍhafīr and the Sharīf in the Hijaz. The narrative is followed by a fragment of a poem, originally perhaps the last two hemistichs of a poem about the battle of al-Dāth. The history of the 18th century in oral tradition is still sketchy; in this collection it is represented by two texts from the 1760s and 1790s, the former containing a short fragment of a poem, the latter rather long pieces of poetry. For this period almost the sole source of historical information is the undated work *Unwān al-majd fī tārīx Najd* by Ibn Bishr. From the 19th century, ample historical material both from written and oral sources is available, and the account of the events given by Ingham in Chapter 1 serves as a good background for the reader of the texts.

Chapters 2 and 4 are devoted to the descriptions of the tribal area, the structure of the tribal confederation, and the present situation of the tribe. Contrary to the sharply demarcated borders as in the case studied by Frank Henderson Stewart in *Bedouin Boundaries in Central Sinai and the Southern Negev* (Wiesbaden 1986), the *dīrah* of the Ḍhafīr follows the traditional system according to which it in principle consists of a core of wells and watering places to which the herds can resort in summer and a surrounding area of steppe in which they can graze in winter time. Other matters of vital importance are the accessibility of settled areas and intersecting caravan routes. In this study, the social structure of the confederation has not been examined in the way common to anthropological studies but has been portrayed with special attention paid to the particular character of the Āl Ḍhafīr, who "are perhaps the example par excellence of a coalescence of different tribal elements". Like most Bedouin tribes of the Arabian Peninsula, the majority of the Ḍhafīr have recently also become settled. Thus, in the village of Ṣufairi, the homestead of the shaikhly Āl Suwaiṭ family, almost all tents have been replaced by houses, most of which have electricity and water piped from a central well. There are two school houses and a medical centre, a mosque, a number of shops, a bakery, a petrol station, and a car repair yard. Also living in the village are a number of foreigners: Palestinians, Egyptians, Iraqis, and Pakistanis.

Chapter 5 contains 14 historical narratives with their poems, all of which are *qaṣīdahs* with alternating *ababab* rhymes. The texts are published in a good transcription, the only slight inconvenience of which is the marking of ʿayn by the symbol /ʿ/ at the same time that inverted commas occur frequently. The texts are set out in relatively long continuous sections interrupted only by verses of poetry. This arrangement does not disturb cursory reading, but the use of the translations and footnotes would have been

much easier if the texts had been divided into shorter, numbered sections. The translations are excellent, and the explanatory notes contain much relevant information.

The speakers of the texts were four men of the older generation, three of them living at Ṣufairi and one in Kuwait. The only difference in the linguistic form used by the speakers is the occurrence of a number of Iraqi expressions such as *aku* 'there is' and *ham* 'also' in the idiolect of the speaker of the majority of the texts. In spite of the composite nature of the Ḍhafīr confederation, the dialect of the tribe, according to Ingham's observations, seems to be rather homogeneous. To be sure, most of the linguistic material of the study was gathered in the village of Ṣufairi, and therefore the author adds a reservation: "nomadic Ḍhafīris elsewhere may show different dialect features". Although the dialect itself is well definable, it has very few features which are exclusively Ḍhafīri traits. Compared with the neighbouring dialect of the Shammar, which displays several idiosyncrasies typical of a core dialect, Ḍhafīri is a typical border dialect, one showing the influence of two main blocks (North Najdi/Shammari and Central Najdi/Muṭairi).

In Chapter 6 Ingham gives the linguistic characteristics of Ḍhafīri and compares it with the dialects of the adjacent areas. The most important phonological and morphological features which the Ḍhafīr dialect shares with the Najdi dialects and which distinguish it from the dialects of the Gulf Coast and southern Iraq are the realization of *ǧīm* as a palatal plosive /j/ (= *ǧ*), and the phonemic splitting of *qāf* and *kāf* in /g/, /ǵ/ (=*dz*) and /k/, /ć/ (=*ts*), respectively, the use of the nominal indefinite marker *-in* in certain syntactic positions, the marking of transitivity/intransitivity by characteristic vowel sequences, and the productive use of the causative Form IV (*arćab—yirćib* 'to cause to mount') and internal vowelled passive forms (*nšid—yinšad* 'to be asked'). In some cases Ḍhafīri differs from Central Najdi and follows North Najdi; thus, it has the series *int, inti, intum/intam, intin* in the 2nd person independent pronouns (as opposed to *ant* etc.), the suffixed pronoun *-ak* in the 2nd p. m. s. (as opposed to *-ik/-uk*), and the demonstratives of the type *hāḍa, hāḍi, hīć* etc. (as opposed to the southern *ḍah, ḍih, ćiḍa* etc.); further, it does not use the negative construction *mā bi-* (the language of the poetry is, of course, an exception, cf. *ulāni bsāyil* Text 3, p. 57, l. -5), nor the preposition *fī*. On the other hand, Ḍhafīri sometimes clearly differs from North Najdi and follows the Central Najdi type. This is exemplified by forms such as *šāfat, marah, banāt*, which contrast with the fronted suffixes of Shammari (*šāfeih, mareih/marih, banāy*). In some cases Ḍhafīri shows a mixture of the two types, e.g. *mni, mink, minć, mnuh, mnah, minkam, minham*; cf. Shammari *mni, mnak, mnić, mnuh, mnah, minkam, minham*, Muṭairi *minni, mink, minć, minh, minha, minkum, minhum*.

In the phonemic system of the vowels, it is interesting to note the overlapping between /ē/, /ī/ and /ō/, /ū/, a feature apparently common to many dialects of the Syrian desert and elsewhere (cf. Haim Blanc, *The Arabic Dialect of the Negev Bedouins*, p. 118; Heikki Palva, *Studies in the Arabic Dialect of the Semi-Nomadic el-ʿAǧārma Tribe*, p. 20). In the dialect of the Ḍhafīr, it also occurs in cases with underlying /ī/ and /ū/, e.g. *yabēk* 'he wants you', *ašōf* 'I see', *tigōl* 'you say', *mʿazōm* 'invited'.

Ingham's fascinating book presents a close-up picture of the oral traditions of a tribal

confederation in Northern Arabia: the form of the traditions, their age, and their character as historical sources. As a collection of a tribe's historical traditions presented as the tribesmen themselves wish, it is a unique study. The book also contains valuable linguistic information about the dialects of the northeastern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Further, it makes useful reading to all who are interested in the oral literature, the concept of history, and the identity questions of the Bedouin.

HEIKKI PALVA

Renate Malina, Zum schriftlichen Gebrauch des Kairinischen Dialekts anhand ausge-
wählter Texte von Sa^cdaddīn Wahba. *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen*, Band 111.
Klaus Schwarz Verlag, Berlin 1987. 218 pp.

In this study, which is a Ph.D. dissertation for the University of Vienna, Renate Malina investigates the use of Cairo Arabic as literary language. The texts used in the investi-gation are three plays (*Šāhid nafy, Gawāzit ṣēf* and *il-Wazīr šāl it-tallāga*), a corpus of 99 pages by the social realistic Egyptian playwright Sa^cdaddīn Wahba (b. 1925). The study aims at finding out to which degree the language of the plays is identical with the vernacular dialect of Cairo and in which way it eventually deviates from the dialect. The linguistic material used in the comparison consists of descriptions of Cairo Arabic as well as special studies in it, complemented with data given by Cairene informants.

The linguistic analysis has been concentrated on the following features: particles of negation, the genitive exponent *bitā^c*, the affirmative particle *ma*, the imperfect forms with and without *b-*, the expression of exhortation and prohibition in the 2nd p., the use of *ba'a* and *ṭili^c* as main and auxiliary verbs, the use of *rāḥ, 'ām* and *'a^cad* as auxiliary verbs, the relative, conditional and interrogative clauses, and agreement. The orthography has been investigated with special reference to Refaat El-Farnawany's *Ägyptisch-Arabisch als geschriebene Sprache* (Diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1981).

A case study of this kind involves its natural restrictions: the material is relatively limited, and the linguistic analysis is based on rather few features. The value of the study, however, mainly depends on criteria such as the appropriateness of the selection of the linguistic features analyzed and the quality of the analysis itself. In this case, the choice of the features is very good; they are structurally central, distinctive features of high frequency, which furthermore can be unambiguously read from an unvocalized text. The linguistic analysis is likewise a solid piece of work, and the 22 pages of properly transcribed and well-translated extracts from the texts give the reader a good idea about the literary and linguistic nature of the plays. There is also a short but useful glossary containing idiomatic expressions and separate lexical items not found in dictionaries. What this carefully written study lacks is a discussion about the place of the corpus in a wider framework and a comparison of the results with available data from other investigations. There is, however, a natural explanation for the lack of such discussions. As a matter of fact, the linguistic form of the Arabic drama has very often been discussed, but almost exclusively as a question associated with the diglossia problem, whereas detailed analyses of the linguistic structure of plays written in the colloquial have not been

made. This might seem surprising, as the use of Egyptian Arabic vernaculars in drama is far from being a recent phenomenon. The shadow plays of Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl (1248-1311) are a good example of this. In modern Arabic theatre, colloquial language has been used from the very beginnings in comedy, and later on in realistic social drama as well. Thus, the pioneer of the Egyptian theatre, Yaᶜqūb Ṣannūᶜ (1839-1912), used Egyptian Arabic in his plays. The linguistic study of dialectal Arabic drama is still in its incipiency; a presumably fruitful approach not yet applied is a sociolinguistic investigation.

Thanks are due to Renate Malina for her solid study; it is to be hoped that it inspires other linguists to pay attention not only to dialectal Arabic drama but to other instances of literarily used non-standard Arabic as well.

HEIKKI PALVA

Kjell Norlin, A Phonetic Study of Emphasis and Vowels in Egyptian Arabic.*Working Papers* 30, 1987. Linguistics—Phonetics, Lund University. X+119 pp.

This study is one of the reports from a joint phonetic project (LUCLA) on three non-European languages (Arabic, Chinese, Hausa) run by the Department of Linguistics in Lund and the Phonetics Department at the University of California, Los Angeles. In the same series of reports, Kjell Norlin earlier published the papers *Acoustic analysis of fricatives in Cairo Arabic* (Working Papers 25, 1983, pp. 113-137) and *Acoustic analysis of vowels and diphthongs in Cairo Arabic* (Working Papers 27, 1984, pp. 185-208).

The study aims primarily at a phonetic description of emphasis and vowels of Cairo Arabic — in the title questionably called Egyptian Arabic — but the phonological interpretation of the system is also discussed. Emphasis has usually been described as a feature connected with a few inherited 'emphatic' consonant phonemes, and combinatorily affecting 'plain' consonant phonemes in the neighbourhood of these primary emphatics. It has also been described as a suprasegmental phoneme the minimum domain of which is a consonant and an adjacent vowel (see R. S. Harrell, *A Linguistic Analysis of Egyptian Radio Arabic*. Cambridge, Mass., 1964; esp. pp. 26-30; cf. earlier Zellig Harris, *The Phonemics of Moroccan Arabic*. JAOS 62:305-318, 1942; esp. p. 316; R. S. Harrell, *The Phonology of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic*. New York 1957; p. 82).

Norlin's approach is actually new: The point of departure for his investigations is purely phonetic; he investigates the realizations of vowels in emphatic and plain surroundings and then proceeds to phonological conclusions. The tests were made in the soundproof studio of the Phonetics Department in Lund, the analysis was made from oscillomink wave-form, and broad-band spectrograms from a digital spectrograph. Paired t-tests were used to establish the level of significance of differences between sets of vowels and consonants when they could be supposed to have linguistic importance. The data were selected mostly from real monosyllabic and disyllabic words; a minimum of trisyllabic words was included to cover phonological and phonetic contexts not

represented in the other test words due to phonotactic restrictions. Wordlist intonation was avoided by setting all test words in a sentence frame (*'ulna ... kamān*). The informants used in the study were nine 25- to 55-year-old male, native speakers from Cairo now living in Sweden, most of them having an academic education. The documentation of the tests as well as the results of the measurements are exemplary; all the relevant information is to be found in a great number of tables and in 30 illustrative figures.

The measurements of the frequencies of the formants in plain and emphatic environments yield the expected result that emphasis mainly has an effect on the frequency of Formant 2 of the vowels. From the linguistic point of view, it is most interesting to notice that this effect is much more distinct in *a* than in other vowels. Both in plain and emphatic surroundings there are five long vowel qualities ([i:], [e:], [u:], [o:] , [a:]) with a slight overlap between the plain and emphatic variants of [i:]—[e:] and [u:]—[o:] respectively, but with no overlap between the two variants of [a:]. On the contrary, the Formant 2 center frequencies of [a:] and [å:] are noticeably far from each other: the value of F2 of [a:] is 1780 Hz (mean), whereas that of [å:] is as low as 1080 Hz (mean). Thus there are *six* distinct long vowels on the phonetic level. The center frequencies of Formant 2 of the short vowels show that [i] : [e] and [u] : [o] are practically identical (Figure 9). There is, however, a clear acoustic difference between them, but in onset frequencies only, i.e., strictly phonetically, [e:] and [o:] can be defined as diphthongs [ᵉi] and [ᵒu]. [o] has a higher onset frequency than [u] by ca. 100 Hz, but it drops to the center frequency of [u], and [e] has a lower onset frequency than [i] by ca. 105 Hz, but it reaches the center frequency of [i]. In all other vowels there is an overlap between the vowel variants occurring in plain and emphatic environments, but the variants of *a* are distinctly separate from each other. Thus the number of short vowels on the phonetic level is six (cf. p. 49: five).

According to the commonplace phonological analysis, Cairo Arabic has five long and three short vowel phonemes: /i:, e:, u:, o:, a:, i, u, a / (Birkeland, Harrell, Lehn, Munzel, Tomiche, Woidich, Drozdik). In a similar way, Norlin rejects the phonemic status of [e] and [o] and regards them as realizations of their long counterparts, but since the occurrence of [æ] and [å] is not completely regular and not in complementary distribution, it is difficult to define them as allophones of a single phoneme. As a matter of fact, [å] occurs together with most, if not all, consonants of the language. The usual solution to the problem is to postulate the existence of a number of emphatic consonant phonemes in addition to the traditional primary emphatics. Thus, Abdel-Massih defines /ļ/ and /ŗ/ as independent phonemes (1975, p. 6), whereas Woidich (*Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*, p. 210) only gives /ŗ/; Prasse (in M. I. Hassan, *in-Nās wil-malik*, Copenhagen 1971, pp. VII-X) finds phonemic distinctions not only between /r/ : /ŗ/ and /l/ : /ļ/, but also between /b/ : /ḅ/ and /m/ : /ṃ/, just to mention some examples of different analyses. Instead of the inconveniences in attributing phonemic status to a growing number of emphatic consonants, there is, as pointed out by Ghazeli (*Back Consonants and Backing Coarticulation in Arabic*. Ph.D. diss. Univ. of Texas, Austin, 1977; p. 134)

another, more economic solution, viz. to postulate a phonemic split of the older /a/ into two low vowel phonemes /æ/ and /å/. This analysis corresponds very well to an ideal symmetric system of vowels, based on maximal perceptual contrast with the vowels at roughly equal distances from each other.

According to Ghazeli's analysis, the split of the low vowel into two phonemes occurs in many dialects of Arabic. For Cairo Arabic it has been applied by Mitchell (*Colloquial Arabic* 1962, pp. 24f.) and George Dimitri Selim (Some contrasts between Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic, in *Linguistic Studies in Memory of Richard Slade Harrell*. Washington, D.C., 1967, pp. 134-152). Mitchell's analysis comprises six long and six short vowel phonemes, but Selim — not mentioned by Norlin — postulates the same inventory of vowel phonemes as Norlin. Explaining the minimal pairs /ḥagari/ 'rock-like' : /ḥågåri/ 'my rock' and /gaari/ 'runner' : /gååri/ 'my neighbor' as evidence of a phonemic contrast between /a/ : /å/ and /aa/ : /åå/, Selim has avoided the common solution of defining /ṛ/ and other secondary emphatics as independent phonemes.

When Norlin compares the results of his investigations with the data concerning other dialects of Arabic, he faces difficult problems indeed. Firstly, relevant experimental investigations made up till now are very few and they only give scattered data for a few areas. Secondly, the background information about the dialect or dialect type spoken by the informants in these studies is often insufficient. Designations such as "Iraqi", "Jordanian", "Palestinian" are, of course, far from being satisfactory without more detailed information about the dialect type in question. On the other hand, comparisons with non-experimental phonetic and phonological data found in dialectological literature are inevitably inexact and often arbitrary. One of the comparisons which actually can be made with experimental investigations is that between Norlin's Figure 14 (p. 35) and Al-Ani's Diagram III (Salman H. Al-Ani, *Arabic Phonology. An acoustic and physiological investigation*. The Hague & Paris 1970; p. 50). It is most interesting to notice that Norlin's Figure 14 shows that the places of long plain and emphatic vowels form a quadrangle in the vowel space, whereas Al-Ani's Diagram III shows the long vowels in the shape of a triangle. The difference is due to the distance between [æ:] and [a:] in Figure 14 as compared with the partly overlapping [æ:] and [a:] in Diagram III. To be sure, the language form investigated by Al-Ani is Standard Arabic, but, as pointed out by Norlin, the speakers' underlying dialect is clearly at work here. Al-Ani's data are thus typical of dialects having no *imāla* or a weak *imāla*. On page 52, Norlin comes to a very interesting conclusion: "It seems as if the dialects in Africa make a large difference between plain and emphatic vowels, the dialects in the Maghrib even more so than in Egypt." Among Semitic languages, Arabic appears to have an exceptionally strong tendency to widen the domain of emphasis, i.e., to velarize or pharyngealize segments of two or more phonemes. Therefore it is often proper to define the emphasis on the synchronic level as a suprasegmental feature, but if for historical, lexical or other reasons it is analyzed as a segmental feature, then a further question may be raised, namely, on which level of development is it more relevant to define the feature as pertinent to vowels rather than consonants. In an extreme case, at least, the development has led to the logical result: In Maltese there are no emphatic consonant phonemes, whereas the number of vowel

phonemes has increased to four short, three or six long, and three pharyngealized vowels (see P. Schabert, *Laut- und Formenlehre des Maltesischen anhand zweier Mundarten.* Erlangen 1976; pp. 13-21). As far as I know, no experimental phonetic investigations into the emphasis and vowels of Maltese have been made, but it would be most interesting to see whether the relation between consonants and vowels in this respect fundamentally differs from certain sedentary dialects of North Africa.

One of the most important results of Norlin's investigations is the well-documented description of the character of emphasis in Cairo Arabic, summarized on p. 72: "A comparison between measured formant values for Egyptian Arabic, calculated formant data for velar and pharyngeal constrictions obtained from a model of the vocal tract and data from X-ray investigations, shows that the articulatory gesture employed to produce emphatic sounds is a pharyngeal constriction by the root of the tongue in addition to the primary dental/alveolar place of articulation. The term velarization as a description of the production of these sounds is obviously misleading, but even pharyngealization can be said to give a wrong idea about their pronunciation. As far as the pharynx is concerned it does not play an active part as an articulator. It is the tongue which by a backing movement causes the constriction, thus giving the vocal tract the shape which has the acoustic properties associated with emphatic sounds in Arabic."

It has already been suggested above that many experimental investigations into phonetics of Arabic suffer from insufficient orientation about problems associated with the historical development as well as the geographical and social distribution of Arabic dialects. On the other hand, it is to be hoped that dialectologists of Arabic make themselves familiar with well-documented experimental phonetic studies such as the book under review.

<div align="right">HEIKKI PALVA</div>

Frank Henderson Stewart, Bedouin Boundaries in Central Sinai and the Southern Negev. A Document from the Aḥaywāt Tribe. *Mediterranean Language and Culture Monograph Series*, Vol. 2. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1986. 62 pp. + 5 maps.

Although nomadic Bedouin are always moving, from one pasture to another in the course of the year and sometimes more permanently from one region to another, every tribe has a territory of its own, a *dīrah*. It seems to be unusual, however, that the boundaries of the tribal areas have been defined in detail. Rather, as put by Emanuel Marx, the "tribe claims not so much to control a clearly bounded territory, but defined points in it and paths leading through it."

During his anthropological field work among the Aḥaywāt Bedouin of central Sinai in 1976-82, Frank Stewart came across a rare document: the boundaries of the Aḥaywāt drawn up at a meeting of the elders of the tribe about 1969 in connection with a border dispute. The document, written in sub-standard Arabic on a single sheet of lined paper, defines the boundaries in the form of 35 border points. This document is published, translated and thoroughly discussed by Stewart, who also identifies the border points in

Appendix 1. When comparing the document with oral traditions concerning the boundaries, he finds that there is a striking conformity between the written document and the oral traditions collected from informants who were not present at the meeting at which the document was written. In the document, the list of border points is divided into two series, both starting from the same point, the first defining the northern boundary and the second the southern boundary. It turned out that informants belonging to the northern major clan of the tribe in the area could provide a list of the points of the northern border, while the informants belonging to the southern clan knew the southern boundary well. There were no major deviations from the lists given in the document.

It might seem that the idea of precisely defined boundaries among the Bedouin is rather recent. It is intriguing to suppose that in the actual area it could go back to the year 1906, when a Turco-Egyptian commission demarcated the line from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Aqaba. Stewart, however, justifiably calls attention to the fact that the Tarābīn of north Sinai already had sharply demarcated borders with their neighbours prior to that date. These border points of the late 19th century were listed one by one by Naʿʿūm Šuqayr in his *Tārīx Sīnā'* (al-Qāhira 1916). But even in that case, as pointed out by Stewart, it is possible that the Bedouin were influenced by the states of the area: the old Pilgrims' Road from Cairo to Mecca was traditionally divided into portions of responsibility between Bedouin tribes, and every such section, *darak*, was clearly defined. Documents concerning the *darak* system have been preserved in a 16th century work by ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jazīrī. To these possible external models Stewart adds the context of the local culture, which, according to him, is characterized by a strong sense of property and a uniquely elaborate system of customary law.

Among the ample material on Bedouin customary law in Sinai collected by Stewart, this written document is an interesting detail. Carefully published and amply commented upon, the booklet is a valuable contribution to the history of Sinai and the Negev as well as to the Bedouin society.

HEIKKI PALVA

Asya Asbaghi, Die semantische Entwicklung arabischer Wörter im Persischen. Franz
    Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1987. xvii+180 S. DM 65.-
The book under review consists of three parts: Einleitung (pp. 1-21), Semantische Entwicklung arabischer Wörter im Persischen (pp. 22-156) and Abschließende Bemerkungen (pp. 157-160).

The words which are discussed are selected randomly by browsing through Persian dictionaries and taking those words which the author felt "als allgemein verbreitet gelten können" (p. 22). No method has been used either in selecting or in discussing the material: words of different historical and stylistical levels of Persian are brought under discussion indiscriminately, so that we may have side by side metaphors from mediæval mystical poetry and terms from modern political usage.

The flaw of having no method, however, begins to seem a minor problem when one

realizes that the author has no more than a very elementary knowledge of Arabic — if even that. This can be seen from numerous coarse mistakes which have crept into the study; to give but one example the author explains the Arabic/Persian phrase *lā-'ubālī* as "Das pers. Wort *lā-obālī* entspricht dem ar. Satz *lā abā lī* (ar. Negationspartikel *lā*, ar. *abā* "sich weigern" (Wz. *aby*), ar. Präp. *l* "für", ar. enklitisches Pron. 1. P. sg. *ī*) entstanden, hat jedoch die Bedeutung 'sorglos, nachlässig, leichtsinnig, fahrlässig' entwickelt" (!, p. 97).

The translation of Arabic words are sometimes confined to the most basic meaning (as e.g. in *maymūn*, to which is given only the meaning "pass. Pt. von *yamana* "glücklich sein"", p. 57), but sometimes a fairly complicated meaning is given (as e.g. "*hadaf* bezeichnet "alles, was sich über den Boden erhebt, was weiterhin sichtbar ist"", p. 87) — where in both (and many similar) cases a quick glance in e.g. the Wehr-Cowan dictionary would have cleared many things up.

The author seems to be no more familiar with linguistic theories than with Arabic, and has considerable difficulties in using elementary linguistic terminology (terms such as morphology and semantics; see pp. 14-19) or in analysing Persian words.

Why this book has been written and published and for what purpose and by whom it could be used remains a mystery.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Harendrachandra Paul, Jalālu'd-dīn Rūmī and his Taṣawwuf. M.I.G. Estate, Calcutta, 1985. 455 p. Rs. 180.

This book, which consists of four parts (Life of Jalālu'd-dīn Rūmī; Taṣawwuf and its Exponents; Rūmī's Taṣawwuf; Rūmī's mystical practices), was originally the author's thesis for the degree of D.Litt. (Calcutta) in 1960, but it does not meet Western standards of a scholarly work, even though the author has used some scholarly literature in English published before 1960 (mainly Browne, Nicholson and Arberry). The main part of the work consists of excerpts taken from mystical writings, especially those of Rūmī himself, but also from non-Muslim Indian philosophers and mystics, e.g. Tagore and Sri Aurobindo. Quotations from European writers (Orientalists and the founders of the comparative study of religions) are also frequent, but the author cannot build any coherent study of *taṣawwuf* or Rūmī on these materials as there is no Leitmotiv in the book.

The last few pages of the book are taken up by fanciful comparisons of English, Latin, Bengali, Arabic and other words (e.g. Latin *momentum* with Arabic *mu'minatun* (!), p. 451); these seem to date from 1985 and one may fear that they will be much more numerous in the second part of the book, which, the aged author promises in a letter enclosed with the present book, will be "specially (interesting) for the inquisitive philologist".

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Erika Glassen, Der mittlere Weg. Studien zur Religionspolitik und Religiosität der späteren Abbasiden-Zeit. *Freiburger Islamstudien*, Band VIII. Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, Wiesbaden 1981. 204 pp.

"May you live in an interesting period!" This seemingly innocent wish is, in fact, a subtle Chinese curse. Although the study now under review has nothing to do with China, Chinese philosophy, or Taoism (despite its allusive and associative title *Der mittlere Weg*), the period (second half of the 5th/11th century) treated by Dr. Glassen is most certainly one of the exceedingly interesting (in the Chinese sense) periods of Islamic history.

The previous century or so had witnessed the steady decay of caliphal authority and the actual take-over of Baghdad by the Shīʿite Būyids, the dynasty of condottieri from Dailam by the Caspian Sea. They brought the person of the caliph under their sway in 334/945 and usurped the office of *amīr al-umarā'*, which led to the enduring supremacy of the military over the civil authority. The Dailamite interlude of more than a century was ended by the Seljuks (447/1055) who "liberated" the caliph from Shīʿa tutelage, restored orthodoxy, and promoted the institutionalisation of the *Sunna* of the Prophet. Or was it so?Ḥ

This study by Dr. Glassen, with its *dramatis personae* the Vizier Niẓām al-mulk and al-Ghazālī, intends to correct the prevailing oversimplified interpretation of the Seljukid victory as a brusque shift from Shīʿism to Sunnism. The "Path of the Mean" described is Niẓām al-mulk's religious policy — the interplay of religion and politics — to maintain equilibrium between the various striving forces in late 5th/11th century Baghdad. The inspirer of Niẓām al-mulk's policy was al-Ghazālī whose appointment as professor at the Niẓāmiyya college in Baghdad (1091) was a political "Schachzug" by the vizier. That Sunni traditionalism emerged victorious was definitely not the goal of this policy. New light is shed on al-Ghazālī's biography, and the motives for his controversial flight from Baghdad are given a new interpretation.

Dr. Glassen is to be congratulated for a readable and informative work based on a thorough study of contemporary sources as well as relevant secondary literature. The picture drawn is vivid and fascinating, partly due to the anecdotal character of most of the sources. Herein lies the danger of not always keeping fact and fancy apart. Anyhow, the present reviewer finds the argumentation and resulting picture convincing. Excellent indices add to the value of this study.

In the end, notwithstanding all the good intentions, Niẓām al-mulk was assassinated, al-Ghazālī turned to the way of the mystics, and Ḥanbalite rigourism and traditionalism dominated in Baghdad. "Alas!", the Master said, "how is the path of the Mean untrodden!"

KAJ ÖHRNBERG

Streitschrift des Zaiditenimams Aḥmad an-Nāṣir wider die ibaditische Prädestinations-
lehre. Hrsg. von **Wilferd Madelung**. (Bibliotheca Islamica, Bd. 30.) Franz
Steiner Verlag GmbH, Wiesbaden 1985. Pp. 18 + 351 (Arabic text).

Kitāb Ibn Sallām. Eine ibaditisch-magribinische Geschichte des Islams aus dem 3./9.
Jahrhundert. Hrsg. von **Werner Schwartz** und **Šaiḫ Sālim Ibn Ya'qūb**.
(Bibliotheca Islamica, Bd. 33.) Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, Wiesbaden 1986. 168
pp. (Arabic text).

Arabic texts concerning the history of the Zaydī Imāms of Tabaristān, Daylamān and
Gīlān. Collected and ed. by **Wilferd Madelung**. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, Bd.
28.) Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, Wiesbaden 1987. Pp. 23 + 377 (Arabic text).

Western scholarship has until recently accepted all too innocently the Sunnī view of early
Islamic history. There are, of course, several reasons for this. For one thing, research has
been concentrated more on the Sunnī branch of Islam than the Shī'ite; there is also the
fact that the history and doctrine of sectarian movements are mostly depicted by their
opponents. In addition, heterodox writings have been intentionally destroyed or
alternatively kept secret within the movements. Now, during the last decades works by
marginal religious groups have been located or discovered, edited, and published in an
ever increasing quantity. The scholar most responsible for this upsurge is Wilferd
Madelung.

One of the earliest extant treatises on *kalām* is an anti-qadarite (i.e. attacking the
doctrine of free will) tract by a Khārijite scholar 'Abdallāh ibn Yazīd. We know that he
was in Baghdad in 179/795 but of his fate after that we have no direct evidence. Professor
Madelung's surmise that he must have travelled to Yemen — where he composed his tract
— soon after that date seems utterly plausible. al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* mentions four of
'Abdallāh ibn Yazīd's works: 1. *Kitāb al-tauḥīd*; 2. *Kitāb 'alā al-Mu'tazila*; 3. *Kitāb
al-istiṭā'a*; and 4. *Kitāb al-radd 'alā al-Rāfiḍa* (which, by the way, is mentioned in the
second book under review here, *Kitāb Ibn Sallām* p. 72, as *Kitāb al-radd 'alā al-
Rawāfiḍ*. Besides the anti-qadarite tract and the four titles mentioned by al-Nadīm,
'Abdallāh ibn Yazīd is credited with *Kitāb al-Nahrawān* and an incomplete manuscript
Kitāb al-rudūd.) That the Baghdadi al-Nadīm does not mention the anti-qadarite treatise
vouches for its composition after 'Abdallāh ibn Yazīd's leaving Baghdad. 'Abdallāh ibn
Yazīd's treatise has survived embedded in a refutation written by the Zaidī Imam Aḥmad
al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh (d. 322/934) during the first quarter of the 4th/10th century and
entitled *Kitāb al-najāt*. This is the text published by Professor Madelung.

The edition is based on two manuscripts: MS Glaser 4 in Bayerische Staatsbiblio-
thek, Munich, and MS Mutawakkiliyya, Kalām 141, Ṣan'ā'. The editor has chosen the
Ṣan'ā' MS as the master copy because it was copied earlier (colophon date 548/[1153])
than the Munich MS (565/[1170]) and also because it is more complete. Approximately a
quarter of the text is missing from the Munich MS after fol. 143. A valuable introduction
by the editor as well as two biographies of al-Nāṣir from hitherto unpublished Zaidī
sources from the 5th/11th and 7th/13th centuries precede the edited text. The edition is in
the usual high standard of Professor Madelung. One might have wished for a more

detailed discussion by the editor in the Introduction on the debate between J. van Ess and M. A. Cook about the authenticity of early *kalām* treatises. Professor Madelung has been very cautious not to commit himself concerning the alleged extant *Sendschreiben*, although stating: "Doch kann insgesamt kaum ein Zweifel bestehen, daß die Anfänge der Kalām-literatur noch in das erste Jahrhundert der Hiǧra zurückreichen."[1]

The year 1983 was a propitious year for studies on the early history of the Ibāḍiyya in North Africa when two works appeared, both in Germany, one at Bonn and the other at Tübingen: Werner Schwartz, *Die Anfänge der Ibaditen in Nordafrika* and Ulrich Rebstock, *Die Ibāḍiten im Maǧrib*. Although, naturally, covering much the same ground, Werner Schwartz got the upper hand with some recently discovered manuscripts by authors writing in the Ibāḍī tradition. One of these was the earliest of all, Ibn Sallām's *Kitāb*, written at the end of the 3rd/9th century. It was found in 1964 on the island of Djerba by the Ibāḍī scholar *shaikh* Sālim ibn Yaᶜqūb and it has now been edited by Werner Schwartz together with its discoverer.

Ibn Sallām's (or Ibn Salām's?[2]) *Kitāb (fīhi bad' al-islām wa-sharā'iᶜ al-dīn)* is the earliest extant Islamic text from the Maghrib. It is a moot point whether the text is a real *Kitāb* by Ibn Sallām, or, in fact, some more or less disorderly data collected by him. The MS consists of 63 pages and the text is divided in four main parts (21 paragraphs): The first part presents the Islamic faith; the second deals with the religious laws; the third gives the outline of early Islamic history, the Umayyads and the ᶜAbbasids up to the time of the author; the fourth treats prominent Ibāḍī *ᶜulamā'* in the Mashriq and North Africa. An all too concise bibliography and an index of names concludes the book.

The editing (pp. 59-141) is most satisfactory throughout and the printing without errors. In the introductory remarks, notes and the bibliography are some peccadilloes: Tadeusz Lewicki is written in Arabic at least in three different ways. al-Nadīm mentions ᶜAbdallāh ibn Yazīd's *Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-Rāfiḍa* on p. 182 in his *Fihrist* (p. 17 n. 1). The title of Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam's book is *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-akhbāruhā* (p. 143, 151). The editors have not made up their minds whether Ibn Sallām *wrote* after 273/887 (p. 6, 40) or *died* after 273/887 (the title-page). The same problem remained unsolved by Werner Schwartz in his book of 1983. Both might, of course, be true, but the meaning is, nevertheless, not the same.

One of the most fascinating subjects among the vast number of neglected areas and periods of Islamic history is the story of the Zaidī state in the mountains south of the Caspian Sea. al-Ḥasan ibn Zaid, a Ḥasanid from Ray, managed in 250/864 to establish a transitory Zaidī state in the Caspian region, consisting of coastal Gīlān, upland Dailam and Ṭabaristān. This state had collapsed already by 316/928 but Zaidī learning remained alive, however, until the early decades of the 10th/16th century, when the Caspian Zaidī community adopted the Imāmī branch of Shīᶜism in 933/1526-7. After the extinction of the Caspian community its literary heritage was preserved in the Yemen, where a grandson of al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, Yaḥyā al-hādī ilā al-ḥaqq, had succeeded in founding a

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[1] W. Madelung, "Der Kalām", in H. Gätje (hrsg.), *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie* II, Wiesbaden 1987, p. 326.

[2] According to H. T. Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic literature*, London–New York–Beirut 1982, p. 244 n. 19, both spellings are found.

Zaidī state at the end of the 3rd/9th century.

Professor Madelung has now collected and edited source material for the history of Zaidism in the Caspian area from the 3rd/9th to the early 7th/13th centuries. The work of gathering the manuscript material for publication was begun in 1966; the work was completed by 1975 and in 1979 the volume was accepted for inclusion in the *Beiruter Texte und Studien*. However, the conditions in Lebanon delayed the publication for another seven years. So, unfortunately, even if the Foreword is dated March 1986, no studies on the subject appearing after 1979, not even those by the editor himself on the same subject, seem to have been taken into consideration in the Introduction.

All the manuscripts used for the edition come from the Yemen. These Yemenite manuscripts present much new information for the history of the Caspian Zaidī community not available from other sources. The texts edited are extracted from the following eight sources:

I. Excerpt from the *Kitāb al-tājī fī akhbār al-daula al-Dailamiyya* by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābī (d. 384/994). This unique fragment of an otherwise lost history of the Būyids was partially translated by the editor in 1967. Muḥammad Ḥusain al-Zubaidī has published (Baghdad 1977) another edition of the text. (Pp. 7-51)

II. The biographies of Yahyā ibn ʿAbdallāh and al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Uṭrūsh (regnal name al-Nāṣir lil-ḥaqq) taken from the *Kitāb al-maṣābiḥ* by Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ḥasanī (active around the middle of the 4th/10th century). (Pp. 53-75)

III. The biographies of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbdallāh, al-Nāṣir al-Uṭrūsh and Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī taken from the *Kitāb al-ifāda fī taʾrīkh al-aʾimma al-sāda* by Imam Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṭiq bil-ḥaqq (d. ca. 424/1033). The editor has excerpted and published the biography of Ahmad al-Nāṣir from this source in his edition *Streitschrift des Zaiditenimams Aḥmad an-Nāṣir*. About Imam al-Nāṭiq see the editor's article "Zu einigen Werken des Imams Abū Ṭālib an-Nāṭiq bi l-Ḥaqq", *Der Islam* 63(1986)5-10. (Pp. 77-118)

IV. Excerpts from the *Kitāb jalāʾ al-abṣār* by al-Ḥakim al-Jushamī (d. 494/1101). Extracted is information dealing with the founding brothers of the Caspian community al-Ḥasan and Muḥammad ibn Zaid and with the Imams al-Muʾayyad and al-Nāṭiq. (Pp. 119-133)

V. The letter from the Caspian Zaidī scholar Yūsuf ibn Abī al-Ḥasan al-Jīlānī to the Yemenite Zaidī scholar ʿImrān ibn al-Ḥasan written in the year 607/1210-11. The text was published earlier by Muḥammad Ḥusain al-Zubaidī in his edition of al-Ṣābī's fragment mentioned above (no. I). (Pp. 135-161)

VI. A section of *al-Risāla al-ʿālima bil-adilla al-ḥākima* by Imam Manṣūr billāh ʿAbdallāh ibn Ḥamza (d. 614/1217). Th *risāla* was written in justification of al-Manṣūr's bloody persecution of the Muṭarrifiyya sect. (Pp. 163-170)

VII. Biographies of the Caspian Imams from the *Kitāb al-ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya fī manāqib aʾimmat al-Zaidiyya* by Ḥumaid ibn Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (d. 652/1254). The following biographies are extracted: Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbdallāh, al-Nāṣir al-Uṭrūsh, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, al-Muʾayyad, al-Nāṭiq, al-Ḥusain al-Nāṣir, al-Hādī al-Ḥuqainī, Abū al-Riḍā al-Kīsumī and Abū Ṭālib al-akhīr. The editor has excerpted and published the

biography of Aḥmad al-Nāṣir from this source in his edition *Streitschrift des Zaiditen-imams Aḥmad an-Nāṣir*. (Pp. 171-349)

VIII. Biographical notes from the *Kitāb rauḍat al-akhbār wa-kunūz al-asrār* by Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥajūrī (wrote in 627/1230) on al-Mu'ayyad and Abū ᶜAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥuqainī. (Pp. 351-354)

The book is concluded by good indices. Besides the literature mentioned in the notes the following recent works pertain to the subject matter: W. Madelung's contribution "Die Zaidīya" in the chapter "Religiöse Literatur in arabischer Sprache", in H. Gätje (hrsg.), *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie* II, Wiesbaden 1987, pp. 358-363; W. Madelung, *Religious trends in early Islamic Iran*, Albany 1988; H. Halm, *Die Schia*, Darmstadt 1988.

The editing is exemplary and almost faultless, as customary with Professor Madelung. The editor has been, nevertheless, kind enough to leave something for the reviewer: on p. 20 of the Introduction he gives al-Muḥallī's date of death as 652/1254 while in the *Streitschrift* p. 13 it is given as 653/1256; on p. 22 of the Introduction al-Mu'ayyad is twice transliterated al-Muᶜayyad; and on p. 119 of the text we should read al-Muḥsin. It is with real pleasure one peruses texts edited in Beirut; the quality of the work belies the problems of the city. These three text-editions of the highest quality have, for their part, dismantled the obstacles for the study of Islamic history.

KAJ ÖHRNBERG

Udai Prakash Arora, Motifs in Indian Mythology. Their Greek and other parallels. Indika Publishing House, New Delhi 1981. xxiv + 248 pp.

Professor Arora has produced a balanced and well-informed book on comparative mythology. He has selected some central motifs of Indian mythology, such as creation, flood, miraculous births, deaths and metamorphoses, and supernatural maidens and compared them with a wide number of myths of other peoples. Special importance is naturally given to Greek mythology, with which the author is very well acquainted. To Western scholars he perhaps cannot give many new ideas, but for the Indian public the book is without doubt really welcome. In addition to literature in English the author has at least used some in French and German. One important merit of the book is that he has resisted the temptation to speculate too much about common origins and influences.

Few books escape some errors. Thus the ancient Indian dice did not have sides marked with a different number of dots (p. 14), and the Cyavana legend was already known in the Vedic period, not only in *Mahābhārata* (p. 149). The book contains numerous misprints.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

Hans Bakker, Ayodhyā. Part I, the history of Ayodhyā from the 7th century BC to the middle of the 18th century, its development into a sacred centre with special reference to the Ayodhyāmāhātmya and to the worship of Rāma according to the Agastya saṃhitā. Part II, Ayodhyāmāhātmya, introduction, edition, and annotation. Part III, appendices, concordances, bibliography, indexes, and maps. *Groningen Oriental Series* 1. Egbert Forsten, Groningen 1986. xix+181, xliii+471 and 117 pp. (all bound in one volume), 18 pl. in black and white and one in colour, 4 folded maps.

Professor Ensink seems to have founded at Groningen a school for the study of Hindu pilgrimage. In addition to his own studies, the recent book on Mathurā by A. Entwistle was apparently largely written at Groningen. The book under review is a revised edition of the exceptionally long and prominent doctoral thesis by Ensink's successor at Groningen University, Dr. Hans Bakker. It deals with the famous place of pilgrimage in North India, combining literary and archaeological evidence and field observations. The first part traces the history of Ayodhyā and its development into a pilgrimage together with the more general theme of the evolution of the worship of Rāma. The author claims on good grounds that the traditional identification of Ayodhyā with the old trade centre Sāketā is only secondary, going no further back than the 5th century A.D. His discussion covers both the mythical Ayodhyā and the historical Sāketā; for the latter he has also made full use of the archaeological evidence. For the history of Rāma worship the old *Agastyasaṃhitā* has turned out to be important, while the development of Ayodhyā/Sāketā as a sacred centre can be followed with help of a critical study of the *Ayodhyāmāhātmya* and its different recensions. The last chapter describes the pilgrimage rituals according to the *Ayodhyāmāhātmya.*

Part II is a critical edition, where the three recensions of the *Ayodhyāmāhātmya* are given synoptically. The long introduction describes the recensions and manuscripts very fully. Together with introductions and notes to the individual chapters of the text it contains an important contribution to Purāṇa criticism in general. At the same time the location (often illustrated with schematic drawings comparing the recensions of the text with the present situation), cult and history of each individual tīrtha is described up to the present time. There is no translation, but the contents are summarized at the beginning of each chapter.

Part III contains several appendices to the edition — interpolations, the festival calendar of Ayodhyā, a list of quotations in the text, a list of stotras and a list of the individual tīrthas. A stemma illustrates the relation between *Agastyasaṃhitā, Ayodhyāmāhātmya* and other texts. The rest is taken up by concordances, bibliography and indices.

There are 18 black and white plates relating to the archaeological side of the study. The pilgrimage itself is not illustrated. Special reference must be made to the splendid maps. The topographical maps of the Survey of India were used as ground maps, partly revised in accordance with the survey made by the author himself. One large map on a scale 1 : 100 000 shows Ayodhyā with its surroundings and indicates the location of every tīrtha of the region and the route of the *parikrama* for visiting them. A second is a

similar map of Ayodhyā and Faizābād in scale 1 : 20 000, a third of Ayodhyā on a scale
1 : 10 000. Two other maps show smaller tīrtha centres. As far as I know, the geography
of a complicated pilgrimage has never been illustrated as exactly as here.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

K. N. Dave, Birds in Sanskrit Literature. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1985. xxv+481
    pp. 107 ill. in xii colour plates.

What should a critic do with a book like this? After reading the text on the back flap he is
just disarmed. Had it been the common kind of hasty compilation he has read so often,
nothing would have been easier than to review it. In the case of a normal study prepared
with usual care it would not have been too difficult. But no, now his task seems to be to
review a life's work. How could he review a devoted life's work in what is supposed not
to be an obituary but a critical review?

K. N. Dave was born in 1884 and died in 1983 after completing the present work,
while in the process of writing another book, as we are told on the jacket. He was a
lawyer by profession, but Sanskrit and ornithology were his life-long fields of interest.
The present book represents twenty years of study preceded by a long period of pre-
liminary work.

A book about birds, their various species and their nomenclature in ancient India is
something we have needed for a long time. With some solitary exceptions (like Vogel's
Hamsa and Thieme's article on storks and cranes) there are no good studies about birds.
"A bird" is still too common a definition in our standard dictionaries, and in addition there
are many recurrent errors among the more specific definitions (e.g. those pointed out by
Vogel and Thieme). Dave has attempted to find clear ornithological nomenclature in
ancient Indian sources, and even as an attempt it is very interesting and useful. He was
very well versed in his sources, and the modern popular nomenclature is observed too, at
least for Hindi.

A careful study of Dave's work will considerably reduce the number of mysterious
"birds" in the dictionaries. Careful study is needed because there is only an English index.
It is useful for Indian bird-lovers who wish to have a Sanskrit name for a particular
species. But when we look for an English name and definition for a particular Sanskrit
name, there is no index to save us a long search. Of course we would also like to have the
scientific names, but for these we must still consult Salim Ali's and S. Dillon Ripley's
Handbook of the Birds of India and Pakistan. When one has found the right place, Dave
always gives much interesting and important information with many citations and without
neglecting the all-important references (yet the editions used for Indian texts are not
mentioned).

I will not point out individual errors or controversial ideas included in the book. It can
and must be used, but with the normal criticism. The author seems sometimes to be over-
eager to find exact correspondences between more or less synonymous Sanskrit names
and individual species, while it may well be that several names were commonly used for

several related species with a resemblance to each other. Several old conventional ideas are also repeated. Thus *haṁsa* is still identified with the swan and *śyena* with the eagle, and the curious confusion of the curlew and osprey (and even gull) is still to be found. On the other hand, it is interesting to read his chapters on various cuckoos, such as the koel, coucal, crested cuckoo and hawk cuckoo, as well as on the many kinds of partridge and quail found in India. A good knowledge of the actual Indian species combined with wide learning in Sanskrit literature is always his strong point and makes the work very important for us.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

Wilhelm Geiger, Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times. Edited by Heinz Bechert. 2. unveränderte Auflage. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1986. xxiii+286 pp.

The name of Wilhelm Geiger is a bridge which extends over the history of Western studies of Pāli. He was born in 1856. He studied Indology and Iranistics at Erlangen under Friedrich Spiegel (1820–1905), one of the very first German scholars to study Pāli (in the 1840s, long before Childers and Rhys Davids), though he did his main work in the field of Iranian studies (as did Geiger in his early days). In 1895 Geiger visited Sri Lanka for the first time and his important Pāli grammar appeared in 1916. In the 1930s he was still active e.g. in Sinhalese studies (here he was one of the very first pioneers) and in preparing the work under review. He only died in 1943. The manuscript of the *Culture of Ceylon* was finished, but due to the war appeared only posthumously in 1960, aptly edited by Heinz Bechert. Now it has a second edition, and even without any changes it is still not too antiquated. At the same time it is not only an end product of a long life of scholarship, but it was one of the very first examples of so-called *'cultural studies'*.

There is no need to deal with the contents of such a well-known book. It is a cultural history of medieval Ceylon containing much interesting material about the earlier period, based on the latter parts of the *Mahāvaṁsa*. It is a useful tool for many kinds of study and it is important to have it available again.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

George L. Hart III, A Rapid Sanskrit Method. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1984. xxxi + 208 pp.

There has not been any shortage of Sanskrit manuals, but on the other hand most of the existing ones are either very old or defective in method (with Coulson as an obvious exception). Yet this new one is not very remarkable. The elementary grammar and some vocabulary is covered in thirty lessons. One of the two appendices gives some more complicated verbal forms and two short glossaries conclude the work. The lessons serve their purpose, but are rather formal. Since the order and manner of representation of the grammar is so closely followed, the student could as well learn his Sanskrit from the grammar complemented by the exercises. In the introduction one notices unnecessary

slackness in linguistic terminology and definitions. Perhaps the idea is to be not too theoretical for the beginner, but in several cases the possibility of misunderstanding arises instead. Thus one can hardly say that the European alphabets stand for phonemes (especially in English!), and a real syllabary is something different from devanāgarī. If a student tries to learn the pronunciation without a teacher the result is bound to be curious. What is the result if we "say h and g at the same time"? According to the author it is *gh*. Sanskrit *e* and *o* are explained as though they are to be pronounced like English *ai* in paint and *o* in pole. There are many similar examples. The author states in the preface that he was already using a draft of his primer in 1971–72 and the book was published in 1984. Still it gives one the impression of a book written in haste.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

Ditte König, Das Tor zur Unterwelt. Mythologie und Kult des Termitenhügels in der schriftlichen und mündlichen Tradition Indiens. *Beiträge zur Südasien-Forschung* 97 (Südasien-Institut, Universität Heidelberg). Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1984. xii+389 pp. 1 Tafel.

A combination of philology and anthropology is always interesting. Professor Sontheimer and his pupils have often been conspicuous in this. Dr. König is one of his pupils and the book was originally her doctoral dissertation. It deals with ants and termites — the difference is stated at the beginning and also discussed from the philological viewpoint. Despite clear differences the two kinds of insect are very often confused, even where both are found. With a great amount of both primary — mainly Sanskrit and Middle Indic texts — and secondary sources the various aspects of Indian "ant lore" are discussed. Much of it is familiar from elsewhere too. Stories about industrious and helpful ants are common in many countries. While the snake gold found in the termite mounds is a particularly Indian idea, the ant gold and the rainbow gold — the rainbow is also connected with the termite mound — are known also in the West. The story of the gold-digging ants may well hail from Central Asia and have spread from there both to India and to the West. As to the many "explanations" offered — hounds, miners, pangolins, Mongolian tribes etc. — they are briefly discussed and rightly dismissed by Dr. König.

As is stressed by the author the Indian ideas connected with ants and termites very often reflect a clear ambivalence. There are many tabus connected with termites and their mounds, but earth from the mound is also much used in popular medicine. Especially important seems to be a connection with fertility; both medical and magical means connected with termites are used in order to have a son. Many stories about ascetics remaining inside the mound, other people hiding in them and gods found in them seem to show the mound as a kind of womb. As snakes are often found in actual mounds, the termites are also connected with the rich snake lore, and their mounds are important as passages to the nether world.

Dr. König has produced an interesting and well-documented study. Sometimes she fails to make her point clear enough, and her list of primary sources could be still longer.

Even though it is already long, many texts are referred to only once and not always for any important reason. One hardly needs a meticulously documented reference to Bhagavadgītā for such a commonplace as war as the dharma of the kṣatriyas. But minor defects like this do not much reduce the value of the study. It is important to understand that popular religion is no modern development and many of its features can already be found in old texts.

<div align="right">KLAUS KARTTUNEN</div>

Otto Stein, Kleine Schriften. Herausgegeben von Friedrich Wilhelm. *Glasenapp-Stiftung*, Band 25. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1985. xxv+663 pp.

Otto Stein (1893–1942?), whose career ended prematurely and tragically at the hands of the Nazis, is best known as one of the best scholars of Graeco-Indian relations. In addition to his thesis *Megasthenes und Kauṭilya* published as part 191:5 of the Vienna *Sitzungsberichte* in 1921, most of his contributions in this field were published in the *Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (e.g. the long articles on "Megasthenes", "Nysa", "Taxiles" and "Tiladai"). But the present volume shows that this was not all that Otto Stein achieved. There are some further studies of Graeco-Indian issues, such as the still important surveys of India in Greek papyri and Yavanas in early Indian inscriptions. But there are also several other studies of Indian inscriptions and many interesting pieces about ancient Indian state and law. Two series of articles, the survey "Neuere Forschungen zur altindischen Sozialgeschichte, Rechts- und Staatsrechtsliteratur" and "Arthaśāstra und Śilpaśāstra" comprise 97 and 116 pages respectively. The value of their republication is enhanced by the fact that they were originally published in *Archiv Orientální,* a periodical not commonly consulted in Indian studies, though such scholars as Stein, Winternitz, Lesný and Friš used to publish articles in it. Following the common usage of the Glasenapp Stiftung series, the body of the work is preceded by an introduction and a bibliography of Stein and concluded with indices of Sanskrit and Greek words and of subjects. The Glasenapp-Stiftung and Professor Wilhelm are to be congratulated for once again producing an important volume of *Kleine Schriften*.

<div align="right">KLAUS KARTTUNENv</div>

David Nelson, The historical development of the Nuristani languages. A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota.1986. 131 p.

This is an unpublished doctoral dissertation, available only as a microfilm copy; this does not, however, detract from its importance. The Nuristani languages (Ashkun, Waigali, Kati and Prasun with dialects) spoken in the Nuristan region in the Hindukush mountains of Northeastern Afghanistan were previously known as the 'Kafir(i)' group/branch within the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European languages. In the present situation we

must, however, agree with the author that this religiously and politically offensive term had better be avoided in favour of the geographically-based term *Nuristani* (group of) languages, first introduced by Richard Strand and accepted by i.a. Georg Buddruss, Karl Jettmar, and D. I. Edelman.

Even before Georg Morgenstierne's pioneering field work and comparative-historical research in the first decades of this century on the languages of Afghanistan and North-western India, the many minor Indo-Iranian languages of this area, in particular the Nuristani goup, have been renowned for their phonological and other archaisms and peculiarities. David Nelson's purpose has been to outline the development of the phonological systems of the various Nuristani languages and dialects in order to reconstruct the phonological system of the proto-language and thus further clarify its historical relations to the other branches of Indo-Iranian. Although Morgenstierne pointed out certain phonological peculiarities that set the Nuristani group apart from both the Iranian and Indo-Aryan (incl. Dardic) branches, sporadic attempts to (re-)group Nuristani within Indo-Aryan (e.g. Thomas Burrow and Oswald Szemerényi) or Iranian (Manfred Mayrhofer) have been recorded from time to time.

Despite the fact that Nelson's study does not involve any new field work (hence relying mainly on the data provided by Morgenstierne, Lentz, Buddruss, Strand, Fussman, and Grjunberg), it is notwithstanding its conciseness as thorough as any study can be under the circumstances, when much of the original Nuristani vocabulary has been superseded or contaminated by later Indo-Aryan and Iranian loans. After a comprehensive geographical mapping of the said languages and their various dialects and surrounding languages (pp. 16-22), we are presented with a series of comparative and synoptic descriptions (incl. areal and typological comparisons) of the phonological inventories and phonotactic rules of the various Nuristani languages and dialects (pp. 23-48 = Ch. 3). The Nuristani languages agree with the neighbouring Pamir Iranian languages rather than with the Dardic and other Indo-Aryan languages in that they lack the aspirated stops. On the other hand, they agree better with the Dardic languages in having dental, palatal and retroflex affricates; these phonemes, together with the retroflex sibilants (lost only in Tirahi and Mayan), are partly lacking in some Pamir Iranian languages and all the Indo-Iranian languages outside the Hindukush-Pamir area. A peculiarity of the Nuristani languages (except Ashkun) are the three r-phonemes.

Chapter 4 (pp. 49-67) gives a tentative reconstruction of the Proto-Nuristani phonemic and phonotactic systems together with the sound laws for the separate Nuristani languages. The reconstructed consonant phonemes are: p b t d ṭ ḍ k g; c j č j c; s z š ṣ; m n ṇ ŋ; ř r l; y w. Of the innovations the most notable are the complete deaspiration of aspirated stops (incl. lack of secondary h), the development of retroflex stops and a retroflex sibilant from clusters with r (cf. *-rt-, *rd > ṭ, ḍ; *śr, *cr > ṣ, c; *rs > ṣ or š; but not *st > ṣṭ as in OIA), and the absence of the voiced counterparts to the palatal and retroflex sibilants (found in the Dardic and some Pamir Iranian languages). The inherited consonant clusters are generally preserved better than in (esp. non-Dardic) Indo-Aryan. The vowel phonemes present a more complex history, although the basic inventory seems

to have been the same as in Proto-Indo-Aryan, viz. **a i u e** and **o**, which often corresponds to a (stressed) **a** (occasionally **ā**) in Old Indo-Aryan and Iranian. The original vowel length cannot, however, always be determined and it is, in fact, non-contrastive in West Kati, Waigali, and Prasun.

The reconstructed phonological system is mapped by way of (more or less) systematic sound changes onto the present Nuristani systems. An interesting detail is the frequent metathesis involving r, e.g. Waigali **křä**: 'blind' = Kati **kåř**, Prasun **kɔ̃:**, cf. OIA **kāṇa**. Equally curious are the unique phonetic and phonological developments of the central group, viz Prasun (e.g. *d >1, *nd, *mb > d, b, *tr > ṭ/č, *dr > ḍ/j), which has obviously been subject to profound substratum influence, as testified by the Prasun tradition itself.

The separate developments within the Nuristani languages do not, however, lend themselves to easy interpretation in terms of a simple genealogical tree-diagram from Proto-Nuristani. Apart from the fact that Prasun is more closely related to Kati than to Ashkun and Waigali, there are no shared innovations or lexical similarities to group any of the last three specifically with any of the others. It is accordingly shown that Morgenstierne's classification of Ashkun as an offshoot of Waigali does not hold water, for Ashkun has many structural and lexical similarities that connect it with Kati rather than with Waigali, in addition to displaying some sound changes from Proto-Nuristani which are not found in either Kati or Waigali.

In Chapter 5 (pp. 68-103) the Nuristani phonological system is traced further back to developments from early Indo-Iranian and Indo-European, chiefly by way of comparison with Old Indo-Aryan and Iranian. Particularly interesting is the diverse representation of the PIE palatal stops *ḱ, *ĝ, *ĝh in the Indo-Iranian (sub-)branches: Proto-Nuristani *ċ [ts], *j [dz] and *j, OIA **ś, j** and **h**, Av. **s, z** and **z**, Old Persian **θ, d** [ð] and **d**. As already observed by Morgenstierne, the Nuristani reflex ċ (which represents a more archaic stage than **š**, also found in Nuristani) preserves the plosive element of *ḱ, although the point of articulation has obviously been shifted to a dental-alveolar position (from palatal *č). As for PIE *ĝh, it is fairly convincingly argued (p. 106) that the Proto-Indo-Iranian reflex must have been *jh (with the retroflex allophone *jh after 'RUKI' in pre-OIA, cf. *lijh+ta- > *lijdha- > *lijḍha- > līḍha- 'licked'), rather than *žh, a phoneme never recorded in a human language. Note also that *ẓ, *ẓh, the supposed retroflex allophones of pre-OIA *ž, *žh, cannot be reconstructed even for Proto-Nuristani.

Nelson rightly joins Georg Buddruss in criticizing Oswald Szemerényi's view that Nuristani *ċ (for PIE *ḱ) can be a secondary development from *š or *s. Nuristani is further shown to contrast with Indo-Aryan and Iranian in fusing the PIE cluster *ḱs into a dental, palatal or retroflex affricate (c, č, ç, cf. Ir. **š**, OIA **kṣ** [rarely **jh**] > MIA **ch, kh**). However, PIE *qs, qʷs, which are not distinguished from the reflexes of *ḱs in Indo-Aryan, yield a dental or palatal, but not a retroflex affricate in Nuristani (cf. Ir. **xš**). Similarly, it is shown that the palatalization (and subsequent retroflexion in Indo-Aryan) of dental sibilants after *r̥, *(a)u, *k and *(a)i (the 'RUKI rule') was not always operative (esp. after *u) in Proto-Nuristani, suggesting that the latter broke away from the

Proto-Indo-Iranian parent group at a pre-Indo-Aryan and pre-Iranian stage. Cf. also Burrow's discussion in Leonard Palmer's Festschrift (1976) of the exceptions to the RUKI rule in Old Indo-Aryan itself.

As further corroborated by the complete deaspiration of aspirated stops (with the ensuing non-operation of Bartholomae's Law) and the separate development of retroflex segments (cf. above), Nelson (Chapter 6, pp. 104-117) is obviously right in concluding that Nuristani, although in general closer to Indo-Aryan than Iranian in phonology and vocabulary, cannot very easily be grouped as a sub-branch within either the Indo-Aryan or Iranian branch of Indo-Iranian. By and large, Nuristani manifests a more archaic phase in addition to some independent developments of the Proto-Indo-Iranian phonological system, and one must agree with the author that the most natural explanation of the facts is that Proto-Nuristani represents a separate branch, perhaps even the first offshoot, of Indo-Iranian, as already suggested by Morgenstierne and supported by Gérard Fussman on lexical grounds.

<div align="right">BERTIL TIKKANEN</div>

Gerhard Doerfer, Grundwort und Sprachmischung. Eine Untersuchung an Hand von Körperteilbezeichnungen. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1988. (*Münchener Ostasiatische Studien*, Band 47.) viii+313 S. DM 45,-.

Diese sowohl theoretisch als praktisch sehr wertvolle und umfaßende Monographie soll zum (primären) Ziele haben, den Begriff des "Grundwortes etwas deutlicher zu formulieren, als bisher geschehen ist bzw. zu untersuchen, ob es ein Grund-W o r t überhaupt gibt" (S. vii). Die zugrunde liegende Theorie ist, daß Grundwörter nicht in demselben Maße wie Kulturwörter entlehnt werden; der theoretiche Unterschied solcher verschiedener Ebenen des Wortschatzes ist jedoch noch nicht gründlich untersucht worden. Doerfers Untersuchung basiert in erster Linie auf einer Reihe mehr oder weniger eingehender und teils aus persönlichen Feldforschungen entsprungener etymologischer Studien über rund 50 Körperteilbezeichnungen (Grundwörter *par excellence*) in mehreren west- und zentralasiatischen sowie auch einigen europäischen, amerikanischen und afrikanischen (Misch)sprachen (Kapitel 2-3, S. 7-56). Im Mittelpunkt der Behandlung stehen 30 Mundarten von vier irantürkischen Sprachen (3 Mundarten des Chaladsch, 23 Mundarten des Chorasantürkischen, 1 Mundart des Aserbeidschanischen und 3 Mundarten des Songorī), eine "türkiranische" Sprache (Nordtadschikisch) und dazu das Arabische von Buchara, das Tscheremissische, das Sajansamojedische, das Jakutische, das Solonische, das Dagurische, das Mandschu, einige Zigeunerdialekte, das Albanische, das Brahui, das Nubische und das Guaranī.

Die Ergebnisse werden zunächst dazu benutzt, einen speziell diachronisch wichtigen Unterschied zwischen sogenannten '**Kerngrundwörtern**' (die sehr selten entlehnt werden) und '**Randgrundwörtern**' (die öfter entlehnt werden) zu ziehen, wobei auch verschiedene semantische, psycholinguistische und lexikostatistische Parellelen bzw. Korrelationen dieser Klassifikation ausgewertet werden (Kapitel 4-13, S. 56-149). Ein

dem Verfasser besonders am Herzen liegendes Sonderproblem ist die Frage der Verwandtschaft der "altaischen" Sprachen, die in einem ausgedehnten Kapitel (14, S. 153-283) mit Bezug auf das Verhältnis zwischen gemeinsamen bzw. entlehnten Kern- und Randgrundwörtern in unbestrittenen Sprachfamilien (wie der indoeuropäischen, uralischen, dravidischen, austronesischen, semitischen, karthwelischen und dem Bantu) behandelt wird.

Aus dem obigen ergeben sich die Hauptlinien dieser Untersuchung. Blicken wir aber nun etwas näher auf die Methoden, Fragestellungen und Ergebnisse derselben. Im Vordergrund steht dabei die Definition eines Grundwortes. Gewöhnlich werden als Grundwörter solche Wörter betrachtet, die allen Menschen gemeinsame Begriffe bezeichnen, wie Körperteile, körperliche Empfindungen und Aktivitäten, Naturerscheinungen, Zahlwörter, deiktische Pronomina und gewisse grammatische Partikeln (z. B. 'gehen', 'sehen', 'Kopf', 'du', 'drei', usw.). Sie sollten also den häufig wandernden Kulturwörtern (z. B. 'Auto', 'Zar', 'Dreschflegel', 'Dollar', 'Haus', usw.) gegenüberstehen und so den mehr oder weniger stabilen Grundbestandteil des Wortschatzes bilden.

Daß identische Grundwörter, nicht aber identische Kulturwörter eine Verwandtschaft zwischen Sprachen nachweisen oder stützen können, wird nun kaum bestritten, aber die Doerfersche Untersuchung zeigt, daß auch die Grundwörter, und zwar die Körperteilbezeichnungen, von sehr verschiedenem Typ und historischem Wert sein können. Es zeigt sich, daß in all den vom Verfasser untersuchten Sprachen bzw. Sprachfamilien nur gewisse Körperteilbezeichnungen beinahe immer einheimisch ("extrem bewahrt") sind, obwohl zuweilen nur als Synonym oder mit begrenzter Bedeutung. Diese werden 'Kerngrundwörter' (**KGW**) genannt; und zwar sind sie die folgenden: 'Kopf', 'Auge', 'Ohr', 'Nase', 'Mund', 'Zunge', 'Zahn', 'Haar', 'Herz', 'Hand' und 'Fuß'. Alle andere Körperteilbezeichnungen erweisen sich ziemlich oft als entlehnt in den untersuchten Sprachen, besonders die folgenden sog. 'Randgrundwörter' (**RGW**): 'Gesicht', 'Körper', 'Ader', 'Ferse', 'Schulter', 'Faust', 'Daumen', 'Handgelenk', 'Knöchel', 'Muskel', 'Lunge', 'Niere', 'Milz', 'Leber', 'Locke', 'Schopf', 'Zahnfleisch', 'Gaumen', 'Kinn', 'Ohrenschmalz', 'Ohrmuschel', 'Pupille', 'Lid', 'Wimper', 'Braue', 'Hirn', 'Hintern', 'Rücken', 'Penis', 'Cunnus/Vulva'. Eine Zwischenstellung nehmen die sog. '**Zwischengliedwörter**' (**ZGW**), wie 'Stirn', 'Bart', 'Hals', 'Knie', 'Finger' und 'Lippe' ein.

Der semantische Grund dieses Unterschiedes soll nach dem Verfasser zufolge darin liegen, daß alle KGW eine "starke und wichtige *physische Funktion*" (vom pragmatischen Gesichtspunkt des Urmenschen) haben und dazu auffällige und gut wahrnehmbare, d.h. **prägnante** Organe bezeichnen, während dies bei den RGW zumindest nicht durweg der Fall sei (S. 56ff.). So haben, wie der Verfasser meint, etwa Hirn und Muskeln (RGW) wichtige physische Funktionen, sind aber nicht gut wahrnehmbar (die Muskeln bilden keinen "tragenden", geschlossenen Hauptteil des menschlichen Körpers). Ähnliches gilt auch für die inneren Organe — mit der charakteristischen Ausnahme eben des physisch wichtigen und sich sehr auffällig bemerkbar machenden Herzens (KGW). Hier könnte man jedoch einwenden, daß es einige indische „Mischsprachen" gibt, in denen das gewöhnliche/ nicht-dialektale Wort für 'Herz' (z. B. Urdu und Hindi *dil* aus

dem Persischen) entlehnt ist, als ob es kein KGW sei (wie z. B. 'Niere', 'Hirn' und 'Milz', die im Urdu freilich entlehnt sind). Das ist auch der Fall beim KGW 'Zunge' im Urdu und oft auch im Hindi, weil manche RGW und ZGW (wie 'Knie', 'Bart', 'Hals', 'Stirn', 'Braue', 'Kinn', 'Gaumen', 'Faust', 'Ader' usw.) in diesen Sprachen nicht entlehnt sind, obwohl es einen außerordentlich großen Anteil Lehnwörter besonders im Urdu gibt (was auf die allgemein fehlende Neigung von Körperteilbezeichnungen, entlehnt zu werden, hindeuten muß). Ähnliches gilt für die zentralindische Mischsprache Nahali, die nur sehr wenige Körperteilbezeichnungen entlehnt hat, obwohl ihr Wortschatz ziemlich wenig einheimisches Material bewahrt hat. Wohl würde also die Berücksichtigung anderer Mischsprachen der Welt zumindest die Gesamtstatistik einigermaßen verändert haben.

Mit der obigen Parallele ist auch die Tatsache verbunden, daß die KGW weder zu speziell noch zu generell, die RGW dagegen entweder zu speziell oder zu generell zu sein pflegen (S. 58ff.). Vielleicht könnte man sogar sagen, daß RGW in mehreren Fällen in vielleicht 'hyponymischer' oder sogar 'überspezifizierter' Beziehung zu KGW stehen: Die Hand ist ein Teil des Armes, dennoch sagt man oft 'Hand' für diesen ganzen Körperteil, und wenn man z. B. sagt, man hat sich an seinem Auge (was medizinisch nur ein Teil des „Auges" bedeutet) verletzt, kommt es dabei gewöhnlich nicht darauf an, ob es sich um das eigentliche Auge oder nur um das Lid, die Braue oder die Wimpern handelt. Wie der Verfasser hervorhebt, ist es ja bei semantischen Wandlungen gewöhnlich das RGW, dessen Bedeutung erweitert werden kann, nicht umgekehrt (vgl. Russisch *noga* 'Fuß' > 'Bein').

Das auf Grund dieser Betrachtungen vermutete universale semantische Gesetz für Entlehnungen wird nun vom Verfasser kurz und einfach so ausgedrückt, daß man für "wichtig scheinende" Körperteilbezeichnungen einheimische Wörter verwendet, für unwichtiger scheinende dagegen oft Lehnwörter (S. 62). Dieses (freilich teils zirkuläre und sehr pragmatische) Verhältnis, das auch von früheren Untersuchungen bekräftigt worden ist, wird aber manchmal von Schicklichkeits- und Tabugründen gestört: Obszöne Termini, die gewiß funktionell Wichtiges und dazu noch Auffälliges bezeichnen, werden ebenfalls oft durch Lehnwörter ersetzt, weil sie im Gegensatz zu den "normalen" Bezeichnungen "n e g a t i v beladen" sind (S. 59f.). Ein benachbartes Phänomen ist die Ersetzung alter neutraler KGW wie *Haupt* mit vulgären Wörtern wie *Kopf* (aus lat. *cuppa* 'Becher'), aber in diesen Fällen ist das entlehnte Wort gewöhnlich nur ein Synonym schon existierender einheimischer Vulgärausdrücke oder Scherzwörter (*Kopf* wurde im Mittelhochdeutschen nur verwendet, wo vom Bearbeiten des Kopfes mit Schwertschlägen die Rede war, vgl. auch lat. *testa* 'Scherbe' > 'Kopf' (für *caput*) = franz. *tête*, usw.). Typisch sind auch tierische Ersetzungen wie 'Schnauze, Schnabel' für 'Mund', 'Rüssel' für 'Nase' usw.

Wenn aber die KGW dem Sprechenden wichtiger erscheinen als die RGW, sollten sie doch auch häufiger auftreten. Der Verfasser untersucht demgemäß die relative Häufigkeit von KGW und RGW in phraseologischen Ausdrücken (wie "den Kopf verlieren") und in der Anzahl der Zeilen, mit denen ein Stichwort in den verschiedenen Lexika

aufgeführt wird (bei denen freilich auch phraseologische Ausdrücke und Metaphern erscheinen). Die hier untersuchten Sprachen sind Chaladsch, Englisch, Arabisch, Türkeitürkisch, Mongolisch, Finnisch, Malaisch und Ewhe (in Togo). In beiden Fällen findet Doerfer bei den KGW eine erheblich stärkere Frequenz als bei den RGW (etwa 10:1), und hiermit hängt auch die größere Textfrequenz und Wertstufe oder Bekanntheit (ermittelt durch Kindersprachstudien) der KGW zusammen, was der Verfasser besonders auf dem Gebiete des Deutschen und Englischen nachweist (Häufigkeitszahlen für Körperteilbegriffe im Deutschen: KGW: 2.3, ZGW: 1.4, RGW: 0.3; Wertstufen: KGW: 32.1, ZGW: 23.0, RGW: 4.3). Je seltener also ein Wort gebraucht wird, je später es erlernt wird, desto eher wird es auch entlehnt (S. 69).

Dieses Verhältnis wird auch auf dem praktischen Gebiete der Feldforschung bestätigt (S. 74ff.). Feldforscher fragen ja meist nach KGW, wenn sie Verzeichnisse von Körperteilbezeichnungen in exotischen Sprachen aufstellen. Auf Grund von 14 Wörterlisten meist zentral- und nordasiatischer Sprachen erscheint das Verhältnis von KGW : ZGW : RGW als 100 : 45,2 : 8 (doch hat der Verfasser absichtlich Pudenda nicht berücksichtigt, weil sie stark affektbesetzt sind und so "entweder auffällig selten oder mit besonderer Vorliebe" gefragt zu werden pflegen). Freilich weist der Verfasser dabei auch auf die Fehlerquelle hin, daß die Forscher besonders gern solche Körperteilbezeichnungen abfragen, die sich zeigen lassen, d. h. von vornherein "auffällig und gut wahrnehmbar" (d.h. KGW) sind. Andererseits werden Körperteilbezeichnungen manchmal nur so abgefragt, daß der Forscher in rein alphabetischer Ordnung verfährt; alphabetisch geordnete Listen wurden deshalb vom Verfasser hier unberücksichtigt gelassen.

Die psychologischen Gründe für die Unterscheidung von KGW und RGW sind vom Verfasser durch mehrere psychologische Tests (wie zufällige Nennung von 10 Körperteilen, Bewertung der Relevanz verschiedener Körperteilen, Reaktionszeit und Fehler bei Antworten zu Anfragen nach Körperteilbezeichnungen) untersucht und unterstützt worden (S. 82ff.). Ferner scheinen die KGW auch in Bezug auf semantische "Wanderungen" stabil zu sein, höchstens metaphorische Bedeutungswandlungen zu erleiden (wobei sie eventuell von RGW — wohl solchen funktionell unbedeutender, aber auffälliger Natur — verdrängt werden). Bei den RGW sind "Wanderungen" dagegen häufig, denn sie sind semantisch "unschärfer" oder eher pragmatisch weniger "interessant" (S. 90ff.). Es gibt also nach dem Verfasser "psychische Faktoren, die eine Bewahrung bzw. Veränderung der Wörter bewirken, und zwar äußern sie sich "synchronisch im Grade des Wissens bzw. in der Schnelligkeit der Beantwortung entsprechender Fragen, diachronisch in Sinnbeharrungen bzw. Sinnverschiebungen" (S. 115). Nun erscheint Entlehnung also nur als ein Spezialfall des semantischen Wandels, wobei sie sich doch insofern heraushebt, als Entlehnungen von KGW in viel schwächerem Grade vorkommen als deren Wandel. Interessant ist auch die preliminäre Beobachtung, daß die KGW gewöhnlich eine einfachere morphologische Struktur aufweisen als die RGW (S. 116ff.).

In seiner zusammenfassenden Auswertung, die mit vielen vergleichenden Listen der einzelnen Ergebnisse dargestellt wird, wendet Doerfer sich gegen die Lewandowskysche Auffassung, daß sich "der Grundwortschatz aus den Kriterien der statistischen Häufigkeit und der Disponibilität" (d. h. "thematisch, sachlich und situativ notwendige und ge-

bräuchliche Wörter"; Linguistisches Wörterbuch, S. 374f.) ergebe (S. 127). Obwohl
KGW meistens häufiger sind als RGW, gibt es auch auffällige Diskrepanzen. Das Wort
'Gesicht' z.B. erscheint in den Häufigkeitswörterbüchern sehr oft und es ist auch ziem-
lich disponibel oder 'brauchbar', aber ist es jedoch nach allen anderen Parametern kein
KGW, sondern fast eher noch ein RGW als ein ZGW (S. 130f.). Es werden auch andere
Beispiele (bes. bei Kulturwörtern) gegeben, die darauf hinweisen, daß die Textfrequenz
in keiner einfachen Korrelation mit der Bekanntheit und Disponibilität stehe (vgl. S.
290ff.). Zwar sollten wir nach Doerfer eher in '**Grundfunktionen**' als in 'Grundwör-
tern' denken, weil es keine genaue Parallelisierung aller Merkmale von Gliedern der Kate-
gorien KGW/RGW geben kann (S. 131f.). Auch zeigen die recht problematischen
gesamtstatistischen Vergleiche der auf dieser Stufe der Forschung auswertbaren Merk-
male (bes. Entlehnung, Häufigkeit, Wertigkeit und z. T. psychologische Relevanz), daß
KGW, ZGW und RGW ein **Kontinuum** bilden, in dem quantitative und qualitative
Merkmale keineswegs übereinstimmen müssen (S. 134ff.).

Das Vorhandensein von Grundwörtern, die ohnehin in fast allen Sprachen der Welt
nicht oder wenig veränderlich sind, erbringt nun auch einen weiteren Beweis für die
schon früher nachgewiesene völlige Unzuverlässigkeit der Swadeshischen **Glotto-
chronologie**, die nur über die Opposition '*cultural*'- vs. '*non-cultural*'-Wörter verfügt
(S. 151).

Sehr wichtig, aber für einen Nicht-Spezialisten stellenweise schwer zu bewerten, ist
die lange und problemgespickte Diskussion (S. 153-283) der alten **altaischen** Frage.
Doerfer konzentriert sich hier natürlich auf die Körperteilbezeichnungen, wobei er auch
viele vergleichende Untersuchungen anderer Sprachen darstellt. Ohne manche rückständi-
ge einzelne historische Probleme zu verneinen, erschließt der Verfasser, daß die altaischen
Sprachen bei den KGW und ZGW (wobei doch zu bemerken ist, daß gerade die
lexikalischen Verhältnisse der altaischen Sprachen diesem kategorischen Unterschied zum
guten Teil zugrunde liegen) keine durchgehenden sicheren Gleichungen (d. h. "Wort-
identität", wie z. B. im Falle deutsch *Auge* = lat. *oculus* = russ. *óko*; S. 253) auf-
weisen. Falls einmal zwei altaische Sprachen ein gemeinsames Wort hoher Sicherheits-
stufe aufweisen, so besteht nach Doerfer fast durchweg kategoriale Verschiedenheit, d. h.
ein Vergleichswort ist KGW, das andere jedoch RGW u. ä. (wie bei mongolisch *aman*
'Mund' = türkisch *ha:m* 'Cunnus'), was also die Sicherheit der (Doerferschen) "Wort-
gleichheit" (≠ "Wortidentität") erheblich mindert (wegen der diachronischen Labilität der
RGW). Dagegen gibt es mehrere sichere Gleichungen ("Wortidentität") bei den RGW
(wie türkisch *yudruq* 'Faust' = mongolisch *nudurya* = tungusisch **nurga*). Das ist aber
typisch nur für Mischsprachen; unbestritten verwandte Sprachen verfügen eher über einen
maximalen Vorrat an gemeinsamen KGW als an RGW (S. 267, 283).

Im letzten Kapitel (15, S. 284-300) versucht der Verfasser, seine Kategorien KGW,
RGW und ZGW in Zusammenhang mit verschiedenen psycholinguistischen und lexiko-
statistischen Auffassungen des 'Grundwortschatzes' zu bringen. Bei der sehr kritischen
Auswertung bisheriger Arbeiten (u. a. H. Bakonyi, H. Erk, P. Fraisse, G. Gougenheim,
A. Graur, P. Henrion, W. Köpke, P. Kühn, R. Mischéa, O. Oppertshäuser, J. Richards

usw.) ergibt sich z. B., daß die Doerferschen KGW nicht immer als häufiger oder einmal "vertrauter" (d. h. wahrscheinlicher in einem gegebenen Kontext) oder "disponibler" erscheinen als die RGW (S. 291ff.).

Die Doerfersche Untersuchung soll nach den anspruchlosen Worten des Verfassers nur ein erster Ansatz, kein Beweis (sondern ein Hinweis) sein, weist aber auf eine Menge wichtiger methodischer und theoretischer Richtlinien und wertvollen Ergebnissen für die allgemeine Forschung zu den verschiedenen Ebenen des Wortschatzes und auf ihre Bedeutung sowohl für die synchronische als auch die historische Sprachwissenschaft.

BERTIL TIKKANEN