

アジア・アフリカ 言語文化研究

JOURNAL OF ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES

No. 68

September, 2004

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東京外国語大学アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所
RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR LANGUAGES
AND CULTURES OF ASIA AND AFRICA (ILCAA)



Journal of Asian and African Studies

Published by the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa

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 - (1) *nákorera ébaná.*
 I.am.working.for children
 ‘I am working for the children.’
 - (2) *n-á-kor-er-a ébaná.*
 1SG.SUB-PRES.PROG-WORK-BEN-FIN children
 ‘I am working for the children.’

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Children's Voices from Kathmandu and Lalitpur, Nepal

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This article addresses the general lack of research on children in Nepal by presenting drawings and essays produced in 1996 by the children of classes 3 and 5 from two schools, one in Kathmandu and one in Lalitpur, Nepal. The school in Lalitpur is a standard, urban government school, while that in Kathmandu is a unique private institution supported by a Japanese social service NGO and run as a Nepal Bhasha- (Newari-) medium school by Newar cultural activists. The topics addressed by the children were family, illness, and locality. The material they produced under each of these headings is examined in turn, and the results are placed in context. Whereas the topic of illness seemed to lend itself naturally to *narratives* of suffering and recovery, that of 'my neighbourhood' often produced detailed *descriptions*. Consideration is also given to a justification of the methods used to obtain the material, and to their limitations.

Background and methods

The field sites

Family (task 1): Love, help, and support

Illness (task 2): Suffering and recovery

My neighbourhood (task 3): Gods, dogs, and people

Conclusions

Background and methods

In November 1996 I returned to Nepal for three months' fieldwork, for approximately the seventh time since my original doctoral fieldwork in 1982–84.¹⁾ Having

Keywords: Nepal, Newars, children, medical anthropology, urban space

* Visiting Professor, ILCAA, 2003–2004.

- 1) This article could not have been written without the help of Anne de Sales and Gina Burrows in retrieving my notes. I wish also to thank Brunel University for supporting three months of fieldwork, 1996–97, through one of its BRIEF awards and associated research leave. I am also grateful to the International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Colombo, which supported research on ethnicity as part of a larger project funded by the Sasakawa Peace Foundation (see Gellner 2003). Without a Visiting Fellowship at ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, and its highly supportive environment for research, this material might well never have been published. For the results of my earlier research in the 1980s, which focused on religion and social organization, see Gellner (1992, 2001) and Gellner & Quigley (1995). For help with talking to the ↗

joined the Department of Human Sciences of Brunel University, west London, in 1994, I was very conscious—thanks to the education I was receiving from my new anthropological colleagues and students—that among the many obvious gaps in my previous research, there was one particularly outstanding one. Despite living next door to a school for 19 months, I had never investigated, either systematically or informally, what children thought on the many issues to do with local religion, culture, and society that I was interested in.²⁾ In fact I had never even stepped into the school (except when it was being used for other, usually ritual, purposes). Thus I decided to carry out, over two weeks in December 1996 at the end of the school term, after exams were over and before the start of the winter holiday, a small research project. I would ask children from classes 3 and 5 in two different primary schools to draw pictures and write short accounts about their families, about a time when they had been ill, and about the locality where they lived. The results of these investigations are presented here.

Very little has been written about children in Nepal, even less than has been written on children elsewhere. Or rather, a lot has written about children but very little has been written that attempts to convey children's own points of view. As Onta-Bhatta (1997: 249) remarks, "Children are hardly ever the key informants of social inquiry, and their perspectives are rarely sought after by anthropologists and other social researchers."³⁾ Among works on Nepal, Lynn Bennett's classic ethnography (1983) describes brilliantly how pre-pubertal girls are worshipped (and indulged) as goddesses in Bahun and Chetri culture, before becoming oppressed and distrusted as wives and daughters-in-law.⁴⁾ It includes one long and detailed life history, but it is a question here of *memories* of childhood rather than of child perspectives as such. Prem Khattri's PhD (1986) was on childrearing and socialization among the Newars of Dol-

↗ children of school A about their essays and drawings I would like to thank Saruna Shrestha. Mrigendra Karki deserves special thanks for gathering recent information on both schools. For helpful comments on earlier drafts of this essay, I would like to thank my wife, D.P. Martinez, and also Sarah LeVine, Bob LeVine, Emily Dexter, Shovana Vajracharya, Purna Shakya, John Whelpton, Carole Faucher, Hiroshi Ishii, Roger Goodman, Ian Harper, and Katsuo Nawa. My greatest debt is of course to the children who entered into the spirit of the exercises so willingly and enthusiastically without understanding precisely (or possibly even vaguely) why I was asking them to carry them out.

- 2) In this connection I must add still further thanks to my former colleague, Christina Toren (see Toren 1999), and the students she attracted to Brunel to do the MSc in the Anthropology of Children and Child Development. This ethnographic data report is a very modest, and relatively untheorized, offering in the direction of their concerns. I would also like to thank Ian Robinson who persuaded me to make an initial presentation of the material at the 'Children in their Places' international conference, held at Brunel University, June 21–23, 2001.
- 3) This claim about social-scientific studies of Nepal needs to be distinguished from the much more general claim frequently made in the newer sociology and anthropology of children that children or child perspectives have never been studied before, which is a considerable exaggeration.
- 4) See Bennett (1983). Bennett's fieldwork was carried out in the 1970s. It is possible that in many places the practices and attitudes she describes may have been modified or transformed by migration, later female education, and other processes.

akha and Bungamati; this reported some interesting findings about parents' attitudes and preferences, about punishments, and about children's work responsibilities. However, only four pages are devoted to reporting the opinions of teenagers and that on the basis of a questionnaire. The framework he adopts is that of socialization, where little or no scope is given to the active engagement of children themselves in the process; there appears to be only one direct quotation from a child in the whole thesis. Many other anthropological works on Nepal deal with childhood life-cycle rituals, and there is of course a considerable literature by development specialists and agencies documenting the backwardness or lack of education of Nepal's children. None of the literature discussed so far really attempts to convey what Nepali children say or think themselves. So far as I know, exceptions to these strictures are to be found only in Debra Skinner's PhD thesis (Skinner 1990), and in some of the recent work on street children, notably by Onta-Bhatta (see Onta-Bhatta 1996, 1997, 2001). Two other important works, worth mentioning in relation to the subject-matter of this article, are Ragsdale (1989) and Ahearn (2003). Though neither foregrounds children's voices, they are the two outstanding ethnographies of literacy and education in rural Nepal. It is surely no coincidence that both authors were Peace Corps volunteer teachers before writing doctorates on Nepal.⁵⁾

Debra Skinner's doctorate, based on fieldwork in a multi-caste village near Pokhara, is then a very rare example of a thesis specifically focusing on ordinary Nepali children and their understandings of life. One of the strengths of Skinner's approach, which may yield very interesting results in future, is that she has followed the children who were part of her original 1980s study over the years since then. A small part of Skinner's material appears in Skinner and Holland (1996). Unfortunately, in my opinion, although Skinner's thesis was rich in ethnography, in two other published articles (Skinner and Holland 1998, Skinner, Valsina, and Holland 2001) a rather thin amount of primary field data is made to bear an enormous weight of theoretical argument. That theoretical argument may or may not be persuasive in its own terms, but I cannot see that such thin data as are presented to illustrate the theory really make it any more plausible. The relative paucity of ethnographic material recording Nepali children's voices is, then, my primary justification for publishing the following descriptive account of children's writings and drawings from the cities of Kathmandu and Lalitpur (Patan).⁶⁾

It may be worth outlining the methodology adopted for this research. While to some the following remarks will appear obvious to the point of redundancy, to many

5) Surprisingly, Ahearn fails to refer to Ragsdale in her book. For a passionate critique of the state of education in Nepal, by someone who is herself the headmistress of a successful private school, see Dixit (2002); for an analysis of educational provision by gender and district, see Graner (1998). On children in India, the best ethnography is Seymour (1999); Kurtz (1992) provides a summary of the largely psychoanalytic literature on Indian childrearing.

6) This is not to claim, of course, that my own material is anything like as rich as it could or should be, merely that in a desert even a few drops of water are welcome.

others they may be new and possibly even outrageous in their advocacy of imprecise methods of data collection. In seeking to find out what children think and how they experience life, it is even more useless to adopt survey questionnaire techniques than it is with adults. Very little genuine information about Nepali society would emerge from tabulating children's responses to a question of the following sort: 'What are the relations within your household like? Tick a box from one to ten, with one being terrible and ten being excellent'. Even if the children understood the question, the aggregated responses would provide pseudo facts of highly questionable significance.⁷⁾ At the very best, the results would be merely suggestive and their interpretation would require detailed qualitative investigation. Closed questionnaires do, of course, have their uses for counting those things that are susceptible of quantification, such as numbers of people in a household or levels of education within a given population, but they are rarely a suitable tool for explaining people's opinions and cannot generate 'rich' data. Even when questionnaires are appropriate, they are often liable to significant errors because of the ways in which they are collected.⁸⁾

It would have been possible to try and interview children singly using open-ended interview schedules, and to tape their responses. This procedure has in some cases proved fruitful (e.g. Cullingford 1991). But this method would have had several disadvantages for me in this Nepalese context. It would have been extremely time consuming; many, perhaps most, of the younger children would very likely have been extremely intimidated by it; and there would have been difficult issues of informed consent to negotiate.

Considerations such as these have led researchers in the development field to evolve an arsenal of 'action methods' which combine relative speed (the option of long-term participant observation before any recommendations are made not usually being open to them) with an attempt to get ordinary people to articulate their understandings and knowledge of their own environment. These methods, including creating diagrams using local materials such as sticks and stones, usually go under the name Participatory Rural Appraisal.⁹⁾ Some of the critiques of these methods have suggested that, for all the emphasis on participation, the very public nature of the procedures makes it hard for the poor or the marginal to express their views in front of powerful neighbours.

In a similar way, when working with children, it is essential to bear in mind the weight of expectations and power that will inevitably be in place when an adult asks them to carry out tasks in a classroom setting. But at least asking school children to

7) The article by Stoddard mentioned in footnote 35 (p.31) might be cited as an example of research carried out with adults that is susceptible to this sort of criticism.

8) The classic critique of the statistics on which Nepalese government policy has been based is by Campbell, Shrestha, and Stone (1979). For a classic analysis of the limitations of statistical survey research, see Leach (1967). For a thoughtful recent critique of discourses of development in Nepal, see Fujikura (2001).

9) See Chambers (1997) and for critiques Mosse *et al.* (1998) and Mosse (2001).

write essays and draw pictures on a given topic is a procedure with which they are familiar; and by trying to ensure that they had time to explain the pictures and essays at the end of the session there was some chance of getting close to their points of view.¹⁰ In translating the children's accounts I have included the original words or phrases where these seemed to me significant, and in doing so I have retained the children's own spellings. These essays—at least some of them—convey the children's own ideas, feelings, and experiences—i.e. their voices in the widest sense—in more detail and greater variety than could have been captured in any questionnaire. At the same time it was possible to access far more children than would have been possible simply by speaking to them one by one (even if the practical problems involved in direct questioning mentioned above could have been overcome). It may be objected that in doing fieldwork with adults the questioning is rarely so directive. But the point here was to generate comparable material from a range of children, and in this the classroom environment confers an advantage on anthropologists working with children: there is no similar context where one could generate so much comparable material from adults in such a short time.

Scepticism about how socially representative what the children wrote is, and about how far it represents their own personal opinions and experience, is certainly in order. It is the fieldworker's duty, most anthropologists would surely agree, to maintain a critical awareness about all the information they receive. But this duty of scepticism applies just as much to material generated by or supplied by adults as it does to children. It is undoubtedly true that children are presented in school with textbook models to learn by heart and reproduce, and I have to try to be cognizant of this danger. While there are certainly phrases and sentences of the essays presented below that derive directly from such textbook accounts, the examples presented show, I believe, that the children were mostly able to adapt these models to their own circumstances.

The fact that the children often produced textbook-influenced accounts and textbook drawings is—it should not be necessary to add—in no way reprehensible. They were doing what they had been taught to do, and mostly doing it very well. Despite the ideology of creativity and individuality in the West, learning to reproduce normative models is what all education—perhaps necessarily and inevitably—is about. What is remarkable, then, is not that so many of the children produced derivative drawings and descriptions, but that some did not (e.g. Figures 19 and 20 below), and that their written accounts, especially those on illness and locality, were so rich in information and were sometimes far more interesting than the pious and didactic essays of the textbooks.

In an essay written with Eric Hirsch, I have tried to specify what counts, or should count, as good ethnography (Hirsch and Gellner 2001: 8–10). The principal respect in which the following research fails to live up to the criteria listed there is precisely in

10) For discussions of how to do ethnographic research with children, see Grieg and Taylor (1998) and Christensen and James (1999).

the lack of contextualizing fieldwork with the teachers and children of the two schools. Material was gathered in the formal setting of the school, but not in informal settings inside and outside the school (e.g. in the children's homes). (On the other hand, I have accumulated roughly three years of fieldwork experience in more than twenty years of working on the general cultural setting of the schools.) In other respects—e.g. making plain the way in which material was gathered, not claiming more than one knows, and providing material in sufficiently rich and 'experience-near' (Geertz 1983: 57) a form that others can work it over for their own purposes—I have attempted to live up to the canons of good ethnography.

The field sites

The two schools studied were located in Nag Bahal, Lalitpur (where I had lived from October 1982 to May 1984), and in Dalu, Kathmandu; I label them A and B respectively. The two schools were chosen for the following reasons. I had lived next door to school A thirteen years previously, while carrying out my doctoral research on Buddhism, religion, and culture among the Newars, the predominant ethnic group in the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal. Thus I was known to the teachers and in the locality, and access was no problem. In 1996 one of the main topics of my research was developments in Newar ethnicity. It therefore seemed a good idea to work in school B, which was and is a flagship for Newar cultural nationalism because it is the only school in the country in which the primary medium of instruction is Nepal Bhasa (Newari). In this school also, since I speak Nepal Bhasa (better in fact than Nepali, the national language), access was easy to arrange.

Whereas A was a typical government school (although even here children had to pay small fees for registration), B was a unique private school (at which at the time about 80% of the children had Japanese sponsors, who paid their fees, and other children were supported by other institutions as well). Both schools had a majority of Newar children and a representative spread of Newar castes. The only difference in caste make-up was that in A there was a slight bias to upper castes; in other words, there were fewer members of formerly stigmatized 'low' castes, and none of the very lowest. This difference in social make-up reflects the neighbourhoods in which the schools are located. School A is in the heart of the old city of Lalitpur, an area inhabited by high castes for hundreds of years. School B was built on land on the west bank of the Vishnumati river, which had become one of the new suburbs of Kathmandu. The area, previously open land near the river, had long had associations with scavengers and Untouchables; squatters have settled perilously along the river bank nearby.¹¹⁾

11) For more on the founding of school B, see Shrestha and Van den Hoek (1995). Some of the parents they interviewed (*ibid.*: 78) were unhappy about the school's location, but others did not object. The school lost a quarter of its plot in 2002 to the new Kalimati-Balaju Vishnumati riverside link road. Many other details are given in Nepal Bhasa in Manandhar (2003).

The medium of instruction in school A, as in all government schools, is the national language, Nepali, despite the fact that the mother tongue of nearly all the teachers and most of the children is Nepal Bhasha (Newari).¹²⁾ The medium of instruction in school B, as mentioned, is Nepal Bhasha, thus making it the probably the only primary school in the Kathmandu Valley, and one of very few in the country as a whole, that operates mainly in one of Nepal's officially designated 'languages of the nation' (i.e. all languages spoken within Nepal), and not in the officially designated 'national language', Nepali.¹³⁾ It was one of the much-trumpeted gains of the 1990 Constitution that there was now a constitutional right to have primary schools in the mother tongue. The Constitution did not say, however, that the government had to support such schools, and it did not give the constitutional right to run such schools beyond primary school, i.e. beyond class 5. There is no bar, of course, on the English-medium schools used by the elite and new middle class.

The emergence of a new, urban middle class, and the consumption styles by which it defines itself, is the focus of the monograph by Liechty (2003). One of the key ways in which households attempt to ensure their place in this new middle class is by sending their children to the most expensive private schools they can afford and to which they can get their children admitted.¹⁴⁾ Such private English-medium schools spread out even to villages in the 1980s: the village of Bungamati had one already in the early 1980s when Khatri studied there (1986: 164). In 1997 a private school was opened in the Magar village near Tansen studied by Ahearn and within a year was threatening the viability of the local high school (Ahearn 2003: 198–199). The inequalities that such schools have introduced have made them a target of Maoist action in 2002–03, forcing many rural private schools to close and extracting promises from urban ones to reduce their fees. In the present study, the fact that children were at the government-funded school A indicates that their parents had either opted out of this educational rat-race, or could not afford the fees of private schools. The parents of children at school B no doubt aspired to middle-class status, or to the education they imagined a private school would provide, without being able to afford it. One of the girls at school B (a 10-year-old Maharjan in class 5 who, like all but one of her class, had a Japanese schol-

12) Today (2003) three of the teachers (out of 19) are Parbatiya Bahuns.

13) In 2003 a private Nepal Bhasha medium kindergarten and pre-school was established in Kathmandu by Dipak Tuladhar, called the Modern Newa English School. It lists its objectives as "to provide quality education through mother language, to make the children who speak Newari at home feel easy while learning, to teach the Newari language to those who don't speak Newari at home or non-Newar children, to preserve the Newari language right from the children's circle effectively in a practical way." It also claims to be "Fully English Medium from LKG with one subject of Newari+Nepali all the way" (<http://newaschool.com.np>).

14) A very minor exception to this generalization would be those families who send their children to St Xavier's or St Mary's, the two oldest private schools, run by the Jesuits, where fees have deliberately been kept low. Their previous status as undisputedly the most highly regarded private schools is now contested by a host of other more expensive establishments, which aim to place their graduates directly into US colleges.

arship) ended her essay on her family by writing that her father was extremely happy that they did not have to pay fees.

School A was founded on the initiative of the local community in 1948, though it had predecessors elsewhere in the city before that. It is called the Adarsh Saral High School. 'Adarsh Saral' translates as something like 'Model Straightforward', 'Adarsh' being a very popular epithet for schools at the time. It was probably taken over by the state in 1971 (VS 2028) when the new education policy was introduced. Whereas school B is a new foundation with new buildings and good facilities by Nepali standards, A is dilapidated and the teachers sometimes discouraged. As one of the first schools in Lalitpur, A had for many years an excellent reputation, and some children still come a considerable distance to attend because of this. One of the pupils, a Gurung girl one of whose essays is quoted below, spontaneously wrote the following description for me:

Our school: Our school was founded in 2008 [VS, i.e. 1951–2, out by four years]. The name of our school is Adarsh Saral Mā. Vi.¹⁵⁾ Our school has 15 female teachers (*mis*) and 5 male teachers (*sar*). Some of the students who have studied here have become engineers and some have become doctors. Very good things are taught here.

Today (2003) there are nineteen teachers (15 female, 4 male) and 315 students (199 boys and 116 girls). Since 1979 children from class 10 have taken their school leaving certificate (SLC) from this school. For some years it has participated in the general decline of government schools in Nepal. Most of the families who live in the locality (which is relatively prosperous) send their children to private schools elsewhere.¹⁶⁾

School B is a private, but government-recognized, institution founded in 1990. Its name, Jagat Sundar Bwone Kuthi, comes from one of the heroes of Newar cultural nationalism, Jagat Sundar Malla (1882–1952), a schoolmaster from Bhaktapur who translated Aesop's fables into Nepal Bhasha (Newari).¹⁷⁾ It is funded almost entirely by a non-governmental social service foundation called HIKIVA (Hirakata Katano International Volunteer Association), based in Osaka, Japan. Japanese members of HIKIVA pay ¥17,000 (approx. US\$150) per year most of which goes to pay the educational expenses of a Nepali child.¹⁸⁾ HIKIVA currently funds three schools in Nepal: the other two are Nilbarahi primary school in Kathmandu and Satyawati secondary school in Kumpur village, Dhading, 235 kilometres west of Kathmandu. Jagat Sundar Bwone Kuthi is the school with which it has had the longest connection and where it supports the most children. The connection goes back to 1991 when one of HIKIVA's members was very impressed by the spirit of service of the original teachers, who

15) 'Mā. Vi.' stands for *mādhyaṃik vidyālaya*, high school.

16) According to Dixit (2002: 193, 208) between 20 and 25% of children go to private schools.

17) A statue to him was erected in the school in 2001.

18) See HIKIVA website: www.kcat.zaq.ne.jp/aaahu309/.



Plate 1. Children reciting the daily prayer to Sarasvati (goddess of learning) and the national anthem at the beginning of the school day, Jagat Sundar Bwone Kuthi (8/12/2003).

taught for free in the ground floor of the home of Rajbhai Jahkami, which he also gave freely. The new buildings were opened in 1993.¹⁹⁾

The pupils of school B are largely from poor and/or low-caste backgrounds. Most, but not all, are Newars.²⁰⁾ On the basis of very brief and casual observation, it appeared to me that the playground was a completely bilingual sphere in which Nepali and Nepal Bhasa were used more or less equally by the children, even though the teachers were careful always to use Nepal Bhasa.²¹⁾ There were only eight children

19) A separate article could be written about the very different expectations and understandings of the parents, children, Newar activists, teachers, and Japanese donors involved in Jagat Sundar Bwone Kuthi. It is clear from the contribution of the HIKIVA vice-president, Takashi Khajita [sic], to Manandhar (2003) that HIKIVA expects the school to become 'self-sustaining' within the next ten years. He reiterated the point to me in an interview in Osaka on 8/3/04. He told me that he has argued to the teachers and to the School Board that by providing more instruction in English and Nepali the school could make itself attractive to the middle class who could afford the fees. Mr Khajita stressed that, because of the selflessness of the teachers and the moral education provided, he regarded JSBK as a model school.

20) Though there were no non-Newars in the two classes I studied, in 1996 the other classes had the following non-Newars according to the school's register: Class 4: one Rai (total in class 11), Class 2: 2 Tamangs (total 28), Class 1: one Tamang (total 38), Upper KG: one Tharu (total 23), Lower KG: one Jha Brahman (total 39), nursery: one Tharu and one Magar (total 68).

21) I also heard the Class 5 children consulting among themselves in Nepali during the exercises. On language policy in Nepal, see Gellner *et al.* (1997), Sonntag (1995). On Newar ethno- or cultural nationalism, see Gellner (1986, 1997, 2003) and Shrestha (1999).

Table 1. Schools and respondents

	School A (Nag Bahal)		School B (JSBK)	
	Class 3	Class 5	Class 3	Class 5
Enrolled students (1996)	12 boys, 8 girls	10 boys, 24 girls	9 boys, 15 girls	3 boys, 5 girls
Median age	9.5*	12**	10.6***	12.5
Percent Newar	90%	82%	100%	100%
Castes present	3VC, 2S, 5Sh, 3M, 3T, 1Su, 1Kh, 1Ba, 1Ch	1RB, 5VC, 11S, 1Sh, 5M, 2T, 2N, 1Kh, 4Ba, 1G, 1Ta	1VC, 3S, 5Sh, 1U, 4M, 1Rj, 3M, 1N, 1Chi, 1Kh, 3D	3M, 3Mn, 1Sh, 1R
Present (task 1)	6 boys, 4 girls	8 boys, 19 girls	5 boys, 9 girls	3 boys, 5 girls
Present (task 2)	4 boys, 6 girls	9 boys, 19 girls	6 boys, 9 girls	1 boy, 2 girls
Present (task 3)	4 boys, 4 girls	6 boys, 18 girls	3 boys, 7 girls	1 boy, 2 girls

Key to castes:

RB: Rajopadhyaya (Newar) Brahman, VC: Vajracharya, S: Shakya, Sh: Shrestha (incl. Joshi), U: Uday (Tuladhar *et al.*), M: Maharjan (incl. Dangol), Mn: Manandhar, R: Ranjitkar, T: Tandukar, Rj: Rajbahak, Su: Shuddhikar, N: Napit, Chi: Chitrakar, Kh: Khadgi/Shahi, D: Dyahla/Newa/Chyamkhala, Ba: Bahun (Parbatiya Brahman), Ch: Chetri, G: Gurung, Ta: Tamang.
(For details of Newar castes, see Toffin (1984) and Gellner & Quigley (1995); on ethnicity, one may consult, i.a., Gellner *et al.* eds 1997)

* In five cases date of birth was not recorded. There were two 7-year-olds and two 13-year-olds.

** In one case date of birth was not recorded. The youngest child was nearly 10, the oldest over 17.

*** In seven cases date of birth was not recorded, and in one case the student claimed to be 9, while the school roll indicated she was 7. The oldest student was 14, the youngest 7.

School A: in class 3 today (2003) there are 23 students (8 boys, 15 girls) and in class 5 there are 26 (18 boys and 8 girls).

School B: in class 3 today (2003) there are 32 students (18 boys, 14 girls) and in class 5 there are 23 (11 boys, 12 girls).

enrolled in class 5 of this school in 1996, because theirs was the first year in which the school had accepted pupils, but in each subsequent year more and more children had applied.

My aim in investigating these two schools was to see what the children thought about their family, illness, and locality. I hoped that the children might reveal something of their views on their society and religion too. For example, would they say anything about ethnicity? Would there be a specifically child-centred view of illness? After some initial meetings with the children in classes 3 and 5 in each school, during some of which I taught them some English, I asked them on three separate occasions to draw a picture and write a text, first on 'my family', second on 'when I got ill', and third 'about my locality'. Every picture was discussed with the child who drew it in order to identify what was in the drawing. In many cases the texts were also discussed with the children, and this often elicited contextual information.

The children were given the option of writing either in Nepali (the national language) or in Nepal Bhasha (the mother tongue of nearly all of them). I myself

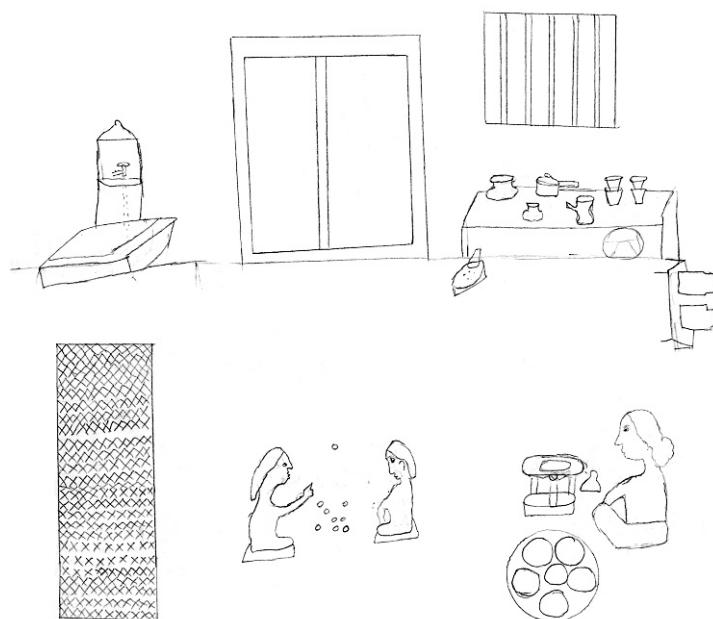
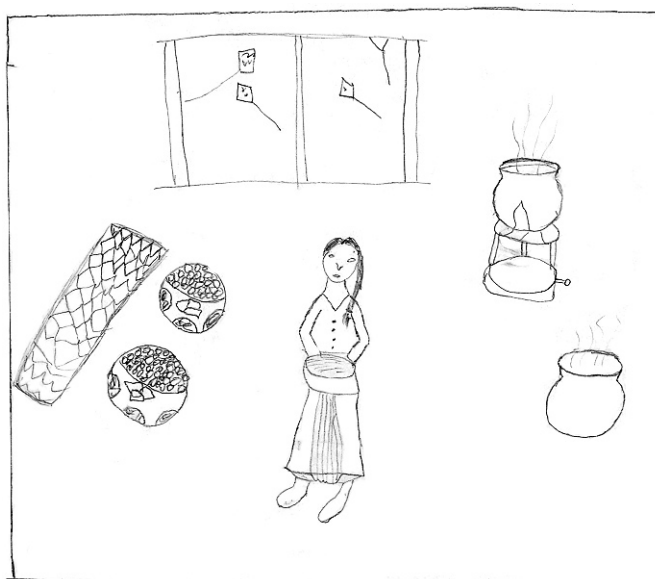


Figure 1. The inside of a Newar kitchen, showing the mother frying flat bread (*mari*) on an electric stove, and the drawer playing marbles with her younger sister. Behind her is a straw mat (*suku*) and above that a water filter (Vajracharya girl, age 13, A5).

addressed them in both languages, but mostly in Nepal Bhasha. Given that the children in school A are educated entirely in Nepali it is no surprise that all them, with two exceptions, chose to write all their essays in Nepali.²²⁾ On the other hand, given that school B was set up with the express intention of providing education in Nepal Bhasha, it may be disappointing for the committed activists who run the school that 23 out of the 53 essays there (and 9 out of 14 in class 5) were written in Nepali. This fact, like the observations from the playground mentioned above, may be interpreted to illustrate the dominance of Nepali over Nepal Bhasha among Newars of this age group, a dominance which has proceeded further and is even more marked in 2003 than it was in 1996.

The numbers of children present were not very high for two reasons. In the case of school A, many children stopped coming to school since the exams were over. Thus, as can be seen from Table 1, only half of the 20 children in class 3 were present; some children who had not been there on the first day turned up later, when the rumour spread that I was giving free drawing classes. In school B, likewise, many chil-

22) The two exceptions were a Maharjan/Dangol boy (he signed his surname in both ways) who wrote his first essay in Nepali and the subsequent two in Nepal Bhasha, and a Vajracharya girl who wrote her first two essays in Nepali and her third in Nepal Bhasha.



देवों वलें जिसे परिवार पिनी सँ दाई बिराँ
 भुतमलें वैका: जिसे सँ, दिदी, भुडक सिन्सँ जिरिडात
 जिं पन्न वना किया देवों वलें जिसे: रसाईलौ लुल
 जिसे परिवार १० जना हुँ

Figure 2. Another Newar interior, showing the mother holding a pot of water. There are kites flying outside the window, as it is Dasain, and there are two plates of feast food laid out in front of the straw mat. The text reads 'At Dasain in my family my brothers fly kites, my mother, elder sister, and elder brother's wife cook, and I go to the shop. At Dasain we have fun. There are ten people in our family.' (Vajracharya girl, age 12, A5).

dren did not appear because exams were over. Whereas school B, with its foreign funding, had expanding rolls, school A was suffering from falling rolls as children were taken out and put in other, fee-paying schools.²³⁾

There were considerable differences in age between the oldest and the youngest in all the classes studied. Table 1 also shows that children in school A were generally slightly ahead of those in school B, which may possibly be put down to the relatively poorer and more disadvantaged backgrounds of the latter.

Family (task 1): Love, help, and support

Notions about the family that the children expressed were largely conventional, but relating this directly to the social studies textbooks in use in the two schools was by no means straightforward. In the school textbooks of the Panchayat era (1960–90)

23) The figures for 2003 show that the decline in school A enrollment has been stemmed; this may be due to the influx to the cities of refugees from the civil war in the hills of Nepal.

children began their courses in social studies with sentences such as 'Father and Mother care for us' (*bā, āmāle māyā garnuhuncha*), 'In a family we learn to live together and cooperate' (*pariwārmā milera basna sikchaū*), 'Mother helps us; we help mother' (*āmāle hāmīlāi madat garnuhuncha; hāmi āmālāi madat garchaū*).²⁴ These kinds of sentiment, as will be seen below, appeared frequently in the children's essays. However, the more up-to-date Nepali-language social studies textbooks from school A that I was able to see, entitled *Mero Serophero* (My Environment) from years 1 to 3, and *Mero Desh* (My Country) for years 4 and 5, are in fact a lot more sophisticated than this.²⁵ Not only do they avoid describing any normative or typical Nepali family, from the second year they introduce families who, from their names and the descriptions of their environment, clearly belong to non-mainstream communities, e.g. Tharu, Madeshi (plains-people), Gurung, and so on. This is in marked contrast to the textbooks of the Panchayat era, which tended to ignore cultural diversity and assume that the culture of the dominant Bahuns and Chetris was and should be normative for all Nepalis.²⁶

In contrast, school B's Nepal Bhasha social studies textbooks, entitled *Nhū Paleswā* (New Lotus Readers), do not attempt or pretend to apply to the whole country of Nepal, but rather assume that the reader is a Newar and lives in a Newar settlement similar to Kathmandu. Most of the chapters are animal stories of the Aesop's Fables type, but one in book 2, by Baldev Juju, is on 'The Festival of Worshipping Mother and Father'. It begins:

Mothers and fathers experience a lot of suffering (*duḥkha*) bringing us up. We should never forget this. Mother gives birth to us. She holds in her lap and breastfeeds us. She clears up our faeces and urine... (Juju 1996: 60)

Both sets of textbooks gave considerable emphasis to rules of cleanliness (see below).

It remains likely that in other textbooks the children were exposed to, and had to learn by heart, there were texts about love (*māyā*) within the family. Whether in textbooks or elsewhere, seniors are supposed to show love and consideration (*māyā*) to juniors, and juniors to show respect (*mān, ādar*) towards seniors. This *māyā* is the opposite of the *helā* (disregard, even violence) that seniors actually displayed towards the children who ran away and ended up living on the street in the accounts recorded

24) I take these sentences from pages 10, 11, 28, of the *Sāmājīk Śikṣā, bhāg 1* (Social Education, part 1), fifth printing of VS 2031 (1974–75).

25) The series *Mero Serophero* are principally written by Mohan Gopal Nyachyon, with the help of Jit Bahadur Thapa. *Mero Desh 4* is by Jit Bahadur Thapa and *Mero Desh 5* is by Bishwambar Ghimire. All five books are published by the government's Curriculum Development Centre in Sano Thimi; the books first appeared in order between 1988 and 1996. For a more detailed discussion of the textbooks used in school and adult literacy classes in her village, some of which were also by Bishwambar Ghimire, see Ahearn (2003: 152–171).

26) See Pigg (1992) for a critique of the Panchayat-era textbooks for this, and for their unthinking alignment of development with urban ways, and Ahearn (2003) for a very careful ethnographic assessment of the ways in which the development discourse advocated in such texts affects individuals' thinking. I have attempted to describe the emerging multiculturalism of post-1990 Nepal in Gellner (2001d, 2003).

by Onta-Bhatta (1997). All these Nepali terms—*mān*, *ādar*, *māyā*, and *helā*—can equally, and just as idiomatically, be used in Nepal Bhasha.²⁷⁾

A typical account by a girl living in Joche, in the heart of the old city of Kathmandu, ran as follows:

There are seven people in my family (lit. ‘in my house there is a seven-person family’). I do the work of the house. I help mother. Now I study [i.e. do some schoolwork] at home. There is a small shop in my house. My mother and father’s names are [...] My mother loves (‘does *māyā* to’) me. And I also love my mother. My younger sister and brother study at home. I don’t hit my younger brother and sister because they love mother. I get up at seven in the morning, wash my face and teeth, and drink tea with milk. In the middle of the day I eat rice and lentils. I eat home-made food. I don’t eat food bought outside. I eat fresh food of the house. I want to study well and grow up to be an important (‘big’) person. I am now eleven years old. Our house has altogether four floors. I am in class 3. If I am successful in the end-of-year exam I will go into class 4.

(Manandhar girl, age 10, B3, N)²⁸⁾

One of the most basic responses of this sort ran simply:

My family (*santān*): My mother cooks rice, my father works, I study at school, and my younger brother also studies at school. My older sister works and studies and that’s how (each member of) our family works.

(Maharjan boy, age 13, A5, N)

Many of the essays followed this kind of formula, even if at greater length, listing the members of their families, their occupations, sometimes their names. The association between mothers and cooking was, unsurprisingly, strong also in those drawings which depicted the inside of the house (Figures 1 and 2). Many children added details to their essays about how many storeys the house had and whether anyone else was living there. In the following case I omit almost half the essay, which simply lists family members’ names:

[...] In our house there are twelve people in our family [...] My father works as a plumber. My mother does the housework. My older brothers work repairing motorcycles. My older sisters weave hats (*topi*). My younger brothers go to school. And my younger sisters also go to school. My family loves (does *māyā* to) me. I also have one sister-in-law (older brother’s wife). My sister-in-law also loves me. My mother and father make sure I study. My older brothers and sisters have

27) A letter in *Nhū Paleswā* 2, p.47, purportedly from a pupil at the school, includes the sentence ‘The teachers do *māyā* to us’ (*guru wa gurmāpīsā jīmīta māyā yāh*). On the term *māyā*, see Ahearn (2003: 49–50).

28) This indicates that the girl was in school B, class 3, and wrote in Nepali (NBh=Nepal Bhasha). She writes her age as 11 because Nepalis give the year in which they currently are, not, as in the Western style, completed years only. The three dots in brackets indicate omitted material.

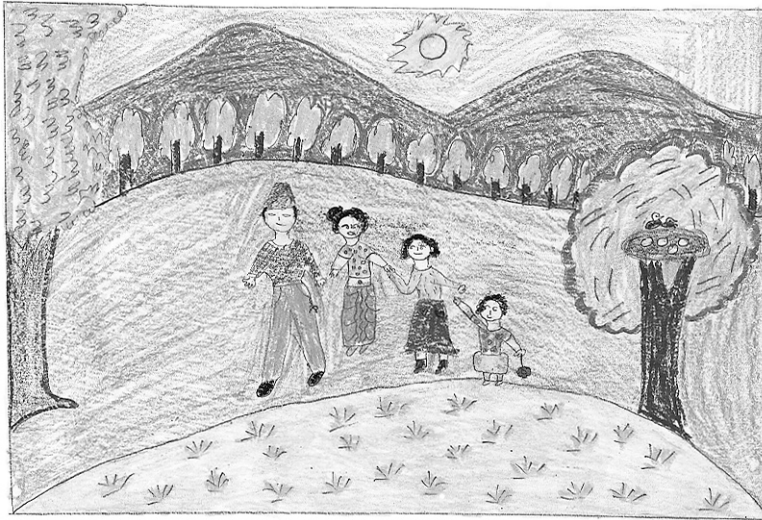


Figure 3. Father, mother, elder sister, and self setting off for a picnic at Ratna Park (Chitrakar girl, age 12, B3).

not studied. I teach my older sisters at home. Thanks to my family I have the chance to study today. I like my family [...].

(Maharjan girl, age 13, B5, N)

A female perspective on the domestic division of labour was reflected in this kind of essay:

I live in a courtyard (*nani*). My family is small. We drink water from the tap. If water doesn't come from the tap we drink water from the well. Behind the well there is a temple. We get up early in the morning and go to perform *pūjā*. After coming back from the *pūjā* I go home. In the evening my older sister and I go to take water. And sometimes mother cooks rice, and sometimes I and my older sister cook rice. And my father and older brother work. I also work sometimes. And I also go to play with my friends. Every day I go to school.

(Shakya girl, age 11, A5, N)

Of the 59 children (37 girls, 22 boys) who completed this task in both schools, 13 mentioned that they helped with housework, 9 of them girls, 4 of them boys. This is not as big a difference between the sexes (24% of the girls versus 18% of the boys) as one might have expected. Several of the children mentioned other kinds of work at home (working in the fields, weaving hat material).²⁹⁾

One essay, by a Newar girl whose family had re-migrated from Biratnagar to Kathmandu, where they lived in rented accommodation, painted an idyllic picture of family

29) Onta-Bhatta notes several examples of children working both inside and outside the home ↗

picnics at the weekend (Figure 3):

In my house live my father, mother, elder sister, and me. We all love each other ('do *māyā* one to the other'). We never fight. On Saturdays we sometimes go for a picnic. On the picnic we eat meat, chutney, beans (*borī*), beaten rice, and so on. My mother also goes to work. With two people working, they [are able to] feed us, and buy us clothes [...]

(Chitrakar girl, age 12, B3, N)

An articulate boy from the Lalitpur school expressed the hierarchical principles at work explicitly as follows:

Altogether I have seven people in my family. My older brother's work is to make images of gods. My mother does the work in the kitchen. My father is a shop-keeper. My older sister and I go to school. We have one room for cooking and one room for sleeping. I and my older sister both help my mother in the kitchen. We have one younger brother who doesn't go to school. Mother says that next year he will also be enrolled in my school. Mother and father have said to me that one should show respect and deference (*ādar ra mān*) to those who are older (lit. 'bigger') than oneself and love/consideration (*māyā*) to those who are younger (lit. 'smaller'). One has to be good (*gyānī*). One should not fight with friends (*sāthibhāī*). My house has two floors. I am studying in class 3. Mother and father have said that one should be good and hardworking (*laganśīl*). One must listen/obey what older people tell you. Mother says that one shouldn't play too much, one must study.

(Shrestha boy, age 7, A3, N)

A simple list-style essay went as follows:

- (1) My mother and elder sister do the cleaning in our house.
- (2) Our house has seven storeys.
- (3) To go out of our house we have to go via [place name].
- (4) In our house my elder sister cooks the rice.
- (5) Our house is good.
- (6) In our house, including me, there are five people in our family.
- (7) In our house there is also one old lady living on rent.
- (8) In our house we pass the time exceedingly well [i.e. we get on well].

↗ in testimony from the first half of the twentieth century, and she concludes: "Autobiographies and oral narratives suggest that working was an integral part of growing up as children were perceived to have the ability to carry out various household chores from as early as age five. However, children's social class played a critical role in whether or not work became part of their childhood experiences. For example, upper class children had longer childhood filled with play and leisure, while middle and working class children worked for long hours every day" (Onta-Bhatta 2001, p.266). Village children, even today, are even more likely to have to combine study at school with work in the house or fields or gathering fodder (Skinner 1990, pp.134–136).

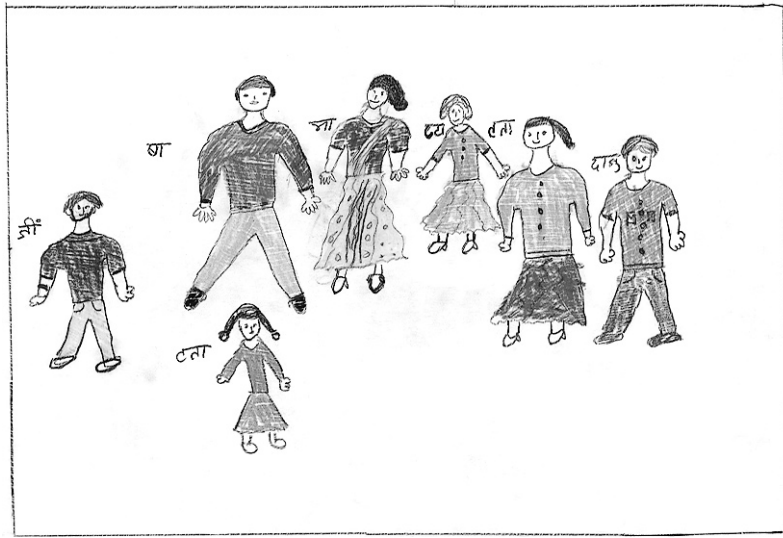


Figure 4. Self, father, mother, older sister, older sister, older brother, and a third older sister in the foreground, all labelled in Nepal Bhasha. A fourth older sister is not shown as she is already married (Ranjitkar boy, age 11, B5).

(9) We also have a lot of things in our house.

(10) When my older sister is doing housework I also help her.

(Maharjan boy, age 9, A3, N)

A girl in the same class made twenty-six such sentences by giving the names of everyone in her family, as well as the ages, classes, and school roll numbers, of all her siblings:

- (1) My mother loves me.
- (2) My father loves me.
- (3) Mother cooks rice.
- (4) Mother buys clothes for me.
- (5) Mother is a god (*āmā deuṭā ho*).
- (6) Father is also a god (*bā paṇi deuṭā ho*).
- (7) I have four older sisters.
- (8) I am studying in class 3 [...]

(Shrestha girl, age 8, A3, N)

In one case the picture of happy families was modified slightly (see Figure 4):³⁰⁾

[...] My father works in an office. My mother stays at home. My older sister goes

30) Hiroshi Ishii has pointed out to me that the references to fights or to avoiding fights within the family may have special resonance for Newars, because their system for splitting the joint family seems nearly always to involve intra-family quarrels, unlike that of the Parbatiyas. As splits ↗

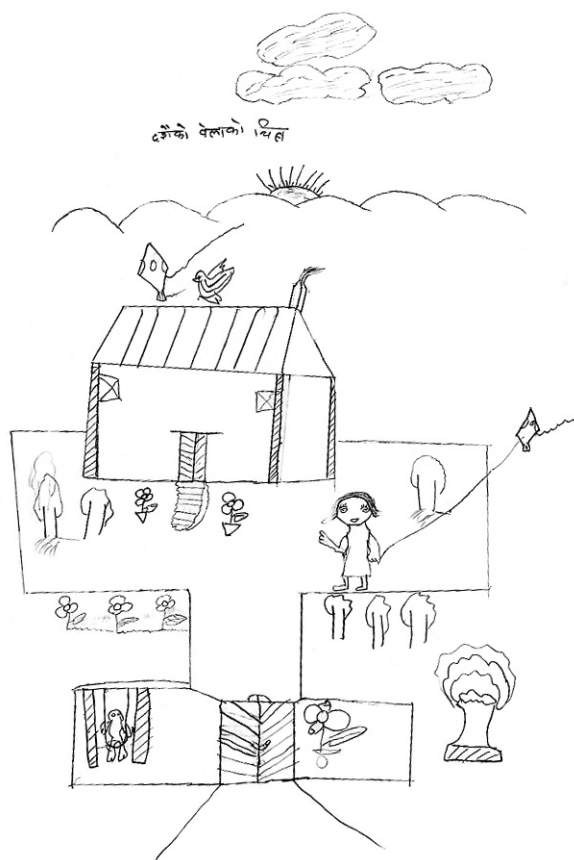


Figure 5. A picture of home in the Tarai (plains) at Dasain time by a girl whose family had moved to Kathmandu (Bahun girl, age 12, A5).

to school. My older brother goes to work. I also go to school. In our family there is happiness. Everyone at home shows love (does *māyā*) to me. In our home there are never quarrels. Just occasionally there are very small ones [...]

(Ranjitkar boy, age 11, B5, N)

A girl from the squatter settlement opposite school B divided her essay into two parts, family and house:

About my family: In my house the family consists of six people: mother, father, older brother, older sister, I, and my younger brother. We all love each other. We—mother, father, older brother, older sister, and younger brother—don't hurt (*dukha dīne*) (each other). I behave well to my family (*rāmri rākhchu*). If anything

↗ necessarily occur in each generation or more frequently, all Newar families will have experienced or will remember serious intra-family disputes, and the assertion of harmony on an everyday basis will be all the more meaningful. But even in Parbatiya households the threat and possibility of serious disputes is real.

happens to my family, I buy medicine for them.

About my house: My house is in Chakhal. There are six people in our family. I love my younger brother. I play with my friends. I bring my friends to the house. I give my friends tea. I get on well with my friends. If anyone hits my friends, I tell them not to.

(Chyamkhala—'Newa'—girl, age 10, B3, N)

Just as the written accounts of families often relied on stereotypical representations of family harmony, so did many of the pictures. Many depicted houses which are typical of the Nepalese hills (see Figures 6 and 14), which most of the children had probably never been inside, and would have seen only on expeditions to the countryside (picnics, pilgrimages), rather than the terraced townhouses in which they actually lived. In fact, many of the children in school A, class 5, interpreted the first task to be about the national festival of Dasain and wrote textbook accounts of how pleasant (*ramāilo*) the festival is because it involves new clothes, feasting, meeting relatives, and so on.



Figure 6. A picture of a typical hill house, with a medical shop nearby, and self in the foreground (Shakya girl, age 10, A5).

Illness (task 2): Suffering and recovery

Textbook passages relating to this topic were easier to locate than those on family relationships. One example from a book used in school B is an essay called 'Health' (*swāsthya*) in *Nhū Paleswā* (*New Lotus Reader for Class 2*), pp. 78–79. It bluntly attacks the notion that one only gets ill if one's fate (*daśā*) is bad as false and pernicious, and it continues:

You have to keep your body in good order. Stale, rotten, spoilt (*syāgu*), dirty (*phohargu*), or bad quality (*mabhigu*) food or drink should not be consumed. You should only play or exercise the right amount. You should live in a neat and clean (*yacupicuka*) fashion, and should not be dirty/messy (*phohari*). You should go to sleep at the right time and get up at the right time. If we do not do this, we

become unwell. It causes great suffering (*duḥkha*) to be unwell. If you take care of your health, you will never be unwell.

The Nepali textbooks *Mero Serophero* and *Mero Desh* are even more insistent. The Year One book has pictures of dirty and clean behaviour to discuss under the chapter heading *ma saphā garchu* (I behave cleanly/I clean up): throwing kitchen waste outside, playing in rubbish, expelling snot on to the street, sneezing over food, and excreting outdoors are shown as examples of dirty behaviour, and using a latrine, brushing one's teeth, combing one's hair, using clean water from a tank to wash one's hands, and helping mother to sweep up are shown as examples of clean behaviour. The Class 3 textbook has a chapter on 'Visiting the Health Post', the Class 4 book has a chapter entitled 'Social Institutions and Our Life' describing a visit to a hospital, and the Class 5 book has a chapter entitled 'We are all one' (*hāmī sab ekai haun*). It begins by describing the cultural and religious diversity of Nepal, and draws the moral that all should respect each other and that there should be no discrimination on the basis of caste, gender, age, or religion. It continues:

Today is a scientific era (*vijñānko samay*) in which everything is only possible through reason (*tarka*) and intelligence (*buddhi*). But many things which are carried on in our society may not be based on reason and intelligence. Whatever work or thing we do, it may change according to the times... We should never spend money we cannot afford on entertaining at life-cycle rituals just to show off ... In the times of our grandfathers, if anyone was sick, there were no health posts or hospitals. There were very few doctors. People believed in ghosts and spirits (*bhūtpret*). So if anyone got ill it was the custom to take them to a shaman or healer (*dhāmī jhānkri*), but we are not in that time today. The big cities have big hospitals. The villages have health posts and health centres. Doctors, health assistants, and nurses are available to prescribe medicine. That is why it is now customary to take an ill person to be examined at a hospital or health post. Only after a doctor specializing in that particular illness, whichever it may be, has examined (the patient), will providing a cure be easy. If we relied only on the shamans and healers who had come down to us from long ago, our illnesses might not be cured. That is why people consider it wise to adapt to the times.

(Ghimire 1996: 52–53)

The children's narratives about illness mostly followed the format (a) somebody got ill; (b) they were taken to the doctor; (c) they got better. Variations can be introduced to this basic schema with repeated visits to the same doctor, or to various different doctors, in search of a cure, but in the end, the patient gets better. The basic format undoubtedly follows the normative narratives of the textbooks in which parents care for children and take them to doctors to find a cure. But, none the less, the topic was one that engaged the children and within this framework they often introduced much original material and at times even ignored or subverted normative expectations.³¹⁾

A typical example of the basic narrative would be the following:

When I was ill, at first I was only a little ill and the next day I got more ill. And then afterwards I was taken to the hospital and to the doctor's and my family had a lot of trouble. And they came with medicine from the hospital. And I took that medicine every day and I got better. After me, my older brother also got ill. And my brother was taken to the doctor's. And my brother was also given medicine and brought home. And my brother took it every day. And my brother also got better.

(Shakya girl, age 11, A5, N)

In discussion with this girl afterwards it emerged that actually she had also been taken to visit a *vaidya* (which could mean either an Ayurvedic doctor or a Tantric healer who uses both ritual and Ayurvedic methods to cure).³²⁾

In some cases the children went well beyond the schoolbook messages in praising doctors. One girl wrote:

[...] It is three days since my mother and sister began to be ill. Even though my mother and sister are taking their medicine, they haven't really got better. My mother and sister are not eating anything at all. Now they have to be looked at properly again. Since last night my brother's daughter (*bhincā*) has been ill as well. She is extremely unwell. Early this morning my sister went to the doctor and he gave her medicine. Since she took the medicine she got a little better. If she is looked at properly again and given medicine, she will get better. Both my mother and sister will get better. If there were no doctors here, people wouldn't really be able to survive. Doctors are able to tell what illness it is that people have in their bodies. And then they give us medicine. A doctor (*daktar*) is like a god (*dyah*).

(Maharjan girl, age 13, B5, NBh)

Some children were not at all reticent to write about visits to practitioners whom the official school view would have seen as 'backward' (*avikāsīt*) and 'superstitious' (*andhaviśvās bhaeko*), perhaps because their accounts demonstrated the superiority of doctors to traditional medical practitioners. The following account also includes an implied moral about taking your medicine to the end of the course:

I got ill when I was at home. After two days, we went to show me. And we went to see a *vaidya*. And after we had shown it to a *vaidya*, we showed it to a doctor. And after he had examined me, the doctor gave me two or three medicines to take away. And I ate those medicines. The next day I was better. And when I was bet-

31) On the range of medical systems actually available to inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley, see Gellner (2001c). For a classic study of healthcare bureaucracy in the Nepalese hills, see Justice (1986). On the role of Nepali doctors in the People's Movement of 1990, see Adams (1998). For medical anthropological themes in Tansen, see Harper (2003). See also Pigg (1995, 1996, 2001), Subedi (2001), Kristvik (1999), and Devkota (1983).

32) For an excellent, detailed study of Ayurvedic *vaidyas* in Kathmandu, see Durkin-Longley (1982); on Tantric *vaidyas*, see Gellner (2001b).

ter I stopped taking the medicine. Because I didn't take the medicine I got ill again. The next day I went to the doctor's again in order to take medicine. That day I got better. And after many days my older brother got ill. My older brother was also taken to the doctor's. After he was taken to the doctor's, he examined my brother's chest. And after he had examined it, the doctor gave him some medicines to take away. After two days he finished taking the medicines. The next day he was better.

(Shakya girl, age 13, A5, N)

In discussion afterwards the girl concerned said that the *vaidya* had been to the house and recommended a ritual, and that the doctor had told them not to consult *vaidyas*.

The following account is similar in its demonstration of the inferiority of the *vaidya*; it also shows how illness episodes are seen to afflict one member of the family after another:

When I was ill I had a fever and I took medicine and got better after 2–4 days. And after my fever got better my younger sister also got ill. And because blood was coming out of my younger sister's nose, she was taken to a *vaidya*. And the *vaidya*'s medicine didn't make her better. And she was taken to a doctor and the medicine lasted 10 or 12 days after going to the doctor's. And she got better. And my mother also got sick. And she went to the doctor's and the doctor gave her medicine. And my father had diarrhoea and vomiting. And the doctor made him better in two or three days.

(Tandukar boy, age 12, A5, N)

Many accounts mentioned many different family members, and emphasized their interdependence. For example (see Figure 7):

When I got ill, I was taken to the doctor's. When I was shown to the doctor, he gave me Cetamol [paracetamol] medicine. And when I was ill my mother and father had a very tough time (*dukha āpat paryo*). My fever got higher and higher and they took me to Patan Hospital. My father and mother and everyone had trouble. I couldn't do anything about it. I couldn't drink water. My mother, father, grandfather, grandmother, maternal uncle and wife (*māmā māiju*), younger brothers, younger sisters all came to the hospital. I couldn't do anything. My mother, grandmother, grandfather, and father brought me various kinds of fruit. I couldn't eat any of that fruit. I took that fruit and divided it up between my younger brothers and sisters. They were happy. I was ill for many days. My uncles, aunts, sisters, friends, younger brothers all came to see me from the village. They brought me all kinds of fruits. My younger brothers and sisters did nothing but cry all the time. I took my medicine and got better and I went home.

(Tamang girl, age 10, A5, N)

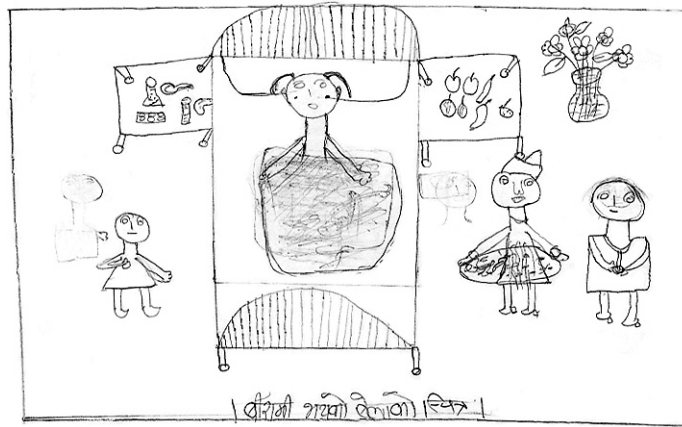


Figure 7. Self in Patan Hospital, with nurse and doctor to the right, and younger sister to the left (Tamang girl, age 10, A5).



Figure 8. A girl who spent 17 days in Bir Hospital. Her younger sister is shown to the left, with a doll in the foreground; to the right are her younger brother, a nurse, and a doctor (Bahun girl, age 12, A5).

One essay gave a vivid picture of self-medication within the family:

When my Mummy (*hāmro mamī*) was ill, we made *khichari* [rice mixed with other foods/risotto] with nutmeg in it, and when she had eaten it, she got better. When my younger brother got jaundice (*jannis*), we pressed a small piece of grass and gave it [the juice] to him to take. When my grandfather's body hurts, we give him god's medicine (*daibako oṣadhī*) and he gets better. When my elder sister has a

cold, she takes really hot water and after it is better. When I get worms, they give me something like an *amlā* fruit and afterwards it is better.

(Chetri girl, age 9, A3, N)

Another account emphasizing mutual sympathy within the family ran as follows:

When I got ill I was taken to the doctor and the doctor gave me medicine. When I took that medicine my illness got better. When one of my family got ill, they went to the doctor, he gave medicine, and they got better. When again they got a fever they showed it to a big doctor, and they took medicine, and they got better. When one of our family got fever, the whole family felt bad (*duḥkha jula*) and when they got better the whole family was happy (*sukha jula*). Now no one in the house has a fever and we are happy. So no one of the family has a fever.

(Maharjan boy, age 11, A5, NBh)

It is striking that, despite the frequent mention of other family members becoming ill, it is very rare for any causal connection to be postulated, i.e. the notion that diseases may be infectious seems to be absent, or is at least not explicit; rather, disease just happens, and has to be dealt with. One unusual account which did posit infection was the following (cf. the exceptional account of TB, p.281 below):

The other day I was playing in water and got ill. My mother and father took me to many doctors. But I didn't get better. Then my mother and father took me to [...] doctor. Then he gave me Cetamol and Vitamin medicine. And by taking that medicine I got better. And my mother, father, older sister, and younger sister were very happy. And after that my sickness crossed over to my younger sister. She too was taken to many doctors but she didn't get better. After that they took her to the same doctor I had seen. He gave the same medicine he had given to me the other day. Then she too got better.

(Shakya girl, age 11, A5, N)

Occasionally the normative schema was reversed and the account had traditional healers succeeding where doctors had failed:

When I was ill my mother took me to the doctor's. He gave me medicine. I didn't forget to take the medicine and that medicine did not make me better. Then I was taken to a *vaidya*. Then I was given Nepali medicine. I took that medicine. After taking that medicine I got better. And I was able to do work. I went to school because they had asked why I wasn't coming to school. I said, 'I was ill so I couldn't come. Please mark my attendance' and it was done.

(Vajracharya girl, age 11, A5, N)

A similar account ran as follows:

About when I got a fever: When I had a fever I was taken to see the doctor. I

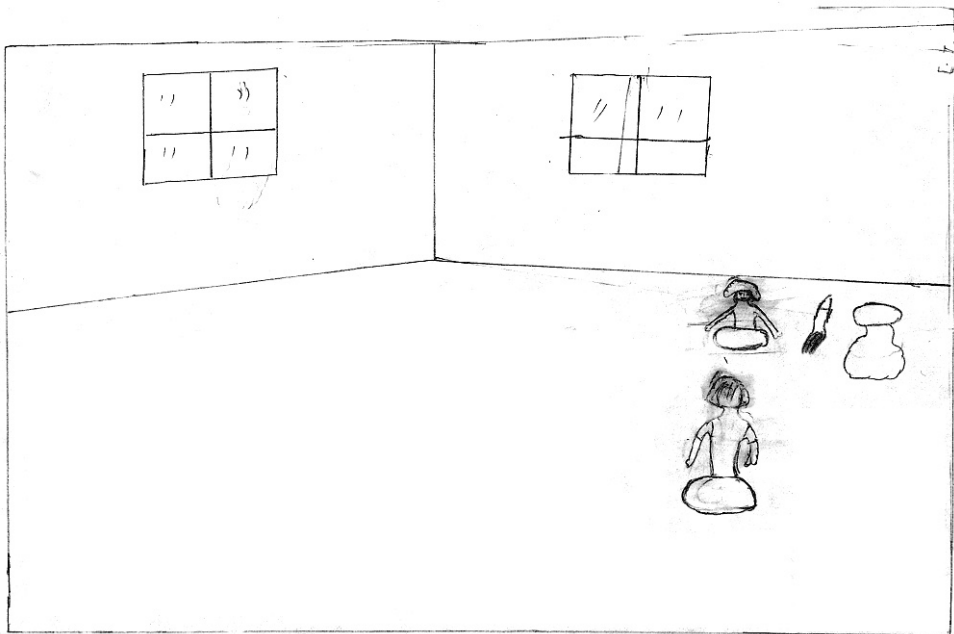


Figure 9. Self in front of a female medium (*aji*), with a broom for performing ritual brushing (*jhārphuk*) and a pot of holy water (*jal*) (Shrestha girl, age 10, B3).

threw up and was dizzy, and didn't get better. I took medicine. Then I was taken to a compounder (chemist). And still I was sick and dizzy. Then after four days I was taken to [...] doctor and he gave me medicine. After four days the medicine ran out and the doctor gave me what was left of the medicine. Then in the morning I was taken to see the medium (*aji*). Then one or two days later my fever got better.

(Khadgi boy, age 9, B3, NBh)

In other cases the normative schema was simply transferred to traditional healers:

When I got pustules, in order to show them (to someone), I was taken to an *ajimā* [literally 'grandmother-mother', i.e. a possessed female medium]. My mother gave me medicine to take. I was given an injection. I came home with my mother. My pustules stopped hurting. And my pustules got better. After that, ten days later, I came to school.

(Shrestha girl, age 10, B3, N)

In discussion afterwards, this girl confirmed that it had been a possessed medium, dressed in red, who had treated her with ritualized sweeping with a broom (*jhārphuke*) and the drinking of holy water (*jal*), and that the medium had recommended performing a ritual.³³⁾ This was the only child who actually drew a traditional medical prac-

33) On these mediums, see Gellner (2001a), Dietrich (1999).

tioner (see Figure 9). In the previously quoted case, a Khadgi boy wrote about visits to doctors not working, and a similar medium finally curing his fever, but his drawing was none the less a typical one of a doctor with a stethoscope.

Overall, out of 56 responses, six (11%) mentioned traditional medical practitioners (TMPs) spontaneously. A further eight (14%) mentioned having been taken to them in discussion afterwards. No doubt others had visited them also at some point, but did not mention it. There was no correlation between caste and willingness to admit to visiting TMPs. It would be interesting to know whether urban children are less afraid of being seen as 'backward' and 'superstitious' and therefore are more willing to admit to using such healers than village children, but this question cannot be answered on the basis of the material presented here.

Elsewhere (Gellner 2001c) I have outlined nine different 'systems', ranging from biomedicine and Ayurveda (the traditional South Asian system of medicine) to astrology, ritual healing, and herbal remedies, to which the inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley can have resort in case of illness. These children's accounts support the conclusion that biomedicine is overwhelmingly dominant ('hegemonic' if you will). They also provide evidence for the co-existence of other systems as well. Both in discourse and in practice these systems are often in conflict; but it is likely too that the children understand that they can also be taken to be complementary alternatives: astrology or Tantric healing for problems sent by gods or other spiritual entities, biomedicine as the most powerful and fast-acting cure for physical ailments.³⁴⁾

In general the older children wrote longer narratives but sometimes even the younger ones produced long, complex, and moving accounts, in which the reality of recalcitrant illness and a suffering parent overwhelms the normative expectation of closure and recovery:

My mother has been sick many times. A small lump came on her backside. Later it grew big. When it was small it hurt only a little, but it didn't stay like that; later that lump of flesh began to hurt a great deal. It began to hurt a lot and after three or four days mother couldn't get out of bed. Father called maternal grandfather and father took mother to the hospital. The doctor said that we needed 'O' blood. It is extremely hard to get hold of 'O' blood. The younger brother of *phūphājyū* [father's sister's husband] brought the blood. They took that blood and got her admitted to the hospital. The doctor said they would do the operation one day later. When it was time for the operation he asked for the 'O' blood. Three hours after the operation mother gained consciousness. That lump of flesh was cut off. The doctor said to father that he could take her home the day after the operation. Father brought mother home. When she came home we looked where the lump had been. It was cut off and medicine had been put on and a bandage tied on. It had to be kept clean. For about a month she had to go every Thursday to have a

34) For one of the most detailed and sophisticated treatments of these themes in a South Asian context, see Nichter & Nichter (1996).

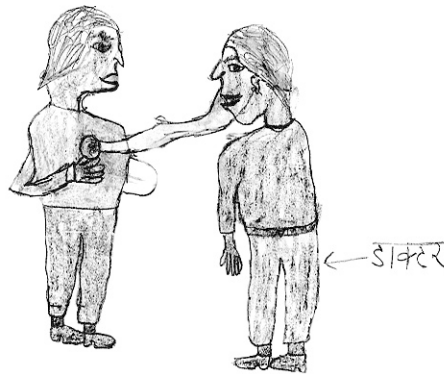


Figure 10. Father being examined by a doctor (Maharjan boy, age 9, A3).

check to see how the wound was. We had to take a ticket. Either my elder brother or father would go to get the ticket. Now there is a hole where that lump was cut off. A little flesh has come back. Now if she walks a lot or moves a lot of water around, or things like that, it hurts in that place and she can't get up, and then father sends my older brother to buy the medicine for the pain in the wound. When she has taken the medicine it is a little better and she can get up.

(Shrestha boy, age 7, A3, N)

Another boy (see Figure 10) in the same class wrote:

When my father got TB, my mother took him to the doctor's. The doctor gave him medicine. However many times my mother took him to the doctor's, he still didn't get better. However much medicine he took, he didn't get better. Only two or three years later did he get better. Then he got boils again, and again he was taken to the doctor's. He was given medicine to take and medicine to rub on. My mother would remove the pus from my father's boils twice every day. After many days it got better. Then he got boils in a different place and again he went to get medicine. Again we did the same and it got better. Again it came in a different place, that got better, and again it came in another, time and time again. My mother went to a temple and made a request (*arje*), but still he has boils. However many places my father has gone to ask how to make his boils better, however much medicine he has taken, however many injections (*injesan*) he has been given, they do not get better. However many doctors he has been to see, up till now he still has them.

(Maharjan boy, age 9, A3, N)

Only one child produced an almost textbook description, as opposed to a narrative about himself or his family. But in fact the description was based on his own experience, because his grandfather had the disease:

It can happen from time to time that we fall sick. When we fall sick we consult (lit. 'show to') the doctor. The doctor writes us a prescription for medicine that will make us better. We take the medicine that the doctor gives us. Then the illness gets better. Just near our house (*hāmro gharko taltira*) my grandfather fell ill. The name of his illness is TB (*kṣayarog*). When a person with TB sneezes, the contagion of the disease (*rogkā hāvā*) spreads. Then a person who isn't ill by breathing in [can contract the disease because] the bacteria (*kīṭāṇuharu*) enter their stomach. Then he gets TB. Mostly TB affects the lungs. A person who has TB doesn't feel like eating. They get a slight fever in the evening. Their chest hurts. They cough. When they cough, blood comes up mixed in [with the sputum]. If one has this disease one should not defecate or urinate just anywhere. You should only do it in the latrine (*carpi*). You have to pay attention to cleanliness (*sarsaphāi*). To be cured from (*bacna*) this illness you have to give an injection (*sui*) called DPT.

(Rajbahak boy, age 14, B3, N)

The children's drawings reflect their experience that some doctors are female (see Figures 11 and 12). In every case the doctor is clearly identifiable by the stethoscope (see Figures 7, 8, 10–14) (cf. the Shakya girl's essay on p.22). I suspect that throughout the developing world the stethoscope, along with the injection, is the key symbol of biomedical legitimation. Certainly in Nepal it is so pervasive that even shamans have been known to make use of it. The importance of gifts of fruit as an expression of concern for those in hospital is also borne out by the pictures (Figures 7, 8, 11). In fact, both the narratives and the drawings on this topic provide plenty of material to illustrate the importance of kin and family relationships as well.

My neighbourhood (task 3): Gods, dogs, and people

In the old Newar cities, the neighbourhood or *ṭol* (*twāḥ* in Nepal Bhasha) is a key element of social organization. Each *ṭol* has its set of basic divinities and each is defined by a public square with its temples and shrines, wayside shelters to sit or sing hymns, and sunken stone water spouts. It was very clear from the vast majority of the children's accounts that temples continue to define public space (see Figures 15, 17–21)—a finding that will come as no surprise to those who have written about the organization of space in the Newar city, but which has rarely been tested in this way before.³⁵⁾

35) The manifesto for the study of Newar cities in this way was Gutschow & Kölver (1975),

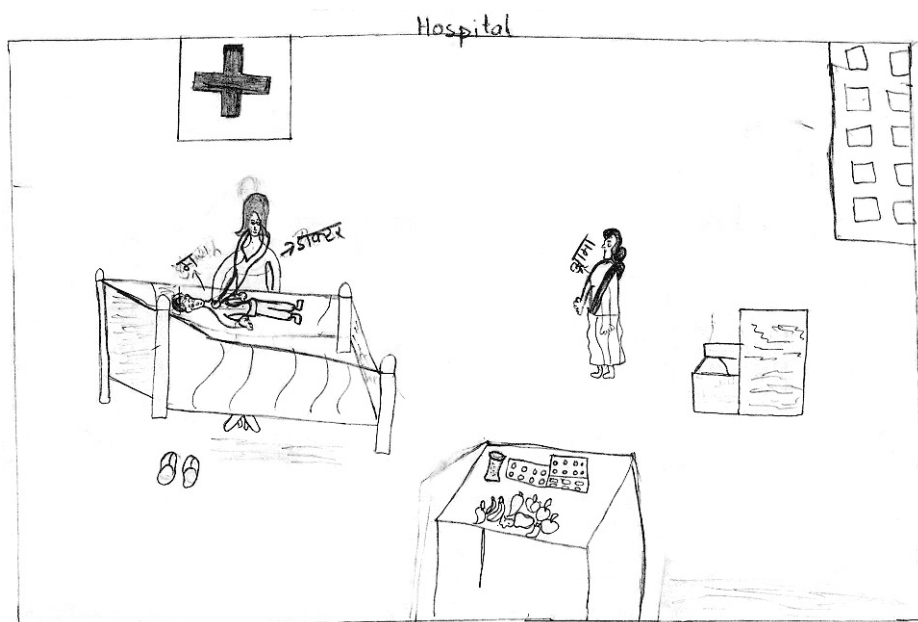


Figure 11. Self being examined by a doctor in hospital (Dyahla boy, age 11, B3).

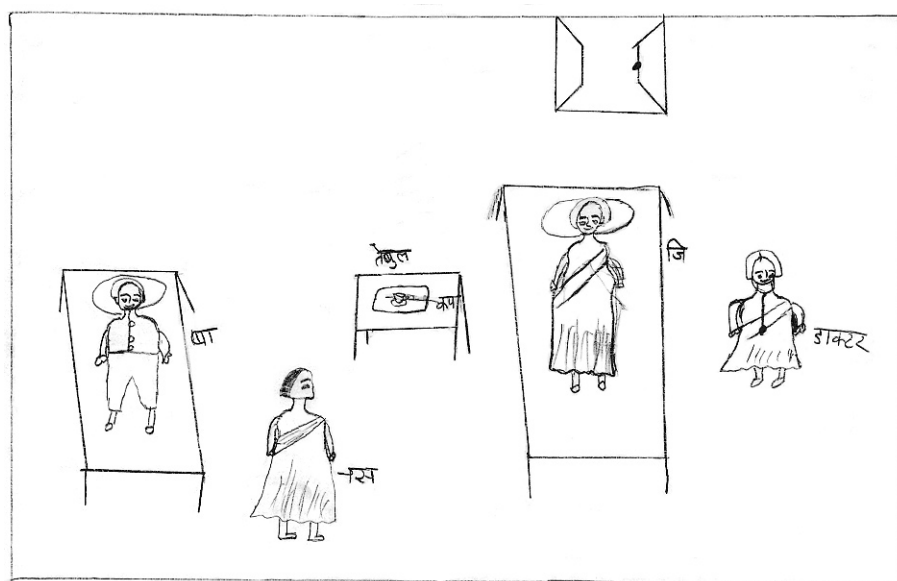


Figure 12. Self and father both in hospital, with nurse and doctor both labelled (Dyahla girl, age 10, B3).

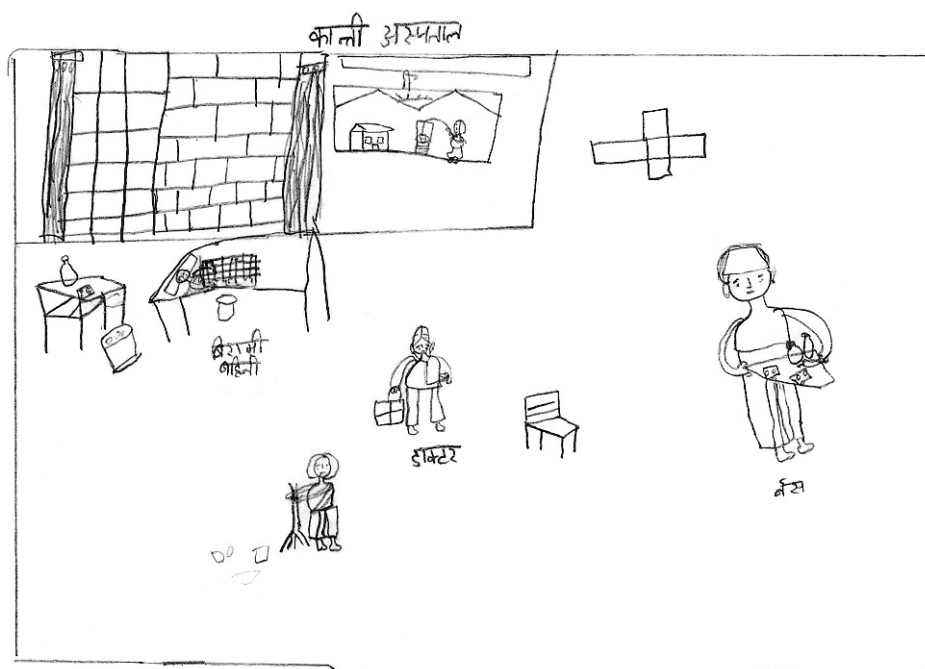


Figure 13. Younger sister in Kanti Hospital, where she had to have a 'video X-ray'. A sweeper, a doctor, and a nurse (the largest figure) all labelled (Shakya girl, age 10, B3).

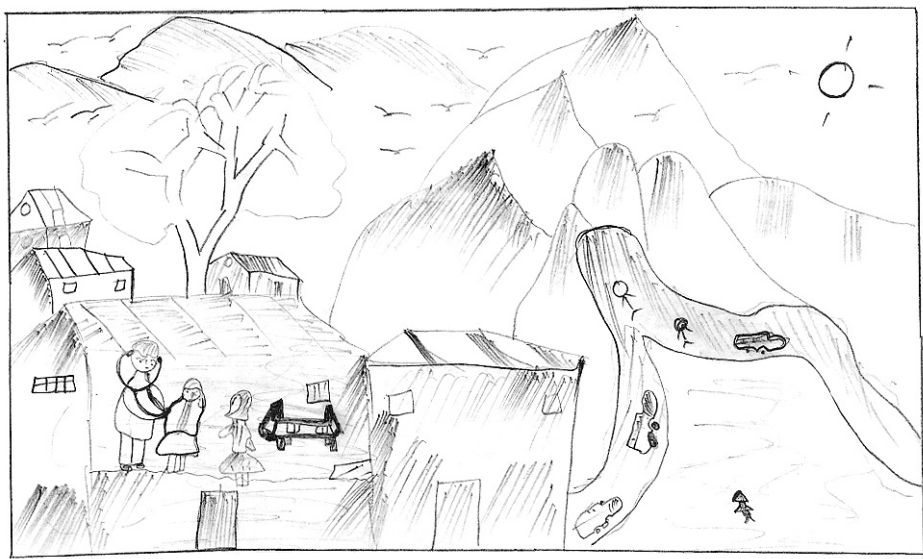


Figure 14. A country scene in which a doctor examines younger sister, while mother looks on, in front of own house (Maharjan boy, age 10, B3).



Figure 15. A person about to offer worship at the temple of the Mother Goddess Kankeshwari, which marks the boundary of the old city of Kathmandu by the Vishnumati river (Khadgi boy, age 9, B3).

There was evidently some influence of textbook essays in this topic as well. Many textbooks have descriptions of villages or neighbourhoods, emphasizing the improvements that have come in recent years and emphasizing the topic of cleanliness (see, for example, Ahearn 2003: 155–156). All the same, as with other topics, the children went well beyond these models in describing their neighbourhoods. Unlike the topic of illness, that of neighbourhood did not tend to impose a narrative structure on what they wrote: rather, what they produced were discursive descriptions.

The name of my *tol* is Wana Bahal. In my *tol* there is another courtyard. In that courtyard there are a lot of Jyapus [Maharjans]. And in Wana Bahal there are many very very nice houses (*thik thikko gharharū*) and a very tall house. In that very tall house there is a gold and silver shop. In my *tol* there are three big dogs and other small dogs. On the right and left sides there are two tall flowerpots. In

↗ which was followed by a very large number of studies by Gutschow (see especially Gutschow 1982) and others (e.g. Herdick 1988). One very attractive study of the Newar town of Panauti, which did make use of children's drawings to establish that it was not just adults who perceived their town in terms of sacred markers, was Barré *et al.* (1981: 37, 91). Stoddard (1979), a geographer, attempted a quantitative survey to test perceptions of the Kathmandu Valley as a mandala. His short article established that there is no Valley-wide agreement among ordinary lay adults on the members of sets of Ganesh and Narayan (Vishnu) shrines. This finding is hardly surprising since these lists of divinities are priestly constructs that play no role in ordinary people's lives.

front of one of the flowerpots there are two seats. One seat is broken and the other is not broken. Flowers have been planted in the two flowerpots. One of the flowers is a creeper and the other is small. In my *ṭol* there is a big temple to Lord Buddha. And on the right side of Lord Buddha is a Ganesh and to the left a small temple to Kumar. Near the big Lord Buddha there is a place for singing hymns. In front of a well there is a waterspout. There is a lady I have to call grandmother who always gets up in the morning and cleans my locality. Since we thought that she should not be the only one to take this trouble, it was decided that on Saturday each house should send one person to clean (the locality). Some sweep, some clean up. Sometimes they come to take the dirt (*phohar*) from our *ṭol*. They clean up and put all the dirt in one place. The people whose job it is to throw away the dirt (*dhulo*), take it all away.

(Vajracharya girl, age 13, A5, N)

A similar but shorter essay ran as follows:

The name of my *ṭol* is Ila Nani. This *ṭol* is big and also good. There is a temple there. This temple is called the 'Golden Temple'. There is a park (*caur*) in this *ṭol* and there are four trees in this park. There are also many dogs. There are many very big houses. People of Bajracharya, Shakya, and many other castes (*jāt*) live there. There is also a well there and everyone comes to take water from that well. Water for offering to the god is also taken from that same well. By the god's blessing (*jñapti*) the water never dries up in that well.

(Napit girl, age 12, A5, N)

A simple account ran as follows:

- (1) My house is in Chakupat.
- (2) My mother and father are in our house.
- (3) There are gods in our house.
- (4) There are Shrestha caste people in our neighbourhood.
- (5) Near my house many people come to perform *pūjā* on a Saturday.
- (6) There are many temples in my neighbourhood.
- (7) There are many people in our neighbourhood.
- (8) In our neighbourhood there are many ricefields.
- (9) Near our house there is a pipal tree.
- (10) Near our house there are ricefields.
- (11) There are also dogs in our house.

(Tandukar girl, age c.9, A3, N)

An essay by a girl in class 5 (see Figure 16) used the same technique without the numbers:

My *ṭol* is good.

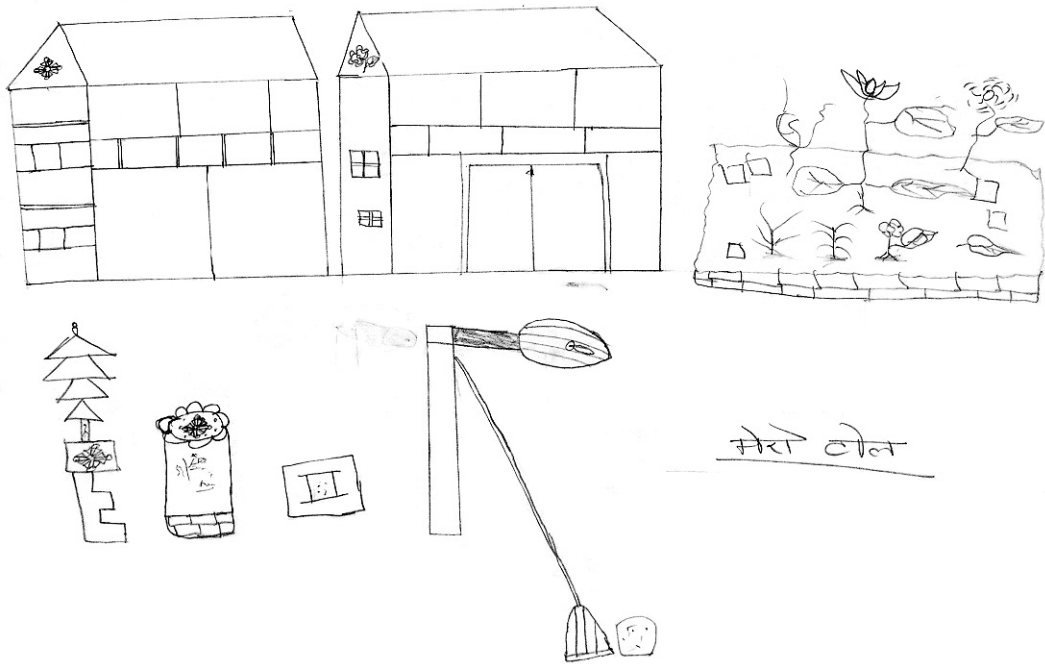


Figure 16. A picture of Kuti Bahal, labelled as 'my *tol*', showing symbols of gods in the foreground left, and a square pit for performing fire sacrifices. Foreground middle shows a street lamp, with houses behind (Shakya girl, age 11, A5).

In my *tol* there is a temple.

There are many kinds (*kisim*) of people in my *tol*.

There are Dhakhwas,³⁶⁾ Bajracharyas, Shakyas etc. in my *tol*.

There is a park (*pārk*) near my *tol*.

Some of the people of my *tol* are good (*sajana*) and some are bad (*kharāb*).

There is a school (*pāṭhśālā*) near my *tol*.

The name of my *tol* is Kuti Bahal.

Because in the old days they used to flatten (*kutāune*) beaten rice here, it is called Kuti Bahal.

There is a garden in my *tol*.

In my *tol* there are various kinds of flowers.

There is a big house near my house.

You can see all around (lit. all places can be seen) from my house.

(Shakya girl, age 11, A5, N)

For those living in large courtyards, the recreation areas in the middle were often the most important thing to describe:

36) One rich and influential lineage of Shakyas in Nag Bahal uses its lineage name, Dhakhwa (literally 'drum face'), as a surname.

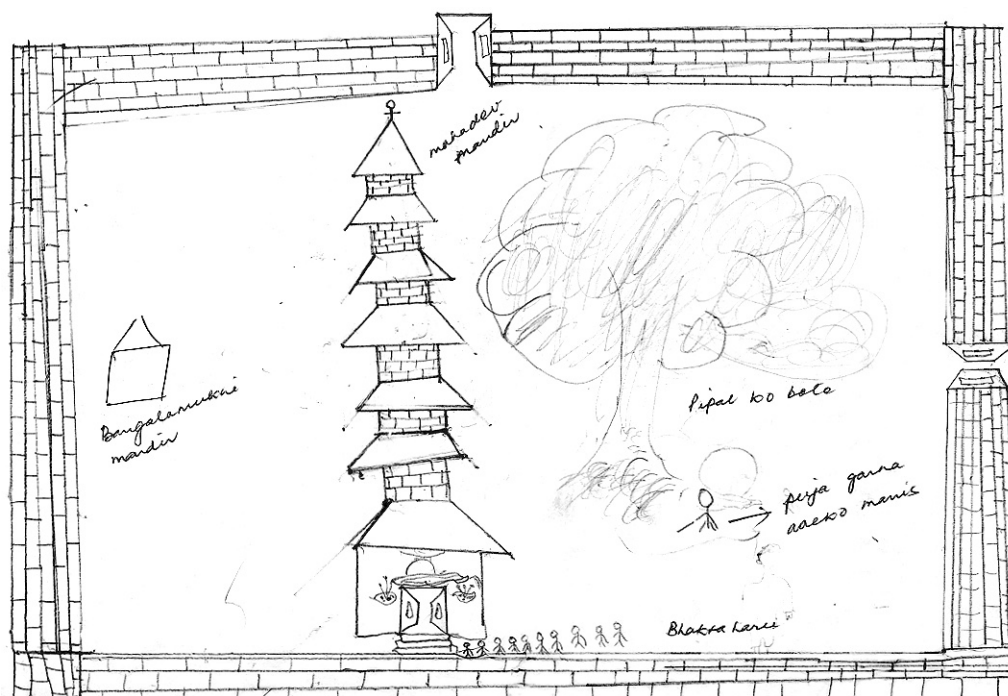


Figure 17. The sacred compound of Kumbheshwar Mahadev. A pipal tree is shown as are devotees entering the main temple. The position of the goddess Bagalamukhi's temple has been added in pen by my assistant, Saruna Shrestha (Maharjan boy, age 9, A3).

My *tol* is Nag Bahal. Nag Bahal is near Patan Dhoka. There is a park (*pārṅ*) in Nag Bahal. In the park many-coloured flowers are growing. Our elders (*bāje*) don't let us pick those flowers. Because those flowers were put there to make it look good (*sajāunako lāgi*). If those colourful flowers were not there, it wouldn't be beautiful (*rāmro*). If it wasn't good, people coming from outside would make fun [of us]. There are also gods in that park. And there are also trees. In that park there is also a pond. In that pond there are colourful fish. In my *tol* many people in many different ways have fun and play.

(Shrestha girl, age 12, A5, N)

In some cases the local sacred site was so overwhelming that it dominated the child's narrative. In the next case it is the impressive five-roofed temple of Kumbheshwar (Shiva-Mahadev), one of the oldest temples in the Kathmandu Valley, and its sacred compound:

My neighbourhood is Kumbheshwar. In my Kumbheshwar there are many gods. In our Kumbheshwar there are many Maharjans. In my neighbourhood many people come, usually on a Thursday, with coconuts, rice, incense, red powder, and so on, to worship (the goddess) Bagalamukhi. Before many people used to come

on a Saturday. Now the crowds come on a Thursday. In my neighbourhood I have many friends. Many come to play in my Kumbheshwar. I also go to offer *pūjā* to Kumbheshwar. It is fun to play in my Kumbheshwar *ṭol*. In my Kumbheshwar there is a pond filled with water which has come down from Gosainkund.³⁷⁾ People drink this holy water that has flowed down from Gosainkund. Near this holy water there are also gods. I also drink this water. And I take a little of this holy water back to my house. It is not allowed to bring cycles and motor-cycles inside Kumbheshwar. There are also stone water spouts in Kumbheshwar. There is a garden. There is a 'club' [meeting house] there. People come to hold feasts in that 'club'. In Kumbheshwar there is also a 'kailash'.³⁸⁾ In 'kailash' there is a Mahadev (statue). There are also nettles next to that Mahadev. It is slippery on (the steps to) Kumbheshwar's stone spouts. People offer money to Kumbheshwar and other people collect it. There are many people in Kumbheshwar.

(Maharjan boy, age 9, A3, N)

The picture which accompanies this account is dominated by the temple (given seven roofs instead of its actual five) and its brickwalled compound (see Figure 17).

Other accounts also sometimes gave a large place to gods, even if not all in a single site (see Figure 18):

The name of my *ṭol* is Ikhache. In my *ṭol* there are many people who speak Nepal Bhasha (*newā bhō hālīpi yakwa du*). In my *ṭol* there are not a lot of dogs. There is a *ṭol* committee in my *ṭol*. My *ṭol* is also called Alko Hiti. There are Ananda Baha, a *bahi*, and a *bācā*.³⁹⁾ In Ananda Baha there is a temple. In the *bācā* there is a statue of Namasangiti. In the water spout area [Alko Hiti] there is [a temple of] Ganesh. There are also (statues of) Sarasvati, Lord Buddha, and Mankamana. There are never fights in our *ṭol*.

(Vajracharya girl, age 12, A5, NBh)

The account of another girl from the same *ṭol*, while agreeing with the general description of gods, contradicted this last sentence:

My *ṭol* is called Ikhache. There are many temples in my *ṭol*. There are also many gardens. In our *ṭol* there is a lot of shouting/fights (*hahallā*). In front of the *ṭol* there is also a *bahi* [spelt *bai*]. In this *bahi* there is a temple to Gautam Buddha. One day the Gautam Buddha statue was stolen from this temple. Now a statue of Gautam Buddha has been placed there again. In the *bahi* in our *ṭol* there are many

37) This is a reference to the local belief that the spring which wells up inside the Kumbheshwar temple compound comes directly from the lake, Gosainkund, a pilgrimage site holy to Lord Shiva, which is high in the Himalayas to the north of Kathmandu.

38) This is the name of a flat grassy area behind the meeting house. 'Kailash' is the name of Shiva's heaven and is identified with the holy mountain of the same name in Tibet.

39) These refer to different Newar Buddhist courtyards in the neighbourhood (see Locke 1995: 50, 207–8).

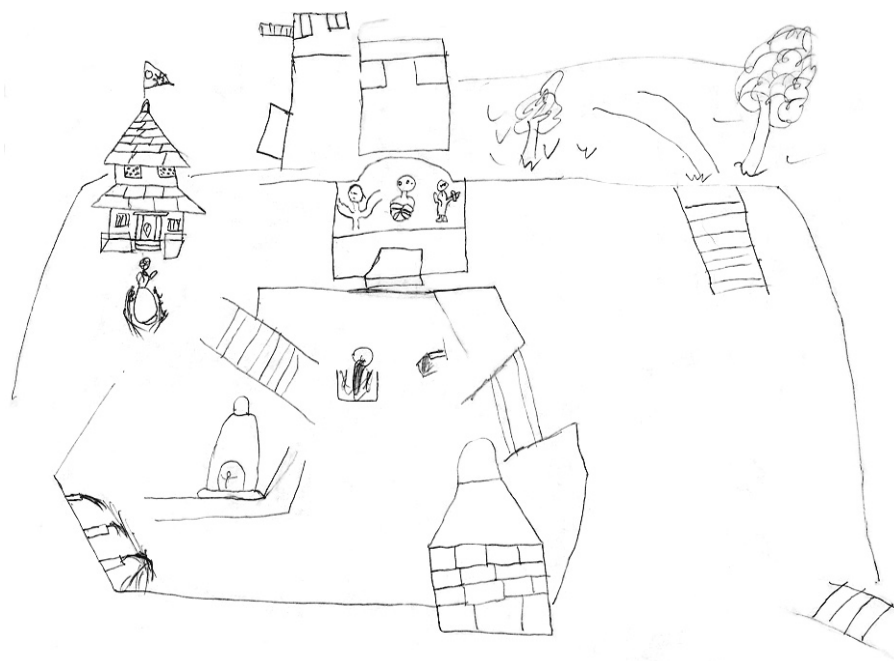


Figure 18. Alko Hiti, a famous water spout. The three main spouts can be seen bottom left, the Ganesh temple top left. At the back of the sunken area the three gods, Jogini, Buddha, and Sarasvati, can be seen from left to right (Vajracharya girl, age 12, A5).

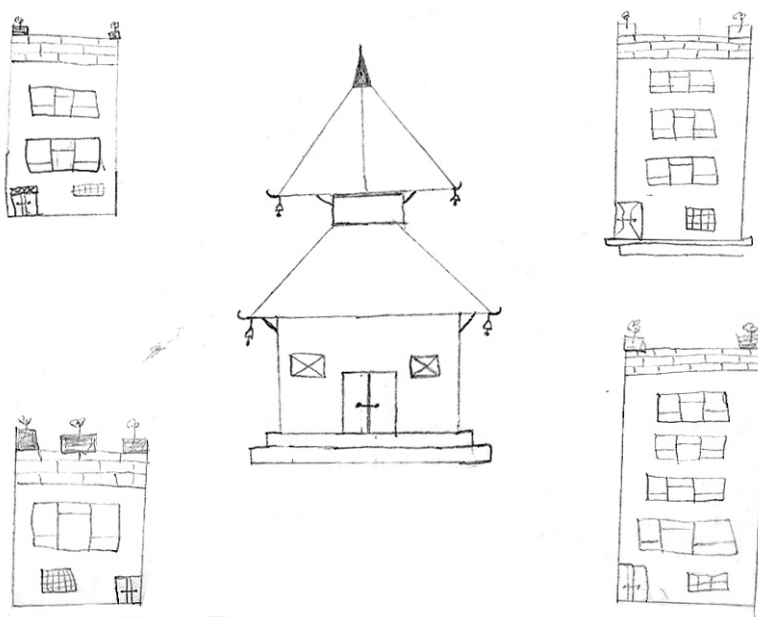


Figure 19. The Ganesh temple at Alko Hiti, with Newar-style houses (Shakya girl, age 13, A5).



Figure 20. Ananda Bahal, near Alko Hiti, showing the main temple [to the Buddha] and the terraced houses forming the courtyard (Vajracharya boy, age 12, A5).

different kinds of flower. In this *tol* people (gather to) play drums. In our *tol* there is a very big stone water spout [Alko Hiti]. Behind these spouts there is also a temple of Ganeshji. And it is necessary to worship this Shiva-Ganeshji first of all. Ganeshji is the most important ('biggest') (god) of all. In front of that Ganeshji's statue there is also a statue of Bhimsen.

(Tandukar girl, age 12, A5, N)

The fact that this girl singled out Ganesh as the most important god can be connected to her caste background. It is highly unlikely that any high-caste child would have considered Ganesh more important than Bhagavan Buddha or Shiva-Mahadeva.⁴⁰⁾

It may be possible to discern a middle-caste perspective on gods in the following essay also, which moved almost seamlessly from reproducing the normative message about neighbourhood cleanliness to considering the local gods, and then on to a distinctly unscientific rationale for worshipping them. The essay also remarkable for the fact that the student wrote entirely intuitively (i.e. by ear and evidently without previous training) in Nepal Bhasha:

40) Purna Shakya has pointed out to me the possibility that this girl could have been intending to say that Ganesh is the most important god in *Alko Hiti*, which all locals, whether Buddhist or not, would agree on.

My *tol* is clean and well organized (*saphā sudhār*). In my *tol* there is a temple and that temple is of the Buddha. We do *pūjā* in that temple and our house is next to that temple. In my *tol* houses are next to each other. In my *tol* we have two or three houses with iron window grills (*viling*). My *tol*'s name is [...]. There are various gods (*jyopini* [sic]) in my *tol*. If we don't worship those gods, they will cause us afflictions (*punā hai*). That's why we have to worship them every day [...repeats].

(Maharjan boy, age 11, A5, NBh)

Many of the children did not mention different castes or ethnic groups, even in response to the prompt, 'What kind of people are there in your neighbourhood?' A few wrote that there were bad people who take things from children or that there were rich people and poor people. As Table 2, p.43 below, shows, proportionately more children from school B mentioned castes or ethnic groups than those of school A. It is possible that this is because the children of school B all live in highly diverse localities, whereas at least some of those at school A are Shakyas and Vajracharyas from the area around the school where their own caste is overwhelmingly the majority. However, the numbers involved in this study are so small, and the project design so simple, that the sensible conclusion would be to suspend such judgements, pending more sophisticated and detailed enquiry.

Among those who did mention castes or ethnic groups, most just listed them. Some made lists that included groups of different orders: "There are people of various *jāt*, for example Maharjan, Manandhar, Newa, Shirestha [Shrestha], Jyapu, etc." Normally all of these would be considered Newars (though it is possible that the student had picked up on the Sweepers' habit of taking 'Newa' as a surname), and 'Jyapu' is simply an alternative to 'Maharjan'. But in confounding groups of different levels, the children were doing no more than adults often do.

Some children in Lalitpur were certainly reproducing their parents' concerns about newly arrived outsiders living in rented accommodation in what not long ago were exclusively Newar quarters of the city:

In our *tol* there are many people who have come to live on rent. They are badly behaved (*baṭmās*). Our *tol*'s name is Chuko Bahal. The old people tell off (*gālī garnu*) the people who have to live on rent. In our *tol* there is a lot of dirt (*phohar*). There is a well in our *tol*. The water of that well is dirty (*phohar*). We do not drink the water from that well. Other people come to drink the water from that well. The level of that well water is going down.

(Vajracharya girl, age 11, A5, N)

Two other girls, one a Shakya, one a Maharjan, sitting on the same bench as this one, produced similar accounts, though about different neighbourhoods:

My *tol* is good. These days the roads have also become good. Our *tol* is Su Bahal. Many people have come to live on rent in our *tol*. Many people live outside.

These days there is a lot of trouble because of water. The people who have come to live on rent are very quarrelsome (*cak cake*). They are villagers. They bring dirt (*phohor*) into our *tol*. Near our house is a well. We have to take that water. Everyone, in every house, washes their clothes. Everyone sits outside in the sun and chats. There are also fine houses in our *tol*. Two or four of us get on together and play near our home. Day after day we study and then we play.

(Shakya girl, age 13, A5, N)

Nowadays the roads are good. Our *tol* is Talachen. In our *tol* many people have come to live on rent. They are extremely quarrelsome (*cak cake*). They make our *tol* dirty (*phohar*). They make it dirty in front of my house also. There is a well near our house. Anybody can come and use that well. We play with friends (*sāthibhai*) (there). The people living on rent also come take water and make a mess there (*phohor garera jāncha*). I play, study, and write with my friends. We study, write, and play every day.

(Maharjan girl, age 11, A5, N)

A Bahun girl, whose family had migrated from Bara in the Tarai, reversed these negative views of incomers and reproduced local high-caste stereotypes of the (local, indigenous) Maharjans (Jyapu, the Newar farming caste):

[...] Many people live in my neighbourhood. My *tol* is not dirty (*phohar*). Many Jyapus live in my *tol*. These Jyapus are extremely petty-minded (*chuccā*). Some of the Jyapus seem to understand how to behave (*kunai jyāpu sukhka duḥkha bujhne khālkā chan*) and some do not. Some Newars also live there. Bahunns also live in my *tol*. The Bahunns are extremely well behaved (*jāti*). My *tol* is a *tol* with a good, clean, and beautiful environment [...].

(Bahun girl, age 12, A5, N)

Accounts from school B tended to emphasize cooperation between different castes in the locality:

About my neighbourhood (*twāḥ*): My *twāḥ* is Chauni Malchatar. There are people of various castes living there. The people in our *twāḥ* are very good. If anything happens to anyone others will come and help. There are beautiful vistas (*sin*) to be seen in our *twāḥ*. You can see Swayambhu from our *twāḥ*. People of the Jyapu, Brahman (*barmu*), and Shirestha [Shrestha] castes live in our *twāḥ*. There are various houses in our *twāḥ*. There is a hospital in our *twāḥ* as well. Next to it there is also a barracks. People who are very ill are admitted to that hospital. The hospital is very big. In our *twāḥ* there is a barracks. Army (personnel) live there. Our *twāḥ* is a very beautiful place.

(Maharjan girl, age 13, B5, NBh)

Essays from school B also mentioned friends in the locality more often:

My *twāḥ* is good. Various types of people live in my *twāḥ*. Some are Maharjans, Shresthas, Vajracharyas, Prajapatis, and apart from them, there are others as well. The people who live in our *twāḥ* help us. If they need it, we also help them. I go to play with my friends who live in my *twāḥ*. My friends also come to play with me. If we have a feast in our house we invite the people who live in our *twāḥ* and give them food and drink. If they have a feast they do the same to us. The name of my *twāḥ* is Chagal.

(Maharjan girl, age 10, B3, NBh)

Another girl wrote:

In my *twāḥ* there are people of various kinds. In my *twāḥ* I have friend of various castes. In my *twāḥ* there are Parbatiyas (*khenī*), Newars, Magars, Gurungs, Sherpas (*serapā*). There are also gods in my *twāḥ*. There is also a maize shop in my *twāḥ*. In my *twāḥ* we play marbles and *cungi*.⁴¹⁾ People come to worship the gods in my *twāḥ*. There is also a potato shop in my *twāḥ*. There are also rich people (*dupī*) in my *twāḥ*. In my *twāḥ* there is a cloth shop. The name of my *twāḥ* is Janbal (Jana Bahal). In my *twāḥ* there is a shoe shop.

(Shrestha girl, age 10, B3, NBh)

One essay described people taking money from children:

My *ṭol* is good. Certain people in my *ṭol* using bullying behaviour (*dādā giri dekhāera*) to steal money from children. But there are not many bad people in my *ṭol*. People come from other *ṭols* to play in my *ṭol*. I have many friends in my *ṭol*. I have fun playing with my friends in my *ṭol*. I play ball and cricket in my *ṭol*. The name of my *ṭol* is Malchatar, Chagal, Chauni.

(Shrestha boy, age 13, B3, N)

A girl whose father was a goldsmith in the heart of old Kathmandu wrote as follows:

Tamangs (*lāmāta*), Newars, and Indians (*marsyāta*) live in my *twāḥ*. There are also lots of gods in my *twāḥ*. There is a bell. There are many dogs and many people in my *twāḥ*. In my *twāḥ* the Indians sell saris. In my *twāḥ* the Newars sell silver and gold. There are different kinds of houses in my *twāḥ*. There are motorcycles parked in my *twāḥ*. I have friends in my *twāḥ*. There are many children. There are photographers in my *twāḥ*. In my *twāḥ* there are different kinds of shop. The name of my *twāḥ* is Makhan Bahal.

(Shakya girl, age 10, B3, NBh)

41) *cungi* refers to a 'ball' made of strips of thin rubber, and the game, very popular with children in the Kathmandu Valley, consists in keeping it in the air with one's feet for as long as possible.

As can be seen from the above examples, in most cases caste and ethnicity either were not mentioned, or were mentioned in a baldly factual way, or, in a small minority of cases, were mentioned in combination with negative stereotypes. One exceptional account was produced by a 7-year-old boy, whose articulate comments on the family and illness have already been quoted above (pp. 16, 26–27). He evidently already had a detailed sociological view of his own society, such as one would expect from a knowledgeable adult:

My locality is called Sethu Ganesh. There are many Maharjans who live there. My locality is called Sethu Ganesh because the Sethu Ganesh temple is there. The old people of an area a little higher up than ours, Chyasal, tell us about the stories of the appearance of our Ganesh. [Before] there were not so many people here. There are many peasants who live here. There are not many rich people here. In this locality there is one MP [Member of Parliament] and one old leader called Asa Ram Shakya and one IGP [Inspector-General of Police]. The temples here usually have *pūjā* performed on a Tuesday. The Maharjan, Vyanjankar, and Tandukar castes (*jāt*) have their lineage deities (*kul devatā*) here. There is also a temple to Gorakhnath and an Akash Bhairav. At the Akash Bhairav a man of the Poda [Sweeper] caste sacrifices a wild pig every year. There are many rice paddies here. This temple is called Sethu Ganesh because at Indra Jatra a temple of white silver is brought. There is no priest at this temple. Because there is no [Brahman or other high-caste] priest, elders have appointed a Poda to be there at Dasain, and people come at Dasain and take blessings from this Poda. These Podes are [also] the priests at Sika Bahil [the goddess Chamunda].

(Shrestha boy, age 7, A3, N)

One girl, a Gurung from a Christian family which had migrated from the hills, produced a scathing critique of village life, quite different from anything any of the other children wrote. She was possibly influenced by radical political ideas and certainly by the general devaluation of 'backward' villages implied in the development rhetoric pushed by government, foreign donors, and political parties alike:

Our village: Around our village there is scarcity of many things. In our village and village house there is no electric light. Instead of electric light we use paraffin lamps (*tukī*). Thus there are fewer schools, and even if there are schools, they don't teach well. Village brothers and sisters pass their life in darkness. Our village brothers and sisters have to climb steeply up and down in order to eat twice a day. If they don't do this they can't even eat once a day. Here there is also an old custom that village sisters, if they have studied a lot, marry with low (lit. 'small') castes. In the villages (*gāūghartira*) some rich people are also in the habit of despising (*hepne*) those who are poorer than themselves. Also some moneylenders (*mukhyā*) in the villages, when they give help to peasant brothers (*kisān dājubhāī*), make the capital to be re-paid (*rakam*) greater than the money they have actually

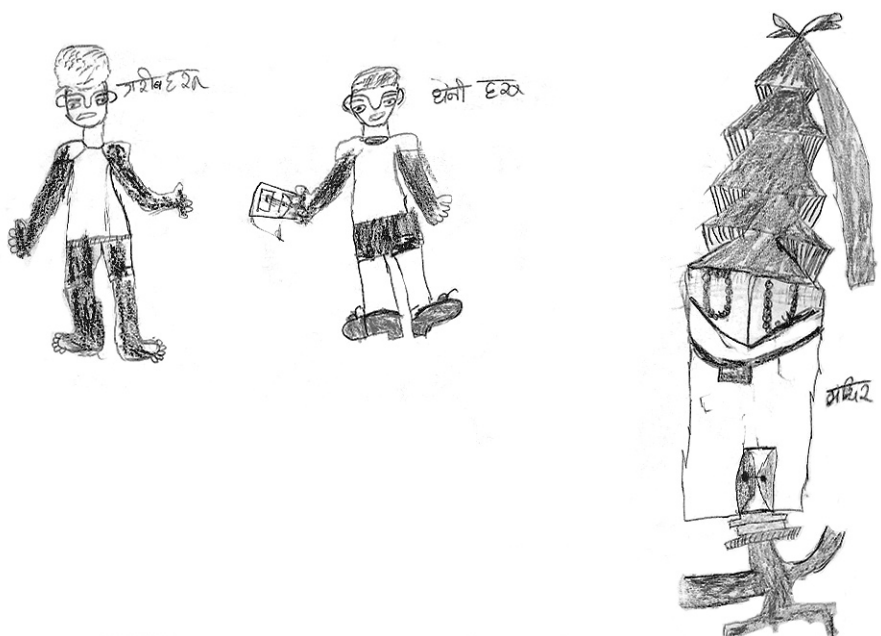


Figure 21. The poor and the rich and a local Ganesh temple. Note that the representative of the poor has no shoes and the rich boy holds some kind of electronic device in his hand (Maharjan boy, no age recorded, A3).

lent and when the village brothers cannot repay the money they have taken, those people kick them out of the village.

(Gurung girl, age 11, A5, N)

The only essay similar to this was a repetitive but clearly heartfelt account of rich and poor by a boy from a locality of Lalitpur known for its leftist sympathies:

In our locality there are poor people. In our locality many of the poor have no money. Because the poor don't have enough to eat, how much suffering they have. These poor people have to live without enough to eat. In our locality the dogs often bite the poor people. In our locality because the poor don't get to eat, they die [...]. We have to give money to the poor freely. Only after giving the poor money [should] the rich send the poor away. In our locality how many rich people with enough to eat there are!⁴²⁾

(Maharjan boy, age not recorded, A3, N)

This boy's picture of his neighbourhood showed the local Ganesh temple and two figures, one labelled as 'the rich', with shoes, and one as 'the poor', without shoes (see Figure 21).

42) Throughout this account the word *ghar* (house) is used, but I have translated it as 'locality' rather than 'house'.

Table 2. Pictures and essays on 'my neighbourhood'

Class: Mention of:	A3: pictures (n=8)	A3: essays (n=8)	A5: pictures (n=23)	A5: essays (n=23)	B3: pictures (n=10)	B3: essays (n=10)	B5: pictures (n=3)	B5: essays (n=3)
temples	75%	88%	65%	87%	70%	60%	33%	
dogs		63%		39%		10%		
houses	63%	87.5%	91%	58%	100%	30%	67%	100%
wells/waterspouts	25%	50%	13%	43%		30%		
castes/ethnic groups		50% ^a		33% ^b		60% ^c		67%

A blank equals zero.

(a) two others mention rich and poor, and one 'different kinds of people'.

(b) three others complain about incomers (that they are dirty and quarrelsome).

(c) three others mention 'different kinds of people', one bad people who beat children and take away their money.

A summary of how many children mentioned which topics in their essays on their neighbourhood is given in Table 2. It clearly bears out the point made above about the continued salience of temples and sacred sites.

Conclusions

As noted at the outset, the anthropology of children's experience is an understudied field in Nepal. What is presented here, however, is only the smallest snapshot of a narrow range of topics. I have only thin and anecdotal material on children's reactions to TV programmes and to the wider world to which they have increasingly been introduced by them (several children mentioned that they had a TV in their descriptions of their house). As stressed at the outset, a major gap in our understanding of contemporary youth of Nepal still exists, a gap which can only partially be filled by impressionistic and journalistic accounts. Apart from Liechty's work, mentioned above, there is no ethnography of urban Nepali youth to compare to Marie Gillespie's *Television, Ethnicity, and Cultural Change*, which shows, among many other things, how intra-family relationships in the London suburb of Southall are negotiated by South Asian British youth using the plots of the Australian soap opera, *Neighbours*. On rural Nepali youth we are in a slightly better position, thanks to the work of Skinner (1990) and Ahearn (2003).

The material presented here shows, I would suggest, that most children are learning the normative messages about doctors and biomedicine that the school and its textbooks, as part of the larger process of 'development', are imparting.⁴³⁾ Even if

43) Much has been written about the effects of development discourses, which devalue village life (Pigg 1992). Skinner and Holland (1996) demonstrate that many schoolchildren have internalized the development messages which devalue the 'uneducated' and the 'backward', and ↗

some of the children's understandings are in tension with the pro-science and anti-superstition lessons of modernity that they receive at school, for the most part they appear to know that these are two antagonistic ways of understanding the world. The subject of illness is one that immediately engages them and almost of itself imposes a narrative structure on what they write. Within that framework many children were capable of relating what had happened to them and their families with considerable vividness.

Despite the general trend towards the secularization of Nepali life, as far as these urban children's experience of public space was concerned, it still appears to centre on sacred markers. This would seem to be almost as equally true of the children of school B, fewer of whom live in the religiously dense environment of one of the old cities of the Kathmandu Valley. The topic of the neighbourhood did not lend itself to narratives, but many of the children produced interesting and highly descriptive accounts none the less.

The fact that school B was founded and is run in accordance with the ethos of Newar cultural nationalism did not appear to make a big difference to the children at the school—at least not one that showed up in the limited purview of this research project. This suggests that it is the experience of being at school as such, not the particular kind of school or ideology that guides it, that is the most important determinant of the Nepali child's experience—though again this should be tested by further research comparing so-called 'English boarding' schools with government schools in Nepal. Despite this, school B is certainly succeeding in its aim of giving poor children a good education—better than they would otherwise get—and sending them on to other schools with an ability to write in Nepal Bhasha, their own mother tongue.

Finally, the children's accounts of their families—and indeed many of their stories about illness—reveal that they are deeply concerned with intra-household, as well as wider kin, relationships, and that they fully understand hierarchies based on age. Despite the fact that the expressions of love and relatedness were probably framed in terms derived from school textbooks, there is no reason to doubt that in most cases they were none the less heartfelt. Given the small size and limited age-range of the sample, as well as the relatively open and diffuse nature of the questions asked, it would not be possible on the basis of these data to construct a detailed account of how children acquire and experience hierarchy within and outside the family, such as Toren (1990) produced for Fiji. To study how Nepali children experience and comprehend social and familial hierarchy in a time of rapid change and radical uncertainty would indeed be an excellent project. If this article helps to encourage others to carry out further and more systematic research with children in Nepal along these or similar lines, I will consider it to have made a worthwhile contribution.

↗ which identify these states as what happens in villages. Ahearn (2003) is a recent and very full discussion of the issue.

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ジタ語ムランギ方言の動詞音調分析*

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A Tonal Analysis of Verbs of the Mrangi Dialect of Jita

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The Jita language is spoken in the southwestern area of the Mara Region of Tanzania. It belongs to the Nyanza-Suguti group of the lacustrine Bantu languages (Nurse and Phillipson, 1980).

Downing has already studied the tonal phenomena of Jita (Downing, 1990). Her informant is from Ukerewe Island, where the Kerewe language is also spoken and her informant speaks Kerewe besides her mother tongue Jita. The Jita dialect studied in this text is the Mrangi dialect spoken in the northern area of the Jita-land, bounded by the Chi-Ruri language. The informant of this study cannot speak Ruri. In comparing the Ukerewe and Mrangi dialect, there are some differences in the surface tonal patterns of nouns in isolation between the two, though the difference is not discussed in the text. In the case of nouns, three tonal types are found in Downing (and other previous studies of adjacent languages). In the Mrangi dialect, the three tonal types of nouns that correspond one to one to those of Downing were identified, but a fourth tonal type was also found in addition to the three tonal types corresponding to Downing's. In the tonal study of verbs, all the data were obtained from the same informant as that in the tonal study of nouns (Kagaya 2003). The informant in this study is Mr. J. Kujerwa who was born in 1959 in Mrangi Village, Mara Region. He spent 15 years in the village, and moved to Moshi, Musoma and Tanga for higher education. He returned to Musoma in 1984 and since then, he has been staying in Musoma. Many Jita people live in this town, and he speaks Jita with those people daily. He can speak Swahili and English besides his mother tongue Jita. His parents and both set of grand

Keywords: Tonal system of verbs, Jita language, Mrangi dialect, post-accent, Contrast in accents

キーワード: 動詞音調形, ジタ語, ムランギ方言, ポストアクセント, アクセントによる対立

* 本稿の資料は文部科学省科学研究費補助金（基盤研究（A）（2））による「北部中部バントゥ諸語の記述・比較研究」（平成11年度～13年度）の現地調査で収集したものの一部である。この調査に御協力をいただき、また御尽力をたまわった国内外の多くの方々に、ここに謝意を表する。

parents are Jita people. All data in this text were collected in October 2001 and November 2002.

In Chapter 1, the results of the tonal analysis of nouns are shown, i.e., the tonal system and some effective tonal rules of this language are shown through tonal phenomena appearing in infinitives. There are two tonal types in the verb root. One appears with one H tone, and the other appears without any H tones. The former is called the H tone type and the latter the L tone type. The place of the H tone is specified by a “post-accent” in the lexicon. The most important tonal rule is the rule, which removes the sequence of consecutive post-accents immediately after the first post-accent. In the text, infinitives are shown as the examples of tonal derivation. In Chapter 2, we discuss the tonal patterns of some conjugations of verbs, which can be derived directly from their underlying representations and tonal rules adopted in the tonal study of Jita nouns. In Chapters 3 to 5, we discuss tonal patterns, which cannot be derived from their underlying representations without new tonal rules. A new phenomenon found in the verbal study is one concerning the removal of a post-accent in particular circumstances. For this, we propose a new rule, which removes the first particular post-accent immediately preceding another post-accent. In this chapter, we also discuss the tonal insertion in some circumstances. In Chapters 6 and 7, we discuss tonal patterns that cannot be derived directly from their underlying representations and tonal rules so far. In some conjugations, surface tonal patterns of the H tone type appear to be the same as those of the L tone type. One of the examples is the tonal pattern of infinitive with an object prefix. These surface tonal patterns are derived directly from their underlying representations and very common tonal rules adopted in the previous study on nouns. However, there are some conjugations, whose surface tonal patterns cannot be derived directly by the process mentioned so far, though their tonal patterns show the same pattern despite the difference in their underlying representations, i.e., they show the same patterns though their underlying representations are different. These tonal patterns may be derived through some processes after removing all tonal information in the underlying representation. In Chapter 8, we discuss special tonal patterns, in which we propose particular rules for both some conjugations and tonal types of the verb stem. In Chapter 9, we discuss tonal patterns which follow the verbal-prefix “ni”. In Chapter 10, we discuss tonal patterns, which precede an infinitive. There are many compound verbs in this language. A compound verb consists of a copula and the main verb. In Chapter 11, we discuss the tonal patterns of the copula of compound verbs, and in Chapter 12, we discuss two aspects of the tonal information of Jita verbs.

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簡略表記

A	; 肯定形	CV	; ポストアクセントを持つ音節
N	; 名詞または否定形	s	; 音節
V	; 動詞または母音	s st	; 短音節
:	; 長音記号	s ^{lg}	; 長音節
Ad	; 形容詞	N	; 後続子音と同一調音点をとる鼻音
Dem	; 指示詞	>	; ポストアクセント
I	; 不定形	*	; (実効) アクセント音節の位置
IV	; 冒頭母音	TBU	; 音調負担単位 (Tone Bearing Unit)
S	; 主格接辞	o	; TBU
Vstem	; 語幹	-	; 前接辞と語幹との境界
Vdr	; 動詞派生辞	#	; 語境界
Fv	; 終母音	# #	; 文境界
Op	; 目的接辞	H	; 高平ら調
pf	; 前接辞	L	; 低平ら調
C	; 子音	φ	; zero

0. 概 要

本稿ではバントゥ諸語の中のいわゆる大湖グループに属するジタ語 (Echi-Jita) の動詞の音調システムを論ずる。資料は2001年10月、2002年9月にタンザニア国マラ州のムソマで収集した¹⁾。

ジタ語はタンザニア国マラ州西南部の Bunda の西方を中心に話されているバントゥ諸語の一つである。正確な話し手の数は不明であるが、1957年の国勢調査によれば、8万人ほどである (Polomé, 1980)。ジタ語はバントゥ諸語の中の、ヴィクトリア湖を取り巻く地域で話されている、いわゆる大湖グループ (Lacustrine group) に属する。大湖グループは更にルヒャグループ (Luhya)、ニャンザ・スグティグループ (Nyanza/Suguti)、インターラキュストリンググループ (Interlacustrine) に分類され、ジタ語はルリ (Ruri) 語、レギ (Regi) 語、クワヤ (Kwaya) 等とともにニャンザ・スグティグループのスグティ諸語に分類されている (Nurse and Philippson, 1980)。なお、Guthrie (1971) のバントゥ諸語の分類では E25 と名付けられ、Zone E の E.20 Haya-Jita Group に分類されている。

本稿のインフォーマントは Mr. J. Kujerwa で、1959年に Mara 州の Mrangi 村出身で生まれている。この地域はジタ語地域の中でも北端に位置し、すぐ北方はルリ語 (chi-ruri) の地域である。彼は、Mrangi 村で15歳まで過ごし、その後学業のため Moshi, Musoma で過ごした。さらに、タンザニア国民の義務であるナショナルサービスのため Tanga や Arusha でも過ごしたが、1984年にこの地方の最大の町である Musoma に住みはじめ、以来今日まで、わずかの期間を除き、この町で過ごしている。Musoma には多くのジタ人がおり、日常でも

1) この言語の子音として /p, b [β^w], t, d, ch, j, k, g, f, s, m, n, ny [ɲ], mb, nd, nj, ng, r, w, y/ が見つかっている。なお、/b/ の摩擦成分は極めて弱く、また /ch, j/ は各々、硬口蓋破擦音を示す。母音は5母音からなるが短母音 /i, e, a, o, u/ と長母音 /i:, e:, a:, o:, u:/ が見つかっている。

ジタ語を使う機会が多いと言う。彼はジタ語のほか、スワヒリ語、英語を話す。彼の両親、両親の両親もジタ語を母語とするジタ人である。

本稿のインフォーマントの名詞音調形には、他のジタ語資料や周辺諸語で見ついている三つの音調型に加えて、それらとはシステムが多少異なる第4の音調型が観察された(加賀谷, 2003)。この近辺のクチャ語の音調形がかなり壊れている事実からしても、ジタ語そのものにも他の言語の影響が強く現れてきているのかも知れない。本稿の動詞の音調形にもそのような他のジタ語資料や周辺諸語とは異なる音調形がないとは言い切れないが、それでもジタ語の音調形の一つであることには変わりはない。

本稿は次のような内容からなる。まず、第1章では不定形の音調型について説明し、語幹には高平ら調の現れる高音調型と、全てのTBUが低平ら調で現れる低音調型があることを述べる(この事は語根に対立する二つの音調型があることを意味する)。また、この言語の名詞音調分析の結果より、この言語の音調システムは、“ポストアクセントとそれと1対1に対応するトーンHからなること”を述べる(加賀谷, 2003)。さらに、名詞(含不定形)の音調形を誘導するために用いられた規則のうちで、動詞音調分析に有効な幾つかの音調規則について述べることにする。第2章では、これらの名詞(含不定形)の音調形の誘導に用いられた誘導規則だけで誘導可能な動詞活用形の音調形と、その誘導に関して述べる。第3章から第5章までは、動詞活用形だけに現れる新たな音調規則について述べ、それらの規則を導入することにより誘導可能となる活用形音調形について述べることにする。ここで導入される新たな音調規則とは、“語内に連続するポストアクセントがある場合に、通常はその後の方のポストアクセントが消滅するが、幾つかの特別な環境ではその前の方のポストアクセントが消滅する”という規則である。この新たな規則を用いて動詞活用形の基底形からの音調誘導について述べる。

第6章、第7章では、動詞基底形からは誘導不可能と思われる表面音調形を論ずる。幾つかの活用形の表面音調形は、その基底形が全く異なっている、即ち動詞語根が低音調型であっても高音調型であっても完全に同一の表面音調形であらわれることがある。例えば、目的接辞を取った不定形である。これらは名詞音調の誘導でも用いた通常の音調規則を適用しただけで誘導可能である。しかし、幾つかの活用形では、通常の音調規則を適用すると、正しい表面音調形に到達できず、またその正しい表面音調形が低音調型でも高音調型でも完全に同一の音調形を取ることがある。このような音調形は、その基底形から誘導されるのではなく、いわば活用形自体が一つの音調形を有していると考えられる。そのような音調形誘導に必要な規則と誘導過程を述べる。第8章では、表面音調形はその基底形から誘導できるのだが、活用形に固有の極めて特殊な規則や誘導過程を取ると考えられる活用形の音調形について述べる。第9章では動詞前接辞“ni”をとる活用形の音調形について述べる。ここでも前章で必要となった特殊な規則が有効である。第10章ではその直後に不定形を取る動詞の音調形を論ずる。この言語は多くの複合動詞を持つ。複合動詞は動詞の前に繫辞からなる前動詞が位置する。第11章では、この環境での繫辞の音調形について述べる。第12章では、この言語の2種類の音調情報、すなわち動詞の構成要素が持つ音調情報から誘導される音調形と、動詞の構成要素の音調情報は無視されて、動詞活用形そのものの自体に定義された音調情報について議論する。

1. 不定形の音調形

1.1. 先行研究の音調システムと音調規則

ジタ語の音調に関する先行研究の一つに、Downing による名詞と動詞を対象にした研究がある (Downing 1990)。彼女のインフォーマントは Ukerewe 島出身で、ジタ語の他に Kerewe 語、スワヒリ語、英語を流暢に話すという。しかし、そこに現われている動詞活用形の表面音調形は本稿の資料とは一部異なっている。その理由は、Downing とはインフォーマントの出身地が異なるので、方言差他にあると思われる²⁾。

加賀谷は名詞、名詞＋修飾語、繫辞＋名詞の音調形を論じている (加賀谷 2003)。加賀谷が対象とした言語はジタ語ムランギ方言で、Downing (ibid) とは方言の違いの所為か表面音調

- 2) Downing の資料によれば、語幹が 2, 3 音節からなる名詞の孤立音調形は以下の 3 タイプがあるという。その“ゼロ tone”タイプは本稿の L タイプであり、同一の音調形として現われる。“penult-high”タイプは本稿では語幹次頭音節が H であると解釈出来るだろう。何故なら、語幹が 4 音節からなる名詞 (含不定形) でも語幹次頭音節が H であるからである。また、“final-high”タイプの音調形は本稿では別の音調形、すなわち次末 TBU が H となって実現されている。

a. Downing の名詞の孤立音調形

タイプ		
ゼロ tone	omu-sani (friend)	omu-lamusi (judge)
penult-high	omu-gási (woman)	ji:-n'okóra (knees)
final-high	omu-tu:ngâ (rich person)	li-darinâ (tangerine)

1984 年の筆者の資料に現われる名詞の孤立音調形は次のようなものである。インフォーマントは 1952 年に本稿のインフォーマントと同じ村で生まれた男性で、調査時は 32 歳であった。

b. 1984 年の資料 (インフォーマント: 1952 年生まれ, 調査時 32 歳)

タイプ

ゼロ tone	omu-ti (medicine)	omu-sani (friend)	echi-ribato (sole)	aka-murimuri (firefly)
penult-high	obú-su (face)	omu-gási (woman)	echi-funíko (lid)	i-surubáre (trousers)
antepenult-high			echi-yáruro (yawn)	i-ng'okórome (bull)

また、ジタ語の北に隣接するルリ語 (Ci-Ruri) の名詞の孤立音調形は次のようなものである (Massamba 1984)。なお、トーンメロディは LHL と設定されており、その H がアクセントと連結する。

a. ルリ語名詞の孤立音調形

タイプ	基底形	表面音調形
class 1	omu-rume	ome-rúme
class 2	obu-goro	obu-gô rô
class 3	omu-sasi	omu-sasi

形が多少異なっている。Downing は名詞の音調型に 3 型見つけている。加賀谷は 1984 年にも在日のジタ語母語話者から資料を収集していて、そこでは名詞の音調型に、Downing と同じく、3 型見つけている。しかし、加賀谷 (2003) では四つの名詞音調型が見つかり、そのうちの 3 型は方言的違いかあるいはインフォーマントの年令／言語環境の違いのためか、表面音調形は違うが、上述の 3 型と互いに 1 対 1 対応したが、残りの一つはこれらの資料には全く見つかからない音調型である。また近接するルリ語の名詞も対応する三つの音調型しかないことから考えて (Massamba 1984), (その所以を含めた再調査が必要であるが), 4 番目の音調型はこのインフォーマントだけに見つかった特殊な型と考えられる (加賀谷 2003)。この 4 番目の音調型に属する名詞は少数なので、これらを除外して考察すると、ジタ語ムランギ方言の名詞音調システムは、(1) ポストアクセントの有無と、それがあの場合にはその位置、(2) ポストアクセントと 1 対 1 に対応するトーン H から成る音調システムであった。本稿ではこの考えを前提にして考察を進めてゆくことにする。

ジタ語の不定形は前接辞 “oku-” と語幹、語末母音 “-a” からなる。孤立環境での不定形の音調形には二つの型が見つかり、その一つは不定形全体が低平ら調であられ、他の一つはその一部に高平ら調が現れる型である。本稿では、前者を低音調型 (L 型、無アクセント型)、後者を高音調型 (H 型) と呼ぶことにする。この (表面音調形の) 違いは語幹が 1 音節からなる場合には現れないが、その 1 音節語幹に場所を示す接辞 “-o” を後接させて、語幹以降を 2 音節にした場合にそれらの表面音調形の違いより、音調型の違いが明らかになる。なお、この言語では短母音 [i, e, a, o, u] と長母音 [i:, e:, a:, o:, u:] が対立する。また、短母音が 1TBU、長母音が 2TBU をなす。

幾つかの環境での短母音だけからなる不定形の音調形を (1a) に示し、長母音を含む高音調型の音調形の例を (1b) に示す (加賀谷 2003)。なお、(1a), (1b) の “-o” は場所を示す接辞, “-chi-” は目的接辞, “kunu” は「この」を表す指示詞で, “infinitive-o”, “oku-chi-stem-a”, “infinitive kunu” は各々「～ (の場所) で ～する」, 「それを～する」, 「この～すること」を意味する。

(1a) 短音節だけからなる不定形の様々な環境での表面音調形

L 型				
孤立形	oku-sya (to grind)	oku-bara (to count)	oku-ragura (to treat)	oku-rubirira (to follow)
-o	oku-sya-o	oku-bara-o	oku-ragura-o	oku-rubirira-o
-chi-	oku-chí-sya	oku-chi-bára	oku-chi-rágura	oku-chi-rúbirira
+kúnu	oku-sya	oku-bara	oku-ragura	oku-rubirira
H 型				
孤立形	oku-ta (to put)	oku-bína (to dance)	oku-bonána (to meet)	oku-simúrira (to tell)
-o	oku-tá-o	oku-biná-o	oku-bonána-o	oku-simúrira-o
-chi-	oku-chí-ta	oku-chi-bína	oku-chi-bónana	oku-chi-símurira
+kúnu	oku-ta	oku-biná	oku-bonána	oku-simúrira

(1b) 長音節のある不定形高音調型の音調形

H 型		
孤立形	oku-bí:ka (to save)	oku-ba:bá:ta (to rub)
-chi-	oku-chi-bí:ka	oku-chi-bá:ba:ta
+kúnu	oku-bi:ká	oku-ba:bá:ta

これらの音調現象から、加賀谷は不定形を含む名詞の基底形と誘導規則に関して次のような考察をした(加賀谷 2003)。まず、(a) 本来は H の現れない低音調型でも、目的接辞を取る場合は H が現れるので、目的接辞自体が H を持っているとして解釈できる。特徴的なことはその H が目的接辞ではなく、その一つ右の音節に現れることであり、この現象をポストアクセント (post-accent) を仮定することにより説明した。ポストアクセントとは、それが指定されている音節の一つ右の音節にトーンメロディの指定されたトーンが実際に連結すると言う概念である³⁾。本稿では、ポストアクセント “>” に対して、実際にトーンメロディが連結する位置を(実効)アクセントと呼び、“*” で示すことにする。なお、この言語でのトーンメロディは H と仮定するので、“*” が指定されている TBU が H で現れ、(b) “*” が指定されていない TBU は音声レベルで低音調で現れると解釈する。なお、実効アクセントが指定される音節が 2TBU からなる場合には、(1b) の孤立音調形、例えば “oku-ba:bá:ta (to rub)” から明らかのように、その音節の最初の TBU に “*” が指定される。以上をまとめると次のように表されるだろう。

(2) 基底音調の連結の方法 (AC)

トーンメロディの H は “*” が指定されたアクセント音節と連結する。また、そのアクセント音節が 2TBU からなる場合には、その最初の TBU と連結する。

(3) 基底音調が指定されていない場合の音調

未連結の TBU は音声レベルで低平ら調で現れる。

さらに加賀谷 (2003) に従うと、まず目的接辞を取らない語幹が 3 音節以上の孤立形での高音調型を見ると、その H は語幹次頭音節に現れているので、(c) (高音調型の) ポストアクセントが語幹頭音節にあると仮定する。これが目的接辞を取ると、目的接辞はポストアクセントを持つので、目的接辞の H と高音調型の語幹の H が共に連続して現れてよさそうであるが、すなわち、語幹頭音節と語幹次頭音節が共に H で現れてよさそうであるが、実際には一つの H しか現れず、しかもその H は目的接辞の直後の音節に現れ、低音調型と完全に同一の音調形となっていることである。この現象は、(d) 語中でポストアクセントが隣接する場合、後方に位置するポストアクセントが消滅すると解釈することにより説明できるだろう。この消滅の現象も多くの言語で観察されている (Goldsmith *ibid*, Massamba *ibid*, Downing *ibid*)。

次に、語幹が 2 音節の場合も、ポストアクセントが語幹頭音節に位置すると仮定できる。実

3) このようなポストアクセントはトンガ語やルリ語にも用いられ (Goldsmith, 1984; Massamba; 1984), またウケレウェ島のジタ語の分析にも似たような手法が用いられている (Downing, 1990)。

際、不定形に“kunu”が後続する場合には、語末音節に H が現れ、ポストアクセントが語幹頭音節にあることが分る。従って、(e) 孤立環境での語幹が 2 音節の場合には、語末音節に現れる“*”がその直前の TBU に移動すると考える。こう仮定すると、さらに語幹頭が長音節で、語幹が 2 音節からなる語での語幹頭音節の上昇調の説明が可能となる（参照 (1b)）。孤立環境で、語幹が 1 音節の場合には、H の現れる不定形は見つからない。しかし、それに場所の接辞“-o”が後接する場合には H の現れる語と現れない語に分類される。H の現れない語は当然低音調型に分類でき、また H の現れる語は語幹が 2 音節の高音調型の語と完全に同一な音調形で現れるので高音調型に分類できる。従って、孤立環境での音調形を誘導するために、ポストアクセントは語幹 2 音節以上の語と同じく語幹頭に位置するが、(f) 語幹が 1 音節の語の場合には、孤立環境ではアクセントが消滅して H が現れないと解釈する。

一方、低音調型の場合には低く平らに現れるが、基底形で各 TBU が L と指定されていると考える必要は無く、(3) に示したように、音韻レベルの最終表示でトーンメロディと連結していない TBU は音声レベルで自動的に L で実現されると考える。

以上から、不定形の基底形を次のように仮定する（加賀谷 2003）。

(4) 不定形の基底形

低音調型	高音調型
oku-sya	> oku-ta
oku-bara	> oku-bina
oku-ragura	> oku-bonana
oku-rubirira	> oku-simurirra

また、上述した (d), (e), (f) は次のような規則として表される（加賀谷 2003）。

(5) 語中の連続するポストアクセント “>” の消滅（参照 (d)）

5. > > >
 s s → s s

(6) ポストアクセントの変換（参照 (f), (a)）

6a. >
 s → s / _ ##
 そうで無ければ
6b. > *
 s s → s s

(9) 目的接辞の付いた場合の誘導例

低音調型

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} > & 6b & * & AC & * & 3 \\ \text{oku-chi-ragura} & \rightarrow & \text{oku-chi-ragura} & \rightarrow & \text{oku-chi-ragura} & \Rightarrow & \text{oku-chi-rágura (to treat it)} \\ & & & & | & & \\ & & & & H & & \end{array}$$

高音調型

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & > & > & 5 & > & 6b & & * & AC & & * \\ \text{oku-chi-bonana} & \rightarrow & \text{oku-chi-bonana} & \rightarrow & \text{oku-chi-bonana} & \rightarrow & \text{oku-chi-bonana} & \rightarrow & \text{oku-chi-bonana} \\ & & & & & & | & & \\ & & & & & & H & & \end{array}$$

3
 \Rightarrow oku-chi-bónana (to meet us)

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} > > 5 & > 6b & * 7 & * AC & * 3 \\ \text{oku-chi-ta} \rightarrow \text{oku-chi-ta} \rightarrow \text{oku-chi-ta} \rightarrow \text{oku-chi-ta} \rightarrow \text{oku-chi-ta} \Rightarrow \text{oku-chi-ta} & & & & & & \text{(to put it)} \\ & & & & & & \text{H} \end{array}$

1.3. 動詞の構造

シタ語の動詞には単純動詞と複合動詞があり、単純動詞の構造は「主格接辞—一時称辞—目的接辞—動詞語幹—終母音」からなる。複合動詞は「繫辞+単純動詞」からなり、このうち繫辞は「主格接辞—一時称辞—ri(-ga)」, または「冒頭母音—主格接辞—一時称辞—bha(-ga)」からなる。主格接辞は“(C)V”の音形をとり、主語である名詞のクラスに文法的に呼応する。これらはもともとポストアクセントを持っていないが、一部の動詞活用形で主格接辞にポストアクセントが挿入されることがある(参照; 規則 (44))。主格接辞はその直前に冒頭母音“IV”を持つ事がある⁵⁾。目的接辞も目的語の名詞クラスと文法的に呼応し、各々異なる音形をとる。上述したように、これらはポストアクセントを持つ⁶⁾。なお、主格接辞の表面音調がLではなく、Hで現れることがあるが、その直前に位置する主語である名詞が主格接辞の音調を変化させた為である⁷⁾。

5) 以下に主格接辞の音形を示す。括弧内の数字は名詞クラスを示す。

主格接辞: ni (1st.sg), chi (1st.pl), u (2nd.sg), mu (2nd.pl), a (3rd.sg, cl.1/1a), ba (3rd.pl, cl.2), gu (3), ji (4), ri (5), ga (6), chi (7), bi (8), i (9), ji (10), ru (11), ka (12), tu (13), bu (14), ku (15), ku/a (16/18)。

未完了に属するの動詞活用形では、3人称単数及び名詞クラス 16 と 18 を除いては、主格接辞の直前に冒頭母音が現れる。括弧内の数字は名詞クラスを示す。

冒頭母音一主格接辞；

e-ni (1st.sg), e-chi (1st.pl), o-u (2nd.sg), o-mu (2nd.pl), ka (3rd.sg, cl.1/1a), a-ba (3rd.pl, cl.2), o-gu (3), e-ji (4), e-ri (5), a-ga (6), e-chi (7), e-bi (8), e-i (9), e-ji (10), o-ru (11), a-ka (12), o-tu (13), o-bu (14), o-ku (15), o-ku/ka (16/18)

6) 以下に目的接辞の音形を示す。括弧内の数字は名詞クラスを示す。

目的接辞; N (1st.sg), chi (1st.pl), ku (2nd.sg), ba (2nd.pl), mu (3rd.sg, cl.1/1a), ba (3rd.pl, cl.2), gu (3), ji (4), ri (5), ga (6), chi (7), bi (8), i (9), ji (10), ru (11), ka (12), tu (13), bu (14), ku (15), zero (16/18) (2人称複数と3人称複数の音形と音調は同一である)

7) 幾つかの名詞は主語に立つ時にその直後の主格接辞の音調 L を H に変える。例を示す。

omu-ti gú-ri-bura (a medicine may run out), ri:gogo rí-ri-gurwa (a log may be sold), imbwa í-ri-fwa (a dog may die)

2. 名詞（含不定形）の音調規則から誘導可能な動詞活用形の表面音調形 —N.Present, N.Conditional, N.Today Past Perfect, N.Future Perfect—

現在否定形（N.Present）の語形は“Sp-ta-ku-Vstem-a”であり、否定辞“ta”はポストアクセントを持つと仮定される。この表面音調形は、これまでに示した誘導規則から容易に誘導できる。以降、誘導過程での“AC”と“3”をまとめて記すことにする。

(10) N.Present

低音調型

> 6b * AC,3
chi-ta-ku-gura → chi-ta-ku-gura ⇒ chi-ta-kú-gura (we don't buy)

高音調型

> > 6b * * 7 * * AC,3
chi-ta-ku-bona → chi-ta-ku-bona → chi-ta-ku-bona ⇒ chi-ta-kú-bóna
(we don't get/find)

条件否定形（N.Conditional）もこれまでに示した規則だけで誘導できる。この語型は“S-ta-aka-Vstem-a”である。なお、“VC”は母音融合を表わす。

(11a) 条件否定形（N.Conditional）の低音調型

> > VC >> 5 > 6b *
chi-ta-aka-gur-ire → chi-ta-ka-gur-ire → chi-ta-ka-gur-ire → chi-ta-ka-gur-ire
AC,3
⇒ chi-ta-ká-gur-ire (we couldn't buy)

条件否定形（N.Conditional）で、語幹が高音調型の場合には、ポストアクセントが3個連続する。この場合のように、3個以上の“>”が連続する場合でも、2番目以降の全ての“>”は消滅して、最初の“>”だけが残ると考えられる。従って、今のところ規則（5）をそのように拡大解釈して用いる。

(11b) 条件否定形（N.Conditional）の高音調型

> > > VC >>> 5 > 6b *
chi-ta-aka-bon-ere → chi-ta-ka-bon-ere → chi-ta-ka-bon-ere → chi-ta-ka-bon-ere
AC,3
⇒ chi-ta-ká-bon-ere (we couldn't find)

条件否定形（N.Conditional）が目的接辞をとればより多くのポストアクセントが連続することになる。特に、高音調型が目的接辞を取れば、“>”は4個連続することになる。これらの場合でも、2番目以降の全ての“>”は消滅して、最初の“>”だけが残ると考えられる。

(12a) 条件否定形 (N.Conditional) の低音調型 + Op

> > > VC >> > 5 >
 chi-ta-aka-chi-gur-ire → chi-ta-ka-chi-gur-ire → chi-ta-ka-chi-gur-ire

6b * AC,3
 → chi-ta-ka-chi-gur-ire ⇒ chi-ta-ká-chi-gur-ire (we couldn't buy it)

(12b) 条件否定形 (N.Conditional) の高音調型 + Op

> > > > VC >> > > 5 >
 chi-ta-aka-chi-bon-ere → chi-ta-ka-chi-bon-ere → chi-ta-ka-chi-bon-ere

6b * AC,3
 → chi-ta-ka-chi-bon-ere ⇒ chi-ta-ká-chi-bon-ere (we couldn't find it)

以上の現象から、連続するポストアクセントの消滅規則 (5) を (13) のように書き換えておく必要がある。

(13) 語中の連続するポストアクセント “>” の消滅 (参照 (5))

13. > > >
 s sⁿ → s sⁿ ; 但し, n = 1, 2, 3, 4

今日の過去否定形 (N.Today Past) は “Sp-ta-a-Vstem-a” の構造を取り、否定辞 “ta” はポストアクセントを持ち、時称辞 “a” はポストアクセントを持たない。これらが融合して “ta-a > t-a” となるが、この時、ポストアクセントは残ると考える。従って、その融合形 “t-a” に目的接辞や語幹頭にポストアクセントを持つ高音調型の動詞語幹が続くと、その表面音調形は N.Conditional と同じ過程を経て誘導される⁸⁾。これを次のように表しておく。

(14) 母音融合に伴うポストアクセント

> >
 V₁-V₂ → V₃ ; 但し V₁=V₂=V₃ も許される

今日の過去完了形 (N.Today Past Perfect, “chi-a-ri + chi-ta-Vstem-ire”), 未来完了形 (N.Future Perfect, “echi-ba + chi-ta-Vstem-ire”) は複合形をなしているが、これらの動詞の表面音調形

8) N.Today Past の高音調型の誘導例を以下に示す。

(-op)

> > VC > > 13 > 6b *
 chi-ta-a-ringir-a → chi-ta:ringir-a → chi-ta:ringir-a → chi-ta:ringir-a
 3
 ⇒ chi-ta:ringir-a (we didn't look at)

(+op)

> > > VC > > > 13 > 6b *
 chi-ta-a-chi-ringir-a → chi-ta:chi-ringir-a → chi-ta:chi-ringir-a → chi-ta:chi-ringir-a
 3
 ⇒ chi-ta:chí-ringir-a (we didn't look at it)

も (13), (6), (7) から誘導できる。なお, 複合動詞の前動詞 (繫辞) に現れる形態素も含めて, “>” を持つものは, 次のようなものである。

(15) ポストアクセントを持つ幾つかの形態素

> > > >
ri- ga- ta- ba-

これらのうちの “ta” の例を以下に示す。なお, 複合動詞の前動詞は, 常に繫辞であり, その音形が如何であれ語末 TBU が常に H で現れ他は L で現れる。又, その音調形は後動詞の音調には影響を与えない。従って, 以下の例では, 今日の過去完了形 (N.Today Past Perfect, “chi-a-ri + chi-ta-Vstem-ire”), 未来完了形 (N.Future Perfect, “echi-ba + chi-ta-Vstem-ire”) の後動詞の表面音調形だけの誘導例を示す (参照 11 章)。

(16) N.Today Past Perfect, N.Future Perfect の後動詞

N.Today Past Perfect の低音調型

> 6b * AC,3
chi-ta-se:ye → chi-ta-se:ye ⇒ (cha:-rí) chi-ta-sé:ye (we hadn’t ground)

N.Future Perfect

> 6b * AC,3
chi-ta-gur-ire → chi-ta-gur-ire ⇒ (e-chi-bá) chi-ta-gúr-ire (we will not have bought)

N.Today Past Perfect の高音調型

> > 13 > 6b * AC,3
chi-ta-ri:ye → chi-ta-ri:ye → chi-ta-ri:ye ⇒ (cha:-rí) chi-ta-rí:ye (we hadn’t eaten)

N.Future Perfect

> 6b * AC,3
chi-ta-bon-ere → chi-ta-bon-ere ⇒ (e-chi-bá) chi-ta-bón-ere
(we will not have found)

なお, この活用形での語幹が 3 音節以上の場合には, 上とは異なる誘導過程を経て表面音調形が誘導される (参照 5.1 章)。

以下に、時称辞“-ama-”が現れる近過去肯定形 (A.Recent Past, Sp-ama-Vstem-a) と近過去否定形 (N.Recent Past, Sp-ta-ama-Vstem-a) の音調誘導例を示す。

(19a) A.Recent Past (Sp-ama-Vstem-a)

高音調型

> > VC > > 18a > 6a AC,3
chi-ama-ry-a → cha-ma-ry-a → cha-ma-ry-a → cha-ma-ry-a ⇒ cha-ma-ry-a (we ate)

> > > VC > > > 18a > > 13 >
chi-ama-chi-ry-a → cha-ma-chi-ry-a → cha-ma-chi-ry-a → cha-ma-chi-ry-a
6b * 7 * AC,3
→ cha-ma-chi-ry-a → cha-ma-chi-ry-a ⇒ cha-ma-chí-ry-a (we ate it)

低音調型

> VC > 6b * 7 * 3
chi-ama-sy-a → cha-ma-sy-a → cha-ma-sy-a → cha-ma-sy-a ⇒ cha-má-sy-a (we ground)

> > VC > > 18a > 6b *
chi-ama-chi-sy-a → cha-ma-chi-sy-a → cha-ma-chi-sy-a → cha-ma-chi-sy-a

7 * AC,3
→ cha-ma-chi-sy-a ⇒ cha-ma-chí-ry-a (we ground it)

(19b) N.Recent Past (Sp-ta-ama-Vstem-a)

低音調型

> > VC > > 13 > 6b *
chi-ta-ama-gur-a → chi-ta:ma-gur-a → chi-ta:ma-gur-a → chi-ta:ma-gur-a

AC,3
⇒ chi-ta:má-gur-a (we didn't buy)

> > > VC,18a > > 6b * *
chi-ta-ama-chi-gur-a → ch-ta:ma-chi-gur-a → chi-ta:ma-chi-gur-a

AC,3
⇒ chi-ta:má-chi-gúr-a (we didn't buy)

(18b) の例として、以下に推量否定形 (N.Speculative, “Sp-ta-ri-Vstem-a”, 継続否定形 (N.Continuous, “Sp-ta-cha-Vstem-a”) の幾つかの誘導過程を示す。

(20a) N.Speculative

低音調型

>> 18b > 6b * AC,3
chi-ta-ri-gur-a → chi-ta-ri-gur-a → chi-ta-ri-gur-a ⇒ chi-ta-ri-gúr-a (we will not buy)

> > > 18b > > 13 > 6b *

chi-ta-ri-chi-gur-a → chi-ta-ri-chi-gur-a → chi-ta-ri-chi-gur-a → chi-ta-ri-chi-gur-a
(we will not buy)

AC,3

⇒ chi-ta-ri-chí-gur-a (we will not buy it)

高音調型

> > > 18b,13 > 6b * AC,3

chi-ta-ri-bon-a → chi-ta-ri-bon-a → chi-ta-ri-bon-a ⇒ chi-ta-ri-bón-a (we will not get)

> > > > 18b,13 > 6b *

chi-ta-ri-chi-bon-a → chi-ta-ri-chi-bon-a → chi-ta-ri-chi-bon-a

AC,3

⇒ chi-ta-ri-chí-bon-a (we will not get it)

(20b) N.Continuous

低音調型

> > 18b > 6b * AC,3

chi-ta-cha:-gur-a → chi-ta-cha:-gur-a → chi-ta-cha:-gur-a ⇒ chi-ta-cha:-gúr-a
(we no longer buy)

> > > 18b > > 13 >

chi-ta-cha:-chi-gur-a → chi-ta-cha:-chi-gur-a → chi-ta-cha:-chi-gur-a

6b * AC,3

→ chi-ta-cha:-chi-gur-a ⇒ chi-ta-cha:-chí-gur-a (we no longer buy it)

高音調型

> > > 18b,13 > 6b * AC,3

chi-ta-cha:-bon-a → chi-ta-cha:-bon-a → chi-ta-cha:-bon-a ⇒ chi-ta-cha:-bón-a
(we no longer get)

> > > > 18b,13 > 6b *

chi-ta-cha:-chi-bon-a → chi-ta-cha:-chi-bon-a → chi-ta-cha:-chi-bon-a

AC,3

⇒ chi-ta-cha:-chí-bon-a (we no longer get it)

4. 複数のポストアクセントが隣接していない音調形

ポストアクセントが連続していない場合には規則 (13) が適用されず、複数個の H が隣接しない位置に現れる。習慣肯定形 1 (A.Custom1), 習慣否定形 1 (N.Custom1) は複合動詞で、各々の語形は “Sp-a-ri-gá ni-Sp-Vstem-ag-a”, “Sp-a-ri-gá Sp-ta-ku-Vstem-ag-a” である。その前動詞の表面音調形は, “Sp-ta-ri-gá” であり (参照第 11 章), 後動詞は動詞派生辞 “-ag-” を取り, その “a” がポストアクセントを持つと考えられる。従って, その後動詞は次の例に

示すように, 隣接しない位置に2個ないし3個のポストアクセントを持ち, 各々がHで現れる。N.Custom1を例とすると, その後動詞の表面音調形は次のように誘導される。但し, (21b)に見られるように, 規則(7)の適用により, 語次末音節の*とその直前の*が隣接することがある。

(21) N.Custom1

低音調型

21a. > > 6b,7 * * AC,3
 chi-ta-ku-ramir-aga → chi-ta-ku-ramir-aga ⇒ chi-ta-kú-ramir-ága
 (we used not to receive)

高音調型

21b. > > > 6b,7 * * * AC,3
 chi-ta-ku-ringir-aga → chi-ta-ku-ringir-aga ⇒ chi-ta-kú-ringír-ága
 (we used not to receive)

A.Custom1, N.Custom1では, 上の例のような“-ag-”がポストアクセントを持つとして誘導される音調形の他にもう一つの異音調形が見つかる。この場合, “-ag-”がポストアクセントを持たないとして仮定すると(6b)(と(13))から容易にその表面音調形が誘導できる。

(22) N.Custom1の異音調形(-ag-がポストアクセントを持たない場合)

低音調型の表面音調形

ch-a:ri-gá chi-ta-kú-gur-ag-a (we used not to buy)

高音調型の表面音調形

ch-a:ri-gá chi-ta-kú-bon-ág-a (we used not to get)

5. 実効アクセントの挿入を必要とする活用形

5.1. 語幹音節数と次末音節の長短によって異なる音調形を持つ動詞活用形

—N.Past Perfect, N.Today Past Perfect, N.Future Perfect—

語幹音節数と次末音節の長短によって異なる表面音調形を持つ動詞活用形が幾つか見つっている。過去完了否定形(N.Past Perfect), 今日の過去完了否定形(N.Today Past Perfect), 未来完了否定形(N.Future Perfect)の音調形がそれである(このうち, N.Today Past Perfect, N.Future Perfectの後動詞の語幹が2音節, 3音節の音調誘導例は(16)に示してある)。N.Past Perfectの音調形の例を以下に示す。この活用形は複合動詞で前動詞は“Sp-a-ri-gá”であり(後述), 後動詞は“Sp-ta-a-Vstem-ire”である。

a-Vstem-ire”, “IV-Sp-bh-a Sp-a-Vstem-ire” の構造をとる。各々の前動詞の音調は語末 TBU だけに H が現れる音調形をとる（参照第 11 章）。後動詞 “Sp-a-Vstem-ire” はこれらの 3 活用形で同一であり、その時称辞 “a” は、A.Remote Past に見られたように、ポストアクセントを持たない（参照 (39), (50)）。

この後動詞 “Sp-a-Vstem-ire” は (26) のような表面音調形をとる。

(26) 後動詞 “Sp-a-Vstem-ire” の音調形

高音調型	-op	+op
to eat	ch-a-rí:ye	ch-a-chí-rí:ye
to look	ch-a-ríngí:ye	ch-a-chí-ríngí:ye
to push	ch-a-kú:ríre ~ ch-a-kú:rire	ch-a-chí-kú:rire
to fold	ch-a-símúri:ye	ch-a-chí-símuri:ye
低音調型		
to grind	ch-a-sé:ye	ch-a-chí-sé:ye
to buy	ch-a-gúrire	ch-a-chí-gúrire
to receive	ch-a-rámi:ye	ch-a-chí-rámi:ye
to follow	ch-a-rú:biriye	ch-a-chí-rú:biriye

これらの音調形の特徴は連続する H が現れていることである。この言語では規則 (13) や、(18a), (18b) などから、ポストアクセントが連続する場合、そのどちらかのポストアクセントが消滅するので、誘導過程のどこかで H が挿入されない限り、あるいは (21b) の例のような語末 TBU の H が (7) により、次末 TBU への移動を起こさない限り、この言語の音調形では本来は連続して * が現れることはないはずである。

上の音調形の特徴はその基底形から誘導される表面音調形の H に加え、その直前にすなわち時称辞 “a” の直後の TBU が H を有することである。従って、この H が誘導課程のどこかで挿入されたと考えることができる。

(27) 後動詞 “Sp-a-Vstem-ire” の音調形誘導の試み

	L 型, -op	H 型, -op	L 型, +op	H 型, +op	
ul	chi-a-se:ye	chi-a-ri:ye ^{>}	chi-a-chi-se:ye ^{>}	chi-a-chi-ri:ye ^{>>}	VC
p1	ch-a-se:ye	ch-a-ri:ye ^{>}	ch-a-chi-se:ye ^{>}	ch-a-chi-ri:ye ^{>}	13
p2				ch-a-chi-ri:ye ^{>}	6b
p3		* ch-a-ri:ye	* ch-a-chi-se:ye	* ch-a-chi-ri:ye	7
p4		* ch-a-ri:ye			X
p5	* ch-a-se:ye	** ch-a-ri:ye	* * ch-a-chi-se:ye	* * ch-a-chi-ri:ye	AC
sp	ch-a-sé:ye	ch-a-rí:ye	ch-a-chí-sé:ye	ch-a-chí-rí:ye	

上の (27) の最左列の “ul” は基底形表示であり, “sp” は表面音調形を表わす。その間の誘導過程を P1 から p5 と考える。最右列はその過程の音調形に適用される音調規則である。このうち, “VC” は母音融合を表わし, “X” は時称辞 “a” の直後の TBU に実効アクセントを付与する規則, すなわちその TBU を H にする規則である。なお, この場合には “a” へのポストアクセントの挿入を考えると, その課程は P2 の直後と考えられ, その段階でポストアクセントを挿入すると, 上の表の “H 型, +op” で連続するポストアクセントが現れることになり, この言語で最も重要な規則である (13) に抵触する。従って, ここでは, 実効アクセントを挿入することにして, この規則を次のように表しておく。

(28) 実効アクセントの挿入

- *
28. o → o / a-[_ oⁿ]^x #
 n= ≥ 2 以上の整数
 X=A.Past Perfect, A.Today Past Perfect, A.Future Perfect

6. 全ポストアクセント消滅規則が必要な動詞活用形

—A.Speculative (Remote Future), A.Custom2, N.Custom2—

語幹の音調型の違いに関わらず, 低音調型と高音調型の音調形が完全に同一の音調形で現れる動詞活用形がある。そのうちの幾つかは, その直前に位置するポストアクセントをもつ音節によって語根のポストアクセントが消滅したためにおこる。これまで述べてきた, 条件否定形 (N.Conditional, 2章参照), 継続否定形 (N.Continuous, 3章参照), 推量否定形 (N.Speculative, 3章参照) 等はその例である。しかし, このような, ある定まった条件下でのポストアクセントの消滅規則では説明できない音調形が幾つか見つかっている。

これまで述べてきたポストアクセントの消滅に起因する音調形では, 少なくとも一つのポストアクセントは残るので, どこかに H が現れねばならない。しかし, 推量肯定形 (A.Speculative) は語幹が高音調型であっても低音調型であっても, 同一の音調形, すなわち, 語頭から語末まで低い音調で現れるので, これまで述べてきた, 隣接するポストアクセントの消滅規則からは説明できない。以下に 推量肯定形の表面音調形の例を示す。

(29) 推量肯定形

H	-Op	+Op
	chi-ri-ry-a (we will eat) chi-ri-bon-a (we will get) chi-ri-ringir-a (we will look at) chi-ri-simurur-a (we will tell)	chi-ri-chi-ry-a (we will eat it) chi-ri-bon-a (we will get it) chi-ri-ringir-a (we will look at it) chi-ri-simurur-a (we will tell it)
L		
	chi-ri-sy-a (we will grind) chi-ri-gur-a (we will buy) chi-ri-ramir-a (we will receive) chi-ri-rubirir-a (we will follow)	chi-ri-chi-sy-a (we will grind it) chi-ri-chi-gur-a (we will buy it) chi-ri-chi-ramir-a (we will receive it) chi-ri-chi-rubirir-a (we will follow it)

この語型は“Sp-ri-Vstem-a”であり, “ri-”はポストアクセントを持つ(参照(18), (20))。すなわち, 目的接辞を持たない場合でも, 低音調型の基底形には一つのポストアクセントがあり, 高音調型の基底形には二つのポストアクセントがある。さらに目的接辞がある場合には, それもポストアクセントを持つ。しかし, 基底形のこれらのポストアクセントから誘導されねばならない H はその表面音調形には全く現れず, 語全体が低く平らに発話される。このことは誘導過程のある段階で, 語の全てのポストアクセントが消滅するからだと考えられる。なお, この消滅は主格接辞に関わらず起こっている¹⁰⁾。

この消滅を規則として採用すると, 上述の推量肯定形は次のような誘導過程を経て, その音調が誘導されると考えられる。

(30) 推量肯定形

低音調型

30a. > 全ての > の消滅 AC,3
chi-ri-gur-a → chi-ri-gur-a ⇒ chi-ri-gur-a (we will buy)

高音調型

30b. > > 全ての > の消滅 AC,3
chi-ri-bon-a → chi-ri-bon-a ⇒ chi-ri-bon-a (we will get)

上の(30)と同じような現象は, 習慣否定形2(N.Custom2 “Sp-ta-a-Vstem-a”)でも起こっていると考えられ, これらの表面音調形を容易に誘導できる。但し, A.Custom2, N.Custom2の動詞派生辞“-ag-”は“-ág-”と現れるので, この“-ag-”がポストアクセントを有していると考えられ, さらにこのポストアクセントは消滅しないと考える必要がある。すなわち, 消滅するポストアクセントは語幹より左の全てのポストアクセントと規定できる。一方, (30)の推量肯定形では, 終母音がポストアクセントを持たないので, この場合も語幹より左の全てのポストアクセントの消滅と言うことができる。この消滅規則を(31)として表しておく。なお, 条件肯定形の誘導にもこの規則が適用される(参照第7.2.章)。

(31) 動詞派生辞より左の全ポストアクセント消滅の規則

>
31. all s- → all s- / # [_]Vdr-Fv]^x; X=A.Speculative, A.Custom2,
N.Custom2, A.Conditional

10) 以下の推量肯定形の例から明らかなように, 主格接辞にかかわらず, 語のポストアクセントが消滅して, 低く平らな音調形で現れる。

ni-ri-ge:nda (I may go), u-ri-ge:nda (you(sg) may go), a-ri-ge:nda (he/she may go), chi-ri-ge:nda (we may go), mu-ri-ge:nda (you(pl) may go), ba-ri-ge:nda (they may go), gu-ri-bura (it (cl 3) may run out), ji-ri-bura (they (cl 4) may run out), ri-ri-so:ka (it (cl 5) may fall out), ga-ri-so:ka (they (cl 6) may fall out), chi-ri-somwa (it (cl 7) may be read), bi-ri-somwa (they (cl 8) may be read), i-ri-fumywa (it (cl 9) may be broken), ji-ri-fumywa (they (cl 10) may be broken), ru-ri-risywa (it (cl 11) may be played), ka-ri-jabiyara (it (cl 12) may become dirty), tu-ri-jabiyara (they (cl 13) may become dirty), bu-ri-bura (it (cl 14) may lack), ku-ri-kuyubuka (it (cl 15) may get dirty), a-ri-jabiyar-a (it (cl 16) may become dirty) ↗

以下に (31) を用いた N.Custom2 の誘導例を示す。

(32a) N.Custom2 の誘導例

低音調型

> > VC,31 > 6b * 7 *
chi-ta-a-gur-aga → chi-ta-gur-aga → chi-ta-gur-aga → chi-ta-gur-aga

AC,3

⇒ chi-ta-gur-ága (we used not to buy)

高音調型

> > > VC,31 > 6b,7 * AC,3
chi-ta-a-bon-aga → chi-ta-bon-aga → chi-ta-bon-aga ⇒ chi-ta-bon-ága
(we used not to get)

参考のため、動詞派生辞 “-ág-” を持つ習慣肯定形 2 (A.Custom2 “Sp-a-Vstem-aga”) の誘導例を以下に示しておく。

(32b) A.Custom2 の誘導例

低音調型

> 6,7 * 3
chi-a-gur-aga → chi-a-gur-aga ⇒ chi-ta-gur-ága (we used to buy)

高音調型

> > 13 > 6,7 * 3
chi-a-bon-aga → chi-ta-bon-aga → chi-ta-bon-aga ⇒ chi-ta-bon-ága
(we used to get)

7. 全ポストアクセントの消滅と実効アクセントの挿入が共に適用される動詞活用形

7.1. 語次頭 TBU への実効アクセントの挿入

—A.Speculative Perfect (Remote Future Perfect)

推量完了肯定形 (A.Speculative Perfect (Remote Future Perfect)) は複合動詞であり、その前動詞は “IV-Sp-ba” である。その後動詞には、基底形から誘導される音調形に、次に示す実効アクセントの挿入規則を適用することにより、容易にその表面音調形を誘導できる。実効アクセントの挿入位置は後動詞の語頭から 2 番目の TBU である。

↗ なお、例文中の不定形は以下の通りである。

oku-ge:nda (to go), oku-búra (to run out/lack), oku-soʔka (to come out/fall out), oku-som-w-a (to be read) < oku-soma (to read), oku-fumy-w-a (to be broken) < oku-fumya (to break), oku-risy-w-a (to be played), oku-jabiya:ra (to be dirty), oku-kuyubuka (to get muddy/dirty)

場合の語型は、各々 “Sp-a-Vstem-ire”, “Sp-ta-a-Vstem-ire” の構造をとる。これらの表面音調形は語幹が高音調型でも低音調型でも、また肯定形には語幹以前にポストアクセントは存在しないが、否定形では否定辞 “ta” がポストアクセントを持っているという違いにもかかわらず、完全に同一の表面音調形をとる。さらに、目的接辞を持つ場合にも、肯定形、否定形にかかわらず、また語幹が高音調型、低音調型であるにもかかわらず完全に同一の表面音調形をとる。以下に例を示す。

(36) 遠過去肯定形と 遠過去否定形の表面音調形の語幹 3 音節語の一例

低音調型	-op	+op
次末音節が短音節	ch-a-guríre (we bought)	ch-a-chi-guríre (we bought it)
	chi-ta-guríre (we didn't buy)	chi-ta-chi-guríre (we didn't buy it)
次末音節が長音節	ch-a-ramí:ye (we received)	ch-a-chi-rámí:ye (we received)
	chi-ta-ramí:ye (we didn't receive)	chi-ta-chi-rámí:ye (we didn't receive it)
高音調型		
次末音節が短音節	ch-a-temére (we cut)	ch-a-chi-temére (we cut it)
	chi-ta-temére (we didn't cut)	chi-ta-chi-temére (we didn't cut it)
次末音節が長音節	ch-a-ringí:ye (we looked at)	ch-a-chi-ríngi:ye (we looked at it)
	chi-ta-ringí:ye (we didn't look at)	chi-ta-chi-ríngi:ye (we didn't look at it)

上の例からも明らかなように、これらでは動詞前接辞や語幹のポストアクセントの有無とはかわらないで表面音調形が誘導されていると考えることができる。すなわち、動詞の基底形が持っているポストアクセントが規則 (31) により消滅し、その後 H が新たに挿入されると考えられる。

これらの表面音調形の特徴は目的接辞（目的接辞がなければ語幹）以降に一つの H が現れることである。その現れる位置は次末音節が短音節か長音節かで異なる。その位置を次表に示す。次表の “p” は目的接辞（目的接辞がなければ語幹）直前の音節，すなわち時称辞 “a” か否定辞と融合した “t-a” を示すことにする。なお，“o” は 1TBU を，“o:” は 2TBU を表わす。従って

(37) 遠過去肯定形と遠過去否定形での実効アクセントの位置と表面音調形

目的接辞（目的接辞がなければ語幹）以降の TBU 数	3	4	5	6 以上
次末音節が短音節	p-oóo	p-ooóo	p-oooóo	
		p-o:óo		
次末音節が長音節	p-ó:o			
		p-oó:o	p-oóo:o	p-oóoo:o
				p-oó:oo:o
				p-oóo:o:o

8. 特殊環境でのポストアクセントの挿入／消滅と実効アクセントの挿入／移動

—A.Present, A.Imperative A.Subjunctive—

8.1. 現在肯定形

現在肯定形 (A.Present) は主格接辞が 3 人称単数以外では, その直前に冒頭母音を取る。この冒頭母音がある場合の現在肯定形は極めて変則的な表面音調形をとる。その変則性を避けるために, まず主格接辞がその直前に冒頭母音を取らない 3 人称単数 “kaa” の場合の表面音調形を示す。

(40) Sp がその直前に IV を取らない 3 人称単数 “kaa” の場合の表面音調形

	-op	+op
低音調型	kaa-sya (she grinds)	kaa-gá-sya (she grinds it)
	kaa-gura (she buys)	kaa-chi-gúra (she buys it)
	kaa-ramíra (she receives)	kaa-chi-rámíra (she receives it)
	kaa-rubírira (she follows)	kaa-chi-rúbírira (she follows it)
高音調型	kaa-rya (she eats)	kaa-chí-rya (she eats it)
	kaa-bóna (she gets)	kaa-chi-bóna (she gets it)
	kaa-ringíra (she looks at)	kaa-chi-ríngira (she looks at it)
	kaa-simúrira (she tells)	kaa-chi-chi-símurira (she tells it)

上の音調形は語幹が低音調型の語幹音節数が 3 音節以上の場合を除けば, “kaa” がポストアクセントを持たないとして, これまで示した規則 (13), (6), (7) を適用して容易に誘導できる。

低音調型の語幹音節数が 3 音節以上の場合には, 「語幹次頭音節に実効アクセントを挿入する」と言う, これらだけに適用される特殊な規則があると考えざるを得ない。その規則を次のように表しておく。

(41) (低音調型の) 語幹次頭音節 (の第一 TBU) への実効アクセントの挿入

$$\begin{array}{c}
 * \\
 41. \quad o \quad \rightarrow \quad o \quad / \quad [\text{stem s.} _ (o).s^n]^x \# \# ; \\
 \quad \quad \quad n \neq \text{zero, } X = \text{A.Present}
 \end{array}$$

以下に誘導例を示す。

(42) 3 人称単数形の現在肯定形の表面音調形誘導

低音調型

$$\begin{array}{c}
 41 \quad \quad \quad * \quad \text{AC,3} \\
 \text{kaa-ramira} \rightarrow \text{kaa-ramira} \Rightarrow \text{kaa-ramíra (she receives)}
 \end{array}$$

> 6b * 41 * *
 kaa-chi-ramira → kaa-chi-ramira → kaa-chi-ramira

AC,3
 ⇒ kaa-chi-rámíra (she receives it)

高音調型

> 6b * AC,3
 kaa-ringira → kaa-ringira ⇒ kaa-ringíra (she looks at)

>> 5 > 6b *
 kaa-chi-ringira → kaa-chi-ringira → kaa-chi-ringira

AC,3
 ⇒ kaa-chi-ríngira (she looks at it)

主格接辞の直前に冒頭母音を取る場合には、上とは異なる音調形であられる。例として、1人称複数形の表面音調形を以下に示す。

(43) 1人称複数形の現在肯定形の表面音調形

	-op	+op
低音調型	e-chí-sya (we grind)	e-chi-chí-sya (we grind it)
	e-chi-gúra (we buy)	e-chi-chí-gura (we buy it)
	e-chi-rámíra (we receive)	e-chi-chí-ramíra (we receive it)
	e-chi-rúbírira (we follow)	e-chi-chí-rubírira (we follow it)
高音調型	e-chí-rya (we eat)	e-chi-chí-rya (we eat it)
	e-chi-bóna (we get)	e-chi-chí-bóna (we get it)
	e-chi-ríngira (we look at)	e-chi-chí-ringíra (we look at it)
	e-chi-símurira (we tell)	e-chi-chí-simúrira (we tell it)

高音調型の目的接辞を取る音調形を除いて、3人称複数形のと1人称複数形の表面音調形を比べると、1人称複数形では主格接辞“chi”がポストアクセントを獲得したと仮定し、それに他の音調規則(13), (6), (7)を適用することにより、これらの表面音調形を誘導できる。このポストアクセントは“chi”がその直前に取る冒頭母音によるものと仮定できる。これは冒頭母音を取る2人称単数形等でも確認している。この規則を次のように表しておく。

(44) Spへのポストアクセントの挿入

>
 44. Sp → Sp / ## [IV - __ sⁿ] ^x ## ;
 n ≠ zero, X=A.Present

以下に誘導例を示す。

(45) 1 人称複数形の現在肯定形の表面音調形誘導

低音調型

44 > 6b * 41 * *
e-chi-ramira → e-chi-ramira → e-chi-ramira → e-chi-ramira

AC,3

⇒ e-chi-rámira (we receive)

> 44 > > 5 > 6b *
e-chi-chi-ramira → e-chi-chi-ramira → e-chi-chi-ramira → e-chi-chi-ramira

41 * * AC,3

→ e-chi-chi-ramira ⇒ e-chi-chí-ramira (we receive it)

高音調型

> 44 > > 5 > AC,3
e-chi-ringira → e-chi-ringira → e-chi-ringira ⇒ e-chi-ríngira (we look at)

さて、高音調型の目的接辞をとる場合では、次のような高音調型に特有の規則を仮定すると、それらの音調形が誘導できる。その規則とは主格接辞に目的接辞がつづき、さらに高音調型の語幹が続く場合、即ち 3 個のポストアクセントが連続する場合には、目的接辞のポストアクセントが消滅するという規則である。これを次のように表わしておく。なお、このような目的接辞のポストアクセントが消滅すると考えられる現象は他の活用形でも起こる（参照 (55)）。

(46) (高音調型の) Op のポストアクセントの消滅

>
46. op → op / ## [IV-Sp- _ - X]^y;
X= 高音調型の語幹, Y=A.Present

上の規則を用いた誘導例を示す。

(47) 1 人称複数形の現在肯定形の表面音調形誘導

高音調型

> > 44 > > > 46 > > 6b * *
e-chi-chi-ringira → e-chi-chi-ringira → e-chi-chi-ringira → e-chi-chi-ringira

AC,3

⇒ e-chi-chí-ringira (we look at it)

8.2. 命令肯定形, 接続肯定形

—A. Imperative, A. Subjunctive—

命令肯定形と接続肯定形の表面音調形の誘導にも高音調型に特有な規則が必要とされる。

(48) 命令肯定形の音調形

H 型, -op	H 型, +op
nu:-rye! (eat!)	chí-rye! (eat it!)
bona! (get!)	chi-bóne! (get it!)
ringira! (look!)	chi-ringíre! (look at it!)
simuríra! (tell!)	chi-simúrire! (tell it!)
L 型, -op	L 型, +op
nu:-syé! (grind!)	gá-syé! (grind it!)
gure! (buy)	chi-gúre! (buy it!)
ramíra! (receivé)	chi-ramíre! (receive it!)
fumbúrura! (unfold!)	chi-fumbúrure! (unfold it!)

その誘導には様々な過程が考えられるだろうが, そのうちの一つは次のようなものであろう。

(49) 目的接辞のない場合の命令肯定形の表面音調誘導

	L 型, -op			H 型, -op			規則
ul	gura	ramira	fumburura	> bona	> ringira	> simurira	41
p1		* ramira	* fumburura				X
p2				> bona	> ringira	> simurira	6a/6b
p3				bona	ringira	* simurira	7
p4					ringira	* simurira	AC
sp	gura	ramíra	fumbúrura	bona	ringira	simuríra	

上の誘導過程での規則 (41) は現在肯定形で用いられた規則で, ポストアクセントを持たない, 即ち語幹が 3 音節以上の低音調型の語幹次頭音節の第一 TBU に実効アクセントを挿入する規則である。また, 規則 (X) は語幹以降が 3 音節以上ならば語幹頭のポストアクセントを語幹頭からの第 3 音節へ移動, 語幹以降が 2 音節ならば語末音節に移動させる規則である。

この規則をより明確にするために, 語幹が 4 音節からなる接続肯定形の誘導過程を見てみる。

(50) 目的接辞のない場合の命令肯定形の表面音調誘導

	H 型, -op		H 型, +op		規則
ul	^{>} chi-ringire	^{>} chi-simurire	^{>} ^{>} chi-chi-ringire	^{>} ^{>} chi-chi-simurire	5
p1			^{>} chi-chi-ringire	^{>} chi-chi-simurire	X
p2	^{>} chi-ringire	^{>} chi-simurire			6a
p3	chi-ringire				6b
p4		[*] chi-simurire	[*] chi-chi-ringire	[*] chi-chi-simurire	7
p4		[*] chi-simurire			AC,3
sp	chi-ringire (so that we look at)	chi-simurire (so that we tell)	chi-chi-ringire (so that we look at it)	chi-chi-simurire (so that we tell it)	

(49) と (50) の誘導より規則 (X) が適用される環境は、そのポストアクセントが語頭である場合か、その直前がポストアクセントを持たない音節であることがわかる。従って、(X) を次のように表しておく。

(51) 語幹頭音節のポストアクセントの移動

$$\begin{array}{c}
 > & & > \\
 51. & s(s)s & \rightarrow & s(s)s / X [\text{stem} _ s^n]^Y \# ; \\
 & & & n \text{ は zero も含む。} \\
 & & & X = \# \text{ or } s \text{ (without post-accent)}, Y = \text{A.Imperative A.Subjunctive}
 \end{array}$$

次に再び目的接辞のある命令肯定形場合の音調形誘導を示す。

(52a) 語幹が 2 音節以下の目的接辞のある場合の命令肯定形の表面音調誘導

	L 型, +op		H 型, +op		
ul	^{>} chi-sye	^{>} chi-gure	^{>} ^{>} chi-rye	^{>} ^{>} chi-bone	5
p1			^{>} chi-rye	^{>} chi-bone	6b
p2	[*] chi-sye	[*] chi-gure	[*] chi-rye	[*] chi-bone	7
p3	[*] chi-sye		[*] chi-rye		AC
sp	chí-sye (grind it!)	chi-gúre (buy it!)	chí-rye (eat it!)	chi-bóne (get it!)	

(52b) 語幹が3音節以上の目的接辞のある場合の命令肯定形の表面音調誘導

	L 型, +op		H 型, +op		
ul	> chi-ramire	> chi-fumburure	> > chi-ringire	> > chi-simurire	5
p1			> chi-ringire	> chi-simurire	41
p2	> * chi-ramire	> * chi-fumburure			6b
p3	* * chi-ramire	* * chi-fumburure	* chi-ringire	* chi-simurire	Y
p4	* chi-ramire	* chi-fumburure	* chi-ringire	* chi-simurire	AC
sp	chi-ramíre (receive it!)	chi-fumbúrure (unfold it!)	chi-ringíre (look at it!)	chi-simúrire (tell it!)	

上の誘導過程での規則 (Y) は語が3音節以上ならば語次頭音節の実効アクセントを第3音節へ移動させる規則である。但し、第3音節に実効アクセントが既に存在していれば、移動した実効アクセントは消滅する。これを次のように表わしておく。また、語次頭音節や語頭から3番目の音節が長音節の例を欠いているので、この移動の単位が音節か TBU か不明であるが、本稿では音節としておく。

(53) 語次頭音節の実効アクセントの移動

53. * *
sss → sss / # # [_ s ⁿ]^x # # ;
 n は zero も含む。

X=A.Imperative

or

 ** *
sss → sss

上に示した命令肯定形と同一の誘導過程から接続肯定形の表面音調形が誘導される。但し、接続肯定形では (53) はその適用条件を満たさないので、実際に必要とされる新しい規則は (41) と (51) だけである。

9. 動詞前接辞 “ni” をとる活用形

9.1. 進行肯定形, 習慣継続肯定形, 現在習慣肯定形

—A.Progressive, A.Continuous Custom A.Present Habitual—

三つの進行肯定形すなわち過去進行肯定形, 今日の過去進行肯定形, 未来進行肯定形に加えて習慣継続肯定形, 現在習慣肯定形は複合動詞である。これらの前動詞すなわち繫辞部分は各々異なる音形を取るが¹²⁾、後動詞は同一であり、動詞前接辞 “ni” をとり, “ni-Sp-(Op-)Stem-a” で表わされる。

これらでも、規則（50）と規則（46）に似た規則から誘導できる。以下にその誘導過程の例を示す。

(54a) 低音調型の語幹 4 音節の “ni+Sp-(Op-)Vstem-a” の表面音調誘導

	L 型, -op	L 型, +op	
ul	> ni+chi-ruubirira	> > ni+chi-chi-ruubirira	X
p1		> ni+chi-chi-ruubirira	6b
p2	* ni+chi-ruubirira	* ni+chi-chi-ruubirira	41
p3	* * ni+chi-ruubirira	* * ni+chi-chi-ruubirira	AC,3
sp	ni+chí-ruubírira ~ n+chí-ruubírira (we were following)	ni+chí-chi-ruubírira ~ n+chí-chi-ruubírira (we were following it)	

(54b) 高音調型の語幹 4 音節の “ni+Sp-(Op-)Vstem-a” の表面音調誘導

	H 型, -op	H 型, +op	
ul	> > ni+chi-simurira	> > > ni+chi-chi-simurira	X ¹³⁾
p1		> > ni+chi-chi-simurira	51
p2	> > ni+chi-simurira	> > ni+chi-chi-simurira	6b,7
p3	* * ni+chi-simurira	* * ni+chi-chi-simurira	AC,3
sp	ni+chí-simuríra ~ n+chí-simuríra (we were telling)	ni+chí-chi-simuríra ~ n+chí-chi-simuríra (we were telling it)	

上の誘導過程での “X” は、この環境で目的接辞のポストアクセントを消去する規則であり、規則（46）の適用環境を書き換えることで表すことができる。これを次のように表して

- 12) 以下に主な複合動詞を記しておく。

<Sp-a-ri-ga>

A.Past Perfect; Sp-a-ri-ga Sp-a-V-ire,
N.Past Perfect; Sp-a-ri-ga Sp-ta-a-V-ire,
A.Past Progressive; Sp-a-ri-ga ni+Sp-V-a,
N.Past Progressive; Sp-a-ri-ga Sp-ta-ku-V-a,
A.Custom1; Sp-a-ri-ga ni+Sp-V-aga,
N.Custom1; Sp-a-ri-ga Sp-ta-ku-V-aga,

<Sp-a-ri>

A.Today Past Perfect; Sp-a-ri Sp-a-V-ire,
N.Today Past Perfect; Sp-a-ri Sp-ta-a-V-ire,
A.Today Past Progressive; Sp-a-ri ni+Sp-V-a,
N.Today Past Progressive; Sp-a-ri Sp-ta-ku-V-a,



おく¹³⁾。

(55) Op のポストアクセントの消滅 (参照 (46))

- >
55. op → op / ## [X - Sp- _ - Y]^Z;
 X=IV or ni, Y= 高音調型の語幹,
 Z=A.Present, A.Imperative, A.Subjunctive

更に規則 (51) はこれらの進行肯定形と習慣継続肯定形, 現在習慣肯定形でも適用されるので, その条件を次のように書き換えておく。

(56) 語幹頭音節のポストアクセントの移動 (参照 (51))

- > >
56. s(s)s → s(s)s / X [^{stem} _ sⁿ]^Y # ;
 n は zero も含む。
 X = # or s (without post-accent), Y=A.Imperative, A.Subjunctive,
 A.Progressive, A.Continuous Custom, A.Present Habitual

↗ <IV-Sp-ba>

A.Remote Future Perfect; IV-Sp-ba Sp-V-ire,
 N.Remote Future Perfect, N.Recent Future Perfect (today+tomorrow); IV-Sp-ba Sp-ta-V-ire,
 A.Recent Future Perfect (today+tomorrow); IV-Sp-ba ni+Sp-V-ire,
 A.Future Progressive; IV-Sp-ba ni+Sp-V-a,
 N.Future Progressive; IV-Sp-ba Sp-ta-ku-V-a,

<Sp-a-ri-b-aga>

A.Continuous Custom; Sp-a-ri-ba-ga ni+Sp-V-a,
 N.Continuous Custom; Sp-a-ri-ba-ga Sp-ta-ku-V-a,

<IV-Sp-b-aga>

A.Present Habitual; IV-Sp-ba-ga ni+Sp-V-a,
 N.Present Habitual; IV-Sp-ba-ga Sp-ta-ku-V-a,

これらの内, N.Past Progressive, N.Custom1 N.Present Habitual の後動詞 “Sp-ta-ku-V-a” と N.Today Past Progressive, N.Future Progressive の後動詞 “Sp-ta-ku-V-a” の音調誘導は (10) に示されている。

- 13) 次に示す, Sp が 3 人称単数の場合の例より, 規則 (55) は規則 (50) より早く適用され, また規則 (50) は “VC” (母音融合) より早く適用されることが分る。

	H 型, -op	H 型, +op	
ul	> > ni+a-simurira	> >> ni+a-chi-simurira	55
p1		> > ni+a-chi-simurira	50
p2	> > ni+a-simurira	> > ni+a-chi-simurira	VC
	> > n+a-simurira	> > n+a-chi-simurira	6b,7
p3	* * n+a-simurira	* * n+a-chi-simurira	AC,7
sp	n+a-símuríra ~ n+chí-simuríra	n+a-chí-simuríra ~ n+chí-chi-simuríra	

この音調形では“ni”の母音が脱落して現れることがしばしば起こる。

9.2. 分詞形, 習慣肯定形 1

—Participial, A. Custom1—

分詞形と習慣肯定形 1 は動詞派生辞“-ag-”を取り, “ni-Sp-(Op-)Vstem-ag-a”と表わされる。前述したように“-ag-”はポストアクセントを持つので, 進行肯定形とは少し異なる表面音調形で実現される。

(57a) 低音調型の語幹 4 音節の分詞形の表面音調誘導

	L 型, -op	L 型, +op	
ul	> > ni+chi-fumburur-ag-a	> > > ni+chi-chi-fumburur-ag-a	X
p1		> > ni+chi-chi-fumburur-ag-a	6b
p2	* * ni+chi-fumburur-ag-a	* * ni+chi-chi-fumburur-ag-a	7
p3	* * ni+chi-fumburur-ag-a	* * ni+chi-chi-fumburur-ag-a	41
	* * * ni+chi-fumburur-ag-a	* * * ni+chi-chi-fumburur-ag-a	AC,3
sp	ni-chí-fumbúrur-ág-a ~ n+chí-fumbúrur-ág-a (we) unfolding	ni+chí-chi-fumbúrur-ág-a ~ n+chí-chi-fumbúrur-ág-a (we) unfolding it	

(57b) 高音調型の語幹 4 音節の分詞形の表面音調誘導

	H 型, -op	H 型, +op	
ul	> > > ni+chi-simurir-ag-a	> > > > ni+chi-chi-simurir-ag-a	X
p1, p2	> > ni+chi-simurir-ag-a	> > ni+chi-chi-simurir-ag-a	6b,7
p3	* * ni+chi-simurir-ag-a	* * ni+chi-chi-simurir-ag-a	AC,3
sp	ni+chí-simurir-ág-a ~ n+chí-simurir-ág-a (we) telling	ni+chí-chi-simurir-ág-a ~ n+chí-chi-simurir-ág-a (we) telling it	

上の誘導過程での“X”は主格接辞から動詞語幹までの全てのポストアクセントを消去する規則である。これはまさに規則(31)であるが, その適用条件を付加して次のように表しておく。

(58) 動詞派生辞より左の全ポストアクセント消滅の規則 (参照 (31))

- >
58. all s- → all s- / # [[_]-Vdr-Fv]^x; X=A.Speculative, A.Custom2, N.Custom2, A.Conditional, A.Custom1, Participial

10. 不定形をとる動詞活用形

—N.Recent Future, A.Immediate Future—

意志否定形 (N.Recent Future), 意図肯定形 (A.Immediate Future) は各々, “Sp-ta-ku-ja oku-Vstem-a”, “IV-Sp-ja oku-Vstem-a” の構造を取る。このうち, 不定形の音調誘導は (8), (9) に示した通りである。また, 現在否定形 “Sp-ta-ku-j-a”, 現在肯定形 “IV-Sp-j-a” の “j” は “oku-j-a” (来ること) の語幹であり, ポストアクセントを持たない。“ku” は時称辞で, これもポストアクセントを取らない。従って, これらの動詞音調形は次のように誘導される。

(59a) “Sp-ta-ku-ja” の音調形

- > 6b * AC,3
- Sp-ta-ku-ja → Sp-ta-ku-ja ⇒ Sp-ta-kú-ja

“IV-Sp-ja” は現在肯定形 (A.Present) であり, 次のような表面音調形で表れる。なお, 次の誘導過程で, “IV-Sp-ja” に不定形が続くので, “ja” には文境界を適用条件とする規則 (7) は適用されない。

(59b) “IV-Sp-ja” の音調形

- 44 > 6b * AC,3
- e-chi-ja → e-chi-ja → e-chi-ja ⇒ e-chi-já

不定前接辞の冒頭母音 “o” と “-ja” の “a” がしばしば母音融合を起こし, “jo” と発話される。次の例での不定形は高音調型の “o-ku-bon-a” (to get/find) である。

(60) 意志否定形と意図肯定形の音調誘導例

意志否定形

- chi-ta-kú-ja oku-bón-a → chi-ta-kú-jo ku-bón-a (we will not get)

意図肯定形

- e-chi-já oku-bón-a → e-chi-jó ku-bón-a (we are going to get)

11. 複合動詞の前動詞の表面音調形

複合動詞の前動詞となって現れる繫辞には次のようなものが観察されている¹²⁾。

(61) 複合動詞の前動詞の基底形とその表面音調形

		基底形		表面音調形
61a	A.Past Perfect, N.Past Perfect 他	^{>} Sp-a-ri-ga	→	Sp-a-ri-gá
61b	A.Today Past Perfect, N.Today Past Progressive 他	^{>} Sp-a-ri	→	Sp-a-rí
61c	A.Remote Future Perfect, A.Future Progressive 他	^{>} ^{>} IV-Sp-ba	→	IV-Sp-bá
61d	A.Continuous Custom N.Continuous Custom	^{>} ^{>} SP-a-ri-b-aga	→	SP-a-ri-b-agá
61e	A.Present Habitual, N.Present Habitual	^{>} ^{>} IV-Sp-b-aga	→	IV-Sp-b-agá

上の表から明らかなように、これらの前動詞の音調形は各々の基底形の違いにもかかわらず、常に語末 TBU が H で現れ、他の全ての TBU は L で現れると言う同一の音調形を取る。

これらの音調形のうち、(61a)、(61c) は、その基底形から表面音調形を容易に誘導できる。また、(61d)、(61e) は動詞派生辞より左の全ポストアクセントの消滅規則を適用することによりその表面音調形を容易に誘導できる。しかし、(61b) は語末のポストアクセントの取扱い（規則 6b を参照）等の問題が残り、容易にはその表面音調形を誘導できない。この煩わしさを避けるために、ここでは前動詞では、そのポストアクセントは動詞派生辞のそれを含め全て消滅し、語末 TBU に H を挿入すると言う規則を採用することにする。いわば、前動詞の表面音調形を日本語のアクセントでいう一型アクセントのごとく処理することにする。この規則を次のように表しておく。

(62) 前動詞の全ポストアクセント消滅の規則

>

62. all s- → all s- / [_]^x; X = 前動詞

(63) 前動詞の語末 TBU への実効アクセントの挿入

*

63. o → o / [oⁿ _] #^x; X = 前動詞, n = 2 以上の正整数

12. ジタ語動詞の音調システムについて —— 形態素と語 ——

これまで様々なバントゥ諸語の名詞音調分析で述べてきたように、バントゥ諸語の音調システムは基本的に、1) アクセントすなわち位置に関する情報（音の高低が変化する位置）、2) トーンメロディ（音の高低の変化の仕方）、さらに 3) アクセントより前の音の高低／変化に関する情報（日本語の式に相当する情報）から成っていると思われる（加賀谷、2001）。通常、名詞の構成要素（形態素）の基底形はこれらのどれかから成立していて、それにその言語固有の音調規則を適用することにより、各環境での表面音調形が誘導される。動詞も、ほぼ同様である。但し、動詞の場合には、その言語の全ての活用形の表面音調形が、その基底形から容易

に誘導できるものばかりではない。例えば、接続法の表面音調形は活用形自体が固有の音調形を持っていると解釈した方が良い場合がしばしばある。ジタ語でもそうである。

これまでの分析では、ジタ語の動詞音調形に関する基底形はポストアクセントだけからなる。トーンメロディは H であり、式に相当するものは必要としない。これまで述べてきたように、ジタ語動詞の表面音調形はその基底形から誘導できるものと、そうでないものがある。前者には、1) 基底形だけから誘導できるものと、2) 基底形から誘導される音調形の上のどこかに高音調 H を付加せねばならないものがある。これはいわばメトリカルセオリのな考え方に通ずるだろう (Downing, 1990)。後者は、動詞活用形に固有の表面音調形があると考えねばならないものである。これらは、本稿で、その動詞の基底形の派生辞以外のポストアクセントが一度完全に消滅したところから表面音調形が誘導されると考えたものである。さらにこれらは、3) 目的接辞の有無や動詞語幹の音調型に関わらず完全に同一の低平ら音調だけからなる表面音調形で現れる活用形、3-1) ある定まった位置の 1TBU だけ高く現れる音調形や、3-2) 音形の条件により異なる音調形で現れるものがある。更には、4) 音調型に特有の誘導規則に従うものなどがあり複雑である。このような観点から音調形を分類すると (64) のようになる。

音調システムとしてみた場合、これは日本語の名詞を例にすると、一つの言語のシステムの中に、アクセントの位置情報だけからその表面音調形が誘導される東京方言に加えて、基底形内の本来の音調に関する情報が一切無視されて、いわば語声調のようなものが語全体を覆っていて音の高低を定めている語声調 N 型タイプである隠岐島方言や鹿児島方言などのような音調システムが混在しているということであろう¹⁴⁾ (上野善道, 1977, 1984)。

アクセントやトーンメロディといった形態素に定義されている音調情報の他に、それらより大きな単位である文や句に定義されている統語情報からもたらさせる音調情報があることは自明である。そのような音調情報を含む最小の統語単位は語であるとすれば、パントゥ諸語には動詞活用形と言う語を単位として定義されている統語情報がもたらす音調情報があるということである。言い方を変えると、このようなことであろう。

(64) ジタ語動詞の誘導過程から見た音調形タイプ

1) 基底形の音調情報だけから誘導可能

不定形 (参照 (8), (9))

現在否定形 (N.Present, 参照 (10))

条件否定形 (N.Conditional, 参照 11, 12)

今日の過去否定形 (N.Today Past)

今日の過去完了形 (N.Today Past Perfect) と未来完了形の後動詞 (N.Future Perfect, 参照 16)

近過去肯定形 (A.Recent Past, 参照 19a)

近過去否定形 (N.Recent Past, 参照 19b)

推量否定形 (N.Speculative, 参照 20a)

継続否定形 (N.Continuous, 参照 20b)

14) 本稿では語声調という用語を便宜上用いている。筆者は語声調という語全体を覆う特別な音調特徴を仮定するよりも、音調特徴として不可欠であるアクセントの位置といわゆる式の特徴で語声調を表し得ると考えていて、かつパントゥ諸語の音調特徴と比較した場合、こちらの解釈が有利であるとする。

習慣否定形 1 (N.Custom1, 参照 21)

2) 基底形の音調情報と新たな * の挿入から誘導可能

* の挿入規則 (24) (* を次末 TBU へ挿入)

過去完了否定形 (N.Past Perfect, 参照 25)

今日の過去完了否定形 (N.Today Past Perfect)

未来完了否定形 (N.Future Perfect)

* の挿入規則 (28) (* を時称辞の直後の TBU へ挿入)

過去完了肯定形 (A.Past Perfect),

今日の過去完了肯定形 (A.Today Past Perfect),

未来完了肯定形 (A.Future Perfect) の後動詞 (参照 27)

3) 全ポストアクセント消滅規則が必要な動詞活用形 (規則 58 を必要とする音調形)

推量肯定形 (A.Speculative (Remote Future), 参照 30)

習慣肯定形 2 (A.Custom2)

習慣否定形 2 (N.Custom2, 参照 32)

3-1) 規則 58 + * の挿入規則

* の挿入規則 (33) (* を語頭次末 TBU へ挿入)

推量完了肯定形 (A.Speculative Perfect (Remote Future Perfect), 参照 34)

* の挿入規則 (24) (* を次末 TBU へ挿入)

条件肯定形 (A.Conditional, 参照 35) (次末音節の長短によって * の挿入位置が異なる)

* の挿入規則 (41) (* を低音調型の語幹次頭 TBU へ挿入)

分詞形, 習慣肯定形 1 (Participial, A.Custom1, 参照 56)

3-2) 規則 58 + * の挿入規則

* の挿入規則 (38) (次末音節の長短によって * の挿入位置が異なる)

遠過去肯定形 (A.Remote Past, 参照 39)

遠過去否定形 (N.Remote Past)

4) 特殊環境でのポストセグメントの挿入／消滅と実効アクセントの挿入／移動

現在肯定形 (A.Present, 参照 42, 45, 47)

命令肯定形 (A.Imperative, 参照 42, 45, 47)

接続肯定形 (A.Subjunctive, 参照 49, 51, 52, 53)

進行肯定形, 習慣継続肯定形, 現在習慣肯定形 (A.Progressive, A.Continuous Custom A.Present Habitual, 参照 54)

筆者の知る限り、ジタ語の資料は Downing の資料、筆者が 1984 年に来日していたジタ人から収集した資料、さらに今回収集した資料がある。これらに対応する部分も多いが、少しずつ異なっている。これはどういうことであろうか。ジタ語等のような少数の話し手からなる言語集団、周囲のあまり違いのない他の言語集団と密接な交流を持っている言語集団、スワヒリ語という大言語を日常的に使用する必要のある言語集団の言語は、絶えず少しずつ変化して

いると考えた方が良好だろう。通時的に見ても、この激変する時代では、ほんの数十年で語彙に大きな違い、すなわちスワヒリ語化が生ずることもあろう。また、共時的にみても、ケレウエ人と共存している人々の言語と町で用いられている言語の間には違いが生ずることもあろう。実際、この地域では、クッヤ語のように、本来は動詞にも対立する音調があったと思われる言語でも、現在ではその対立がほとんど観察されず、話し手によっては音調を失っているような言語も隣接している、もちろん地域にもよるであろうが、現在、この地域での小さな集団のバントゥ諸語にはこのような変化の過程でもがいているものも少なからず存在すると思われる。

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付表 1：ジタ語動詞に関する音調規則

I. 一般規則

(2) 基底音調の連結の方法 (AC)

トーンメロディの H は “*” が指定されたアクセント音節と連結する。また、そのアクセント音節が 2TBU からなる場合には、その最初の TBU と連結する。

(3) 基底音調が指定されていない場合の音調

未連結の TBU は音声レベルで低平ら調で現れる。

II. ポストアクセントに関する規則

IIa. 挿入に関する規則

(44) Sp へのポストアクセントの挿入

$$44. \quad \begin{array}{c} > \\ \text{Sp} \rightarrow \text{Sp} \end{array} / \# \# [IV - _ s^n]^x \# \# ;$$

$n \neq \text{zero}, X = A.Present$

IIb. 融合と消滅に関する規則

(13) 語中の連続するポストアクセント “>” の消滅 (参照 (5))

$$13. \quad \begin{array}{c} > > > \\ s s^n \rightarrow s s^n \end{array} ; \text{但し, } n=1, 2, 3, 4$$

(14) 母音融合に伴うポストアクセント

$$\begin{array}{c} > > \\ V_1 V_2 \rightarrow V_3 \end{array} ; \text{但し } V_1 = V_2 = V_3 \text{ も許される}$$

(18) ma, ta のポストアクセントの消滅

$$18a. \quad \begin{array}{c} > > \\ \text{ma} \rightarrow \text{ma} \end{array} / _ - s$$

$$18b. \quad \begin{array}{c} > > > \\ \text{ta} \rightarrow \text{ta} \end{array} / _ - \{<ri>, <cha>\}$$

(55) (高音調型の) Op のポストアクセントの消滅

$$55. \quad \begin{array}{c} > \\ \text{op} \rightarrow \text{op} \end{array} / \# \# [X - \text{Sp} - _ - Y]^z;$$

$X = IV \text{ or } ni, Y = \text{高音調型の語幹},$
 $Z = A.Present, A.Imperative, A.Subjunctive$

(6) ポストアクセントの変換 (参照 (f), (a))

$$6a. \quad \begin{array}{c} > \\ s \rightarrow s \end{array} / _ \# \#$$

そうで無ければ

6b. $\begin{array}{ccc} & & * \\ & & s\ s \end{array} \rightarrow s\ s$

(58) 動詞派生辞より左の全ポストアクセント消滅の規則 (参照 (31))

$\begin{array}{ccc} & & * \\ & & s\ s \end{array}$
 58. $all\ s- \rightarrow all\ s- / \# [_]\text{-Vdr-Fv}]^X$; X = A.Speculative, A.Custom2, N.Custom2, A.Conditional, A.Custom1, Participial

(62) 前動詞の全ポストアクセント消滅の規則

$\begin{array}{ccc} & & * \\ & & s\ s \end{array}$
 62. $all\ s- \rightarrow all\ s- / [_]^X$; X= 前動詞

IIc. 移動に関する規則

(56) 語幹頭音節のポストアクセントの移動 (参照 (51))

$\begin{array}{ccc} & & * \\ & & s\ s \end{array}$
 56. $s(s)s \rightarrow s(s)s / X [\text{stem} _ s^n]^Y \#$;
 n は zero も含む。
 X = # or s (without post-accent), Y = A.Imperative, A.Subjunctive, A.Progressive, A.Continuous Custom, A.Present Habitual

III. 実効アクセントに関する規則

IIIa. 挿入に関する規則

(24) 次末音節が 2TBU からなる場合, その第二 TBU への実効アクセントの挿入

$\begin{array}{ccc} & & * \\ & & o \end{array}$
 24. $o \rightarrow o / [_ .o _ .o.]^X \# \#$
 ; 但し “.” は TBU 境界, X = post-verb of N.Past Perfect, N.Future Perfect, N.Today Past Perfect, A.Conditional

(28) 実効アクセントの挿入

$\begin{array}{ccc} & & * \\ & & o \end{array}$
 28. $o \rightarrow o / a-[_ o^n]^X \#$
 n = ≥ 2 以上の整数
 X = A.Past Perfect, A.Today Past Perfect, A.Future Perfect

(33) 語次頭 TBU への実効アクセントの挿入

$\begin{array}{ccc} & & * \\ & & o \end{array}$
 33. $o \rightarrow o / \# [o _ o^n]^X$;
 n \neq zero, X=post-verb of A.Speculative Perfect (Remote Future Perfect), A.Today Past Perfect

(38) A.Remote Past, N.Remote Past での実効アクセントの挿入

$\begin{array}{ccc} & & * \\ & & o \end{array}$
 38a. $o \rightarrow o / p-[X _ .o]^Y \#$

38b. $\overset{*}{o} \rightarrow \overset{*}{o} / p\text{-}[\text{ } _ o. o]^Y \#$
otherwise

38c. $\overset{*}{o} \rightarrow \overset{*}{o} / p\text{-}[o.\text{ } _ (o). X s^{\text{lg}} s]^Y \#$
但し “.” は音節境界。s^{lg} は長音節。
X = null or sⁿ, 但し n は 1 以上の正整数 ; Y=A.Remote Past, N.Remote Past

(41) (低音調型の) 語幹次頭音節 (の第一 TBU) への実効アクセントの挿入

41. $\overset{*}{o} \rightarrow \overset{*}{o} / [\text{ }^{\text{stem}} s. _ (o). s^n]^X \# \# ;$
n ≠ zero, X=A.Present

(53) 語次頭音節の実効アクセントの移動

53. $\overset{*}{sss} \rightarrow \overset{*}{sss} / \# \# [\text{ } _ s^n]^X \# \# ;$
n は zero も含む。
X = A.Imperative

or

$\overset{**}{sss} \rightarrow \overset{*}{sss}$

(63) 前動詞の語末 TBU への実効アクセントの挿入

63. $\overset{*}{o} \rightarrow \overset{*}{o} / [o^n _]^X \# ; X = \text{前動詞}, n=2 \text{ 以上の正整数}$

IIIb. 移動に関する規則

(7) 実効アクセントの移動 (参照 (e))⁴⁾

7. $\overset{*}{oo} \rightarrow \overset{*}{oo} / _ \# \#$

付表 2：ジタ語動詞活用形の孤立音調形

(左から第 2 列にでている音調形は複合動詞の場合の繫辞（前動詞）の音調形を示す。)

動詞語幹 活用形	低音調型, (目的接辞無し)	低音調型, (目的接辞有り)	高音調型, (目的接辞無し)	高音調型, (目的接辞有り)
1 A.Speculative Perfect (Remote Future Perfect), echibá +	chi-séeye (we will have ground) chi-gúrire (we will have bought) chi-rámiye (we will have received) chi-rúubiriye (we will have followed)	chi-chí-seeye (we will have ground it) chi-chí-gurire (we will have bought it) chi-chí-ramiye (we will have received it) chi-chí-ruubiriye (we will have followed it)	chi-riiye (we will have eaten) chi-kúurire (we will have pushed) chi-ringiye (we will have looked at) chi-simurire (we will have told)	chi-chí-riiye (we will have eaten it) chi-chí-kuurire (we will have pushed it) chi-chí-ringiye (we will have looked at it) chi-chí-simurire (we will have told it)
2 N.Today Past Perfect, chaari + N.Past Perfect, chaarigá + N.Future Perfect, echibá +	chita-séeye (we hadn't ground) chita-gúrire (we hadn't bought) chita-báriirire (we hadn't sewn) chita-bírimire (we hadn't run) chita-rámiye (we hadn't received) chita-kákanuúye (we hadn't skinned) chita-rúubiriye (we hadn't followed)	chita-chí-seeye (we hadn't ground it) chita-chí-gurire (we hadn't bought it) chita-chí-bariirire (we hadn't sewn it) chita-chí-ramiye (we hadn't received it) chita-chí-kakanuúye (we hadn't skinned it) chita-chí-ruubiriye (we hadn't followed it)	chita-riiye (we hadn't eaten) chita-bwene (we hadn't got) chita-témere (we hadn't cut) chita-tanakire (we hadn't vomited) chita-búsiíye (we hadn't lost) chita-riingiye (we hadn't looked at) chita-simuriye (we hadn't told)	chita-chí-riiye (we hadn't eaten it) chita-chí-bwene (we hadn't got it) chita-chí-témere (we hadn't cut it) chita-chí-tanakire (we hadn't vomited it) chita-chí-busiíye (we hadn't lost it) chita-chí-riingiye (we hadn't looked at it) chita-chí-simuriye (we hadn't told it)
3 A.Conditional,	chaka-seeye (we could grind) chaka-gurire (we could buy) chaka-kotere (we could bend) chaka-birimire (we could run) chaka-bariirire (we could sew) chaka-raguúye (we could treat) chaka-ramiye (we could receive) chaka-kakanuúye (we could skin)	chaka-ga-seeye (we could grind it) chaka-chi-gurire (we could buy it) chaka-chi-kotere (we could bend it) chaka-chi-bariirire (we could sew it) chaka-mu-raguúye (we could treat him) chakachiramiye (we could receive it) chaka-chi-kakanuúye (we could skin it)	chaka-riiye (we could eat) chaka-bonere (we could get) chaka-temere (we could cut) chaka-tanakire (we could vomit) chaka-bambagire (we could smear) chaka-ringiye (we could look at) chaka-simuriye (we could tell) chaka-surumuúye (we could untie) chaka-fundukiye (we could cover)	chaka-chi-riiye (we could eat it) chaka-chi-bonere (we could get it) chaka-chi-temere (we could cut it) chaka-chi-tanakire (we could vomit it) chaka-chi-bambagire (we could smear it) chaka-chi-ringiye (we could look at it) chaka-chi-simuriye (we could tell it) chaka-chi-surumuúye (we could untie it) chaka-chi-fundukiye (we could cover it)
4 N.Conditional,	chitakáséeye (we couldn't grind) chitakágurire (we couldn't buy) chitakáramiye (we couldn't receive) chitakáfumburuuye (we couldn't unfold)	chitakáchiseeye (we couldn't grind it) chitakáchigurire (we couldn't buy it) chitakáchiramiye (we couldn't receive it) chitakáchifumburuuye (we couldn't unfold it)	chitakáriye (we couldn't eat) chitakábonere (we couldn't get) chitakáringiye (we couldn't look at) chitakásimuriye (we couldn't tell)	chitakáchiriye (we couldn't eat it) chitakáchibonere (we couldn't get it) chitakáchiringiye (we couldn't look at it) chitakáchisimuriye (we couldn't tell it)
5 N.Today Past, (Present Perfect, Subjunctive の 否定にも使われる)	chita:-sya (we didn't grind) chita:-gúra (we didn't buy) chita:-ramira (we didn't receive) chita:-rúbirira (we didn't follow)	chita:-chí-sya (we didn't grind it) chita:-chí-gura (we didn't buy it) chita:-chí-ramira (we didn't receive it) chita:-chí-rubirira (we didn't follow it)	chita:-rya (we didn't eat) chita:-bóna (we didn't get) chita:-ringira (we didn't look at) chita:-simurira (we didn't tell)	chita:-chí-rya (we didn't eat it) chita:-chí-bona (we didn't get it) chita:-chí-ringira (we didn't look at it) chita:-chí-simurira (we didn't tell it)
N.Continuous,	chitacha:-sya (we no longer grind) chitacha:-gúra (we no longer buy) chitacha:-ramira (we no longer receive) chitacha:-fúmburura (we no longer follow)	chitacha:-chí-sya (we no longer grind it) chitacha:-chí-gura (we no longer buy it) chitacha:-chí-ramira (we no longer receive it) chitacha:-chí-fúmburura (we no longer follow it)	chitacha:-rya (we no longer eat) chitacha:-bóna (we no longer get) chitacha:-ringira (we no longer receive) chitacha:-simurira (we no longer follow)	chitacha:-chí-rya (we no longer eat it) chitacha:-chí-bona (we no longer get it) chitacha:-chí-ringira (we no longer look at it) chitacha:-chí-simurira (we no longer tell it)

	N.Speculative (N.Remote Future)	chitarí-sya (we may not grind) chitari-gúra (we may not buy) chitari-rámira (we may not receive) chitari-rúubirira (we may not follow)	chitari-chí-sya (we may not grind it) chitari-chí-gúra (we may not buy it) chitari-chí-ramira (we may not receive it) chitari-chí-ruubirira (we may not follow it)	chitarí-rya (we may not eat) chitari-bóna (we may not get) chitari-ríngira (we may not look at) chitari-símurira (we may not tell)	chitari-chí-rya (we may not eat it) chitari-chí-bona (we may not get it) chitari-chí-ringira (we may not look at it) chitari-chí-simurira (we may not tell it)
6	A.Speculative (A.Remote Future)	chiri-sya (we may grind) chiri-gura (we may buy) chiri-ramira (we may receive) chiri-ruubirira (we may follow)	chiri-chi-sya (we may grind it) chiri-chi-gura (we may buy it) chiri-chi-ramira (we may receive it) chiri-chi-ruubirira (we may follow it)	chiri-rya (we may eat) chiri-bona (we may get) chiri-ringira (we may look at) chiri-simurira (we may tell)	chiri-chi-rya (we may eat it) chiri-chi-bona (we may get it) chiri-chi-ringira (we may look at it) chiri-chi-simurira (we may tell it)
7	A.Custom2,	cha-syága (we used to grind) cha-gurága (we used to buy) cha-ramiirága (we used to receive) cha-ruubirirága (we used to follow)	cha-chi-syága (we used to grind it) cha-chi-gurága (we used to buy it) cha-chi-ramiirága (we used to receive it) cha-chi-ruubirirága (we used to follow it)	cha-ryága (we used to eat) cha-bonága (we used to get) cha-ringirága (we used to look at) cha-simurirága (we used to tell)	cha-chi-ryága (we used to eat it) cha-chi-bonága (we used to get it) cha-chi-ringirága (we used to look at it) cha-chi-simurirága (we used to tell it)
	N.Custom2,	chita-syága (we used not to grind) chita-gurága (we used not to buy) chita-ramiirága (we used not to receive) chita-ruubirirága (we used not to follow)	chita-chi-syága (we used not to grind it) chita-chi-gurága (we used not to buy it) chita-chi-ramiirága (we used not to receive it) chita-chi-ruubirirága (we used not to follow it)	chita-ryága (we used not to eat) chita-bonága (we used not to get) chita-ringirága (we used not to look at) chita-simurirága (we used not to tell)	chita-chi-ryága (we used not to eat it) chita-chi-bonága (we used not to get it) chita-chi-ringirága (we used not to look at it) chita-chi-simurirága (we used not to tell it)
8	A.Remote Past,	cha-séeye (we ground) cha-guríre (we bought) cha-bariiríre (we sewed) cha-ramíiye (we received) cha-rubiríiye (we followed)	cha-chi-séeye (we ground it) cha-chi-guríre (we bought it) cha-chi-bariiríre (we sewed it) cha-chi-rámíiye (we received it) cha-chi-rúbiríiye (we followed it)	cha-ríiye (we ate it) cha-temére (we cut) cha-tanakíre (we vomited) cha-ringíiye (we looked at) cha-simúriiye (we told) cha-regéeejiisye (we tried)	cha-chi-ríiye (we ate it) cha-chi-temére (we cut it) cha-chi-tanakíre (we vomited it) cha-chi-ríngíiye (we looked at it) cha-chi-simúriiye (we told it) cha-chi-régeeejiisye (we tried it)
	N.Remote Past,	chita-séeye (we didn't grind) chita-guríre (we didn't buy) chita-bariiríre (we didn't sew) chita-ramíiye (we didn't receive) chita-rubiríiye (we didn't follow)	chita-chi-séeye (we didn't grind it) chita-chi-guríre (we didn't buy it) chita-chi-bariiríre (we didn't sew it) chita-chi-rámíiye (we didn't receive it) chita-chi-rúbiríiye (we didn't follow it)	chita-ríiye (we didn't eat) chita-temére (we didn't cut) chita-tanakíre (we didn't vomit) chita-ringíiye (we didn't look at) chita-simúriiye (we didn't tell) chita-regéeejiisye (we didn't try)	chita-chi-ríiye (we didn't eat it) chita-chi-temére (we didn't cut it) chita-chi-tanakíre (we didn't vomit it) chita-chi-ríngíiye (we didn't look at it) chita-chi-simúriiye (we didn't tell it) chita-chi-régeeejiisye (we didn't try it)
11	A.Infitive,	oku-sya (to grind) oku-gura (to buy) oku-ramira (to receive) oku-fumburura (to unfold) oku-ruubirira (to follow)	oku-chí-sya (to grind it) oku-chi-gúra (to buy it) oku-chi-rámira (to receive it) oku-chi-fúmburura (to unfold it) oku-chi-rúubirira (to follow it)	oku-rya (to eat) oku-bóna (to get) oku-ringira (to look at) oku-símurira (to tell)	oku-chí-rya (to eat it) oku-chi-bóna (to get it) oku-chi-ríngira (to look at it) oku-chi-símurira (to tell it)
	N.Recent Past,	chitamá-sya (we didn't grind) chitamá-gura (we didn't buy) chitamá-ramira (we didn't receive) chitamá-ruubirira (we didn't follow)	chitamá-chí-sya (we didn't grind it) chitamá-chi-gúra (we didn't buy it) chitamá-chi-rámira (we didn't receive it) chitamá-chi-rúubirira (we didn't follow it)	chitamá-rya (we didn't eat) chitamá-bóna (we didn't get) chitamá-ringira (we didn't look at) chitamá-símurira (we didn't tell)	chitamá-chí-rya (we didn't eat it) chitamá-chi-bóna (we didn't get it) chitamá-chi-ríngira (we didn't look at it) chitamá-chi-símurira (we didn't tell it)

	A.Today Past, =A.Present Perfect	cha-sya (we ground) cha-gura (we bought) cha-ramira (we received) cha-rubirira (we followed)	cha-chí-sya (we ground it) cha-chí-gúra (we bought it) cha-chí-rámira (we received it) cha-chí-rúbirira (we followed it)	cha-rya (we ate) cha-bóna (we got) cha-ringira (we looked at) cha-simúririra (we told)	cha-chí-srya (we ate it) cha-chí-bóna (we got it) cha-chí-ringira (we looked at it) cha-chí-simurira (we told it)
	A.Continuous,	chicha-sya (we are still grinding) chicha-gura (we are still buying) chicha-ramira (we are still receiving) chicha-fumburura (we are still unfolding)	chicha-chí-sya (we are still grinding it) chicha-chí-gúra (we are still buying it) chicha-rchi-rámira (we are still receiving it) chicha-chí-fumburura (we are still unfolding it)	chicha-rya (we are still eating) chicha-bóna (we are still getting) chicha-ringira (we are still looking at) chicha-simúririra (we are still telling)	chicha-chí-rya (we are still eating it) chicha-chí-bóna (we are still getting it) chicha-chí-ringira (we are still looking at it) chicha-chí-simurira (we are still telling it)
	N.Present, 同時に以下の活用形の後動詞: N.Past Progressive, ch-a:-ri-gá + N.Today Past Progressive, ch-a:-ri + N.Past Progressive, ch-a:-ri-gá + N.Today Past Progressive, ch-a:-ri + N.Future Progressive, echi-bhá + N.Continuous Custom, ch-a:-ri-bh-agá +	chitakú-sya (we don't grind) chitakú-gura (we don't buy) chitakú-ramira (we don't receive) chitakú-ruubirira (we don't follow)	chitakú-chí-sya (we don't grind it) chitakú-chí-gúra (we don't buy it) chitakú-chí-rámira (we don't receive it) chitakú-chí-rúbirira (we don't follow it)	chitakú-rya (we don't eat) chitakú-bóna (we don't get) chitakú-ringira (we don't look at) chitakú-simúririra (we don't tell)	chitakú-chí-rya (we don't eat it) chitakú-chí-bóna (we don't get it) chitakú-chí-ringira (we don't look at it) chitakú-chí-simurira (we don't tell it)
	N.Recent Future	chitakú-jo ku-sya (we won't grind) chitakú-jo ku-gura (we won't buy) chitakú-jo ku-ramira (we won't receive) chitakú-jo ku-ruubirira (we won't follow)	chitakú-jo ku-chí-sya (we won't grind it) chitakú-jo ku-chí-gúra (we won't buy it) chitakú-jo ku-chí-rámira (we won't receive it) chitakú-jo ku-chí-rúbirira (we won't follow it)	chitakú-jo ku-rya (we won't eat) chitakú-jo ku-chí-bóna (we won't get) chitakú-jo ku-ringira (we won't look at) chitakú-jo ku-simúririra (we won't tell)	chitakú-jo ku-chí-rya (we won't eat it) chitakú-jo ku-chí-bóna (we won't get it) chitakú-jo ku-chí-ringira (we won't look at it) chitakú-jo ku-chí-simurira (we won't tell it)
	A.Immediate Future	echi-jó ku-sya (we are going to grind) echi-jó ku-gura (we are going to buy) echi-jó ku-ramira (we are going to receive) echi-jó ku-fumburura (we are going to unfold)	echi-jó ku-chí-sya (we are going to grind it) echi-jó ku-chí-gúra (we are going to buy it) echi-jó ku-chí-rámira (we are going to receive it) echi-jó ku-chí-fumburura (we are going to unfold it)	echi-jó ku-rya (we are going to eat) echi-jó ku-bóna (we are going to get) echi-jó ku-ringira (we are going to look at) echi-jó ku-simúririra (we are going to tell)	echi-jó ku-chí-rya (we are going to eat it) echi-jó ku-chí-bóna (we are going to get it) echi-jó ku-chí-ringira (we are going to look at it) echi-jó ku-chí-simurira (we are going to tell it)
11b	N.Custom1, ch-a:-ri-gá +	chitakú-syaga (we used not to grind) chitakú-guraga (we used not to buy) chitakú-ramiiraga (we used not to receive) chitakú-fumbururaga (we used not to unfold)	chitakú-chí-syaga (we used not to grind it) chitakú-chí-guraga (we used not to buy it) chitakú-chí-ramiiraga (we used not to receive it) chitakú-chí-fumbururaga (we used not to unfold it)	chitakú-ryaga (we used not to eat) chitakú-bonaga (we used not to get) chitakú-ringiraga (we used not to look at) chitakú-simuriraga (we used not to tell)	chitakú-chí-ryaga (we used not to eat it) chitakú-chí-bonaga (we used not to get it) chitakú-chí-ringiraga (we used not to look at it) chitakú-chí-simuriraga (we used not to tell it)
12	A.Recent Past,	chamá-sya (we ground) chamá-gúra (we bought) chamá-ramira (we received) chamá-rúbirira (we followed)	chamá-chí-sya (we ground it) chamá-chí-gúra (we bought it) chamá-chí-rámira (we received it) chamá-chí-rúbirira (we followed it)	chamá-rya (we ate) chamá-bóna (we got) chamá-ringira (we looked at) chamá-simúririra (we told)	chamá-chí-rya (we ate it) chamá-chí-bóna (we got it) chamá-chí-ringira (we looked at it) chamá-chí-simurira (we told it)
13	A.Past Perfect, ch-a:-ri-gá + A.Today Past Perfect, ch-a:-rí + A.Recent Future Perfect, echi-bhá +	cha-sé:ye (we had ground) cha-gúrire (we had bought) cha-rámi:ye (we had received) cha-rú:biriye (we had followed)	cha-chí-sé:ye (we had ground it) cha-chí-gúrire (we had bought it) cha-chí-rámi:ye (we had received it) cha-chí-rú:biriye (we had followed it)	cha-rí:ye (we had eaten) cha-ríngi:ye (we had looked at) cha-kú:ríre ~ cha-kú:ríre (we had pushed) cha-simúri:ye (we had fold)	cha-chí-rí:ye (we had eaten it) cha-chí-ríngi:ye (we had looked at it) cha-chí-kú:ríre (we had pushed it) cha-chí-simuri:ye (we had fold it)
21	A.Past Progressive, ch-a:-ri-gá +; A.Today Past Progressive, ch-a:-rí +; A.Future Progressive, e-chi-bhá +; A.Continuous Custom, ch-a:-ri-bh-agá +; A.Present Habitual, echi-bh-agá + ~ echi-bh- ágá +	n(i)-chí-sya (we were grinding) n(i)-chí-gura (we were buying) n(i)-chí-ramira (we were receiving) n(i)-chí-ru:birira (we were following)	n(i)-chí-chi-sya (we were grinding it) n(i)-chí-chi-gura (we were buying it) n(i)-chí-chi-ramira (we were receiving it) n(i)-chí-chi-ru:birira (we were following it)	n(i)-chí-rya (we were eating) n(i)-chí-bona (we were getting) n(i)-chí-ringira (we were looking at) n(i)-chí-simurira (we were telling)	n(i)-chí-chi-rya (we were eating it) n(i)-chí-chi-bona (we were getting it) n(i)-chí-chi-ringira (we were looking at it) n(i)-chí-chi-simurira (we were telling it)

22	A. Subjunctive,	chi-sye (so that we eat) chi-gure (so that we buy) chi-ramíre (so that we receive) chi-fumbúrure (so that we unfold)	chi-chí-sye (so that we eat it) chi-chi-gúre (so that we buy it) chi-chi-rámíre (so that we receive) chi-chi-fumbúrure (so that we unfold)	chi-rye (so that we eat) chi-bone (so that we get) chi-ringíre (so that we look at) chi-simuríre (so that we tell) chi-si-tobeganyíke (so that it becomes mixed)	chi-chí-rye (so that we eat it) chi-chi-bóné (so that we get it) chi-chi-ringíre (so that we look at it) chi-chi-simuríre (so that we tell it)
	A. Imperative	nu-syé (grind!) gurá (buy) ramírá (receive) fumbúrurá (unfold!)	gá-syé (grind it!) chi-gúré (buy it!) chi-ramíré (receive it!) chi-fumbúruré (unfold it!)	nu-ryé (eat!) boná (get!) ringirá (look at!) simurírá (tell!) igánirisyá (think!)	chí-ryé (eat it!) chi-bóné (get it!) chi-ringíré (look at it!) chi-simuríré (tell it!) chi-igánirisyé (think it!)
23	A. Present, -a	echí-sya (we grind) echi-gúra (we buy) echi-rámíra (we receive) echi-rú:bírira (we follow)	echi-chí-sya (we grind it) echi-chi-gura (we buy it) echi-chi-rámíra (we receive it) echi-chi-ruubírira (we follow it)	echí-rya (we eat) echi-bóna (we get) echi-ríngira (we look at) echi-simurira (we tell)	echi-chí-rya (we eat it) echi-chi-bóna (we get it) echi-chi-ringíra (we look at it) echi-chi-simuríra (we tell it)
24	A. Participial; A. Custom1, ch-a-ri-gá +	n(i)-chí-syaga ((we) grinding) n(i)-chí-gurága ((we) buying) n(i)-chí-ramirága ((we) receiving) n(i)-chí-fumbúrurága ((we) following)	n(i)-chí-chi-syága ((we) grinding it) n(i)-chí-chi-gurága ((we) buying it) n(i)-chí-chi-ramirága ((we) receiving it) n(i)-chí-chi-fumbúrurága ((we) following it)	n(i)-chí-ryaga ((we) eating) n(i)-chí-bonága ((we) getting) n(i)-chí-ringirága ((we) looking at) n(i)-chí-simurirága ((we) telling)	n(i)-chí-chi-ryága ((we) eating it) n(i)-chí-chi-bonága ((we) getting it) n(i)-chí-chi-ringirága ((we) looking at it) n(i)-chí-chi-simurirága ((we) telling it)

Newar-Thangmi Lexical Correspondences and the Linguistic Classification of Thangmi

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Thangmi is a Tibeto-Burman language of two mutually unintelligible dialects spoken by upwards of 30,000 people inhabiting the districts of Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok in central-eastern Nepal. The Thangmi language occupies a half-way house between a canonical Kiranti-style verbal agreement system and that of the less inflecting Tibeto-Burman languages.

Drawing on manuscript sources and recently compiled dictionaries, this article is devoted to an analysis of the linguistic evidence for and against a Newar-Thangmi link, together with a historical evaluation of the competing theories suggesting a close genetic relationship. Thangmi has numeral classifiers (not a common feature among the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal) which are largely cognate with the numeral classifiers used in the Dolakhā dialect of Newar. There are also over seventy lexical correspondences which appear to be cognate between Thangmi and Newar which are not attested in other extant Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal.

Two key questions emerge. First, are the Thangmi and Newar languages close genetic relatives? Second, if not, how can the range of lexical correspondences between the two languages best be explained, and in which direction did the borrowing take place?

1. Introduction
2. Early classifications of Thangmi within the Tibeto-Burman language family
3. Cultural interdependence between the Newar of Dolakhā and the Thangmi
4. Before and after Mahākirānti
5. Thangmi-Newar lexical correspondences and the case for Newaric
 - 5.1. Shared numeral classifiers
 - 5.2. The changing face of the Classical Newar language
 - 5.3. Three classes of Thangmi and Classical Newar lexical correspondences
 - 5.3.1. Shared common reflexes of Tibeto-Burman
 - 5.3.2. Shared Indo-Aryan loans
 - 5.3.3. Lexical correspondences specific to Thangmi and Newar
6. Concluding thoughts on the genetic affinity of Thangmi

Keywords: Newari, Thami, Nepal, Tibeto-Burman, Linguistics

1. Introduction

Over the past six years, in conference papers and publications, I have demonstrated that Thangmi occupies a half-way house between a canonical Kiranti-style verbal agreement system and that of the less inflecting Tibeto-Burman languages. Moreover, I have provided evidence that Thangmi has numeral classifiers (not a common feature among the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal) which are largely cognate with the numeral classifiers used in the Dolakhā dialect of Newar. During my research, two key questions have emerged. First, are the Thangmi and Newar languages close genetic relatives? Second, if we argue against a close genetic relationship, how can we best explain the range of lexical similarities between the two languages, and in which direction did this borrowing take place?

The present article is a much-revised version of Turin (2000) with two notable differences. First, a number of typographical errors were mistakenly introduced into the earlier article by the editors of the journal. As a direct result of these mistakes, many of the facts and arguments I presented were no longer coherent.¹⁾ Since then, colleagues have urged me to republish the article in its correct form to offer both the data and my conclusions in their original light. The second motivation for reworking the earlier article stems from the recent publication of the *Dictionary of Classical Newari* by the Nepal Bhasa Dictionary Committee in September, 2000, and James A. Matisoff's immediately definitive *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman* in 2003. The *Dictionary of Classical Newari*, edited by Kamal Prakash Malla and colleagues, marks a genuine watershed for scholars working on the Newar language and culture. Compiled from manuscript sources, the 530-page collection is a mine of information on the lexicon and grammar of what the editors call "Classical Newari". In light of entries in this new dictionary, I have modified, and at once extended, my proposed list of Newar-Thangmi lexical similarities. Matisoff's *Handbook*, on the other hand, provides an excellent index of proto-forms and proto-glosses to facilitate lexical comparison. The remainder of this article is thus devoted to an analysis of the linguistic evidence for and against a close Newar-Thangmi link, together with a historical evaluation of the competing theories suggesting a close genetic relationship.

2. Early classifications of Thangmi within the Tibeto-Burman language family

Thangmi is a Tibeto-Burman language of two mutually unintelligible dialects spoken by upwards of 30,000 people inhabiting the districts of Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok in central-eastern Nepal.²⁾ While anthropologists have paid little attention to the

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- 1) Of the 41 key lexical similarities that I proposed were shared by only Newar and Thangmi, eight were misspelled so significantly that it was no longer clear how these words might have been cognate with one another.
 - 2) The Nepali name for this ethnic group and their language is *Thāmī*, an Aryan-inspired term ↗

Thangmi in their ethnographic accounts of Nepal, the same should not be said for linguists. Since the birth of Tibeto-Burman linguistics, scholars have been intrigued by the genetic position of the Thangmi language. The three-page grammatical description of Thangmi (then referred to as ‘Thāmi’) in the *Linguistic Survey of India* compiled by George Abraham Grierson does not begin auspiciously:

The Thāmis have formerly been considered to speak the same dialect as the Sunwārs. During the preparatory operations of this Survey the two dialects were confounded in Darjeeling, and separate returns were only made from Sikkim. (1909: 280)

Sten Konow, the author of this passage, concludes his introduction on a more promising note when he states that Thangmi is actually ‘quite distinct from Sunwār’, and that despite being ‘much influenced by Aryan dialects’, it appears to be ‘a dialect of the same kind as Dhīmāl, Yākhā, Limbu, etc.’ (1909: 280). This description appears in Volume III, Part I of Grierson’s *Survey*, in a section entitled ‘Eastern Pronominalized Languages’. The Thangmi language was then classified alongside Barām (then referred to as ‘Bhrāmu’) as forming an ‘Eastern Subgroup’ of the ‘Complex Pronominalizing’ branch of ‘Himalayan Languages’ within the ‘Tibeto-Burman’ language family (1927, Vol. I, Part I: 58). Konow based his putative classification on word lists collected by Brian Houghton Hodgson half a century earlier, specimens of which he provided in the publication. Hodgson himself had recorded these languages as ‘Thāmi’ and ‘Bhrāmú’ respectively, although in the present context, ‘Thangmi’ and ‘Barām’ are more ethnolinguistically appropriate terms.³⁾

The words and phrases presented in Konow’s list were collected from Thangmi speakers in Darjeeling and make for interesting reading. The lexical items are considerably influenced by the Nepali language, as one might expect from linguistic data collected in the tea estates of north-east India where indigenous tongues were soon jettisoned in favour of Nepali, the *Verkehrssprache* or vehicular ‘language of commerce’. It is revealing that Thangmi words and phrases recorded in Darjeeling almost 150 years ago show a greater degree of Nepalification than contemporary Thangmi spoken in the Nepali districts of Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok.

In his *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan*, Robert Shafer adds his support to the Grierson-Konow proposition of a close genetic relationship between Thangmi and Barām by placing them together in the ‘Eastern Branch’ of the ‘West Himalayish Section’ of the

↗ which the Thangmi themselves are eager to shake off. Culturally-active members of the Thangmi community request that they be referred to as ‘Thangmi’ and not ‘Thami’.

3) According to George van Driem, the Barām call their language *Bāl Kurā*, the ‘language of the people’, in which *kurā* is Nepali for ‘language’ and *bāl* is Barām for ‘people, person, somebody’. While the term *Barāmu* is allegedly still known to a few elderly non-Barām Nepali-speakers, the Barām themselves universally reject both *Barāmu* and ‘Bhrāmú’, and insist on the use of the term Barām in Nepali to describe the group and their language (van Driem 2001: 766).

‘Bodic Division’ of ‘Sino-Tibetan’ (1974: 145). Following Shafer’s classification, Thangmi and Barām would therefore also be close relatives of other West Himalayish languages such as Byangsi, Manchad and Zhangzhung. Shafer admits that this classification is ‘tentative’, but is in no doubt that ‘Thami and Bhramu are closely related’ (1974: 145). Regarding their affinity to other West Himalayish languages, Shafer is similarly cautious: ‘From the limited vocabularies of them one can only say that they are here placed in West Himalayish because they appear to be closer to that group than [sic] to any other’ (1974: 3). While the empirical basis for Shafer’s hypotheses was scanty, his belief in a close linguistic relationship between Thangmi and Barām has been of more lasting interest than his classification of these two languages as West Himalayish.

Shafer posited nine lexical similarities shared by Thangmi and Barām which he believed indicated a degree of close genetic relationship (1966: 128). These nine lexical items are given in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Shafer’s Proposed lexical similarities

Thami	Bhrámú	English
<i>dì-ware</i>	<i>dé</i>	one
<i>nis</i>	<i>ni</i>	two
<i>u-ni</i>	<i>u-ní</i>	sun
<i>tśala</i>	<i>chala-wani</i>	moon
<i>nem</i>	<i>nam</i>	house
<i>su-wa</i>	<i>s-wá</i>	tooth
<i>tśiya</i>	<i>chá</i>	eat
<i>ku-lna</i>	<i>ká-pá</i>	ear
<i>ka-pu</i>	<i>ká-pá</i>	head

Of the nine lexical correspondences, seven may now be discounted since they are either widely attested in other languages or easily reconstructed to Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms, leaving only two possible words supporting a special link between Thangmi and Barām. The comparative evidence is as follows: the Barām and Thangmi words for ‘one’ seem to derive from the Proto-Tibeto-Burman root **t(y)ik* ‘one’ (Benedict 1972: 94) or **tyak* ~ **g-t(y)ik* ‘one, only’ (Matisoff 2003: 616), while the words for ‘two’ in both languages are also reflexes of the widely-attested Proto-Tibeto-Burman root **g-ni-s* (Benedict 1972: 16) or **ʔ-nit* ~ **ni* and **g/s-ni-s* ‘two’ (Matisoff 2003: 604). Consequently, the words ‘one’ and ‘two’ only serve to indicate the already indisputably Tibeto-Burman nature of Barām and Thangmi, and do not indicate any special relationship between the two languages. Likewise, where Shafer suggests that Barām *s-wá* ‘tooth’ and Thangmi *su-wa* ‘tooth’ are unusual forms, both can be recon-

structed to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman root **s-wa* ‘tooth’ (Benedict 1972: 106) or **swa* ‘tooth’ (Matisoff 2003: 604), and Barām *chá* ‘eat’ and Thangmi *tšiya* ‘eat’ are similarly reflexes of the common Proto-Tibeto-Burman root **dza* ‘eat’ (1972: 28) and **dzya* ‘eat’ (Matisoff 2003: 648). When Shafer suggests that Barām *ká-pá* ‘head, ear’ and Thangmi *ka-pu* ‘head’ are unique, he was unaware of the Nepali form *kapāl* ‘head, hair’ and the Kusuvār form *ká-pá* ‘head’. Even in the little known language of Thochú, the form *kapat* ‘head’ has been attested (Hodgson 1880: pull-out section containing the *Comparative Vocabulary of the languages of Hôr Sôkyeul and Sifán*). It seems more plausible to suggest that the words for ‘head’ in both languages are Indo-Aryan loans rather than arguing for a separate lexicogenesis. Finally, the Thulung word *nem* ‘house, dwelling place’ (Allen 1975: 224) is cognate with Thangmi *nem* and Barām *nam*, both meaning ‘house’. All that remain are two lexical correspondences, Barām *u-ní* and Thangmi *u-ni* meaning ‘sun’ (perhaps both derived from **nəy* ‘sun, day’ as noted by Matisoff (2003: 604)), and Barām *chala-wani* and Thangmi *tsala* meaning ‘moon’ (both likely cognate with **s/g-la* ‘moon, month’ as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003: 599)). Some of the above data were carefully summarised by the Leiden linguist Arno Loeffen (1995), who reached the conclusion that Shafer’s evidence for grouping Thangmi and Barām together is at best based on two lexical isoglosses showing a specific phonological innovation.

Despite the paucity of empirical data for his classification, it appears from more recent research that Shafer’s suspicion of a special relationship between the two languages may indeed be correct. The two proposed lexical isoglosses shared by Thangmi and Barām are now further supported by numerous morphological correspondences, particularly in the realm of verbal agreement affixes (van Driem, forthcoming). While the Barām system of verbal agreement has all but decayed, the verbal morphology of Thangmi is complex and reminiscent of the Kiranti model. The completeness of the Thangmi verbal paradigm thus provides an insight into the degenerated Barām agreement system.

Six years after the publication of Shafer’s *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan*, Paul King Benedict’s *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus* was published. In this classic work, Thangmi and Barām are passed over without specific mention and are classified as belonging to what Benedict labels a ‘Himalayish’ grouping within ‘Tibetan-Kanauri’ (1972: 7).⁴ More important to the present discussion than the virtual absence of Thangmi and Barām, however, is Benedict’s suggestion that although the Newar language could not be ‘directly grouped with Bahing and Vayu [now Hayu]’ (1972: 5–6), it nevertheless showed ‘interesting lexical agreements’ with them, and ‘might be regarded as a Bodish-Bahing link’ (1972: 8). The ambiguous position of Newar within Tibeto-Burman had also been noted by Shafer, who rejected Konow’s typological classification of the

4) In his *Handbook*, Matisoff intriguingly suggests that ‘Thami’ is part of the Chin subgroup (2003: 702).

language as ‘non-pronominalised’, but remained unsure of its genetic position.⁵⁾ The seeds of doubt shared by Shafer and Benedict about the Newar-Kiranti link would lie dormant for some twenty years before George van Driem’s *Mahākirānti* hypothesis.⁶⁾

3. Cultural interdependence between the Newar of Dolakhā and the Thangmi

The Thangmi and Newar populations of the Dolakhā area have been in close cultural contact for some time. The Thangmi origin story features a Newar king who first imprisons a Thangmi man and then later impregnates a Thangmi woman story (for more details, see Turin, 1999, and Shneiderman & Turin, 2000). One male Thangmi clan, known as *roimirati* or *roimijati* (from Thangmi *roimi*, ‘Newar’ and Nepali *jāt*, ‘caste, ethnic group’) reckons its descent directly from this Newar-Thangmi liaison. The indigenous explanation of how the Thangmi ethnic group came to have a Newar clan is described at length in an earlier article, so suffice it to say that the original *roimirati* brothers are widely believed to have been fathered by a Newar king.

The brief description above demonstrates that the Thangmi have incorporated the Newar into their own socio-cultural world. Such an adaptation would be expected from a low-status ethnic group coming into contact with a regionally-dominant culture, in this case, the Newar. There are, however, many examples of the more surprising reverse situation in which the Thangmi have been incorporated into the Newar social paradigm. The most notable of these inclusions is the key role that Thangmi play in festivals celebrated by the Newar in the bazaar town of Dolakhā. These calendrical festivals, such as *khaḍgajātrā*, the ‘Sword Festival’ held on the eleventh day of *Mohani* (Nepali *dasai*), and *matsyendranāthjātrā* are explicitly Newar events which are also celebrated in other Newar-dominant areas, such as the Kathmandu valley. For the Newar of Dolakhā, active participation in certain of their rituals by specific members of the surrounding Thangmi community is obligatory. Should the Thangmi fail to perform their duties, or worse still, not come at all, then the Newar festival is effectively cancelled.

While the precise details of the Newar-Thangmi socio-ritual relationship outlined above are beyond the scope of the present article, there are two particularly salient features of this cultural interdependence worth noting here. First, ritual offerings and implements must be assembled to exact specifications by Thangmi villagers, and only then are they brought to Dolakhā. Second, Thangmi shamans and laymen have a rit-

5) Shafer wrote: ‘From the limited number of comparisons brought together here one may tentatively say that Newarish (Newari and Pahari) is probably neither Baric nor Karenic, but somewhat intermediate between Bodic and Burmic; that is, its ties are with languages to the north (Tibet) and the east (Burma and the Indo-Burmese frontier) rather than with Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam’ (1952: 93)

6) In the intervening years, Scott DeLancey described an ‘Eastern Himalayan’ grouping, which would include ‘the Kiranti languages and others in eastern Nepal; probably also Newari’ (1989: 321).

ual role in festivals otherwise wholly officiated by Newar priests. These roles are played by Thangmi from specific villages: the *devikoṭ* and *khaḍgajātrā* duties are performed exclusively by Thangmi from the village of Dumkoṭ, while the *matsyendranāthjātrā* involves only Thangmi from the village of Lāpīlān. Such a division by village may suggest that these ritual duties originated as a form of taxation on the Thangmi by the local Newar rulers. At any rate, the Newar of Dolakhā view the presence of the Thangmi as essential to the efficacy of their rituals and festivals. Casper Miller describes in detail the happenings that led to the Thangmi villagers' refusal to play their part in the *devikoṭjātrā* of 1912 AD (1997: 89–93), an event which is remembered and discussed to this day.

4. Before and after Mahākirānti

At the 13th annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, George van Driem advanced his *Mahākirānti* or 'greater Kiranti' theory: a 'hypothetical genetic unit' including Kiranti and Newar (1992: 246).⁷⁾ While his idea attracted both immediate attention and criticism, van Driem continued to refine his thinking as new linguistic data (specifically on Thangmi and Barām) came to light. In 2001, van Driem redefined the Mahākirānti group as consisting of 'the Kiranti languages proper and...the Newaric languages Newar, Barām and Thangmi. The set of languages which are related to Mahakiranti...includes Lepcha, Lhokpu and the Magaric languages' (2001: 591).⁸⁾ In *Languages of the Himalayas*, van Driem sets out the implications of his idea:

the linguistic ancestors of modern Mahakiranti groups and of Bodic language communities, which appear to be closer to Mahakiranti than to Bodish, peopled the Himalayas from the east and form a cluster of languages connected not only by shared geographical provenance but perhaps also related by more intimate genetic association and shared prehistorical contact situations. (2001: 590–591)

But what evidence does van Driem provide for the existence of Mahākirānti? Dismissing lexical data as merely 'suggestive' and inadequate for 'systematic comparison to yield decisive evidence' (2003: 23), van Driem has stressed that the comparison of inflexional morphology provides evidence of a 'highly sound and compelling kind' (1992: 246). The morphological evidence of the Kiranti-Newar genetic link comes from Dolakhā Newar, the 'most divergent...dialect of the language' (van Driem 2001: 759) spoken in and around Dolakhā, an ancient Newar settlement and trading post 'dating back perhaps as far as the Licchavī period [circa 300–879 A.D.]' (2001: 759). The verbal agreement system of Dolakhā Newar is cognate with the conjugational

7) It is fitting to point out at this juncture that the term of choice in English for both the indigenous people and language of the Kathmandu valley is 'Newar', and emphatically not the Aryan-inspired 'Newari', which is considered offensive to contemporary Newar sensibilities.

morphology attested in Kiranti languages: verbs in the Dolakhā dialect of Newar agree for person and number with the intransitive subject and transitive agent in all tenses. Not only is the structure of Dolakhā Newar verbal morphology reminiscent of the Kiranti model, but Dolakhā also appears to be one of the more archaic and conservative of the extant Newar dialects. Van Driem makes this point succinctly:

Classical Kathmandu Newar...retains vestiges of a verbal agreement system like that of Dolakhā Newar. Therefore, the Classical Newar system is likely to derive from a more complete verbal agreement system, and the Dolakhā Newar verb probably represents a more faithful reflexion of this Proto-Newar system. (2001: 764)

More specifically, however, the Dolakhā dialect of Newar shares an important morphological trait with Thangmi and the Kiranti languages. In Dolakhā Newar, the morpheme <-u>, indexing third person future (3/FUT), is a verbal agreement suffix and also a reflex of the Tibeto-Burman proto-morpheme *<-u>. More specifically, the <-u> suffix in Dolakhā Newar denotes the involvement of a third person actant in the syntactic role of patient, a meaning also found in Thangmi and the Kiranti languages proper. As van Driem writes elsewhere:

The third person proto-morpheme *<-u> is ubiquitously reflected in Tibeto-Burman...In the Himalayas, these reflexes are all suffixes, and, in Kiranti languages, they all denote third person *patient* involvement. The Dolakha data likewise reflect third person patient marking: The vestigial suffix <-u> in the negative indicative, singular imperative and singular optative of r-stem verbs is clearly associated with grammatical patient marking, as it occurs only after transitive verbs. Similarly, in the past indicative, third singular subject is indexed by the suffix <-a> in intransitive verbs, but by <-u> in transitive verbs. (1993b: 36–37)

While acknowledging that verbal morphology constitutes only ‘one type of evidence which has yet to be corroborated by regular lexical and phonological correspondences’ (1992: 246), van Driem sees the morphological evidence for the antiquity of the Dolakhā system as ‘decisive because in comparative linguistics conjugational agreement endings such as Dolakhā Newar *<-u> or the third person singular ending <-s> in the English present tense are precisely the type of elements...which are inherited, not borrowed’ (2001: 764–765).⁹⁾

8) That Magaric languages may be genetic relatives of Mahākirānti is an interesting proposition. A different interpretation is offered by the Newar linguist, Tej Ratna Kansakar, who places Thangmi in a so-called ‘Magar Group’ of languages as distinct from ‘Kirantish Languages’ (1993: 167).

9) It is prudent to note that flexional morphology is the heart of the inherited portion of any ↗

While reactions to the Mahākirāntī hypothesis have been mixed, the strongest reaction against the proposed grouping came not from Western linguists, but from academics and laypeople within the Newar community. Van Driem describes their resistance as ‘inherently suspect’ (2001: 599), pointing out that their unwillingness to accept the Mahākirāntī hypothesis stems from the social exclusivity of the Newar community. Van Driem is, however, careful to acknowledge that while the communities may be linguistically related, in a ‘cultural sense these language communities could not be more different’ (2001: 599), and he points to the gulf in the socio-cultural worlds between the different Mahākirāntī groups:

The Newars have for centuries had an advanced metropolitan culture, and, though they are linguistically Tibeto-Burmans, the Newars cultivated their own flourishing Sanskrit literary tradition. By contrast, the Kiranti, i.e. Rais and Limbus, were rural agriculturalists of the eastern hills, whereas the Barām and the Thangmi have remained amongst the socio-economically most disadvantaged groups of central Nepal. (2001: 599)

After a linguistic field trip to Bhutan in 2001, however, van Driem began to reconsider his Mahākirāntī hypothesis. While in Bhutan, he collected data on the Gongduk language, particularly on its conjugational morphology and biactantial agreement system which contains reflexes of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman third person patient morpheme *<-u> (3/P).¹⁰ On analysing the data, van Driem realised that:

the two specific morphological traits shared between Newar and Kiranti are not unique to Newar and Kiranti, but would appear to be the shared retention of a far older trait of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman verbal agreement system. Nothing else about Gongduk suggests any immediate affinity with either Newar or Kiranti within Tibeto-Burman. Therefore, the narrow but morphologically highly specific empirical basis for entertaining the Mahakiranti hypothesis no longer exists. (2003: 23–24)

In the conclusion to this article, van Driem suggests that while he no longer entertains the Mahākirāntī hypothesis, the ‘case for Newaric or *Mahānevārī* has grown’ (2003: 25), and he proposes that Thangmi and Barām ‘together form a coherent subgroup within the Tibeto-Burman family’ (2003: 24). Accordingly, the linguistic relationship between the Newaric languages (Newar, Thangmi and Barām) antedates ‘by a large

↗ language, and genetic relationships between Indo-European languages had been firmly established on morphological grounds long before sound laws were discovered.

10) Van Driem draws attention to the Gongduk portmanteau suffix <-uŋi ~ -oŋe> (1→3) when compared with the first person subject morphemes <-ŋŋi> and <-ŋni>, and to the Gongduk portmanteau suffix <-uri ~ -ore> (2p→3) when compared with the second person plural subject morpheme <-ire> (2003: 23).

margin the rise of the great Newar urban civilisation in the Kathmandu Valley, let alone the much later emergence in the XVIIIth century of the political entity of the kingdom of Nepal' (van Driem 2001: 599).¹¹⁾ In section §5.3.3 below, I present a number of specific lexical isoglosses which support the antiquity of the proposed Newar-Thangmi link.

5. Thangmi-Newar lexical correspondences and the case for Newaric

5.1. Shared numeral classifiers

Following the clues suggesting a special relationship between Thangmi and Newar outlined in the first incarnation of the Mahākirāntī hypothesis, I pursued the evidence for the proposed genetic link further. Supporting data came from the unlikely corner of a common set of numeral classifiers shared by the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi and the Dolakhā dialect of Newar. A brief word about numeral classifiers in Tibeto-Burman languages will serve as a suitable point of departure here.

Aside from the well-attested case of Newar, few of Nepal's Tibeto-Burman languages show any sign of having an involved numeral classifier system. A number of Kiranti languages do show remnants of classificatory systems, however, the best known instance of which comes from the pioneering study of Thulung by the Oxford-based anthropologist Nicholas Allen. Allen reports that in 19th century Thulung, as studied by Hodgson, 'countable nouns fell into classes defined by classifier particles associated with numerals' (1975: 113). Allen isolated six classifying particles (CLF) for Thulung: <-bop> meaning 'round objects' (or 'rounds' in Hodgson's notes), as in *ko bop miksi* (one CLF eye) 'one eye'; <-seol> meaning 'elongated object' as in *ko seol khel* (one CLF leg) 'one leg'; <-phe> meaning 'flat object' as in *ko phe nophla* (one CLF ear) 'one ear'; <-wan> meaning 'hollow circular object'; <-phu> meaning 'growing things, trees' and <-si> meaning 'holes, roads'. Allen goes on to describe what he calls significant 'variability' in the choice of particle, adding that this might indicate that 'the classifier system was beginning to break down' even in Hodgson's time (1975: 113–115).

More recent evidence of numeral classifiers present in extant Kiranti languages has been collected by members of the Himalayan Languages Project of Leiden University, corroborating Hodgson's early findings. For example, Joyce van Hoorn documents the numeral 'three' as *sumbo?* in Chiling (personal communication), a fusion of the Tibeto-Burman numeral *sum* 'three' and a numeral classifier *bo?*, most likely cognate with Thulung <-bop> meaning 'round objects'. Similarly in Sāmpāng, another Kiranti language, *i-bo* 'one' is made up of the numeral *i* 'one' and the classifier <-bo>, once again cognate with Thulung <-bop> meaning 'round objects' (René Huysmans, personal communication). Dumi also attests a numeral classifier cognate with Thu-

11) For a list of major Newar settlements which are believed to date back to the Kiranti period, see van Driem (2001: 732).

lung <-bop>, in *mu-bo* ‘six’, segmented by van Driem as *mu* ‘six’ and the classifier <-bo> (1993a: 87–89). While interesting for comparative and historical reasons, however, these Kiranti classifiers have little in common with those attested for Thangmi or Newar.

Newar numeral classifiers, on the other hand, have received considerable attention from linguists of Tibeto-Burman languages and beyond.¹²⁾ A full discussion of the scholarship on this feature of Newar grammar is beyond the scope of the present discussion. In the following paragraphs, attention is focussed on the set of classifiers apparently cognate between Newar and Thangmi.

In her descriptive and historical account of the Dolakhā dialect of Newar, Carol Genetti notes that numerals are ‘always followed directly by numeral classifiers’ and then describes ten classifiers which ‘are not used with any other nominal modification besides numerals’ (1994: 68). In Dolakhā Newar, she writes, numerals are ‘always followed directly by numeral classifiers’ (1994: 68). Seven of these classifiers appear to be cognate with Thangmi numeral classifiers or nouns that I have collected from the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi. In each case, the Newar and Thangmi classifiers are similar in both form and function.

The Thangmi noun *dan* ‘year’ from the Sindhupālcok dialect is likely cognate with the Dolakhā Newar classifier <-da> ‘years’ (Genetti 1994: 69), and the Thangmi classifier <-paṭe> ‘clothes, bamboo mats’ is probably cognate with the Dolakhā Newar classifier <-pta> ‘clothes (vests, pants, rugs, shirts, raincoats)’ (Genetti, personal communication). The Thangmi classifier <-pur> ‘branches, trees, long things’ may well be cognate with the Dolakhā Newar classifier <-pu> ‘hairs, bananas, ropes, necklaces, garlands, tongues, branches, sticks, brooms, pens’ (Genetti 1994: 69), and the Thangmi classifier <-pa> ‘leaves, paper, thin or flat things’ may be cognate with either the Dolakhā Newar classifier <-pat> ‘leaves, pieces of paper, silver leaf’ (Genetti 1994: 69) or the classifier <-pā> ‘fingers, knives, legs, arms, wings, ears’ (Genetti 1994: 68).¹³⁾ Finally, the Thangmi numeral classifier <-gore> ‘houses, general things’ may be cognate with either the Dolakhā Newar classifier <-gar> ‘eggs, rice, rocks, noses, apples, balls, houses, stars, autos’ (Genetti 1994: 68) or the classifier <-gur> ‘(general classifier)’ (Genetti 1994: 69). The above examples provide powerful evidence of lexical similarities between the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi and the Dolakhā dialect of Newar. Three further Thangmi numeral classifiers have no obvious cognates in Newar, and concomitantly, the five remaining classifiers present in Dolakhā Newar are not found in Thangmi.¹⁴⁾

12) I refer the reader to Austin Hale and Iswaranda Shresthacarya (1973) and Peri Bhaskararao and S. K. Joshi (1985).

13) According to Dörte Borchers, the Sunwar language (also known as Koīnts) has a numeral classifier <-pa>, as in *nim-pa koel* (two-CLF leg) ‘two legs’ (personal communication). This may well be cognate with the Dolakhā Newar classifier <-pā> ‘fingers, knives, legs, arms, wings, ears’ described above.

14) There are only two numeral classifiers attested in the Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi: <-gore> ↗

All Thangmi numeral classifiers are grammaticalised forms with no clear derivation from any related Thangmi nominal lexeme, apart from the classifier for human referents <-kapu>, which is also the Thangmi noun for ‘head’. The similarity between the Dolakhā Newar numeral classifiers and those found in the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi are striking, and leaves open the question of whether these forms are borrowed or whether they reflect a close genetic relationship between the two languages.¹⁵⁾ If the numeral classifiers are borrowed, which direction the borrowing took place remains unresolved. The Thangmi forms may be the more archaic as two of the Thangmi classifiers are disyllabic whereas their Newar counterpart are monosyllables: Thangmi <-gore> and <-paṭe> versus Newar <-gar ~ -gur> and <-pta>. If the Thangmi classifiers were borrowed from Newar, then the suffixation of a velar nasal [ŋ] in the Thangmi classifier for ‘years’ <-dan> to the original Newar classifier <-da> ‘years’, and the presence of a trill [r] at the coda of the Thangmi classifier <-pur> are also difficult to explain.

Numeral classifiers are used to enumerate things in trade relations, and there is significant evidence of social and economic contact between the Thangmi and Newar groups as outlined above in section §3, which may provide an argument for suggesting that these are borrowed forms. Whether the shared classifiers can be used to argue for a close genetic relationship between the two languages or whether these impressive lexical similarities are merely a sign of intensive borrowing between Thangmi and Newar remains a central question.

5.2. The changing face of the Classical Newar language

Pursuing the idea of the alleged Thangmi-Newar link still further, I searched through lexical lists and dictionaries of contemporary and Classical Newar in search of possible correspondences. As this section illustrates, my findings add weight to the suggestion that when taken together, Newar, Thangmi and also Barām, form the higher-level grouping of Newaric.

The time depth of the Classical Newar language has long been debated, as has its variational breadth. The controversy can be traced back at least as far as Hans Jørgensen, who described Classical Newar as simply ‘the language of the MSS [manuscript]’ (1936: 3). Five years later, in the *Preface* to his grammar of the language, he

↗ for ‘non-human’ and <-ka> for ‘human’. While Thangmi <-gore> ‘non-human’ is likely to be cognate with the Dolakhā Newar classifier <-gur> ‘general classifier’, Thangmi <-ka> ‘human’ appears to have no cognates in Newar. The ‘human’ versus ‘non-human’ distinction is more reminiscent of Hayu, which has classifiers <-pu> for ‘human’ and <-uŋ> for ‘non-human’ (Michailovsky 1988: 123).

15) Quite why and how numeral classifiers attested in the Dolakhā dialect of Newar should have cognates in the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi rather than the geographically closer Thangmi dialect spoken in Dolakhā remains unexplained. It is, however, possible that these classifiers were once also present in the Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi but are now no longer remembered, and are retained only in the Sindhupālcok dialect. This issue certainly warrants further exploration.

noted the explicitly ‘historical’ nature of Newar: ‘since the manuscripts, on which it is based, range from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, and the natural changes in the language during this period have to some extent been reflected in them’ (1941: 3). The editors of the recently published *Dictionary of Classical Newari* are well aware of the implications and make their position extremely clear. In the *Introduction*, they state:

All we know at this stage is that Classical Newari is not a single homogenous monolithic stage nor a variety, dialect or stylistic label. (Malla *et al.* 2000: vii)

‘Classical Newari’ is thus an umbrella term to describe the older forms of the language used in the 96 manuscript sources consulted for the dictionary, the chronological span of which ranges from 1115 A.D. to 1900 A.D. The editors reiterate their point by precluding comparisons between ‘Classical Newari’ and features of other so-called ‘Classical’ languages, such as Sanskrit, Greek, Arabic. As they see it, ‘Classical Newari’ is little more than a convenient term used to separate a range of older Newar language varieties from Colloquial Newari (2000: viii).

This view is not shared by the Newar scholar Kashinath Tamot (*Kāśīnāth Tamot*). Tamot believes that the existing linguistic divergences are more than ‘mere spatial variations—variations of individual dialects, (social/regional) or evidence of diaglossia [sic] (high style/low style)’ (Malla *et al.* 2000: viii). According to Tamot, there are ‘at least two stages of Classical Newari, i.e., Early and Late...This is approximately equivalent to the division of Nepal’s history into Early (879–1482) and Late (1482–1768) Medieval periods’ (2002: 13). Tamot is quick to point out the linguistic implications of this argument: Jørgensen’s dictionary would now only cover the Late Classical and Early Modern periods of the Newar language (from 1675 A.D. to 1859 A.D.). Tamot suggests that Early Classical Newar exhibits pre-Aryan features which were replaced by Sanskritic vocabulary in the Late Classical and Early Modern periods. Professor Kamal Prakāś Malla, Chief Editor and Project Leader of the *Nepal Bhasa Dictionary Committee*, is palpably non-plussed by this theory and others of what he refers to as ‘Tamot’s hobby-horses’ (Malla *et al.* 2000: iv).¹⁶⁾

At the 9th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies in June, 2000, Kashinath Tamot presented a paper entitled ‘Some characteristics of the Tibeto-Burman stock of Early Classical Newari’. I was interested to find cognates between Thangmi as spoken to this day in Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok and certain ‘Early Classical Newar’ words, lexical items which were replaced by Sanskritic loans in Late Classical Newar.¹⁷⁾ Subsequently, Tamot and I realised that a number of Thangmi ritual words for body parts closely resemble Classical Newar forms, a discovery which lends

16) Sadly, this important lexicographical project on the Newar language was not without its tensions and disagreements. Malla writes of ‘unexpected and unhappy turns’ (2000: iii), which included the resignation of Kashinath Tamot, the Chief Compiler of the project.

17) Now published as an article with the same title, see Tamot (2002).

further credence to the proposed closeness of the Newar and Thangmi peoples and their languages. In the following sections, I present an overview of the lexical similarities between Thangmi and Classical Newar.

5.3. Three classes of Thangmi and Classical Newar lexical correspondences

Lexical items shared by Thangmi and Classical Newar fall into three categories. The first, and also the least spectacular, are words which are well-attested reflexes of Proto-Tibeto-Burman roots found across the genetically-related languages of Nepal and the higher Himalayas. That Thangmi and Classical Newar share these words does little more than reconfirm their membership in the Tibeto-Burman language family. The second class of shared items are Indo-Aryan loan words which have entered both Thangmi and Classical Newar. While many of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal are considerably influenced by Indic, the Newar are the sole Tibeto-Burman people to have adopted both a Sanskrit literary tradition as well as a version of the Indo-Aryan caste system, a result of which is a heavily Sanskritised lexicon. The most likely explanation for these shared Indic loans is that one of the two languages loaned words from Sanskrit which were then, at a later date, borrowed by the other. Another possibility is that both Thangmi and Classical Newar were in contact with the same Indic language, perhaps even at approximately the same time. At any rate, as can be seen from the examples below, there are a number of shared Indic loans for words where one might have expected to find a non-loaned and native Tibeto-Burman form. The third and final class of lexical items shared by Thangmi and Classical Newar is by far the most interesting. This category consists of the numerous correspondences between the two languages, few (if any) of which are attested in other Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the Himalayan region.

A brief disclaimer at this point would be prudent: Tibeto-Burman historical linguistics is still in its infancy in comparison with the depth of comparative and historical scholarship which exists for Indo-European languages.¹⁸⁾ It is likely that some of the lexical items I include in the proposed list of those shared by only Thangmi and Classical Newar will prove, over time, to be reflexes of Proto-Tibeto-Burman roots or cognate with elements found in other extant Himalayan languages.

The data are presented according to the three categories outlined above. Following each citation of a proto-Tibeto-Burman form or Classical Newar word, its provenance is indicated by brackets with the following abbreviations: (B) for Benedict's *Sino-Tibetan*, (J) for Jørgensen's *Dictionary of the Classical Newāri*, and (NB) for the Nepal Bhasa Dictionary Committee's recent *Dictionary of Classical Newari*. Matisoff's recent *Handbook* builds on, and further develops, many of Benedict's early proto-forms, and I refer to these reconstructions in the forthcoming sections when cognates or reflexes are apparent. I refer interested readers to a helpful index of reconstructed

18) James Matisoff writes of the 'present imperfect state of TB [Tibeto-Burman] historical phonology' (2000: 368).

proto-forms available on the STEDT project website at: <<http://stedt.berkeley.edu/data/HPTBEtymav1.html>>.

5.3.1. Shared common reflexes of Tibeto-Burman

In this section, I present the list of Thangmi and Classical Newar words which are reflexes of well-attested Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms, or clearly cognate with lexical items in other extant Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the Himalayas.

The reflexes of common Tibeto-Burman proto-forms include body parts, animals, food stuffs and verb roots. Reflexes of Proto-Tibeto-Burman *s-wa ‘tooth’ (B) are Thangmi *suwa* ‘tooth’ and Classical Newar *wā* ‘tooth’ (J); reflexes of Proto-Tibeto-Burman *kliy ‘excrement’ (B) are Thangmi *kli* ‘excrement’ and Classical Newar *khi* ‘excrements’ (J) and *khi* ‘faeces’ (NB); *(g-)yak ‘armpit’ (B) has reflexes *yakho* ‘armpit’ in Thangmi and *yāko* ‘armpit’ (J) in Classical Newar; Thangmi *nyu* ~ *nyu* ~ *nyi* ‘brain’ and Classical Newar *hni-pu* ‘brain’ (J) and *nhipu* ‘brain’ (NB) are cognate with Proto-Tibeto-Burman *nuk ‘brain’ (B); Proto-Tibeto-Burman *r-mi(y) ‘man’ has reflexes *mi* ‘person, man’ in Thangmi and *mim* ‘man’ in Classical Newar (NB); Proto-Tibeto-Burman *r-sa ‘vein’ (B) has reflexes *sasa* ‘vein, tendon’ in Thangmi and *śaśa* ‘sinews, vein’ in Classical Newar (NB); Proto-Tibeto-Burman *sya=śa ‘meat’ (B) has reflexes in both Thangmi and Newar indicating bovines, since these were once eaten by Newars (and still are eaten by the Thangmi): *syā* ~ *shyā* ‘cow’ in Thangmi and *śā* ‘cow’ in Classical Newar (NB). The related forms *syaca* ‘calf’ in Thangmi and *sacā* ‘calf’ in Classical Newar (NB) are derived from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *sya=śa ‘meat’ (B) and *tsa ‘child’ (B) respectively. Proto-Tibeto-Burman *s-rik=śrik ‘louse’ (B) has reflexes *sirik* ‘louse’ in Thangmi and *śi* ‘body louse’ in Classical Newar (NB); and Proto-Tibeto-Burman *lak ‘arm, hand’ (B) has reflexes *lak* ~ *la?* ‘hand, arm’ in Thangmi and *lā* ‘hand, arm’ (J) and *laka* ‘arm’ (NB) in Classical Newar.

Other reflexes for animal and organic words are as follows: Thangmi *amu* ‘eagle’ and Classical Newar *imā* ~ *yumā* ‘eagle’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *muw=məw ‘eagle’ (B); Thangmi *kucu* ‘dog’ and Classical Newar *khicā* ‘dog’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *kwiw=kəy ‘dog’ (B); Thangmi *kucuca* ‘puppy’ and Classical Newar *khicāca* ‘puppy’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *kwiw=kəy ‘dog’ and *tsa ‘child’ (B); and the related forms *ma-kucu* ‘bitch, female dog’ in Thangmi and *mā-khicā* ‘bitch’ in Classical Newar (J) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ma ‘mother’ and *kwiw=kəy ‘dog’ (B); Thangmi *naru* ‘horn’ and Classical Newar *na* ‘horn’ (J) and *na* ~ *nakura* (NB), both evidently containing another element than just reflexes of Proto-Tibeto-Burman *krew=krəw or *ruŋ=rwan ‘horn’ (B); Thangmi *nana* ‘fish’ and Classical Newar *nā* ‘fish’ (J) or *nam* ‘fish’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *nya ‘fish’ (B); Thangmi *pya* ‘pig’ and Classical Newar *phā* ‘hog, boar’ (J) or *phā* ‘pig, boar’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *pwak ‘pig’ (B); the Thangmi bound morph <-sek> ‘fruit, round organic object’ and Classical Newar *se* ‘fruit, corn, grain’ (J) and *se* ‘fruits’ or *cākuse* ‘a kind of sweet yellow citrus fruit about the size of an orange’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman

*sey ‘fruit’ (B); Thangmi *jake* ‘rice’ and Classical Newar *jāke* ~ *ke* ‘rice, husked rice’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *dza ‘eat’ (B); Thangmi *chya* ‘salt’ and Classical Newar *chi* ‘salt’ (J) or *cī* ‘salt’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *tsa ‘salt’ (B) and Thangmi *marci* ‘chilli’ and Classical Newar *maracabhatā* ‘chilli’ (NB) which are cognate with Yamphu *marchu* ‘Spanish pepper, red pepper, *Capsicum annum*’ (Rutgers 1998: 555) and many other Tibeto-Burman languages, and most probably derived from Sanskrit *marica* ‘pepper’.¹⁹ Two notable kinship terms are *nini* ‘husband’s sister, father’s sister’ (J) and *nini* ‘aunt, father’s sister’ (NB) in Classical Newar and *nini* ‘father’s sister’ in Thangmi, from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ni(y) ‘aunt’ (B); and Thangmi *bubu* ‘elder brother’ and Classical Newar *phupa* ‘elder brother’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *puw=pəw ‘brother, older’ (B), another reflex of which is Kulung *bu* ~ *bubu* ‘elder brother’ (Tolsma 1999: 197).

Inanimate nouns with common reflexes are Thangmi *asku* ‘smoke’ and Classical Newar *kum* ‘smoke’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *kuw=kəw ‘smoke’ (B); Thangmi *asa* ‘oil’ and Classical Newar *so* ‘oil’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *sa-w ‘oil’ (B); Thangmi *uni* ‘day, sun’ and Classical Newar *hni* ‘day’ (J) and *nhī* ‘day’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *niy=ŋəy ‘day’ (B); Thangmi *nasa* ‘soil, earth, ground’ and Classical Newar *cā* ‘soil’ (NB) are likely cognate with Tibetan *sa* ‘earth, the ground’ (Jäschke 1968: 568); Thangmi *rapa* ‘axe’ and Classical Newar *pāo* ~ *pā* ‘axe’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *r-wa=r-pwa ‘axe’ (B); Thangmi *khaṇou* ‘door, door-frame’ and Classical Newar *khā* ‘door’ (J) or *kāpā* ‘door’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *m-ka ‘door’ (B); Thangmi *ṭaye* ‘night’ and Classical Newar *cā* ‘night’ (NB) perhaps from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ya ‘night’ (B); Thangmi *cinem* ‘iron’ and Classical Newar *ṇam* ‘iron’ (NB) perhaps from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *syam=sam ‘iron’ (B); Thangmi *me* ‘fire’ and Classical Newar *mi* ~ *me* ‘fire’ (J) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *mey ‘fire’ (B); Thangmi *me-thap* ‘fireplace’ and Classical Newar *mi-thap* ‘chimney (culli)’ (J) from the two Proto-Tibeto-Burman elements *mey ‘fire’ (B) and *tap ‘fireplace’ (B); Thangmi *kham* ‘word, tale, story’ and Classical Newar *kha* ‘word, tale, story’ (J) or *kham* ‘matter, fact, talk, dispute’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ka ‘word, speech’ (B); Thangmi *sin* ‘tree, wood’ and Classical Newar *śima* ~ *sim* ‘tree, a plant, wood’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *sin ‘tree’ (B); and Thangmi *ulam* ‘path, road’ and Classical Newar *lam* ‘road, way, direction’ (J) or *lam* ‘way, road’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *lam ‘road, direction’ (B).

Common verb cognates and other grammatical particles are Thangmi *cabusa* ‘to carry’ and Classical Newar *ku buyu* ‘v.t., to carry’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *buw=bəw ‘carry on back or shoulders’ (B); Thangmi *gandu sin* ‘dry wood’ and Classical Newar *gaṃga sim* ‘dry wood’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *kan ‘dry up’ (B); Thangmi *walṇa* ‘five’ and Classical Newar *ṇam* ‘five’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *l-ṇa ~ b-ṇa ‘five’ (B); Thangmi *ca* ‘small, young, diminutive’, *caca* ‘very small’ and

19) Chillies most likely arrived in South Asia some time after the beginning of the 16th century.

cacha ‘grandchild’ and Classical Newar *cā* ‘a young one (of animals)’ (J) or *cā* ‘child, young, small, diminutive suffix’, *cacā* ‘small, minor’ and *chaya* ‘grand-daughter, grandson’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *tsa ‘child, grandchild nephew/niece’ (B); Thangmi *pisa* ‘to give (away)’ and Classical Newar *pi-tě* ‘to give away’ (J) and *biye* ‘to give, to pay’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *biy=bəy ‘give’ (B); Thangmi *losa* ~ *lokša* ‘to pour’ and Classical Newar *lu-* ‘to pour’ (J) or *luya* ‘to pour’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *(m-)lu(w) ‘pour’ (B); Thangmi *lupsa* ‘to sink, to be submerged’ and Classical Newar *lop* ‘to sink, to be submerged’ (J) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *lip and/or *nup ~ *nip ‘sink’ (B); Thangmi *saisa* ‘to know’ and Classical Newar *saya* ‘to know, to understand, to be conversant with’ (J) or *sayā* ~ *saye* ‘to get notice, to know’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *syey ‘know’ (B); Thangmi *the* ‘self’ and Classical Newar *thao* ‘self’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *tay ‘self’ (B); Thangmi *dun* ‘inside’ and Classical Newar *duone* ‘inside’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *tsyu-ŋ=tu-ŋ ‘inside’ (B); Thangmi *namša* ‘to smell’ and Classical Newar *nam̃ha* ‘to smell’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *m-nam ‘smell’ (B); Thangmi *nuiša* ‘to laugh, smile’ and Classical Newar *nhira* ~ *nhile* ‘to laugh’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *m-nwi(y) ‘laugh’ (B); Thangmi *sisā* ‘to die’ and Classical Newar *sica* ‘to die’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *siy=səy ‘die’ (B); and Thangmi *su* ‘who?’ and *susu* ‘whoever?’ and Classical Newar *su* ‘who? (of persons only)’ (J) or *sū* ‘who’ and *susu* ‘whoever’ (NB) are cognate with modern written Tibetan *su* ‘who?’ (Jäschke 1990: 573).

Certain Thangmi and Classical Newar words are also cognate with Sampang, a Kiranti language spoken in the north-eastern quadrant of Khoṭān district.²⁰⁾ Thangmi *chusa* ‘to fasten’ and Classical Newar *chuya* ‘to fasten, to attach’ (J) are cognate with Sampang *chuyma* ‘to fasten’; Thangmi *bok* ‘inflorescence of corn or rice flower’ and Classical Newar *bo* ‘flower’ (J) and *bo* ‘flower’ (Modern Newar *buṃ*) (NB) are cognate with Sampang *bun* ‘flower’; Thangmi *mesya* ‘buffalo’ and Classical Newar *mes* ‘buffalo’ (J) or *mesa* ‘buffalo’ (NB) are cognate with Sampang *mesi* ‘buffalo’ and Kulung *me:si* ‘water buffalo’ (Tolsma 1999: 220).

Overall then, the above examples only serve to demonstrate that Thangmi and Newar are Tibeto-Burman languages which contain reflexes of well-attested proto-forms which have cognates in extant Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the Himalayas.

5.3.2. Shared Indo-Aryan loans

The second category contains lexical items which both Thangmi and Classical Newar have borrowed from Indo-Aryan, and here I focus solely on the loans which are particularly similar. Thangmi *aji* ‘mother-in-law’ and Classical Newar *aji* ‘grandmother (paternal and maternal)’ (J) or *aji* ‘grandmother’ (NB) may well have been loaned from Hindi *ājī* ‘paternal grandmother’ (McGregor 2002: 82); Thangmi *kapale* ‘forehead’ and Classical Newar *kapāra* ‘forehead’ (NB) are both cognate with Nepali *kapāl*

20) The Sampang data are provided by René Huysmans, via personal communication.

'forehead, scalp'; Thangmi *kanṭu* 'throat, neck' and Classical Newar *kaṁṭhu* 'throat' (NB) are probably borrowed from a later reflex of Sanskrit *kaṇṭha* 'throat, neck'; Thangmi *ṭupuri* 'hat, cap' and Classical Newar *tupuli* 'a sort of head-gear' (J) from Hindi or Maithili *ṭopī* 'cap'; Thangmi *ṭhai* 'place, location' and Classical Newar *ṭhāya* 'place' (NB) are likely etymologically related to Nepalli *ṭhāū* 'place'; Thangmi *dudu* 'milk, woman's breast' and Classical Newar *dudu* 'milk, the breast of a woman' (J & NB) may be loaned from Nepali (or another neighbouring Indo-Aryan language) *dud* or *dudh* 'milk, female breast, udder'; Thangmi *ḍumla* 'common fig, *Ficus carica*' and Classical Newar *dubala* '*Ficus racemosa* (formerly known as *Ficus glomerata*)' may derive from Sanskrit *uḍumbara* '*Ficus racemosa*'; Thangmi *sakalei* 'all, everything, everyone' and Classical Newar *śakala* 'everybody', *sakale* 'all' (NB) and *sakale* 'all' (J) likely derive from a later reflex of Sanskrit *sakala* 'whole'; Thangmi *paṭasi* 'women's traditional dress' and Classical Newar *patāsi* 'the lower garment' (J) or *patāse* 'a woman's lower garment' (NB) may derive from a later reflex of Sanskrit *paṭaḥ* 'cloth' or Nepali *pāṭ* 'flax, fibre'; Thangmi *naka* 'old' and Classical Newar *naka* 'new' (NB) may derive from a later reflex of Sanskrit *nava* 'new, fresh'; Thangmi *sewa* 'greetings, hello' and Classical Newar *sevā* 'a term of address to show respect to elders' (NB) are derived from a later reflex of Sanskrit *sevā* 'attendance (upon someone), servitude'; and finally Thangmi *makar* 'monkey' and Classical Newar *markaṭ* 'monkey' (J) or *mākarha* 'monkey' (NB) are most probably loaned from Nepali *markaṭ* 'monkey' and so ultimately derived from Sanskrit *markaṭa* 'monkey'.

As outlined above, Newar has a highly Sanskritised lexicon and it is thus not surprising that even words which might be considered part of the core lexicon, such as 'very', 'milk' or 'breast', have been loaned from Indo-Aryan. More surprising, however, is that Thangmi has also borrowed these terms, and furthermore, that the loans seem to have undergone similar phonological shifts in both languages. Examples are the reduplicative *dudu* 'milk' from Indo-Aryan *dud* or *dudh*, and the extra syllable added to the loan for 'hat, cap' as in Thangmi *ṭupuri* and Classical Newar *tupuli*, from Indo-Aryan *ṭopī*.²¹⁾

The most plausible explanation for this similarity in loaned words is that one of the two languages borrowed words from a neighbouring Indic language which were then at a later date borrowed 'once-removed' into the second language. The sequence of these loans was most probably Classical Newar borrowing from Indo-Aryan and then Thangmi borrowing an Indic or Sanskritised lexical item from Newar. Thanks to the high level of literacy and the extensive written tradition of Newar civilisation, loans directly from Sanskrit into Classical Newar were commonplace. For Thangmi, how-

21) Although less phonologically persuasive, other possible shared Indo-Aryan loans may be Thangmi *aṭhu* 'joint(s) of the body' and Classical Newar *athi* or *āthi* 'joints, articulations' (NB), both perhaps from a later reflex of Sanskrit *asthi* 'bone, joint' or Hindi *asthi* 'bone' (McGregor 2002: 70), and Thangmi *aṭhe* 'very' and Classical Newar *ati* 'very, exceedingly' (J) which may have been loaned from Maithili, Nepali or Hindi *ati* 'very, very much'.

ever, which remains to this day an unwritten language far from any urban centre of learning, direct loans from Sanskrit are distinctly unlikely. The transfer scenario outlined above would support the hypothesis that the Thangmi and Newar languages (and hence their speakers) were in close contact with one another from an early date. In the absence of such early contact, one would have expected Thangmi to borrow lexical items directly from Nepali (rather than from Sanskrit via Newar) when the Nepali language was brought to Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok by Nepali-speaking settlers.

5.3.3. Lexical correspondences specific to Thangmi and Newar

The final category comprises those lexical similarities which I believe to be shared by only Thangmi and Classical Newar which are probably not cognate with other Tibeto-Burman languages. I have resisted the temptation to order the lexical similarities into classes (such as animate nouns, body parts and verbs) since this would impose a further arbitrary hierarchical order on the data. As far as possible, I have followed the alphabetical order of the Newar dictionaries, thus facilitating cross-referencing for those interested readers.

Thangmi *elepe* ‘spleen’ is cognate with Classical Newar *al-pe* ‘spleen’ (J) and *alape* ‘spleen’ (NB), and Matisoff reconstructs *r-pay ‘spleen’ (2003: 208); Thangmi *pin* ‘fingernail’ may be cognate with Classical Newar *r* ‘nail’ (NB); Thangmi *ekaṭe* ‘alone’ is cognate with Classical Newar *ekāṭa* ‘alone’ (NB), the first syllable of both being cognate with and derived from Sanskrit *eka* ‘one, a, only, alone, single’; Thangmi *kaṭasa* ‘to quarrel’ closely resembles Classical Newar *kacāda* ~ *kacāḍa* ‘quarrel, dispute’ (NB); Thangmi *kapale kosa* ‘skull’ and Classical Newar *kapāla kosa* ‘skull’ (NB); Thangmi *kasyu* ‘boil, pimple’ and Classical Newar *kasu* ‘boils’ (NB) or Classical Newar *cāsu kacha* ‘a pimple that itches’ (NB) are most probably cognate, as are Thangmi *kimi* ‘tape worm’ and Classical Newar *kimi* ‘hook worm’ (NB).

Other lexical correspondences may include Thangmi *cyuku* ‘ant’ and Classical Newar *kumicā* ‘white ant, termite’ (NB), Thangmi *kosa* ‘bone’ and Classical Newar *kvase* ~ *kosa* ‘bones’ (NB); Thangmi *papasek* ‘testicles’ and Classical Newar *si-pā* ‘the testicles’ (J) and *kvāse* ‘testicles’ (NB), Matisoff reconstructs *səw ‘testicles, virility’ (2003: 182); Thangmi *ukhin* ‘dark’ and Classical Newar *khiñu* ‘dark, darkness’ (J) and *khiññu* ‘dark’ (NB); Thangmi *gui* ~ *gwi* ‘thief’ and Classical Newar *khu* ‘thief’ (NB); and Thangmi *khen* ‘face’ and Classical Newar *khem* ‘face’ (NB). The Thangmi topicaliser *guri* may be cognate with Classical Newar *guri* ‘a classifier denoting place’ (NB); Thangmi *naṭe* ‘cheek’ resembles Classical Newar *natāl* ‘cheek’ (J) or *naṃtārha* ‘cheek’ and Modern Newar *nyatāḥ* ‘cheek’ (NB); Thangmi *ṭakadu* ‘sweet’ is most likely cognate with Classical Newar *cāku* ‘sweet’ (J) and *cāku* ‘sweet thing, molasses’ (NB); and Thangmi *cime* ‘hair’ is most likely cognate with Classical Newar *cimilū=cimī* ‘the hair (of the body)’ (J) and *cimilisām* ‘body hair’ (NB), while Matisoff reconstructs *mil ~ *mul ~ *myal ‘hair (body)’ (2003: 602).

Other possible cognates are Thangmi *jakcho* 'wheat' and Classical Newar *cho* 'wheat' (J) or *co* ~ *cho* 'wheat' (NB); the Thangmi affable suffix *che* and Classical Newar *che* '2.s. you (used mostly in addressing superiors or equals)' (J) or *cha* 'you' (NB); Thangmi *cache jyamari* 'granddaughter's husband' and Classical Newar *chaya jiri* 'granddaughter's husband' (NB); the Thangmi verb *chyosa* ~ *thosa* 'to send' and Classical Newar *choya* 'to send, to dispatch' (J) or *choye* ~ *choya* 'to send' (NB); Thangmi *jukun* 'only' and Classical Newar *jak* 'only' (J) or *juko* 'only' (NB); the Thangmi noun *jet* 'work' and Classical Newar *jyā* 'work' (NB); and Thangmi *jyanganen* 'bird' and Classical Newar *jhamgara* 'a bird' (NB). Another set of lexical similarities shared by the two languages includes Thangmi *thumsa* 'to bury' and Classical Newar *thumñā* ~ *thumne* 'to bury' (NB); the Thangmi verb *themsā* 'to destroy, to break down' and Classical Newar *thoña* ~ *thone* 'to demolish, to destroy' (NB); Thangmi *dan* 'year' and Classical Newar *da* ~ *dam* 'year' and Modern Newar *dam* 'year' (NB); the Thangmi male clan *ḍanguri* and Classical Newar *ḍhamguri* 'a Newar caste' (NB); the Thangmi kinship term *tete* 'elder sister' and Classical Newar *tatā* 'an elder sister' (J) or *tatāju* 'elder sister (hon.)' (NB); Thangmi *thope* 'broom, sweep' and Classical Newar *tuphe* 'a broom' (J) and *tuphi* 'broomstick, brush' (NB); Thangmi *du* 'tiger, leopard, wild cat' and Classical Newar *dhu* 'tiger' (J) and *tedu* 'leopard' (NB); the Thangmi verb *thisa* 'to touch' and Classical Newar *thiye* 'to touch' (NB); Thangmi *thumsa* 'to immerse' and Classical Newar *thune* 'to immerse' (NB); the Thangmi shamanic and ritual ethnonym for their own ethnic group *thani* and Classical Newar *thāni* 'one kind of caste' (NB);²²⁾ and the Thangmi noun *ton* 'home-made beer' and Classical Newar *thvam* 'beer' (NB).

Further Thangmi-Classical Newar lexical correspondences are as follows: Thangmi *duṇ bisa* 'to enter (inside)' and Classical Newar *duṇbiya* 'to enter, to offer' (NB); Thangmi *dudu pur* 'nipple of the breast' and Classical Newar *dudu pipiri* 'nipple of the breast' (NB); Thangmi *nama* 'with' and Classical Newar *na* 'with' (NB); the Thangmi plural suffix *pali* and Classical Newar *paṇi* 'plural suffix' (NB); Thangmi *paṇ* 'sour' and Classical Newar *pāṇu* 'sour' (NB); the Thangmi transitive verb *palsa* 'to chop' and Classical Newar *pāle* 'to cut, to behead' (NB); Thangmi *prin* 'outside' and Classical Newar *pi* ~ *piṃ* 'outside' (NB); the Thangmi transitive verb *busa* 'to cover, fill' and Classical Newar *puya* 'to cover, to fill' (NB), while Matisoff reconstructs *pun 'wrap, cover, wear' (2003: 495); the Thangmi noun *puya* 'seed, seedling' and Classical Newar *pu* 'seed' (J) or *pū* 'seed' and *puvā* 'paddy seedlings' (NB); and the related Thangmi form *puyapasa* 'grains and seeds' and Classical Newar *puvāpāsā* 'grains and seeds' (NB); the Thangmi kinship term *pairi* 'elder brother's wife' and Classical Newar *pairabe* 'elder brother's wife' (NB).

Other plausible lexical correspondences are Thangmi *pokole* 'knee' and Classical Newar *paulr* 'knee' (NB); Thangmi *phaṭu* 'pumpkin' and Classical Newar *phat-si* 'a kind of pumpkin' (J) or *phatase* ~ *phatse* 'pumpkin' (NB);²³⁾ Thangmi *phasa* 'wind,

22) As intriguing as this definition is, no supplementary information is provided.

23) Both may be derived from Nepali *pharsī* 'pumpkin'.

storm, air’ and Classical Newar *phas* ‘air, wind’ (J) or *phasa* ‘wind’ (NB); Thangmi *pebu* ‘field’ and Classical Newar *bu* ‘a field’ (J) or *bū* ‘a field’ (NB); Thangmi *bosa* ‘to grow’ and Classical Newar *boye* ‘to grow, to come up’ (NB); the Thangmi verb *mraṇsa* ‘to swell’ and Classical Newar *maṃ-gwo* ‘swelling’ (J) and *māṇa ~ māne* ‘to swell’ (NB); the Thangmi noun *maṇa ~ maṇiṇ* ‘bread’ and Classical Newar *mādhe* ‘bread’ (NB); Thangmi *mesyaca* ‘buffalo calf’ and Classical Newar *mesacā* ‘buffalo calf’ (NB) (a composite form particular to Thangmi and Newar, although the constituent elements are well-attested throughout Tibeto-Burman); Thangmi *moṭe* ‘soybean’ and Classical Newar *mvāca* ‘soybean’ (NB); and the Thangmi transitive verb *rasa* ‘to bring’ and Classical Newar *rāsa ~ rāye* ‘to seize, catch’ (NB).

A particularly interesting lexical similarity shared by Thangmi and Classical Newar is Thangmi *libi* ‘after, later, behind’ and Classical Newar *lithe* ‘later’, *lī* ‘after’ and *livā* ‘afterwards’ (NB). Further correspondences are Thangmi *lukusa* ‘back, backbone’ and Classical Newar *luku* ‘back of body’ (NB); Thangmi *khaśu* ‘cloud’ and Classical Newar *śu* ‘cloud’ (NB); and Thangmi *sumaka* ‘quietly’ and Classical Newar *sumhaka* ‘quietly’ (NB). The final list of correspondences are those lexical items found only in Jørgensen’s *Dictionary* and not present in the newer *Dictionary of Classical Newari*: Thangmi *wasā* ‘to plough’ and Classical Newar *wāsā* ‘a plough’; Thangmi *aṇaldu* ‘ashamed’ and Classical Newar *ṇālā-pu* ‘ashamed, shame’; Thangmi *baṭi* ‘cat’ and Classical Newar *bhaṭi* ‘a cat’; Thangmi *makarpapa* ‘spider’ and Classical Newar *mā-khā-pi-khā* ‘a spider’; Thangmi *maṇ* ‘body’ and Classical Newar *hma* ‘a body’; Thangmi *lāṅga* ‘courtyard’ and Classical Newar *lām-hñe* ‘a yard, a court’; Thangmi *sebi* ‘leather, hide, skin’ and Classical Newar *se-bu* ‘leather’; and Thangmi *ṭamsil* ‘marrow’ and Classical Newar *sel* ‘marrow’.

6. Concluding thoughts on the genetic affinity of Thangmi

Section §5.3.3 above contains over seventy likely cognates between Thangmi and Classical Newar, many of which may ultimately turn out to be derived from attested Proto-Tibeto-Burman roots, but which, at any rate, appear to have a shared history at an earlier stage of both Thangmi and Newar. However, even if half of the above proposed lexical similarities between Thangmi and Classical Newar turn out to be reconstructable to Proto-Tibeto-Burman, over 35 lexical similarities remain. As mentioned at the outset, Shafer’s argument for Thangmi and Barām relatedness was based on nine lexical similarities shared by the two languages, seven of which may be immediately discounted as they are widely attested in other Tibeto-Burman languages. Even though only two of Shafer’s proposed similarities remain, his hunch of a special relationship between Thangmi and Barām has been corroborated by more recent research by van Driem and myself. While many Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal have some lexical cognates with *either* Thangmi *or* Classical Newar, to my knowledge there is no other language which shares as many lexical correspondences with Thangmi and Clas-

sical Newar as these two languages do with one another.

I conclude as I started, by asking a question. Should the similarity between Thangmi and Classical Newar simply be put down to borrowing, or does it reflect a deeper genetic relationship? If one opts for the more cautious explanation, explaining the similarities through cultural contact and lexical borrowing, then the question remains as to how the speakers of these two distinct languages could have exchanged so much so long ago.²⁴⁾ If, on the other hand, one chooses to conclude that the lexical similarities shown above are an indication of a close genetic relationship between Thangmi and Newar, then sound historical evidence must be produced to support this suggestion.²⁵⁾

It will be interesting to further examine the linguistic evidence from the Dolakhā dialect of Newar when it becomes available. Genetti has suggested that many of the Thangmi lexical items presented here have clear cognates with Dolakhā Newar (personal communication, February 2001), which is to be expected given the socio-cultural links between the two groups that I outlined above in section §3. Genetti writes of Dolakhā as a ‘centre for trade and commerce’ (1994: 8), but also of the ‘relative isolation of Dolakhā as compared to Kathmandu’ (1994: 8). It is precisely this isolation that van Driem sees as crucial in determining the relative antiquity of the Dolakhā dialect of Newar:

the original Newar grammatical system remains more intact in the language of the descendants of the early Newar mercantile colonists in Dolakhā than in the innovative prestige dialects spoken in Kathmandu and Pāṭan. (2001: 766)

On account of the geographical location of the town of Dolakhā, Genetti suggests that the ‘Dolakha people would have had more contact with the Kiranti peoples of the east’ (1994: 8), a particularly intriguing statement in light of the verbal agreement morphology shared by Kiranti languages and Thangmi on the one hand, and the lexical correspondences described above between Thangmi and Newar on the other. While Genetti dates the split between the Kathmandu and Dolakhā dialects of Newar to a ‘minimum of seven hundred years ago, and possibly much longer’ (1994: 8), van Driem boldly suggests that the ‘divergence between the Kathmandu Valley dialects and Dolakhā Newar may perhaps be datable to a period of unrest between 750 and

24) Tej Ratna Kansakar, a leading scholar of the Newar language and Tibeto-Burman linguistics, is unconvinced by the argument for a close genetic relationship between Thangmi and Newar. He suggests that the linguistic and cultural links between the two groups are most likely the result of ‘contact-induced changes’ and that there is historical evidence to show that the Newar, wherever they settled, sought the assistance of ‘various caste groups to fulfil religious, social and ritual functions’ for them. Other than the Thangmi of Dolakhā, a further example Kansakar offers is of Tibetans in their native Lhasa, who were conscripted to play a ritual role in Newar festivals (personal communication, 18 September, 2000). Kansakar’s position may in part be a reflection of his status as a prominent member of the Newar scholarly community and thus not divorced from a certain ‘Newarocentricity’ prevalent in elite Kathmandu Newar circles.

983 A.D.’ (2001: 766), ensuring a stability of the linguistic community which in turn contributed to the ‘evident archaism of Dolakhā verbal morphology’ (2001: 766).

The next step in the analysis of the Thangmi-Newar link will be to determine whether there are any phonological correspondences between the two languages, thereby taking this study to a deeper level beyond the inspection and comparison of surface forms. Only then will we learn more about the essence of the relationship between Thangmi and Newar, and the relative position of both languages in the *Stammbaum* of Tibeto-Burman.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the Research School CNWS at Leiden University in the Netherlands for financial assistance, without which this research would not have been possible. For academic advice, thanks to Professor Dr. Frederik Kortlandt for his careful reading of an earlier draft of this paper and to Professor Dr. George van Driem for his editorial suggestions. I am most grateful to Professor Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar for his ongoing support of my research and his willingness to listen carefully to the arguments involved and yet to disagree with my conclusions. Many thanks to René Huysmans for his comments on this article as well as for providing the Sampang data, to Dr. Roland Rutgers for his comparative perspective and to Dr. Arlo Griffiths for his help with Sanskrit terms. I am indebted, as always, to Sara Shneiderman for her critical eye, ongoing support and for access to her detailed field notes on Thangmi ritual in Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok. Finally, I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers who provided helpful criticisms of this paper and also Fumiko Inomata for her patience and editorial support.

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25) To paraphrase van Driem, the ‘current impression is that the older the Newar vocabulary, the more specific lexical correspondences can be identified with Thangmi and Barām’ (2001: 761).

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バ サ リ 社 会 の う た 65 曲

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65 Songs in the Bassari Society

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Sur les pentes des contreforts du Fouta Djallon de part et d'autre de la frontière guineo-sénégalaise il y a des gens appelés Bassari par les chercheurs français. Ils s'appellent eux-mêmes *alian* (pl. *belian*). Cet article a pour objet de montrer les textes des chansons enregistrées dans la société bassari.

En définissant l'action de chanter comme un acte d'énoncer, dans la première partie de cet article, nous allons essayer de saisir les caractéristiques de celui qui énonce ainsi que celles des paroles prononcées, c'est à dire les masques et les paroles des chansons bassari.

En insistant sur le fait que le critère "vrai ou faux", qui était utilisé pour expliquer les cas des masques dans les ouvrages anthropologiques, n'est pas très important pour décrire la façon d'être des masques bassari, nous nous efforcerons, au cours du travail ci-dessous, d'analyser la construction de discours à propos du masque ainsi que la notion de personne de cette société.

A propos des paroles de chansons, nous essaierons de savoir comment les gens les expliquent. Bien que les chansons bassari soient issues de sentiments personnels ou d'événements réels, nous concluons que ils interprètent les textes de chansons comme si c'étaient une fiction.

Les textes présentés ci-dessous sont incorrects du point de vue phonologique et phonétique, mais comme c'est la première fois que les textes du bassari sont présentés au Japon, nous pensons que cet article peut occuper une place prépondérante pour des études plus approfondies de cette langue et de leur culture.

I 考察

I-1 序

I-2 仮面

I-3 うたテキスト

II バサリのうた

II-1 表記法

II-2 うた資料

Keywords: West Africa, Bassari, mask, 'secret', song

キーワード: 西アフリカ, バサリ, 仮面, 「秘密」, うた

I 考察

I-1 序

本稿の主目的はセネガルに居住するバサリのうた資料の紹介である。

バサリ（自称 *alian/belian*）とはセネガル共和国とギニア共和国の国境地帯フータ・ジャロン山系に連なる標高 300～500m の山々で生活する農耕民である。人口は 10000 人程度。セネガル側には 5000 人程が生活している。現在のバサリの正確な数はわからないが、1976 年に行われたセネガルの人口調査によれば、セネガルオリエンタル地方（現タンバクンダ地方）に居住するバサリのは数は 1870 人、女 2179 人であった¹⁾。

セネガル側の居住地域は、行政組織上はタンバクンダ地方 (*région*) ケドゥグウ県 (*département*) サリマタ郡 (*arrondissement*) に属し、首都ダカールから道路伝いに約 800km の場所に位置する。私が調査を行ったのは、サリマタ郡の郡庁所在地であるサリマタから南へ約 16km のところに位置する人口 300 人程度の村エダンである²⁾。

主な農作物は、ソルガム (*Sorghum vulgare/degaf*)、落花生 (*Arachis hypogaea/utika*)、コメ (*Oryza sativa/malu*)、バンバラマメ (*Vondzeria subterranean/eyal*)、フォニオ (*Digitaria exilis/funyan*)、トウモロコシ (*Zea mais/maka*) 等である。19 世紀以前の彼等に関する歴史学的情報はほとんどない。私が聞いた「村の歴史」によれば、以前は現在よりも広い地域で生活していたらしいのだが、19 世紀末、フータ・ジャロン王国のジハードから逃れるため現在居住する地域へと移住してきたようだ。セネガルに居住する他の多くの民族とは異なり、バサリ社会で

は親族集団への帰属は母系をたどる。また年齢組システムが発達しており重要な位置を占めている。

さて、うたとは一般的に、なんらかの旋律を伴って発せられたことばであると言えるかもしれない。そうであるならば、「うたをうたう」ことは、「冗談を言う」とか「物語を語る」とか「なぞなぞをする」とか「命題を伝える」といったものとおなじく、発話行為のひとつであると言えよう。

川田は、内容は夫の悪口ではあるが、夫に当てられたメッセージではないため、それを聞いても夫が怒ることのできないモン社会の「あてこすり歌」を紹介し、『うた』というものが帯びている聖性、『うた』という形の中でことばがもつ常を超えた力³⁾に着目する。

私の関心もそこにある。バサリ社会において「うたをうたう」という行為は一体どのような発話行為なのであろうか。「うたをうたう」という発話行為のなかで発せられていることばは、日常のことばとどのように異なるのであろうか。

この問いに答えるためには、「うたをうたう」という行為を、他の発話行為のあり方との関係の中で検討しなければならないのかもしれない。しかし、そのような試みは、現在の私の能力を大きく超えている。

よって、ここでは以下、そのような試みを行うための準備段階として、「うたをうたう」という行為を発話行為とみなす視点から、そのような行為を行う者がどのような存在なのか、またそのような行為によって発せられることばとはどのようなものであるのかを、つまりバサリ社会における仮面とうたテキストのあり方を簡単に検討することで、うた資料

1) Girard 1984: 9.

2) 本稿で提示される資料は、1999 年 10 月～2000 年 1 月、2000 年 11 月～2001 年 2 月、2001 年 10 月～2002 年 5 月、2002 年 12 月～2003 年 3 月の計 17 ヶ月間行われた調査をもとにしている。なお、このうち村に滞在していたのは約 11 ヶ月間。

3) 川田 1988: 113.

の解題としたい。

だが、ここでなされる議論は、思いつきの整理以上のものではなく、結論的なものというよりは、示唆的・問題提起的なものである。

バサリ語で「うた」とは *ojikan*, 「うたう」は *ayun* である。*onior* は「声」や「音」を意味する。バサリの男にとって、うまうたをうたえるかどうかは重要な指標であるらしく、ある青年はモテる男の条件の一つとして「うたがうまいこと」をあげていた⁴⁾。「うたがうまい」ことは、遺伝の問題、あるいは、うた資料の中に散見されるように、「神からの授かり物」と考えられているようである。うた (21) にもあるように、「うまうたをうたう」ことは「鈴のように *ang itala*」うたと表現されることもある。

女性が杵つき等の家事をしながらうたうた、子供がお遊びでうたうたなどもあるが、本稿で紹介するのは全て仮面が登場する機会にうたわれるうたである。仮面がまずうたい、仮面の周りを緩やかな弧を描いて取り囲む女性が同じフレーズを続ける。仮面は、鈴を括りつけた杖でリズムをとりながら、びっこを引くような歩みで踊りながらうたう。「踊り」はバサリ語で *anjyar* といい、このような場でうたをうたう時には欠かせない行為である。仮面や女性達の仲間に加わろうとする者は、「うたをうたいに行く」とではなく、「踊りに行く *ne ie me gr anjyar*」と表現する。本稿では、踊りに関する検討を行うことはできないが、ここで、バサリ社会では、「うた」と「踊り」は密接に結びついているものであるということを指摘しておきたい。

バサリ社会の仮面には、イニシエーションの祭りの時にだけあらわれる特別な仮面を除けば、オルクタ *olukuta*, オディニール *odinir*, ガンゴラン *gangoran*, アホレ *axore*, ビーチャ *biitya* が存在する⁵⁾。一番年長であるとされるオルクタは、ある女性が一番最初に生んだ男の子につけられる名前でもって「チャラ」と総称され、オディニールは二番目の男の子につけられる「タマ」という名前で、ガンゴランは三番目の男の子の「カリ」という名前で呼ばれる。オディニールの妻であるビーチャは三番目にうまれた女の子の名前で「ペネン」と呼ばれる。と同時に、ビーチャ以外は、誰が仮面をつけているのかに応じて、各々に固有の名前がある。

オルクタは基本的に既婚の女性と、オディニールは未婚の娘達と踊り、うたう。バサリ社会のうたは、定型化された旋律に、ある個人の身におこった出来事、心情などから立ち上がった歌詞があてられるのであるが⁶⁾、オルクタのうたとオディニールのうたの違いはリズムの速さの違いであり、歌詞のレベルに弁別的な特徴があるわけではない。

仮面を身につけた男は、ちょうどうがいをする時のように、声門深部を振るわせて発話しなければならない。この「声」は *angurna* と呼ばれる。仮面をつけていない時に、この「声」で発話することはかたく禁じられている。

フランス語を話すことのできる者が「*type-contre* (あまのじゃく)」と呼ぶアホレは、パルミラヤシ (*Borassus flabellifer/apes*) の葉っぱを体のどこかにつけただけの「仮面」

4) また、ある青年がある女性に宛てた「ラブレター」には「おれのように、踊りが上手で、うたのうまい子供を生んでくれ」と書いてあった。その青年は、踊りがうまう、うたが上手な仮面として評判の男であったが、後に見るように、女性に「村の男が仮面をつけている」ということは秘密にされており、このような手紙を女性に書いたことは、秘密の暴露であるとされ、ちょっとした問題になった。

5) ただし、ウバジという村には、オルクタとアホレしか存在しない。

6) エダン村から 15～20km 離れたところに位置する村から、エダン村に用事でやってきたある男は、私がエダン村で録音したうたを聞きながら、自分の村のうたとは旋律は同じであるが、歌詞が違っていると話していた。

であり、特に「仮の面」をつけているわけではない⁷⁾。イニシエーション後からオジャールクラス⁸⁾に属することになるまでの間、村長の家で開かれる祭り（あるいはそれと同等の祭り）の時に限って、男達はアホレとして、仮面につきそいながら、踊り、うたうことができる。彼らは自分がオドゥグクラスに属する時にオジャールクラスに属する者の名前を選び、アホレの時はその名で呼ばれることになる。アホレは声を変えはしないが、ことば自体を変えて話す。

農繁期、手助けを必要とする者はソルガムビールをつくり、村人を招いて農作業を手伝ってもらふことがある。このような時、農作業を行っている最中に、「働いているものを元気づけるために」仮面が登場する。日が暮れて農作業を終えると、人々は用意されたソルガムビールを分け合うのであるが、同時に仮面とともに踊りうたう。

また、各年齢組にはそれぞれ義務として行わなければならない労働が割り当てられており、農繁期、彼らの手助けを必要とする者の農作業を手伝う。全ての収穫が終わった後、例えばオドゥグクラスの力を借りた者は、ソルガムビールをつくり、労働の対価としてそれをオドゥグクラスに与える。オドゥグクラスは獲得したビールを村長の家へ運び、今年はこれだけ年齢組の仕事をしたとあって、村の年寄りたちにみせ、その後村人みんなでビールを分け合う。このような祭りにも仮面が登場する。

本稿で紹介する「カジャーニンの家」(1)～(30)と「エンディガの家」(52)～(60)のうたは、正確には農繁期の農作業ではなく、来る雨季に備えて、新たに畑を作るために山の木を切り倒す(アサオン *asaon*) 作業を村人の助けを借りて行った後、ビールを分配する際にうたわれたものである。

(30)～(51)のうたは、オドゥグクラスの労働に対して与えられたビールの分配を基礎とするオフエラルという祭りの際にうたわれたものであり、(61)～(65)はオドセブケバチャクラスの労働に対して与えられたビールの分配を基礎とする祭りの際にうたわれたものである。

また、(1)から(51)までがオディニールのうたであり、(52)から(65)までがオルクタのうたである。(30)から(51)のうたは、村長の家で行われた祭りの時に録音されたものであり、資料からは特に読みとることはできないが、ここではアホレも仮面とともにうたっていた。これらは全て2002年の1月～2月の間に録音された。

では、バサリ社会において、「うたをうたう」行為で重要な役割を担うこれらオルクタやオディニールなどの仮面がどのような存在であるのかを次節で検討してみよう。

I-2 仮面

さて、他の多くの社会と同様、バサリ社会においても、誰が仮面をつけているのかは、イニシエーションを受けていない者、つまり

7) バサリ語ではオディニールやオルクタの衣装を身につけることも、アホレになるためにロニエの葉っぱを体のどこかにくくりつけることも同じ語 *akapla* が用いられる。

8) バサリの年齢組体系は簡略化して記述するならば以下の通り。

男	女
odug	odopalug
opalug	odojyar
ojyar	odebatya
okotok	odosebkebatya
opidor	odoir
ahalk	odepeka
	ahalk

オドゥグはイニシエーションを受けた少年が最初に属すクラスである。クラスの変更は6年に一度。

女性と子供たちには「秘密」にされる。事実、女性や子供の前では誰がオディニールやオルクタの仮面をつけているのかということが語られることは決してない。女性たちも例えば昨日のオディニールはヤスネだったとか、2番目のオルクタはブコットンだったとか仮面の名前には言及するが、仮面をつけている者が誰であるのかは決して語らない⁹⁾。

ここで秘密となっているのは、単に、「今日仮面をつけているのが誰であるのか」ということではないようだ。「仮面をつけているのが実は村の男のうちの誰かである」という事実自体が秘密になっていると語る男もいる。

実は男たちが、森 (brousse/apui) に住んでいるとされる本当のオルクタやオディニール

の姿をまねているだけなのだが、女性には本当のオルクタやオディニールが時々村にやってくると思っ込んでいる、というのが男たちの語る「秘密」である¹⁰⁾。

だからといって彼らの説明をそのまま受け取り、女性や子供が、本当に、仮面をつけているのが誰であるのか知らない結論づけたら、「女性にとって仮面は超人間的な力を持った超自然的な精霊である」¹¹⁾とだけ記述することには慎重でなければならないだろう。

仮面は声をヴィブラートさせて通常とは異なる発話のしかたをするとはいっても、300人程度しか住民がいない小さな村で、仮面をつけているのが実は誰であるのかが本当に分かっていないとは考えにくい¹²⁾。

また、「仮面を身につけても別段超自然的

9) 男達は注意深くこの秘密を守っている。私が仮面をつけている者のリクエストに答えて撮った写真に、彼の顔がハッキリと写ってしまった時、その男は「お前写真撮る時にはきちんと顔を隠せよ」と注意されていた。かつては秘密をばらしたものは殺されることもあったと言われる。

10) 「本当のオルクタ」や「本当のオディニール」は「本当に」存在するのであろうか。この「本当のオルクタ・オディニール」を見たことのある者はいない。昔、先祖のうちの1人が森で、「本当のオルクタ・オディニール」が踊っているのを見て、それを真似たのが、「仮面」のそもそもの始まりとのことである。しかし、中には、このような「本当のオルクタ・オディニール」の存在を疑う者もいる。

11) Ferry 1977, p.86.

12) ① 2002年のオフエラルの際の話だが、その日私は2人のイニシエーションを受ける前の少年と村長の家へと向かっていた。村長の家の手前のところで道は二股に別れており、どちらの道をととっても村長の家に行くことができるのだが、片方の道の進行方向で人が話す声がしたので、私は特に深く考えることもなくそちらの道を進んだ。すると2人の少年は、「おまえはそっちの道からいくのか。でもおれたちはこっちの道からいく」といって私が選んだほうの道とは異なる道を選択した。その道の進行方向では、人々が仮面をつけている最中だったのである。少年たちはそのことを十分に知っていた。だから、私が選んだ道を進むことを拒否したのである。

② 2003年1月に私の住んでいる家でオディニールの登場する祭りがあった。朝方、多くの人がすでに家に帰った後も、まだオドジャールの女性を中心に、20-30人ほど残っていたのだろうか。家の主人が仮面にニワトリを1羽贈呈するという。家の主人にニワトリを送られた仮面はその後、たとえ疲れていようと、昼過ぎまで踊らなければならない。家の主人は、もっと踊りたいという娘たちの要求に答えたかったのであろう。踊っていた2人の仮面のうちの1人が呼ばれる。この家の主人から仮面にニワトリを渡すよう頼まれた男が仮面に語りかける。しかし、その仮面はニワトリを受け取ろうとしない。しびれを切らした主人も直接仮面に話しかける。しかし、仮面は受け取ろうとしない。仮面によれば、彼はその日の最初の仮面ではない。最初の仮面が疲れたため、また自分が踊りたかったため、「代わり」に仮面を勤めているに過ぎない。このような「代わり」の仮面がニワトリを贈呈されるという話は聞いたことがないというのだ。ニワトリが贈呈されるのは最初の仮面でなければならない。だから、彼はニワトリを受け取るのをこれほどまでに拒否しているのだ。仮面の意見を支持する者もいる。しかし、家の主人と共に仮面にニワトリを受け取るよう説得する者もいる。この祭りは、そもそも、わたしが村人に塩を贈ったことに対して「感謝」するために企画された祭りだった。つまり、例えばオフエラルのように彼らの社会的な規則 (coutume) をベースとした祭りではない。単に「お遊び (アムクニャ amukunya) に過ぎないのだから、別に「代わり」の仮面がニワトリを受け取ったとしてもかまわないというのが彼らの意見である。↗

な力がつくわけではない」という男達も、その実践を見れば、仮面を装着することによってなんらかの変化が起きるとみなしているとも考えられる。

例えば、彼らは仮面をつけた後、体を洗うことを義務づけられている。衣装を装着している場所には水の入った桶が用意されており、踊りつかれて、次の仮面と交代する者はその場で体を洗う。もし仮面をつけた後体を洗わずに性交すると相手の女性が病気になるというのだ¹³⁾。

さらに、また、赤ん坊が病気になった時、その親がオルクタやアホレのところまで出向き、あるいは彼らを家に呼び、彼らにその病気の子供を形式上与え、赤ん坊の保護を頼むこともある¹⁴⁾。

このような事例を前にして、われわれはあのおなじみの問いを発することになる。

仮面を身につけることで、果たして男達は

何か別の存在になるのか、ならないのか。あるいは、なぜ彼らは「仮面を身につけているのは村の男である／誰々である」という周知の事実を秘密にしているのであろうか。

真島は、仮面を身につけているのは誰であるのかが周知の事実であるならば、「このような社会で仮面はいかに信じられているのか」という問題を憑依の問題とクロスさせることによって論じている¹⁵⁾。

従来、人類学はこの問いに演劇モデルを適用してきた。真島はそこでなされていた説明を、「トリック」／「欺瞞」説から「共犯説」への展開として整理している。

主に憑依に関して述べられているこの論考をわれわれの関心に引き付けてパラフレーズすれば、つまり、「仮面を身につけても別の存在になるわけではないのに、男達は女や子供を騙している」と切り取る視点（「トリック」／「欺瞞」）から、「仮面を身につけても、

／ いずれにせよ、さかんにニワトリを受け取るよう言われつづけた仮面は嫌気がさしたのであろう。突然、走って逃げ出した。娘たちが彼の逃亡を妨げようと追いかける。その場にはもう1人の仮面と、男たち数人が残されただけであった。暗闇のかたで逃げる仮面を追いかける娘たちの声がする。しばらくして、娘たちが戻ってきた。どうやら仮面は逃げ切ったらしい。数人の男といっしょに仮面を装着するための場所へ向かう。そこには、ニワトリを受け取ることを拒否していた仮面が、いやより正確には仮面をつけていた男が、真っ裸で立っていた。

彼によると、娘たちを振り切って彼がこの場所に戻ってきた時、1人の娘が先回りして、ここで彼を待っていたらしい。娘が1人そこにいるのを見つけた彼は、身につけていた衣装を投げ捨て「もう俺はオディニールじゃない。今は単なるバサリにすぎない。」と彼女を追ひ払ったというのだ。このことは、つまり、娘はオディニールとは男のうちの誰かが仮面をつけている存在であるということを知っているということ意味するのではないだろうか。あるいは、それが明るみになるような、上記のような行為（娘の前で衣装を脱ぎ捨てる／「もうおれはオディニールじゃない。単なるバサリだ。」と両者の結び付きを示唆するような言明をする）をとったことを彼は何ら気にしていなかったことを指摘しなければならないのかもしれない。ニワトリを受け取ることには、そんなことをしたら、後で村の年寄りたちに叱られてしまうと、あれほど抵抗していた男が。

- 13) これは、また女性も知る「事実」である。仮面を身につけた後、体を洗わなかった男と性交したために病気になった女性は、その役職を村人に託されている2人の男に付き添われて、フランス語を話すが「place publique (公的な場所)」と呼ぶ所へ行き、そこで、病気になる理由を、つまり、仮面を身につけた後、体を洗わなかった男と性交したということを正直に話さなければならない。彼女が話したことが事実であるかどうか、彼女がまだ何か隠していることがないかは、その場で屠殺されるニワトリの卵の色によって確かめられる。こうすることによって彼女の病気は治ることになる。ちなみに、「なぜ体を洗わないといけないのか。仮面自体に何か有害な力があるのか。」と聞くと、女性の体に害を与えるのは、仮面そのものでも、仮面を装着する事実自体でもなく、仮面をつけて踊っていた時にかく汗だということだ。

- 14) ただし、このように、病気の子供を託されるのはオルクタとアホレだけである。オディニールやガンゴランには病気の病気が託されることはない。この事実を註5と重ね合わせれば、バサリ社会にもともと存在する仮面はオルクタとアホレであり、オディニールやガンゴランはそれよりも新しい仮面なのではないかと推測することができる。

- 15) 真島 1997.

別に精霊等の存在に変身などしないのだが、そして、そのことは誰もが知っていることなのだが、これは社会の約束事であって、ゲームなのだから、男も女も子供達も、ことさらそれを問題視しないのだ」という説明への展開，ということである。

しかし、これらの視点においては、問題がいつも真偽の二元論に回収されてしまうと批判する真島は、マノーニの報告する事例¹⁶⁾から立ち上げた「二重認識」という概念を足掛かりに、憑依パフォーマンスの「楽屋」概念を整理し、さらに情報操作理論、関連性理論等を援用して新たな理論を展開する。

真島は、「——であることはよく分かっているんだが、でもやっぱり……」というマノーニの真偽それぞれの自律した並存を意味しない定式化を「二重認識」と名付ける。さらに、憑依の楽屋を憑依された者の身体の中に措定し、この楽屋内の情報（霊の存在）が操作され、伝達される場として憑依パフォーマンスを捉える。

従来の言語情報伝達理論では、発信者がコード化したメッセージを受信者が「解読」という図式が用いられていた。だが、関連性理論は、この図式を、情報の受信者は、コードの「解読」を行いはするが、同時に、文脈における関連性に誘導された解釈を行うことで、発信者の意図を推測している、と捉えなおす。つまり「問題は情報そのものの伝達と解読のプロセスより、情報を介した解釈の誘発と進展のプロセス」¹⁷⁾に移行するということだ。

そして、身体の中に位置する楽屋内の「情報＝霊」は、それが本当に存在するのかしないのかという位相ではなく、その情報が、呈示され、解釈され、呈示され、解釈されというプロセスが問題なのであり、この「無際限の解釈の運動」は、憑依される者さえも捉えることによって、憑依に対する「信念としての力」を獲得することになると真島は結論する。

真偽の二元論が重要なものではないとする真島の指摘は傾聴に値する。以下にも述べるように、バサリ社会の仮面のあり方を記述して行く試みにおいても、真偽の対立は重要な指標になってはいないと思われる。

だが、真島の打ち出した理論から、果たして、「真か偽か」で現象を切り取ってしまう視点はきちんと取り除かれているのであろうか。

例えば、真島が「憑依をめぐる信念は、他者が見えないという『情報』、および見えない他者が確かに存在するという『情報についての情報』から無際限に誘発される解釈の運動によってこそ、信念としての力を得ているのであ」り、「見せながら隠す、見せながら隠す……という情報操作の運動がオーディエンスに解釈を誘発していくだけでなく、見えながら隠れる、見えながら隠れる……という「見えない」情報そのものの階層性が、パフォーマンス自身にも次々と解釈を誘発して行く事態が認められるのである」と述べる時、情報が呈示された文脈の中から関連性を読み取る受信者の解釈とは、「（霊が）いるのかな、

16) 「民族誌に見られる現実否認の典型として彼（引用者註：マノーニ）があげたのは、憑依とならぶ他者性の表象、仮面を巡る信念の構造であった。仮面が人間の着用物にすぎないという秘密は、仮面を「信ずる」多くの社会で観衆に知られている。しかしそれは信仰の衰退を意味しないばかりか、信仰が現実否認によってたえず強化されていることの証である。仮面の霊を信ずる少年が男子結社に加わる際、彼は顔見知りの男達が仮面をつける現場を目撃する。しかし、彼はすぐさま、経験とのかかる矛盾にも耐えうる、以前より強化された説明を男達から与えられる。たとえば「精霊はむかしのように目に見える姿では来なくなったが、仮面が出る日には今でも面に宿りにくるのだ」という釈明である。「仮面が精霊じゃないことはよく分かっているんだけど、でもやっぱり、人がつける仮面には霊が来るんだ」という完璧な信念が、こうして経験との矛盾をふまえて形成される（Mannoni: 1969）。」（真島 1997: 127）

17) 真島 1997: 137.

いないのかな、いるのかな、いないのかな……」あるいは「本当かな、嘘かな、本当かな、嘘かな……」といったように、「真か偽か」を巡って行われているのではないだろうか。

つまり、やや図式化して言えば、ここで受信者の行う『『情報についての情報』から無際限に誘発される解釈の運動』とは、真と偽の二極の間を揺れ動くある一つの弁証法的な運動であり、この二極が弁証法的に結合された時に、憑依をめぐる信念は信念としての力を得るということになると想定されているのではないだろうか。

真島の引くマノーニの事例を見る限り、このような二極（「二重認識」）の間の無際限な解釈の揺れ動きの中で、一つの信念が獲得されていると考えることは可能である。つまり、関連性理論のいう発信者の呈示する関連性に誘導された解釈の中で、真偽の対立が結合されることはあり得ることであろう。

しかし、このように述べることは、依然、「真か偽か」という問題設定の枠組みの中にとどまってしまうことにはならないだろうか。ここでは「真か偽か」という問題設定が弁証法的に「真でもなく偽でもない」と言い換えられたに過ぎないのではないだろうか。

さらに、バサリ社会の事例はマノーニの提示する事例とはおもむきを異にする。

バサリの事例では、イニシエーションを受けたばかりの少年が、仮面とは実は村の男に過ぎないと知って驚くことなどないし、そこから、「でもやっぱり」式に信念を強めることもない。先にも述べたように、バサリの男は、仮面とは単に村の男に過ぎないといっているものであり、そのことは、「秘密」であるといっているのである。これだけの事実から判断するのであれば、バサリ社会において仮面は、男にとっては「偽者」であり、女にとっては「本物」ある存在と言うことができよう。

しかし、このような整理ではおさまりがつかない例がたくさんあることが問題なのであ

る。

まず第一に、註で紹介したいくつかの事例が示しているように、この「秘密」は周知の事実である。また、単なる木の葉などから作られた仮面にすぎず、それを身につけたところでなんの力も獲得することはないと言われるのにもかかわらず、装着後は体を洗うことが義務づけられ、それを怠ると女性と性交した際、女性の身体に悪影響を及ぼすとか、病気の赤ん坊を仮面を身につけた男に形式上与えることで子供の回復を企てることなど、やはりそれを装着することで、何か別の存在になり、何らかの力を獲得するのではないかと推測させる規則／慣習が存在するのである。

ここで、私が何に悩まされているのかを整理してみる。私がよく分からないのは、村びとの内の誰かが、単に仮面をつけているだけであると語られるのにもかかわらず、①仮面を装着することで、何らかの変化が生じるのではないかと推測させる慣習が存在すること②皆が知っているであろうこの事実が「秘密」とされていることの2点である。

つまり、バサリ社会では、「仮面」という存在が、それこそ「真か偽か」を指標に明確に語られているのにもかかわらず、そのような問いの枠組みにはあてはまらない事例・実践が存在することが問題なのである。

以下、彼らの「仮面」に関する語りを整理することによって、バサリ社会における「仮面」とはいったいどのような存在であるのかを簡単に検討してみよう。

さて、この秘密は、決して同じではない二通りの仕方語られる。一つ目は「誰が仮面を身につけているか」というものであり、二つ目は「仮面をつけているのはじつは村の男である」というものである。まあ、しかし、どちらの言い方で表現されるにしろ、この秘密は皆が知っている事実ではある。ということは、実は、ここでは秘密の内容が存在しないのではないか。

つまり、秘密の内容などは実は（論理的に

は) 重要ではなく、秘密を持つと言う行為が重要なものになっているのではないだろうか。

真島が別の論考で紹介する事例が証しているように¹⁸⁾、秘密というものが「さまざまな個人や集団の間に差異を生み出す」ものであるならば、極端な話、秘密の内容などなくとも、十分に「秘密」として機能するケースが考えられよう。

なぜ、「こんなこと秘密にしているのか」という質問に、ある男は、「そうしないと皆が同じになってしまう。誰も人を騙せなくなるから。atan kune ie anadat.ala akena arku ham ejyo ifa iei」と答えていた。当初は私をまごつかせたこの解答も、このようなコンテキストに位置付けてみれば理解はできる。彼らにとっても「仮面をつけているのは誰々」云々という秘密をもつことは、その内容ではなくて、秘密を持つという行為自体が重要なものとみなされているとは考えられないだろうか。少なくとも、上で見た解答の中には、秘密の「内容」が占める位置はない。

また、このような「秘密」がイニシエーションを受けた少年へどのように伝えられるのかは非常に興味深い。

いつ、どのようにこの秘密が伝えられたのかを問うと、調査助手の青年は、少し考えた後、仮面と格闘する日の前日、「おまえは誰誰と戦う。がんばれ。」と仮面の名前ではなく、仮面を身につける者の名前によって対戦

相手が告げられた時であると答えた。

すでにイニシエーションを受けた者が、新しくイニシエーションを受ける者を前にして、「おまえたちに教えることがある。オディニールとは森に住む精霊なんかじゃなくて、実はわれわれ村の男たちなのだ。」と教授する形で秘密の内容が伝えられるわけでは決していない。

知ってはいたが、今まで自分たちの前では決して言及されることのなかった、仮面をつけた者の名前が、対戦相手を伝えるという、秘密を開示するという行為とは異なる行為の中で使われることによって、「秘密」は「秘密」でなくなるのだ。開示される内容などそもそもないのだから、秘密を開示するという行為が他の行為から独立して存在するわけではない。かといって、まったく内容がないわけではなく、一応彼らは内容を伴った秘密を持っているわけだから、それはしかるべき時に、しかるべき人に開示されなければならない。このような時、秘密の開示は、対戦相手を告げるという他の行為に寄生した形で行われる。いやむしろ、他の行為に寄生した形でしか行われ得ないと言ったほうが正確かもしれない¹⁹⁾。

さて、ここまで「秘密」という語を用いて記述をすすめてきたが、これはフランス語の *secret* を訳したものである。バサリ語に *secret* に対応する語は *etyonsyon* であるが、インタビュー中で用いられていたのは、その語

18) 真島 1995.

19) こう言ったからといって、バサリの仮面にまつわる秘密に「内容」など存在しないということを意味するわけではない。先ほどからも上で述べているように、バサリの仮面に関する秘密には「内容」が存在し、男たちはその「内容」を守っているのだ。よって、これは、例えば、恋愛の駆け引きにおける、秘密などないのに、あたかも秘密があるかのようなそぶりを見せる男あるいは女の「秘密」のあり方とは異なる。ここでは本当に秘密の「内容」は存在していない。だが、同時に、例えば「イニシエーションの時に森で行っていることは、女性には秘密である」というときの秘密のあり方とも異なる。そこでは、乾燥したカメレオンの肉を粉にしていたビールを飲むなどの手続きがあるのであるが、この「内容」は女性には秘密であり、この「内容」は「周知の事実」ではない。このような「秘密」のあり方がわれわれには一番なじみの深いものであろう。そしてこの秘密は、バサリ社会の「男の最も重要な秘密である」と語られる。つまり、ここで問題としたいのは、バサリ社会の仮面にまつわる「秘密」の「内容」と「行為」の関係であり、そしてここでは、論理的に「内容」は「行為」に先行して存在してはいないのではないかということである。

の語根である *syona* (「隠す」) という語であった。

①「われわれは隠す。いま、お前が言った時、もし1人の人間、お前が女性に言った時、それはよくならない。*syona kumi go gat ei eiyan twn ang nala rejya kwi gr busohal atan a nyan do na bon.*」

②「うん、それをわれわれは隠した。私達自身。私達自身。だから女性の前ではお前は言うことができない。*un ejyo dun kumi syonafund bii dung ex.bii dun do gaik pab gr busohal ai kam ena ei dejya.*」

ここで、①②ともども、「隠す」という語を用いていることの他に、「(言うことは)よくない」、「言うてはいけない」という禁止が語られている点で共通していることを指摘しておきたい。

「われわれ自身であるとお前は言うてはいけない」という禁止は、「誰が仮面を身につけているか」と「仮面をつけているのはじつは村の男である」という多少ニュアンスの異なる二つの「秘密」へと論理的に発展する可能性があることには異論がないであろう²⁰⁾。「秘密」とはそもそも「言うてはいけないこと」である。だが、全ての「言うてはいけないこと」が「秘密」であるわけではない。バサリ社会における仮面のあり方を記述するために、この「言うてはいけないこと」という水準に留まる必要があるのではないだろうか。

そして、実は、この「誰誰とと言うてはいけない」という禁止は、仮面とは別の局面にも存在する。イニシエーションの時である。イニシエーションの祭りを終えたあと、新たに大人の仲間入りをすることになる少年たちは数日間森の中で生活し、そこで新たな名前を

付けられる。この新しい名前は、あらかじめ親なり兄弟なりが考えておいたものがつけられる場合もあるし、その場にいた者がつける場合もある。さて数日後彼らはフランス語を話す者が *case commune* (共同の小屋) と訳す *ambofor* に戻ってくる。その時、そこで出迎える娘たちが、一人ひとりに「あなたの名前は何か *ake kuni wachind*」と尋ね、新しい名前を付けられた少年たちはその都度、その新しい名前を名乗る。それ以降ある一定期間、女性はかつての名前でその少年たちを呼ぶことは禁止されている。イニシエーションを受けた少年は、女性の前では、ことばや習慣をはじめとする、過去に学んだことを全て忘れたかのように振舞わなければならない、例えば火のついたタバコを女性の前で誰かに手渡されたら、わざと火のついたほうをくわえるなどしなければならないらしい。だが、イニシエーションを契機に全く別の人間に生まれ変わったと考えられているわけではないようで、一定期間が過ぎれば、望むならば、またかつての名前で呼ぶことができる。

仮面の話に戻ろう。「仮面を身につけても別段、特殊な力など獲得することなどない」²¹⁾と語られるのであるが、そんな彼らも一つだけ認める変化がある。それは名前である。

以下は、とりあえず「魂」とでも訳しておくエンジュン *enjyun* に関する調査の中での、私の「仮面をつけた時にはエンジュンは変化するのかどうか」という質問に対する答えである。

③「われわれが仮面を身につけた時、われわれは名前を変える。お前は自身自身のエンジュンとともにいる。変化するのはエンジュンではない。*gat eie and kune syudarande batywo band kune nungtahunde*

20) ①誰が仮面を身につけているかを女性の前で言うことは禁止である②誰が仮面を身につけているのか、それは男達の秘密である③実際は村びとの内の1人が仮面を身につけているのであるが、それは男達の秘密であり、女性は森にすんでいるオルクタが時々われわれのところを訪れると思っている、という3つの記述の中から、どれが一番バサリの仮面にまつわる秘密を表現するのに適切かを尋ねた時、調査助手は、これが一番詳細だからという理由で③を選んでいった。

21) 時には空を飛べたりもするこのような特殊な力 *fele* は生まれつき獲得されるものであるらしい。

*owatchi ban g enjyun endei ya ki bai. agena
enjyun ku nongota.」*

同じやりとりの後半部分で同じ人物はまたこうも語った。

- ④「知ってるか。お前がこの衣装（仮面）を着る。知ってるか。私のからだ。私は服を着替えて、同時に名前を変える。私が言ったことは、しってるか、私の体は同じものであり続けるということだ。わたしのエンジュンも同じことだ。 *aie nang kwi. gat eie ei tydao tunyu ejyo aie nang kwi emanen endamen ngex ng me ie me nobao batywn batyehen endei yano kume gefung hu.*」

各仮面はそれぞれ普段とは別の名前をつける。イニシエーションを受けた少年もそれまでとは別の名前を持つ。だが、例えばイニシエーションを受けることによって、その新たな名前を持つことになった少年が、別の人間になると考えられているわけではない。誕生名がチャラで、クリスチャンネームがヴァンサンである少年がイニシエーションの祭りの後、ディウネインという名前をつけられたからといって、チャラやヴァンサンであることを止めるわけではない。そこに新たな名前（＝新たな主体）ディウネインが加わったのである。ここで、彼はチャラなのかディウネインなのかを問うても意味をなさないだろう。では、逆に、イニシエーションの儀式を受ける以前のチャラはイニシエーションを受けた後のディウネインと全く同じ人物なのか。この問いも意味をなさないであろう。イニシエーション前のチャラは決してディウネインでないが、イニシエーション後のディウネインはまさにディウネインそのものであるからだ。

同様に、ガジャンガという名前の男が、仮面を身につけることによってペベヤとなっても、彼は、別にガジャンガであることをやめ

て全く別の人間になったわけではない。カリでありガジャンガである1人の男に新たな名前（＝新たな主体）が付け加えられたのである。ここでも、彼はガジャンガ（人間）なのかペベヤ（仮面＝精霊）なのかを問うても意味をなさない。彼は、ガジャンガであると同時にペベヤなのだから。かといって、仮面を身につける前のガジャンガと仮面を身につけたあとのペベヤが全く同じ人物であるわけでもない。

とすると、新たにイニシエーション名をつけられた少年が、女性との性交渉を持つことや結婚することができるのと同様に、仮面を身につけ名前を変える青年は、病気の子供を保護したり、女性にとって有害な汗をかいたりという属性を持つことになるのは考えられないであろうか。

表現の稚拙さにはめをつぶって、これを取りあえず「エクステンション」とでも呼んでおこう。イニシエーションを受けた少年は、全く別の人間になるのではなく、かといってそれ以前と全く同じ人間であり続けるのではなく、イニシエーション名をつけられることで、それまでのあり方に新たな属性／要素（＝名前）を加え、子供の世界から大人の世界へエクステンドする。仮面を身につけた青年も同様に、新たな名前（＝新たな主体）を獲得することで、人間のすむ世界から精霊のすむ世界へとエクステンドするのである。

いずれにせよ、ここでみたペルソナの変容は、例えば、AからBへと完全に变身するのではなく、AからA'へとエクステンションするものである。

このように見てくると、先に見た真島の議論が、本当の意味で「真か偽か」という二元論から逃れられなかったのは、ペルソナの変容をAからBへの変身といったものに限って話をすすめていたからかもしれない。

真島がためらいながらも名付けた「二重認識」という概念、聞き手／話し手という二つの異なるアクターを想定する情報理論などで

は、ここで取りあげた、バサリの仮面のような人格のあり方は想定されてはいない。それこそ、比喩的な意味でなくお面を取り替えることで、全く別の顔を持つような変身のあり方のみが想定されているため、対立する二極の弁証法的結合という形でしか、この「真か偽か」という問いを解消できなかったのだろう。あるいは、「二重認識」という概念自体を用いることは可能であろう。しかしこの理論を個別事例に応用する各々が、そこで問われなければならないのは、その「二重」のあり方ではないだろうか²²⁾。

バサリ社会の仮面に関する記述においては、「真か偽か」という指標は端的に意味がない。ここでは、そのような形でベルソナの変容が起きているのではないように思われる。

では、なぜ、私は最初「真か偽か」(「AかBか」という形でしか、この問題に入っていけなかったのであろうか。あるいは、バサリの仮面に関する語り口の何がそもそもこのような問いを誘発させるのであろうか。それは、「誰々が仮面を身につけていることを言っ

てはいけない」という禁止が「秘密」と言う言語形式で語られていることに関係があると考えられるかもしれない。

さらに真島の理論においては、「他者が見えないという『情報』、および見えない他者が確かに存在するという『情報についての情報』から無際限に誘発される解釈の運動によって」獲得された、仮面(あるいは憑依)が「本物」であるという「信念」が重要な概念となっているが、バサリ社会では、「本当に精霊が来た／になった」「仮面は単なる村の男なんかじゃなくて**実は別の存在だ**」などと

いう「信念」を誰も口にするのではない。

そもそも真島の問題とする「経験との矛盾をふまえて形成された信念」という心理学的な傾向が問題となるためには、この「信念」の獲得以前に、「本当だと思っていたけど違った」云々という疑義の語り口が用意されていなければならないだろう。バサリの仮面に関してはこのような語り口は一切見られない。

村の男の誰かが仮面をつけていることはみな知っているのだが、仮面装着前の名前で彼を呼ぶことができない女性にとっては、それはガジャンガではなくて単にペペヤなのであり、仮面装着以前の名前に言及することのできる男性にとっては、それはガジャンガでもありペペヤでもあるのだ。そして、この名前を焦点とするベルソナのあり方が、仮面に新たな属性が付与されるという事実を可能にしている。つまり、真島の用いる意味での「信念」という概念さえ、バサリの仮面の記述には有効な指標となっていない。あるいは、ここでは「信念」は、「情報」や「情報についての情報」の解釈の運動によって獲得されているのではなく、ベルソナのあり方と「秘密」の語られ方に規定されていると言えるかもしれない。つまり、あえて「信念」というものを問題にするならば、バサリ社会では仮面に関する「信念」は、真島の引くマノーニの事例のように、仮面という存在を成立させるための起動点ではなく、ベルソナのあり方や仮面に関する語り口によって副次的に生みだされた心理学的傾向にすぎないということである²³⁾。

いずれにせよ、本稿で提示するバサリ社会のうたは、このような存在、精霊の世界にエ

22) 川田 1988 では様々なベルソナ変容のあり方が紹介されている。

23) この文章はより一般的に次のように言い換えてもよい。関連性に誘導された解釈のプロセスこそが重要で、その結果「信念」が獲得されるというならば、そこでどのような情報がどのように提示されているのかを検討しなければならないのではないだろうか。そしてこの検討とは、つまり、各々の社会での「仮面」に関する語り口ということになるのではないだろうか。とすると、「信念」なるものは、「仮面」という存在を成立させる起動点としてではなく、「仮面」という存在がどのようなものであるのかを語る語り口(＝経験)から副次的に生み出されるものとして捉えられる。

クテンドした存在である仮面とともに歌われるのである。

I-3 うたテキスト

本節ではうたテキストそのものを検討してみよう。

さて、今、上で「真か偽か」という問いが意味をなさないバサリ社会の仮面のあり方を見てきたが、実はバサリ社会のうたテキストも同様に、このような指標を用いて記述することが正しい方法ではないと思われる。

「真か偽か」という問いは、「うたう」という発話行為から命題のみをとりだして、それとテキストの「枠外」²⁴⁾の事象との関係を取りざたすることであろう。例えば、歴史の再構成にうたテキストを用いるという方法論にそれを見ることができる。

例えば、Gessain は、「狩り」や「マンディング」に言及するバサリのうたがいくつかあることから、バサリはもともと農耕民というよりは狩猟採集民であり、時には一緒に狩猟を行うなど、近隣のマンディングと密接な関係があったのではないかと推測している²⁵⁾。

これは研究者による「枠外」の事象との関連づけであるが、一方 Girard はバサリ社会のうたを、うたテキストの「枠外」の事象と関連づける村びとのコメントを紹介している。例えば、「私はとても悲しい。どこに隠れることができるだろう。このわらの中で私は死んでしまうのかも。子供達が、川のほとりの乾いた草むらの中に、動物が1匹うずくまっているのだと思って、私を取り囲む。」といううたには、「今世紀のはじめフルベの戦士達から逃げるため、テンフォ・ベンジャという女性は、エチュップ川のほとりの生い茂った草むらの中に隠れようとする。彼女

は、子供達に追われる動物のように、狩り出されてしまうのではないかと考える。」という村びとのコメントがつけられている²⁶⁾。よって、バサリ社会においても、うたが「歴史のマーカー」²⁷⁾として機能していると考えることができるかも知れない。

しかし、私の経験上、ここまで精密にうたテキストが「枠外」の事象と関係付けられることは極めて珍しい。

私の調査助手は、のちに紹介する (18)、(64) のうたを、それをその「枠外」の事象と関連づけることによって説明していた。例えば (18) はエダンの近隣に位置するイチョロという村の前村長の死に関するうたであるらしい。また、(64) はこれまたエダンの近隣に位置するエガンガという村のセレスティーンという女性がうたったうたであると説明された。この女性は調査助手の妻と同じ年齢組に属しており、このうたが、セレスティーンという女性の現実の生活をうたったものであるという情報を彼は彼の妻から聞いたとのことである。

後者の例が示しているように、うたをその「枠外」の事象と関連づけるためには、テキスト内部にはない何らかの知識を必要としており、そのような知識は例えば、妻が同じ年齢組に属するといったある関係を要請する。

上で見たうたにコメントをつけた村びとが、テンフォ・ベンジャという名前の女性とどのような関係にあるのかは分からないが、ここでも、何らかの関係があったことを推測させる。

だが、たんにこう言い切ってしまうのはためられる。

バサリ社会では、フルベのジハードと関連づけられて説明されるのはうたに限ったことではない。例えば、バサリ社会のボナングク

24) 川田 1995.

25) Gessain 1972: 355-360.

26) Girard 1984: 116.

27) 栗田 1988.

ランの由来を聞いた際、ボナングクランに属する1人の老人は、「皆が集まっている時に、ある男がどこかへ行って、皆に情報を伝えたので、『知っている *nang*』を語源とするボナングという名前がつけられた」と語っていた。このテキストをテープ起こししている際、調査助手は、この語りを「皆が集まっている時、ある男が山の向こうへ行って、フルベの軍隊に関する情報を皆に伝えたので……」とフルベのジハードに関連づけて私に説明した。だが、もともとこの語りには「フルベのジハード」を示唆する箇所は全くない。そのことを指摘すると、調査助手は、「いや、おれはそうやって聞いた」と主張し続ける。

ボナングはバサリ社会で最も古いクランであると言われている。そして、フルベのジハードは19世紀末におこった事件であり、もしこのボナングクランの誕生がこの事件と時期を同じくしているのであれば、バサリ社会において、重要な機能を担っている母系親族集団自体が実は19世紀末以降に誕生したことになってしまう。これは、ちょっと受入難い。さらにこう指摘すると、調査助手は、「多分、そうかもね。しかしおれはこうやって聞いた。」と答えていた。

つまり、ここでは、ボナングという名前の由来は「フルベのジハード」という歴史的事実を「マーク」しているのではなく、「フルベのジハード」という事実から、歴史的に解釈されているのではないだろうか。

同じことは、テンフォ・ベンジャのうたに関しても言えるかもしれない。この歌のテキストの内部には「フルベのジハード」を直接的に示唆する箇所は見当たらない。あえて、疑うならば、このうたも実は歴史的事実を「マーク」しているのではなく、歴史的に解釈されているのだとも言えよう。

まあ、しかし、先ほども(18)(64)の例

で見たように、うたテキストがその「枠外」の事象との関係において読み取られることは、バサリ社会においてもないことではないのかもしれない²⁸⁾。

ただ、そのようなテキストの読み取りが量的にごくわずかであることは確かである。

では、その他のうたはどのように読み取られているのであろうか。

テープおこしの際、私の質問に答えて調査助手が展開した説明は、テキストの「枠外」の事象に言及するのではなく、テキスト内部の記述に全面的に依存してなされていた。ここでは、基本的に、テキストの記述内部にとどまりながら、そこにより具体的な状況を見出すという形の説明がなされている。

(8)のうたにつけられた「つまり、彼はうまく歌を歌ったということです。彼は人々に自分が上手に歌えることを示した。だから、人々は最後にもう一度彼の声(歌)を聞け、ということです」という説明や、(10)のうたにつけられた「たとえばわたしに彼女ができたとしましょう。すると人々は、なんで？」

彼女は誰誰の恋人じゃないか、と問いだします。だからそこで、わたしは言います。『ごめんなさいね。彼女はわたしを信頼しているんです』と。彼女はわたしのことが好きだということです」という説明は、うたわれている発話内容の「場面」を、発話が行われた後に、設定するという形で行われている。

イーターによれば、通常の発話は必ずある「場面」の中で行われる。ある発話はある「場面」の中で生じると同時にそれに規制を受けている。「場面」を伴わない発話は、通常の言語活動においてはありえない。よって、発話が成功するためには、「場面」が高度に規定されている必要がある²⁹⁾。

しかし、このようなうたテキストには、今見てきたような発話の「場面」は設定されて

28) しかし、このような説明は、テキストの枠外の事象との関係でうたを把握しようとしていた私自身の調査のあり方に影響を受けたものであると考えることもできる。

29) イーター 1982.

いない。あとから解釈によって場面が補われているのだ。

あるいは、先に見た真島の論考で援用されていた関連性理論の見地からみれば、このような言い方はやや素朴な印象を与えかねない。関連性理論によれば、通常の発話においても、発信者の発話は文脈の関連性に誘導された形で、受信者に解釈される。つまり、発話に対して事後的に「場面」が設定されることもあるということだ。しかし、このときの関連性とは、発話テキストのコンテキスト、つまり発話テキストの「枠外」(＝「場面」)に読み取られることになるであろう。

一方、調査助手によってなされた説明は、テキストの枠外の事象との関係からではなく、つまり前提条件としての「場面」を参照するのではなくではなく、枠内にとどまったまま、テキストに事後的に「場面」を付与する／解釈するというかたちで説明が行われている。

そのため、例えば (29)「若者が書類(ノート)をもって山を下った *gudgud shira-ba-xo e-njar-en edb ed kaita*」のように、最初は「ある若者が山を降りて町に行き、学校に通うことになったといううた」と説明されたのが、別の機会には「ある書類をどこかある場所に届けるためにある若者が山を降りた」と異なる「場面」が設定されるということも起こりえよう。

可能性としては、このようなディスコミュニケーションは通常の発話でも起こりうるかもしれない。しかし、そこではやはり発話の「枠外」に設定される場面を参照することで、「若者が書類(ノート)をもって山を下った」という発話が、「ある若者が山を降りて町に行き、学校に通うことになった」ということを意味するのか、「ある書類をどこかある場所に届けるためにある若者が山を降りた」ことを意味するのか確定することが可能であろう。

さらに、「仮面がとても上手に歌うので、

もし自分に男の子ができたなら、彼にちなんでタモとよぶのに。オディニールはタモだから」という (12) のうたに対するコメントや、「オドジャールが手首につけてる鈴がありますよね。このうたをうたっている人は、オドジャールにその鈴とお別れしなさい、といっているのです。来年あなたたちはもうその鈴をつけていない。あなたたちは別の年齢組に属することになるから多分、その鈴はあなたたちの興味をひかないでしょう、ということです。そして来年わたしはエンジェヌケを連れていく」という (14) のうたにつけられたコメントでは、説明をしている調査助手自身がテキスト内の語り手の用いる主語「わたし/je」を使うことによって、つまりテキストの枠内に入り込むことによって「場面」が設定されている。決して、この「わたし」が実は誰であるのかといったような、「枠外」の事象に言及する形で説明がなされるわけではない。このような情報を得ようと質問しても徒労に終わるだけである。

また、例えば (54) の「太陽がそのうち沈むので、はやく働こう。われわれは先にいっている、と言うことです。つまり仮面のことです。なぜなら仮面は普通ひとびとよりも先に畑を後にするから」という説明などは、「よそ者」である私にバサリ社会のあり方を説明することによって、テキストを説明していると言えるかもしれない。つまり、これもまた (18) (64) の説明と同様、テキストの「枠外」に参照点を求めた説明のあり方であると言うことができそうである。

だが、このような説明でさえも、多少バサリ社会のルールと言ったものが命題化されて述べられている(「なぜなら仮面は普通ひとびとよりも先に畑をあとにするから」) ために、「枠外」を参照しているかのような印象を与えるが、それはあくまでもテキストの記述のみを情報源とすることで立ち上がった説明であることを指摘しておこう。つまり、テキストを理解するために、テキストの「枠外」

の事象から得られた知識が必要とされる(18)や(64)の説明とは、おもむきを異にしており、説明のために用いられているやや命題化された社会的ルールなどもテキストの「枠内」から、テキストに対して事後的に与えられた「場面」として要請されているということである。

このように、テキストの内部の記述に全面的に依存し、与えられた言語テキストに事後的に「場面」を設定することによって解釈を行うという作業は、われわれが「虚構」と呼ぶジャンルを解釈するときに行っている作業と同じである。ここでは、「内部の記述」にしか情報を求めることはできず、それが「真か偽か」という問いかけは意味をなさない。例えば、誰が、SF小説をその「真偽」を重要な指標として読むであろう。

つまり、バサリのうたは「虚構的」に解釈されているといえよう。

だが、「虚構的」に解釈されているとは言っても、その成り立ちを見ると、バサリのうたは決して「現実」と対立するものとしての「虚構」ではない。

バサリのうたは基本的に、ある特定の個人的事実に基づいて作成されている。何かを感じたとき、何かが自分の身に起こったとき人々はうたを作り、いいうたであればそれはうたい継がれていくのである。ということは、それが生起するときには、うたは「虚構」ではなく「現実」ということになるのであろうか。

だが、ここで問題としなければならないのは、「個人的事実」といったときの「事実」の性質であろう。うたテキストを見ていただければわかると思うが、バサリのうたは基本的に1人称と現在形を中心に構成されている。3人称による記述が、語り手をテキストから(表面上)消し去ることで、ある事実を、個人に外在するという意味で、「客観的」に

存在するものとして描き出すのに対し、1人称と現在形による記述では、「事実」は個人に外在するものとしては表象されない。

あるいは、3人称による記述では、「事実」は発話とは独立に存在するものとして読み手／聴き手に受容されるのであるが、1人称現在形による記述では、「事実」はそもそも発話以前には存在しない性格のものとして受容される、と言い換えることができるかもしれない³⁰⁾。

うたの内容はまったくの「作り話」ではないが、上記のような記述方法が用いられているため、「関連付けるべき『枠外』の事実がうたと独立に存在しており、うたがそれを指示している」という図式で捉えることが難しいのだ。

そのような性格の「事実」によって、構成されているため、うたから命題を抜き出して、それを「枠外」の事象との関係のもとで捉えるという視点で、つまり「真か偽か」という指標でバサリのうたを記述することは正しくない。

確かに個人的事実をもとに作成されているが、その「事実」の性質から、あるいは解釈のあり方から、バサリのうたはやはり「虚構的」なものであるといえよう。

そして、その内容を見たとき、そこでは、弱音というか愚痴というかが語られているものが多いことに気づくであろう。これはいまだ印象にとどまるが、彼らの日常の発話で、このような弱音・愚痴が率直に表明されることは稀であると思われる。「虚構的」なバサリのうたでは、日常の発話においてマージナルな言明がその内容となっているということができようか。

I-1で紹介したモン社会の「あてこすり歌」でも、日常の発話においては言明されることのない、あるいは言明したとすれば問題になる内容が、うたとして発話されていた。しか

30) cf. Benveniste 1976.

し、「あてこすり歌」という名称自体が示唆しているように、この社会では、たとえたの内容は、夫などの特定の人間に対するメッセージではなく、つまり「発信者から受信者へ」という日常の発話の用いる伝達経路はとらないとしても、うたから命題を抜き出して、それを「枠外」の事象との関係で取りざたするという、日常の情報伝達と同じ形式でうたが解釈されているのであろう。

バサリ社会でも同様に、うたの内容としては、日常の発話においてはマージナルな言明が選択されていると思われるのであるが、ここではさらに、その言明が、日常の発話における、「発信者から受信者へ」という伝達経路をとらないうえに、「伝達された命題を『枠外』の事象と関連付けて解釈する」という形式とは異なる形式で、つまり「虚構的」に伝達され、解釈されている³¹⁾。

I-2 の議論と重ね合わせるならば、バサリ社会におけるうたとはい、日常からエクステンした男の先導のもとに発話される「虚構的」テキストであると、とりあえず言うことができるであろう。

ここへ来て、われわれはやっとバサリ社会における「うた」および「うたをうたう」という行為がどのようなものであるかを検討するための出発点にたった。

II バサリのうた

II-1 表記法

『三省堂言語学事典』では、バサリ語は「タンダ・バサリ語」という項目で、ニジェール・コンゴ語族、大西洋語派、北部諸語、東セネガル・ギニアピサオ語群、テンダ・コニャギ小語群、テンダグループに分類されている³²⁾。ちなみに、このグループに分類されている他の言語にはタンダ語、ベディック語、コニャギ語がある³³⁾。

同事典で〔名称〕の項で紹介されている「リヤン・ボイン語」の「リヤン」とはバサリの自称であるアリアン (*alian*)、あるいは「バサリのすむ地域」を意味する *lian* という語に由来するものであろう。また、「ボイン」とはフルベの影響のもとにイスラム教に改宗したバサリを指し示す言葉である。このボインは生活習慣は基本的にフルベ化したのであるが、バサリ語を使用しつづける者もあり³⁴⁾、このため、ここで、バサリ語の別名として「ボイン語」という名称が用いられたのであろう。しかし、フィールドレベルにおいては「ボイン語」なる言語は存在せず、ボインと呼ばれる人々はフルベ語もしくはバサリ語を用いている。また、「タンダ」という名称は、言語学的にはバサリ語、コニャギ語などの総称として用いられているのである

31) 念のために再度記しておくが、この論考は仮面とともにうたわれるうたのみを問題としている。うたの命題を「枠外」の事象と関連付けて解釈するという図式がバサリ社会に全く存在しないわけではない。例えば、子供たちが、「トロリン、トゥーベ、トロリン、トゥーベ、ヨンブリン、チャリアン、ヨンブリン、チャリアン」とうたっていたことがあった。「トロリン」とはギニア側の村に住むある年老いた男の名前であり、「トゥーベ」もまたギニア側の村に住む知能に障害のある年老いた女性の名前である。トゥーベはトロリンの恋人であると言われている。また「ヨンブリン」と「チャリアン」はエデンとエケスの境界に住む年老いた夫婦の名前である。子供たちはこのうたをうたった後、その場にいた者を、「おまえはトロリンで、誰々はトゥーベだ」と、つまり「おまえと誰々はちょっとおかしいカップルだ」と言うことによって、からかっていた。ここではまさに、うたが「枠外」の事象を参照することによって解釈されていたということであろう。また、アルファ・ブロンディのカセットを聞きながら、「彼の言っていることは正しい」と述べる者もある。ここでもうたは日常の情報伝達と同様の形式で解釈されていると考えることができよう。

32) 清水 1988: 704.

33) 清水 1989: 1177. ちなみに、Ethnologue (<http://www.ethnologue.com>) では、バサリ語は Niger-Congo, Atlantic, Northern, Eastern, Senegal-Guinea, Tenda グループに分類されており、同グループにはビファダ語、コニャギ (ワメイ) 語、バジャラ語、ブディック語があげられている。

34) Lestrangle 1974.

が³⁵⁾、バサリの近隣に居住するフルベは時に「バサリ語」という意味でこの語を用いることがある（「ヤマダはタンダはしゃべれるのにフルベ語はわからない」といった具合に）。やや話が細くなるが、「タンダ」という語はそもそもは、バサリと近縁関係にあると考えられているブディックを指す言葉である。しかし、ブディックの居住する地域から離れた場所で、バサリの隣人として生活するフルベによって、この語は「バサリ語」の意味で用いられている。ブディックの居住する地域に近いゲドゥグウなどでは、この語はブディック／ブディック語」を意味するらしい。このような前提を把握したうえでなら、

「バサリ語」を「タンダ語」と呼ぶこともあながち間違いではないであろう。バサリ自身は彼らの言語を「オニヤン *oniyān*」と呼ぶ。

Ferry³⁶⁾の報告によれば、バサリ語には10の母音と31の子音が存在する³⁷⁾。だが、本稿では、私の能力不足のため、全て我流のローマ字表記で転写している。そのため、この表記法は音声学的ないし音韻論的には正確ではない。ただ、無声軟口蓋摩擦音 [x] と無声声門摩擦音 [h] は音韻論的に対立する可能性があるので、本稿ではそれぞれ 'x' 'h' のように表記する。また音調は二つあるのだが本稿ではマークしていない。

資料中で用いる略号は以下の通り。

N.	名詞	1sing.	1人称単数
V.	動詞	1pl.	1人称複数
adj.	形容詞	imper.	命令形
adv.	副詞	sub.	主語
interr.	疑問詞	obj.	目的語
relat.	関係詞	rad.	語幹
pro.	人称代名詞（強制形のみ）	mod.	「操作辞」 ³⁸⁾
neg.	否定詞	pref.	接頭辞
conj.	接続詞	suf.	接尾辞
poss.	所有代名詞	onom.	擬音
interj.	間投詞	pass.	過去
prep.	前置詞	cond.	条件
dem.	指示詞	obl.	義務

次に、Ferry 1981 を参照してバサリ語の文法構造を概観しておこう。

①文章を構成するためには、最低主語と動詞を必要とする。

例：me-wat

私は見る

wat-kume

私は見た

35) なお、人類学でも「テンダ」という名称が用いられるのだが、人類学と言語学における「テンダ」という名称は同じ集合ではない。例えば、バジャランケは人類学的には「テンダ」に分類されているが、彼らの言語は言語学的な分類である「テンダグループ」には属していない（Ferry 1991, p.5）。

36) Ferry 1981.

37) Ferry 1991 では母音 12, 子音 31 とされている。

38) この「操作辞」という用語は Ferry 1981 の *modificateur* という語を意識したものである。

②主語が名詞の時

例：a-sosyan-an wat-ko

その男は見た。

a-sosyan wat-ko

男は見た。

③目的語が生物である場合は、動詞の中で代名詞目的格を用いられることによってマークされる。

例：e-kain wat-ko

彼は石を見た。

a-sosyan wat-kungo

彼は1人の男を見た。

④形容一被形容の関係は被形容詞の名詞クラスに形容詞が一致することによってマークされる。

例：a-sosyan a-fesyax 白い人

e-kain e-pesyax 白い石

語順は名詞＋形容詞。

⑤所有代名詞・数詞も形容詞と同様形容される名詞のクラスに一致する。

例：a-sosyan a-ram-an わたしの男（夫）

e-meti e-ndam-eng わたしの羊

a-sosyan a-bat 1人の男

e-meti e-mat 1匹の羊

⑥限定一被限定関係

例：e-kain ed a-sosyan el 男の石

a-kaita and asohal an 女の本

⑦動詞は一般的に文末におかれる。

例：e-kain-el wat-ko

N.(pref.-rad.-suf.). V.(rad.-3sing.).

石を 彼は見た

↗ バサリ語では動詞にこのような「操作辞」がつくことで、その動詞の意味にあるニュアンスを付け加えることができる。例えば、動詞「言う fel」に操作辞 ar がつくことで、この動詞に互酬的なニュアンスが付け加わり、「互いに言う felar」という意味になる。本資料中では、独立したものとしてマークした im, pass, cond などの項目は、実はこの「操作辞」のカテゴリーに一括して分類されるべきものかもしれない。

⑧関係詞を用いる文

例：a-sosyan+ar+wat-kum-o+an	ie-ko
N. (pref.-rad.)+rel.+V. (rad.+1sing.+3sing.)+det.	V. (rad.+3sing.)
私が見た男が	行った。
a-sosyan+ar+ba-mi-fel+dan	yo-ko
N. (pref.-rad.)+rel.+V. (pass.-1sing.+2sing.-rad.)+det.	V. (rad.-3sing.).
わたしがあなたに話した男が	来た。

最後に、以下の資料の提示方法について述べておく。

以下のうたは基本的にまず①バサリ語で歌詞が表記されている。その下に②グロスをつけ、さらに③フランス語による逐語訳をつけた。そして④歌詞の日本語訳をつけ、いくつかの歌詞には、その下に、⑤テープおこしの最中に、調査助手が私にしてくれた説明を日本語に訳したもののをのせた³⁹⁾。⑥はうたがどのタイミングでうたわれるのかが記してある。⑥が表記していないうたは全て、(畑ではなく)家で、(飲み物を飲んでいる最中ではなく)仮面が踊っている時にうたわれるうたである。

例

①バサリ語	(2) <i>o-ni-on</i>	<i>d o-lener-on</i>	<i>gwa</i>	<i>i-tox</i>	<i>bai-na-kume</i>
②グロス	N.(pref.-rad.-sub.).	N.(pref.-rad.-sub.)	interj.	N.(pref.-rad.)	V.(rad.-mod.).
③仏語逐語訳	marche	les masques		enfant (petit)	je suis

- ④日本語訳 仮面を身につけろ。わたしはまだ小さい。だけど、いつでも
 ⑤助手の説明日本語訳 背が小さくても年が若くても、もしお前が仮面を装着できる
 ⑥畑で／家で、人々が分配された飲みものを飲んでいるときに

管見ながら、これまでにバサリのうたそのものの考察がなされたことはほとんどなく、また、わが国に限って言えば、バサリ語、あるいはバサリ語を含むテンダグループに属する言語の資料がある程度まとまった形で紹介されたことはない。このため、先にも述べたように、音声表記をはじめとするいくつかの点で問題はあるが、このような形ではあっても、バサリのうた資料を提示することは、西アフリカの人類学・言語学に何らかの知見を付与するものと考ええる。

いずれにせよ、以下の資料に目をおすことで、バサリがどのようなことを思い、それをうたにしてうたっているのか等、彼らの生活のほんの一端でも伝われば、本稿の一応の目的は果たしたことになる。

39) 調査はフランス語を媒介言語として行われた。よって、②のグロスはバサリ語とフランス語を対応させながらつけたものである。例えば、日本語の逐語訳をつけようとなると、フランス語で *avec* と訳されるバサリ語の *g* という語を「前置詞 *prep.*」として分類することが正しいのかという問題が出てくる。よって、③の逐語訳がフランス語のままであるのは②グロスとの対応を考えてのことである。また、このようにグロスをつけて資料を提示するという発想及びグロスのつけ方は Ferry 1981 の物語テキストにつけられたグロスを参考にしている。

II-2 うた資料

Chez Kajyanin

カジャーニンの家

- (1) *panba-in-e* *bu-xore* *yo.* *wai-kume wai* *na* *a-ngol-an*
V.(rad.-imper.2p-1sing.obj.). N. interj. V.(rad.-1sing.sub.) prep. N.
tapez les trucs les types-contraires. je rentrai dans village
- damu* *ro.* *no* *keland* *nowa*
poss. adv. interr. v.(e-land) interj.
de moi ici qui tirer un fusil?

(私の登場をにぎやかなものにするために音楽にあわせて) 音を鳴らせ、アホレたちよ。私はここ私の村に帰ります。誰が銃をうち放つのだろうか。

オディニールが登場する際のうた

- (2) *o-ni-on* *d* *o-lener-on* *gwa* *i-tox* *bai-na-kume*
N.(pref.-rad.-suf.). N.(pref.-rad.-suf.) interj. N.(pref.-rad.) V.(rad.-mod.-1sing.sub.)
marche les masques enfant (petit) je suis encore resté
- wa* *tangako.*
interj. V.
c'est toujours comme ça.

仮面を身につけろ。わたしはまだ小さい。だけど、いつでもそういうものなのだ。

畑で／家で、人々が分配された飲みものを飲んでいるときに

背が小さくても年が若くても、もしお前が仮面を装着できるなら、身につけてもよい。

- (3) *Inguma* *nungawi-e* *e-ter* *de* *yatao-kum-i* *yo* *gr*
Inguma. V.(rad.-1sing.obj.) N. interj. V.(rad.-1sing.sub.-2sing.obj.). interj. prep.
Inguma venir me voir amitié je t'ai choisi aux
- o-jyung-ar* *faba* *yo.*
N.(pref.-rad.-det.) N. interj.
champs de mon père

イングマ、私に会いにきてくれ。私はおまえを、おとうさんの畑で恋人として選んだ。

畑で／家で、人々が分配された飲みものを飲んでいるときに

- (4) *poha-in-e-epohad* *mo-nyuwa* *ga* *lao-kun-e* *e-man-en*
 V.(rad.-imper.2pl.-1sing.obj.-inf.) mod.-V. V.(rad.-2pl.sub.-1sing.obj.) N.(pr.-rad.-sub.)
 applaudissez en assoyant vous m'avez tué mon corps.

(仮面を元気付けるために) 座って、手拍子をとれ。(あなたたちが手もたたかないで私にダンスを要求するので) 私の体はもうへとへとです。

- (5) *a-fel* *fel-kuno* *gouverneur* *uno* *tywn* *e-ndei* *ga* *nang-kume*
 V.(inf.) V.(rad.-3sing.sub.) N. pro. N. V.(rad.-1sing.sub.)
 Tout le monde a dit gouverneur moi quelque choses savoir je

o-kiti *kun-* *e* *wuland* *en-* *e-* *daowen* *uno g* *o-nden*
 N. 3pl.sub.- 1sing.obj. V.(rad.) 3pl.sub.-1sing.obj. V. pro.prep. N.
 jugement ils me amenant ils me tuent moi avec esprit

nde *me* *wa*
 interr. 1sing. interj.
 est-ce que je

私に何か知っているとみながグーベルヌール(統治官)にいった。彼らは私を裁判にかける。彼らは私を殺す。私は何か知っているのだろうか。

- (6) *Dwngw-na-in* *e-man-en* *uno* *tywn* *a-me* *kaine* *na* *wa*
 V.(rad.-mod.-imper.2pl.) N.(pref.-rad.-sub.) pro. neg.-1sing.sub. V. neg. interj.
 mettez devant vous mon corps moi je ne suis pas pauvre.

私をあなたたちの前にいれてください。私は貧乏じゃない。

- (7) *poha-in-* *e* *gorgor io* *andina* *ga* *rin-ke* *an-jira* *ndaman*
 V.(rad.-imper.2pl. -1sing.obj.) onoma. N. V.(rad.-1sing.obj.) N. poss.
 applaudissez pour moi un fait m'a fait talent de moi

anu *kame* *na* *io.*
 neg.2pl.sub. V. neg. interj.
 vous ne pouvez pas.

私のために手を叩け。あるものが私に才能を与えた。あなた達はわたし程上手に歌うことはできない。

「あるもの」とは神のことだ。われわれの間では、われわれに才能を与えるのは神であるから。

- (8) *Pel-ar-ne o-niwe-or ramol mun boxunudi yo.*
 V.(rad.-mod.-imper.1pl.). N.(pref.-rad.-sub.). poss. pro.2pl. V. interj.
 disons au revoir voix de moi vous je fais manier.

別れの挨拶をしよう。私の声。わたしはあなたたちを活気づけた。

つまり、彼はうまく歌を歌ったということです。彼は人々に自分が上手に歌えることを示した。だから、人々は最後にもう一度彼の声（歌）を聞け、ということです。

- (9) *o pel- in- o Yase eho nang kre eho di na*
 interj. V.(rad.-imper.2pl.-3sing.obj.). Yase 3sing.sub. V. neg.imper. 3sing.sub. V. neg.
 ditez-lui Yase elle savoir il ne faut pas elle faire
- bengo tyala-l eho wa tele gabat*
 dem.pl. V.(rad.-imper.2sing.). 3sing. interj. N. adv.
 ça cherches elle télévision toute seule.

ヤセに彼女はそれをするべきではないとつたえてください。彼女は自分自身でテレビを探すべきだ。

- (10) *o o-lal-amor hole-ko wa teban-in-e*
 interj. N.(pref.-rad.-poss.). V.(rad.-3sing.sub.). interj. V.(rad.-imper.2pl.-1sing.obj.).
 vie de moi il a confiance pardonnez-moi
- o-lal-amor hole-ko wa*
 N.(pr.-rad.-poss.). V.(rad.-3sing.sub.). interj.
 vie de moi il a confiance

私の人生。彼は／彼女は信頼している。ごめんなさいね。私の人生。彼は／彼女は信頼している。

たとえばわたしに彼女ができたとしましょう。すると人々は、なんで？ 彼女は誰誰の恋人じゃないか、と言いだします。だからそこで、わたしは言います。「ごめんなさいね。彼女はわたしを信頼しているんです。」と。彼女はわたしのことが好きだということです。

- (11) *Enjelike ey-e pel do Kandel anjifa kum- o- rind od-opulg*
 Enjelike obl.1sing. V. Kandel V. 1sing.sub.-3sing.obj.-V. N.
 Enjelike Il fallait dire Kandel trahir je le faire odopulg
- a bin gane na gr o-nden-ond no wa kume-lilaya wa*
 neg.3pl. V.neg. prep. N.(pref.-rad.-det.). interr. interj. 1sing.sub.V. interj.
 ne sont pas contentes dans esprits de qui je abrite

ahain od-ojar en- e daowen e-man-en fe kume nang e-kainel
 N. 3pl.sub.-1sing.obj. V. N. interr. 1sing.sub. V. N.
 pauvre odojar elles me tuent corps où je savoir pauvreté

エンジェリケ、わたしがカンデルを裏切ったことを私にいうべきだった。オドオパルグの娘たちは不満気だ⁴⁰⁾。かわいそうなわたし。誰が真実をかたっているのだろうか。オドジャールの娘たちはわたしを疲れさせる。わたしはどこで哀しさを知のだろうか。

つまり、例えばオディニールがオドジャールの女性にオフエラルのため、あるいはよく分からないけど他のことのために、これだけの仕事をしろという。娘達は「わかった。わかった。やりますよ」という。しかし、彼女達はその仕事をしない。そして彼女達はその仕事をオドオパルグの娘に託す。オドオパルグの娘達は不満をもつ。多分、オドオパルグの娘達はそのことをレネールに告げ口したんだろう。そして、レネール⁴¹⁾は「誰がほんとのことを言っているんだ」と言う。オドジャールの娘達はあることを言い、オドオパルグの娘はまた別のことを言う。一体誰が本当のことを言っているのだ。人々がレネールに「アットンバニャオウンがあるから来て下さい」と言う時いつも、彼は踊るのだが、人々は彼に何も与えない。彼は何も受け取ることなく疲れるだけである。

(12) *teb- in -e me-main m- o- don do i-tosy-an*
 V.(rad.-imper.2pl.-1sing.obj.). 1sing.sub.-V. 1sing.sub.-3sing.obj. V. cond. N.
 Laissez-moi je rentre si je le faisais naître un garçon

Tamo watchi-do- m- o.
 Tamo V.(rad.-cond.-1.sing.sub.-3sing.obj.).
 Tamo je l'apeelerais.

わたしを帰らせてください。もし、男の子を授かったらタモと呼ぶのに。

仮面がとても上手に歌うので、もし自分に男の子ができたなら、彼にちなんだタモとよぶのに。オディニールはタモだから。

(13) *afel fel kun-e numa a he dasyu na mopur nde ke-hei.*
 V. 3pl.sub.-1sing.obj. N. neg.1sing. V. neg. V. interr. 1sing.-V.
 Les gens me disent ma mère je ne dors pas être debout est-ce que je veiller.

40) この歌は、ここまでの前半部と、これ以降の後半部では主語「わたし」の指す対象が異なっている。少なくとも最初になされたインフォーマントの解説を聞く限りでは、前半部では「わたし」はオドオパルグの娘のことであり、後半部では「わたし」とはオディニールのことである。しかし、このように歌の途中で「わたし」の指す対象が異なるのは、バサリの歌に関する限りでは非常に珍しい例である。あるいは、前半部の「わたし」はカンデルとは異なる別のオディニールであると考えられるかもしれない。

41) オディニールの単数形。

かあさん、みなはわたしが寝ないだろうという。わたしは立ったまま夜を明かさなければならぬのだろうか。

- (14) *O- fel-ar bun-dojar i-tala-in and-syana-an Enjenuke*
 N.(pref.-rad.-mod.) N. N. N. Enjenuke
 se dire au revoir les odojar clochette l'année prochaine Enjenuke
- m- o mula*
 1sing.sub.-3sing.obj. V.
 je l' amenerai.

オドジャール、鈴とお別れしよう。来年わたしはエンジェヌケをつれていく。

オドジャールが手首につけてる鈴がありますよね。この歌を歌っている人は、オドジャールにその鈴とお別れなさい、といっているのです。来年あなたたちはもうその鈴をつけていない。あなたたちは別の年齢組に属することになるから多分、その鈴はあなたたちの興味をひかないでしょう、ということです。そして来年わたしはエンジェヌケを連れていく。

- (15) *E-njyan yata- o-ke Bongleni e-kul-elo m- o- mula-ya.*
 N. V.(rad.-mod.-1sing.obj.) Bongreni N. 1sing.sub.-3sing.obj.-rad.
 L'amitié il m'a choisi Bongreni pendant ekul je l'amenerai.

ボングレニンがわたしを恋人に選んだ。エクル⁴²⁾の季節に彼を連れていく。

- (16) *Ilda o-may-on hani-ko ond gr nde-bun-on*
 Ilda N. V.(rad.-3sing.). prep. 3pl.
 Ilda rentrée elle se prête pour chez eux.

イルダは彼女の国に帰る用意ができた。

- (17) *o-lal-amol yawe-ko wa teban-in-e o-lal-amor yawe-ko wa*
 N. V.(rad.-3sing.sub.) interj. V.(rad.-imper.2pl.-1sing.obj.) N. V.(rad.-3sing.sub.) interj.
 Ma vie il meprise pardonnez-moi Ma vie il meprise

私の生活。彼は私を軽蔑する。私を許して下さい。私の生活。彼は私を軽蔑する。許して下さい。

- (18) *gahana-kume b-epunya-bengo kume baxtund be-ndunu beng.*
 V.(rad.-1sing.sub.) N. 1sing.sub. V. N.
 recupère je ces chemins je écouter fer

42) 収穫の時期。10月～1月はじめ頃。

<i>a-hain</i>	<i>a mi</i>	<i>pel-ar-</i>	<i>ena</i>	<i>ul-kume</i>	<i>o-ni-on</i>
N.	neg.1pl.	V.(rad.-mod.)	neg.	V.(rad.-1sing.sub.).	N.
pauvre	nous nous sommes		pas dit au revoir	j'ai entendu	marche

<i>ie-ko</i>	<i>aho</i>	<i>mai-o</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>Gawitya</i>	<i>aho</i>	<i>nang-ba-na</i>
V.(rad.-3sing.sub.).	neg.3sing.	V.(rad.-mod.).	neg.	Gawitya	neg.3sing.	V.(rad.-pass.-neg.).
il est parti	il ne veut pas revenir		Gawitya	il ne	savait pas	

わたしはきた道を戻る。電話で知らせを聞いた。かわいそうなわたし。私たちは別れの挨拶をしなかった。彼はいってしまったということだ。彼はもう戻ってこない。ガウエチャはこのことを知らなかった。

このうたはイチヨロの村長の死についてうたっている。

- (19) *Celestine* *teband-e* *Agnies* *fel-ak* *wa* *kalum-in* *wenak* *wa*
 Celestine V.(rad.-1sing.obj.). Agnies V.(rad.-mod.). interj. N. adj. interj.
 Celestine pardonne-moi Agnies a dit au revoir la route gâtée.

セレスティーンヌ、ごめんさいね。アニエスはさよならといった。道路の状態は悪い。

- (20) *Kumala* *m-i* *pel wa* *g antøk* *wa* *o-lano-ol* *er* *bai-ba* *m-i*
 Kumala 1sing.-2sing. V. interj. V. interj. N. relat. V.-passe 1sing.-2sing.
 Kumala je te dis est arrivée commision ce qui reste je te

<i>pel me ila</i>	<i>kid akena</i>	<i>Rungunuke</i>	<i>ingo gara</i>	<i>bud-m-o</i>
V. 1sing.V.	conj. neg.	Rungunuke	dem. conj.	V.(rad.-1sing.-3sing.).
dis je pense si	ce n'était pas	Rungunuke	celui	je couvrerais.

クマラ、おまえにしておく。使いがきた。おまえにいうことで残っているのは、もしそれがルングヌケじゃなかったら、わたしはそいつを包んでいただろう、ということだ。

- (21) *me- nyu -do* *ang* *itala* *yo* *o-main* *yandi-ke* *me-nyu-do*
 1sing. V.(rad.-cond.). adv. N. interj. N. V.(rad.-1sing). 1sing.-V.(rad.-cond.).
 Si je chantais comme clochette rentrée je veux si je chantais

<i>ang</i>	<i>itala</i>	<i>numa</i>	<i>o-main</i>	<i>yandi-ke</i>
adv.	N.	N.	N.	V.(rad.-1sing.).
comme	clochette	mère	rentrée	je veux

もし、わたしが鈴のように歌うことができたなら、わたしは帰る。かあさん、もしわたしが鈴のように歌うことができたなら、わたしは帰る。

- (22) *o-dojar wa ke haina gahani-kume o-mai-on ahe dasyu na*
 N. interj. 1sing.V. V.(rad.-1sing.). N. neg. 1sing.V. neg.
 odojar j'ai pitié je prends départ rentrée je ne dors pas
- a ke fesa b-ongon*
 1sing. V. N.
 je couler larmes.

オドジャールの娘たちよ。わたしは哀しい。わたしは帰り支度をする。わたしは眠らない。
 涙が流れる。

- (23) *a-njir-an ndaman pel-in-o Nyorufo ehe mashy wa*
 N. poss. V.(rad.-imper.2pl.-3sing.). Nyorufo 3sing.1sing. V. interj.
 talent de moi dite-lui Nyorufo elle me rend
- me nyang gaxun yo*
 1sing.V. interj.
 me faire voir

わたしの才能。ニョルホに、わたしにそれを返すように伝えてください。わたし自身を目立たせるために。

超自然的な力を持った人々がいます。たとえばわたしがあなたに何かをするとしましょう。わたしはここに紐を持っています。あなたが歌っている最中にそれを結びます。そうするとあなたはもうその後歌うことができなくなるでしょう。そこであなたは私にいます。おれの才能を返してくれと。そうすれば私がどれだけ上手に歌えるか踊れるかを見せることができる。

- (24) *Jamre jyaratunbe eiyo ako re-ko numa*
 mots pular interj. adv. V-3sing. N.
 jamere jyaratunbe comme ça elle a dit numa

ジャムレジャラトゥンベ⁴³⁾、かあさんがこう言った。

- (25) *pudo-ne ba-nyam yo b-ewara ani nang ena*
 V.(rad.-imper.1pl.). N. interj. N. neg.3pl. V. neg.
 couvrons nos joues les gens d'Ewara Ils ne connaissent pas
- toro indamin*
 N. poss.
 souffrance de moi.

43) フルベ語らしい。意味不明。

頬づえをつこう。エワラ⁴⁴⁾の人々はわたしの苦しみを知らない。

- (26) *oh a-keina re-kuni bela me-nemi*
 interj. N. V.(rad.-3pl.) N. 1sing.-V.
 oh de veiller dire ils les gens je mourir.

徹夜，人々はわたしが死ぬだろうといっている。

- (27) *bewara yo telephno wa e-bar-el a-ngol-an ndeonan.*
 N. interj. N. interj. N. N. poss.
 les gens d'Ewara téléphone la terre village de vous

エワラの人々。電話。地面。あなたたちの村。

- (28) *ro kubo -hei moxuta-in bon-gamote-bon*
 adv. 1pl.- V. V.(rad.-imper.2pl.) N.
 ici nous veiller reparez masques

今夜はここで夜を明かす。しっかりと仮面をかぶれ。

- (29) *gudgud shira-ba-ho e-njar-en edb ed kaita*
 adv. V.(rad.-pass.-3sing.) N. V. N.
 en bas en bas il était descendu un jeune porter cahier

若者が書類（ノート）をもって山を下った。

Ofelar

オフエラル

- (30) *ad gabaruk-un yangane-in a-nduba ane il-e na*
 conj. V.(rad.-2pl.) N. N. neg. 2pl. V.(rad.-1sing.) neg.
 même si vous êtes ressemblés maison calebasse vous ne me donnez pas
- and weiku-un mon-wein*
 relat V.(rad.-2pl.) 2pl.-V.
 que vous avez gravé vous avez gravé.

家にたくさんの人が集まっていますが、だれもわたしに彫刻をほどこしたひょうたんの容器をくれない。

44) 村の名前。あるいは二つの村を合わせたある特定の地域を指すことば。

ここにはたくさんの人がいるが、だれもわたしに彫刻をほどこした容器をくれはしないということです。つまり、当時は、彫刻をほどこした容器は尊重されている人々にのみあたえられたということです。

- (31) *Gahei-ko* *urin* *tis-in* *a-kod-an ahe* *dasyu na*
V.(rad.-3sing.). N. V.(rad.-imper.2pl.) N. neg.1sing. V. neg.
il fait jour l'espace vide remarquez sommeil je ne dors pas
- o-kod-ongo* *kume* *iland* *yo*
N.(pref.-rad.-dem.). 1sing. V. interj.
ce sommeil je pense

夜があけた。よく見てください。ねむい。わたしは寝ていません。わたしはこの眠さに思いをめぐらす。

- (32) *yaka -in* *a-yaka* *b-xore* *nywor* *amol* *akeinbanowa*
V.(rad.-imper.2pl.). V. N. N. poss. V.
répondez répondre bxore voix de moi

アホレ達よ、わたしの声にあわせて叫べ。わたしの声はおまえたちの声より大きいぞ。

- (33) *gafisyu-kume* *man-en* *end* *o-ndnao* *od-opulg* *gr* *angol*
V. 1sing. N. N. N. prep. N.
maigre je corps pour les filles odopulg dans village
- a-kain-un dume* *a-wain* *yandi-ba-he* *gr* *ndam d* *mun* *tebun* *a-njir-an*
N. N. V.(rad.-pass.-1sing.). prep. 1sing. conj. 2pl. V. N.
pauvre de moi rentrée je voulais chez moi alors vous laisser tristesse.

わたしの体はやせ細った。オドオパルグの娘たちのために。村のなかではわたしはかわいそう。わたしは家に帰りたいかった。あなたたちに悲しみを残していきます。

- (34) *i-tala-in* *yo kume* *odojar me* *mula-ya* *wa kid* *g* *o-nden eba* *me*
N. V.1sing. N. 1sing. V.(rad.-mod.). interj. conj. N. V.pass. 1sing.
clochette je suis venu odojar je tenir si avec esprit avais je
- doro* *uno* *bo-njil-an* *Koraine* *a-hain* *d* *mun* *tebun* *a-njir-an*
adv. pro. N. Koraine N. conj. 2pl. V. N.
aujourd'hui moi pensée Koraine pauvre alors vous laisser tristesse

オドジャールの娘たちのために鈴を持ってきました。この鈴をわたし自身で持つ。もし、今

日わたしの気分がよければ、あなたたちとともにここにとどまるのだが。かわいそうなコライネ。あなたたちの悲しみを残していきましょう。

- (35) *end o-mai-en kume iland wa kainer yo*
 N. 1sing. V. interj. N. interj.
 pour rentrée je penser pauvre

わたしはもう帰ろうと思う。かわいそうなわたし。

- (36) *pel- ar- ne un o-donao o-ngawon-on anjir keila ehe dawon*
 V.(rad.-mod.-1sing.). 2pl. N. N. N. V. 3sing.+1sing. V.
 Disons au revoir vous filles le fait d'être loin tristesse a failli il me tuent

Kajya uno o-ngawon-ond kolon
 Kajya pro. N. onom.
 Kajya moi le fait d'être loin

別れの挨拶をしよう。娘達よ。遠くへと帰りなさい。悲しみが私を危うく殺すところだった。カジャ、私は遠くへと帰ります。

- (37) *uno ame gru na a-ngol-an ndeonan andam ex*
 pro. neg.1sing. V. neg. N. poss. poss. V.
 moi je ne fuis pas village de vous de moi être

私は逃げませんよ。あなた達の村は私の村です。

例えば、エケスの仮面がここにやってきます。エクスとわれわれは同じ村のようなものだ。その仮面は踊れ踊れと強要される。彼は言う。私は逃げないよ。なぜなら、あなた方の村は私の村だから。(帰る前にはきちんと)あなた達に別れの挨拶をします。

- (38) *oh camion ke wland wa uno ame nang ba na*
 interj. N. 1sing. V. interj. pro. neg.1sing. V.pass. neg.
 oh voiture me amener moi je ne savais pas

Ityandawon ke fel yo
 N. 1sing. V.interj.
 un ami de classe d'age me dire

車が私をつれて行く。私は知らなかった。イチャウンダオウン⁴⁵⁾が教えてくれた。

45) 「同じ年齢組に属する者」の意。

これは、ある病人に関するうたです。

- (39) *Medila kur-e seb na Medila o-iyoroda ga wola kuno*
 Medila neg.imper.-1sing. V. neg. Medila N. V. 3pl.+3sing.
 Medila ne me laisses pas. Medila soldat amener ils le
- g no kumi bai wa*
 prep. interr. 1pl. V. interj.
 avec qui nous rester

メディラ、わたしをおいていかないで。メディラ、彼は兵隊として連れていかれた。わたしたちは誰といっしょにいればいいのだろう。

- (40) *danta-l -e Yorel ahani kume kod-on a he dasyu*
 V.(rad.-imper.2sing.-1sing.). Yorel V. 1sing. N. neg.1sing. V.
 accompagnes-moi Yorel quitter je sommeil je ne dors
- na uno ar oilar yo*
 neg. pro. relat. N. interj.
 pas moi qui suis masqué.

ヨレル、俺を途中まで送ってくれ。俺はもう出発する。ねむい。おれは寝ていない。仮面をつけているおれ。

つまり、もう眠いんだけど人がたくさんいるため俺は寝ることができない。だから俺は寝るから、ヨレル、俺を途中まで送ってくれ。別の仮面がヨレルに話しかけているのです。もしヨレルがその場にのこって、彼だけが寝るためにそこをたち去っても、彼はヨレルが歌っているのを聞いて、また歌を歌いにその場に戻りたくなってしまう。なぜなら、その場は盛りあがっているだろうから。

- (41) *awa oh uno a me kame na guron uno sapar ke yanbunund*
 interj. interj. pro. neg.1sing. V. neg. V. pro. N. 1sing.V.
 moi je ne peux pas courir moi pied moi avoir mal

わたしは走ることができない。足が痛いから。

- (42) *bebut a ne kule na yo uno me ie mo tuk a-banjy-an*
 adv. neg.1sing.o. V. neg. interj. pro. 1sing. V. 1sing+3sing. V. N.
 n'importe on ne s'occupe pas de moi moi je vais je le trouve sorcier.

どこでも、人はわたしをほっておく。わたしはアバンジャン⁴⁶⁾を探しに行く。

誰もわたしにかまってくれないので、アバンジャンに会いにいきグリグリをもらって、みんなにかまってもらえるようする。

- (43) *gr egatchi ore-butoru ba no ke mula-ya wa Kapune mara-o*
 prep. N. N. conj. interr. 1sing. V.(rad.-mod.). interj. Kapune V.(imper.2sing.-mod.).
 à Egatchi succession qui s'occupe de moi Kapune dépêches-toi
- me kuita and e ba man nyarukeind me tyanaya-n wa*
 1sing. V. conj. V.pass. V. 1sing. 1sing. V.(rad.-mod.). interj.
 je me rappelle au moment où je étais je suis tremblé me présenter

エガッチ⁴⁷⁾。交代。誰がわたしにかまってくれるというのか。カプネ、いそげ。みんなの前に姿をあらわすのがためらわれたときを思いだす。

つまり、彼がうまく歌えたとき、そして彼が重要だったとき、彼は物怖じすることなくみなの前で歌うことができた。しかし、今では彼も年をとった。年をとると時に難しいだろ。以前できたようにはできなくなる。それで、今彼は（みなの前で歌うことを）ためらっている。だからかれはカプネに交代するために急いでこいと言っているのです。

- (44) *tyanu wa faba ehe pel-ar-e owa burumaru omaion tyao.*
 V.(imper.2sing.). interj. N. 2sing.+1sing. V.(rad.-mod.-1sing.obj.). interj. N. N. adv.
 sors père toi et moi se dire au revoir certaines rentrée loin.

父さん、外に出てきてください。そして別れの挨拶をしましょう。遠くに帰るものもいる。

父親は小屋の中にいる。だから、彼に小屋から出てきて別れの挨拶をしようと言っているのです。そして父親が帰れば、彼と踊っている人々もその後帰ることができる。彼らは遠くからきているので、その場にそんなに長居することができないのです。

- (45) *epoha dakor afo ne mula kainel yo*
 N. adv. obl.1sing.obj. V. N. interr.
 applaudissement comme ça il faut que vous m'ameniez pauvre

こんな素敵な手拍子。わたしを連れていってくれ。かわいそうなわたし。

女性がとても上手に手拍子をとるため、彼女たちは彼に踊ることを強いる。彼女たち自身が

46) 「呪術師」の意。

47) 村の名前。

「踊ろう。踊ろう」と言うわけではないが、彼女たちの手拍子が素晴らしいので、彼自身がこの女たちと踊りたくなると言うことです。だから彼は言う。「かわいそうなわたし。わたしは踊りにいく。あなたたちの素敵なお手拍子が気に入りました。だからわたしは踊る。わたしは苦しむことになるでしょう。疲れているけれども踊ります。」

- (46) *me timasyuma Yangel m-unu muka ba dek nde*
 1sing. V. Yangel 1sing.-2pl. V. conj. adv. interr.
 je salue Yangel je vous demander si tout est-ce
- bai kun unu odanao odopulg*
 V. 2pl. 2pl. N. N.
 rester vous vous fille odopulg

ヤンゲル、あなたたちに挨拶します。オドオパルグ*の娘たちよ。あなたたちはみなここにいますか。

- (47) *osyoxora oramor ahain g a me pak na tis-in e-man-en*
 N. poss. N. neg.1sing.V. neg. V.(rad.-imper.2pl.). N.
 maladie de moi pauvreté je ne me gueris pas remarquez corps
- kainel uno*
 N. pro.
 pauvre moi.

病気。わたしはなおらない。わたしの体をよく見てください。かわいそうなわたし。

- (48) *ekainel owa numa uno anjirngun nde me wa Modinjayai*
 N. interj. N. pro. N. interr. 1sing. interj. Modinjayai
 pauvre mère moi quelqu'un qui rend le silence suis je Modinjayai
- youni-e ajyafa kune rind wa bela anjyorujyuru*
 V. 1sing. N. 3pl.+1sing. V. interj. N. N.(onom.)
 viens me chercher trahison ils me font gens le son de clochette
- fo kume rind*
 adv. 1sing. V.
 seulement je fais

かわいそう。かあさん。わたしはよい歌い手でしょうか。モディンジャイ、わたしを迎えにこい。人々はわたしをだましている。わたしは鈴の音をなり響かせるだけだ。

みながわたしにおまえはいい歌い手だという。だからもっともっと踊るために鈴の音をなり響かせなければならない。だけど、人々はわたしをだましているのだろう。

- (49) *awa oh uno ame koru na anjyaran uno sapar ke yanbunund*
 interj. interj. pro. neg.1sing. V. neg. N. pro. N. 1sing.V.
 moi je ne peux pas danser moi pied je avoir mal

わたしは踊れない。あしがいたいから。

- (50) *fe yiewa kun yo ahain odojyar fe yiewa kun owa*
 interr. V. 2pl. interj. adv. N. interr. V. 2pl. interj.
 où s'asseoir vous pauvre odojar où s'asseoir vous
- teb-in-e me mai wa*
 V.(rad.-imper.2pl.-1sing). 1sing.V. interj.
 laissez-moi je rentre

オドジャールの娘たち。あなたたちはどこにいるのですか。どこに座っているのですか。わたしをもう帰らしてください

多分人々は彼に待つようにいったのだろう。だから彼は踊っていた。しかし、かれはオドジャールの娘を1人もみかけなかった。彼に待つようにいったのに。だから彼はあなたたちはどこにいるのですかと聞いた。わたしはここにいるのに。かわいそうなわたし、というわけです。

- (51) *yaka indn a-yaka buxore onio ramol a ke hainand*
 V. V. N. N. poss. 1sing. V.
 il faut répondre buxore voix de moi je avoir pitié

アホレたちよ。わたしの声にあわせて歌え。わたしの声がかわいそうだ。

Chez Endiga

エンディガの家

- (52) *mama kunu shebund a mukarand me anu nang ena nde wa*
 adv. 2pl. V. V. 1sing.neg.2pl. V. neg. interr. interj.
 Exprès vous boire demandais je vous ne connaissez pas est-ce
- er motorox oilol yo*
 relat.N. N. interj.
 C'est quelque chose qu'on se fatigue se faire masque

あなたたちはわざと飲んだ。あなたたち仮面をつけることが疲れることだということを知らないのか。

例えば、ある仮面がいます。人々は共同農作業をし、仮面はここにいる。まずはこの仮面に飲みものを与えなければならぬ。しかし人々は仮面に飲みものを与える前に自分たちで飲んだ。だから仮面は言う「あなたたちはわざと飲んだ。あなたたちは仮面をつけることがどういうことか知らない。疲れるものなのだ。」

- (53) *yakaindn a-yaka buxore kureng tyaran na andina ga rinke*
 V. N. neg.imper.2pl. V. neg. N. V. 1sing.
 il faut repondre buxore ne soyez pas étonnés. un fait m'a fait
- uno yan gr kaxanu yo*
 pro. adv. prep. N. interj.
 moi en haut chez Dieu.

アホレたちよ、わたしに応じて歌え。驚くんじゃない。これは神からの贈りものだ。

仮面があまりに上手に歌うので、アホレは彼の声に聞きいってしまう。彼らは仮面に答えることができない。仮面の歌を聞きつづける。

- (54) *anundkund e-nyan-en kol-ne d mi dungad oh.*
 V. N. V.(imper.1pl.). conj. 1pl. V. interj.
 ça va être nuit soleil cultivons alors nous devançons.

太陽が沈む。耕そう。私たちは先にいってます。

太陽がそのうち沈むので、はやく働こう。われわれはさきにいつている、ということです。つまり仮面のことです。なぜなら仮面は普通ひとびとよりも先に畑を後にするから。

- (55) *aunderu wederin ke wa gat me ngat me tyanguna yo*
 V. 1sing. interj. conj. 1sing. V. 1sing. V. interj.
 être en retard je quand je arriver je se bouger

わたしは遅れてしまった。やってきたからには、動かなければならない。

つまり、わたしは遅れてきたので、上手に踊らなければならない、ということです。わたしは人々を活気づけなければならない。

- (56) *nu funya sukeri ke ohamana o-maiy-on yandi ke*
 prep. N. V. 1sing.obj. N. N. V. 1sing.
 sur la route il m'a trouvé clochette rentrée je veux

帰り道で彼がオハマナ⁴⁸⁾を持ってきてくれた。わたしは帰りたい。

- (57) *Bunjyur pel-ar-e wa g uno gogo nde g ahalk emanen*
 Bunjyur V.(rad.-mod.-imper.1pl.) interj. prep. pro. adv. Interj. V. N.
 Bunjyur disons au revoir avec moi déjà être vieux corps

ame bong ena
 neg1sing. V. neg.
 je ne suis pas en bonne santé.

ブンジュール、わたしと別れの挨拶をしよう。わたしはもう年老いた。元気じゃない。

- (58) *ofel-ar ex teb-in bo bii main doro kume nem*
 N. V. V.(imper.-2pl.). 1pl. 1pl. V. adv. 1sing. V.
 au revoir être laissez-nous nous rentrer aujourd'hui je mourir

katchira-o-ne omaiyon yandi ke
 V.(rad.-mod.-3pl.-1sing.). N. V. 1sing.
 ils me cherchent rentrée je veux

お別れです。今日はもう帰らせてください。私はもう死ぬ。わたしに会いにきてください。
 わたしは帰りたい。

- (59) *yama tamba kume igend ahain emanen ame bong ena*
 N. 1sing. V. N. N. neg.1sing. V. neg.
 dommage Tamba je vais pauvre corps je ne suis pas en bonne santé.
- manen yandi ke me kora iyo*
 N. V. 1sing. 1sing. V. interj.
 corps je veux je soigner

残念です。わたしはタンバ⁴⁹⁾へと向かう。弱りきったわたしのからだ。体の調子が悪い。
 わたしは体をなおしたい。

48) オパルグの青年やオデベカの女性が踊る時に足にくくりつける鈴。

49) タンバクンダの略。

- (60) *Le pere teban-l-e kemein a me tyoto ba na uno ar ohain*
 N. V.(imper.2sing.-1sing.). N. neg.1sing. V.pass. neg. pro. relat. N.
 Le père pardonne-moi 500F je n ai pas eu moi pauvreté
- eme g alapium kana-in ahana yo.*
 V.1sing. prep. N. V.(imper.-2pl.). V. interj.
 je suis avec 100F prenez prendre

神父様。勘弁してください。わたしは 500F もっていません。わたしは 100F しかもっていない貧しい人間です。どうかこれを受け取ってください。

Ofna

- (61) *pel-ar-ne wa odanao odam omaiyon yandi ke yo*
 V.(rad.-mod.-imper.1pl.). interj. N. poss. N. V. 1sing. interj.
 Disons au revoir les filles de moi rentrée je veux

お別れの挨拶です。わたしの娘たちよ。わたしは帰りたい。

- (62) *Bunjyur pel-ar-e wa g uno gogonde g ahalke manen*
 Bunjyur V.(rad.-mod.-imper.1pl.) interj. pro. adv. V. 1sing. N.
 Bunjyur disons au revoir avec moi déjà je suis vieux corps
- omiyon ehe*
 N. V.
 rentrée bientôt je vais partir

ブンジュール、わたしと別れの挨拶をしよう。わたしの体はもう年老いた。わたしは帰りたい。

- (63) *and kume syeb ngwi-yan kasyukasyu keind wa ahaine numa-bun*
 conj. 1sing. V. N. adj. V. interj. N. N.
 quand je boire ngwi plus grave être pauvre mères
- me teb nde wa osheb-ru*
 1sing. V. interr. interj. N.
 je laisser est-ce boisson

ングイ⁵⁰⁾ をのむと酔いがひどくなる。ヌマたちよ。わたしは飲むのを止めなければならな

いだろうか。

50) ソルガムビール。

- (64) *afo me bai enbanen ar g endeiyau ashon nde kumo syon*
 obl. 1sing.V. adv. relat. N. V. interr. 1sing.+3sing. V.
 il faut je rester derrière celui qui avec paroles cacher est-ce je le cacher
- yama bela eni dend uno arkakan asyon nde kune syon uno*
 N. 3pl. V. pro. N. V. interr. 3pl.+1sing. V. pro.
 dommage gens ils dire moi orpheline cacher est-ce ils me cacher moi
- g apuntan deme*
 N. V.1sing.
 avec mesure suis-je

わたしは後ろに下がっていなければならない。何か言いたいことがある人、私はそんなことを隠しはしない。残念です。人々は私は孤児だと言う。人々は私をどこかに隠そうとしているのか。私には容器がない。

嫁ぎ先で彼女はあまりよく受け入れられなかった。なぜなら彼女には僚妻がいたから。彼女には子供がいなかったが、僚妻にはこどもがいた。そして、この慣習のときには、わたしはよくわからないが、こどもを背負うための道具を飾りたてなければいけないのだが、彼女はそれをしなかった。そして彼女は嫁ぎ先で大切にされていなかった。だから彼女はこの歌を歌ったのです。彼女は自分の人生がまるで孤児のようだと語っているのです。

- (65) *amukunya yo ba me wa al agena ar ke yaka*
 N. V.pass. 1sing. interj. N. neg. relat. 1sing. V.
 causerie je suis venu personne n'est pas celui qui me répondre
- awa ifa kune mun.jifa yo*
 interj. V. 3pl.+1sing. 3pl.V. interj.
 trahir ils me eux trahir

遊びにきたのに、残念ながらわたしに答えてくれる人は誰もいない。あなたたちは私をだました。

多分彼は遊びにくるように誘われたのだろう。だから彼はやってきた。しかし誰もいない。だから彼は言う。残念です。あなたたちはわたしをだました。

謝 辞

本稿がこのような形にまとまるためには、多くの人々の協力があった。中でもとりわけ、AA 研の深澤秀夫助教授、真島一郎助教授、神谷俊郎氏（AA 研非常勤研究員）、宮岡真央子氏（東京外国語大学大学院）、佐久間寛氏（東京外国語大学大学院）には、草稿段階から非常に有益なコメントと助言をいただいた。本稿における記述は、もちろんわたしが全ての責任を負うのではあるが、彼らの助言・コメントがなければなしえなかったこともまた事実である。ここに感謝の意を表したい。

また、本稿のもとになった調査のうち、1999 年 10 月～2000 年 1 月にかけての調査は「文部省海外学術調査アフリカ伝統王国の比較研究—国民社会形成との比較において—」（研究代表者：嶋田義仁教授）の、2002 年 12 月～2003 年 3 月にかけての調査は「文部科学省科学研究費補助金特定領域研究資源人類学小商品班（班長：小川了教授）」の研究協力者として調査費用をいただいている。2001 年 10 月～2002 年 2 月にかけての調査は「笹川科学助成金」の援助を受けた。ここで、調査費用の捻出に苦慮して下さった、それぞれのプロジェクトの代表である嶋田先生、小川先生、そして「笹川科学助成」にも深く感謝の意を表したい。

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The Future of the Kisafwa Language: A case study of Ituha Village in Tanzania

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This study discusses the future of the Kisafwa ethnic community language spoken in Ituha village in light of the influence of the Kiswahili, the dominant language in Tanzania. The study uses a multidimensional approach where both the linguistic and socio-economic factors form the basis of analysis and interpretation. Considering assessment of the sociolinguistic profiles of Wasafwa at Ituha village and the patterns of language use and acquisition at home, it is evident that the speakers in Ituha village exhibit signs of language maintenance. The maintenance of the Kisafwa language is due to the fact that many young people and other age groups of both sexes still use the Kisafwa more than the Kiswahili. However, the study does not ignore the few speakers who use the Kiswahili because the trend of the patterns of language use and acquisition show that the percentage of the Kiswahili speakers in the domains of home and neighborhood increases with decreasing age groups. This implies that in future the number of the Kiswahili speakers may keep on rising at the expense of the Kisafwa language whose speakers will decrease. Thus, at a given time, language shift may take the lead over language maintenance.

- 1.0. Introduction
- 2.0. Theoretical approaches and methodology
- 3.0. Patterns of language use
 - 3.1. Age
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1.0. Introduction

Tanzania, like many other African countries is a multilingual state. Linguistically, Tanzania has more than 120 ethnic community languages (Whiteley 1969; Batibo

Keywords: Kisafwa, sociolinguistics, Tanzania, language maintenance, Kiswahili

1992). The size of one ethnic community language (henceforth called, ECL) varies from one ethnic group to another, ranging from the smallest with a population of about 500 people to the largest with a population of 3 million people. Kiswahili, the supra ethnic language is not only the national and official language of Tanzania but also one of the major lingua francas in Africa. Kisafwa, a non standard ECL spoken in some parts of Mbeya regional town (one of the farthest town from the East African Coast) is one of the smallest ECLs in Tanzania.

Studies conducted in Tanzania in 1970's and 1990's (Mochiwa 1979; Ndezi 1979; Rubanza 1979; Batibo 1992; Mekacha 1993 and Msanjila 1999) reveal that the coexistence between Kiswahili and ECLs in both urban and rural areas, threatens the future of ECLs and the cultural values attached to them. The cited studies above involved scattered villages chosen on a random basis such that not many rural villages were represented in such studies. It is on this basis that this study involves Ituha Village, which, linguistically, has not been researched.

Ituha village is located in the East of Mbeya town about 14 kilometres away with a total population of about 1,600 people. Out of this population, Wasafwa form 99.5% and non-native speakers of Kisafwa, who are mainly civil servants, are 0.5%. Culturally, Wasafwa are popularly known in Mbeya region for their conservatism in keeping traditions and customs. Historically, Mbeya town was inhabited by Wasafwa but as other ethnic groups (i.e. Wanyakyusa, Wamalila, Wakinga etc) settled in Mbeya town as a result of employment, trade, intermarriage etc, a large number of Wasafwa in Mbeya town moved to the suburbs where they could stay alone as a distinctive ethnic group.

The choice of Ituha village was based on the two reasons. Firstly, Ituha is a traditional village whose people are loyal and defenders of their traditions. Secondly, Kisafwa language has not been researched and, therefore, very little information is known. Unlike other inland villages where Christianity is the dominant religion, many people at Ituha village are traditional believers. Apart from the local government Chairman, the village is also headed by three indigenous leaders whose influence in social life of the people is great. Despite the fact that Ituha village is close to the town centre, it has limited modern social amenities such that it looks like a remote rural village. Apart from a primary school, the village does not have a dispensary, a primary court, a restaurant or a market.

This study, therefore, investigates the patterns of Kisafwa language use at Ituha village in the light of the influence of Kiswahili, the dominant language in Tanzania. Considering both the patterns of Kisafwa and Kiswahili language use and other socio-cultural and economic factors, the paper concludes by revealing the speaker's pattern of language choice at Ituha village. The following section describes theoretical approaches relevant to the topic under discussion.

2.0. Theoretical approaches and methodology

The study uses both the *ethnolinguistic vitality* approach developed by Giles *et al.* (1977) and the *domain analysis* by Fishman (1972) as appropriate theoretical approaches to the study of investigating the future of Kisafwa language. The rationale for this is that the *ethnolinguistic vitality* is a multidimensional approach which uses both linguistic and socio-economic factors in its overall analysis and interpretation. Socio-economic factors such as the *status* (in terms of economic, socio-historical and the language itself), *demographic* and *institutional support*, which together form the basis of this approach are used in this study to assess the vitality of Wasafwa at Ituha village. The approach presupposes that an ethnic group which has a low group vitality will eventually disappear as a distinctive group. Conversely, the more vitality a linguistic group possesses, the more likely it will survive as a collective entity in an intergroup context.

We are aware of the criticisms made on the ethnolinguistic vitality, that it is not easy to edit a catalogue of relevant factors which lead to language shift or language maintenance (Brenzinger 1992). To ensure that this does not affect the results, the study uses only those relevant factors which fit the specific context found at Ituha village and it also uses such factors in the overall analysis and interpretation. In addition, the *domain analysis* approach is used to supplement the ethnolinguistic vitality approach. The *domain analysis* approach enables us to understand that, although language choice and topic are based on analyses of individual behaviour at the level of face to face verbal encounter, they do reflect widespread socio-cultural norms and expectation. On the basis of the knowledge of the linguistic repertoire of the speech community, speakers consciously or unconsciously use an appropriate language to fit a specific domain. Thus, the study uses a combination of the results derived both from the *ethnolinguistic vitality* and the *domain analysis* (in terms of generational basis) to form the basis for assessing the future of Kisafwa.

The study uses the *home* and the *neighbourhood* domains as the most appropriate informal domains on which respondents self-report on their linguistic behaviour when speaking with different interlocutors. Taking into account the limitations of self-reporting, the responses are carefully and qualitatively analysed, using available socio-linguistic and socio-cultural data. By using results both from the *ethnolinguistic vitality* and the *domain analysis* approaches, it is possible to tell whether the Kisafwa language is disappearing or not. We use *language disappearance* in a narrow sense to refer to a specific Wasafwa ethnic group living at Ituha village and not Wasafwa at large.

The researcher used a combination of research techniques like the questionnaire, interview and the observation to solicit relevant data for the study. The questionnaire focused on demographic information, linguistic repertoires and the patterns of language acquisition. The questionnaire provided a three scale value of 1 to 3 for the respondents to choose and self-report themselves. Respondents who rated their choices

of language use under scale value 1 were interpreted to mean that they use dominantly Kisafwa or Kiswahili in that domain. Scale value 2 means that respondents use Kisafwa or Kiswahili occasionally, whereas scale value 3 means that they do not use Kisafwa or Kiswahili at all.

Responses from the interview questions were useful information for understanding the history, socio-cultural and economic background of Ituha village. Personal observation was used to make assessment of the sociolinguistic situation and to check on the self reports given by the respondents about their linguistic behaviour for qualitative interpretation. The study involved a representative sample of 90 respondents divided equally according to sex and age groups of *young people* (14 to 35 years), *middle aged group* (36 to 55 years) and *old people* (56 years and above). The variables of *sex*, *age* and *vitality* are to a greater extent commonly used to assess whether members of a certain speech community continue to speak a certain language or not. This means that a respondent was selected from each of the three age groups from both sexes. The following section discusses the findings of the study.

3.0. Patterns of language use

3.1. Age

The future of a language depends on whether the language is used at home or not. The researcher asked the respondents to self-report themselves to the question: *Which language do you use dominantly in the home domain?* Results reveal that a higher percentage of *grandparents* (80%), *parents* (74%) and *young people* (67%) reported using Kisafwa dominantly in the home domain. To put it another way, not many people among members of families use Kiswahili in the home domain. Nevertheless, looking at the percentages of those who use Kisafwa and who use Kiswahili, the following observations are worth noting.

Firstly, the patterns of Kisafwa language use indicate that *grandparents* and *middle aged parents* use exclusively Kisafwa among themselves but when interacting with young people they use either Kisafwa or Kiswahili depending on their social relationship. Nonetheless, Kisafwa seems to dominate. It is interesting to note here that the percentage of respondents who use Kisafwa in the home domain decreases with decreasing age group (from 80% of *grandparents* to 67% of *young people*). Unlike Kisafwa, the percentage of respondents who use Kiswahili in the home domain increases with decreasing age group (from 20% of *grandparents* to 33% of *young people*).

Generally, the results suggest that although there are more speakers of Kisafwa than Kiswahili, it is anticipated that speakers of Kisafwa may at a given time disappear because there will be no middle aged parents and grandparents left to pass on Kisafwa to their children in order to maintain the language. Thus, the number of Kiswahili speakers will keep on rising because the percentage of respondents who use Kiswahili increases with decreasing age group. Young people who previously were speakers of

Kiswahili by then will be parents and grandparents who, in turn, will pass on Kiswahili to their children and hence increase the number of Kiswahili speakers at the expense of Kisafwa.

Secondly, looking at the percentages of those who use Kiswahili in the home domain, it is clear that *young people* (33%) dominantly use Kiswahili compared to *grandparents* (20%) and *middle aged parents* (26%). Apparently, young people use Kiswahili among themselves and occasionally they use it to their parents and grandparents. Indeed, these results raise a basic question: *Why a few young people (33%) use Kiswahili in the home domain contrary to the expectation of many people?* There are a number of factors to account for this phenomenon but two are important. The first factor is that this state of affairs may be interpreted as an indication that young people at Ituha village are already assimilated into Wasafwa's cultural norms and values. Thus, frequent use of Kiswahili in the home domain, especially to parents and grandparents, would be seen as deviating from the expected cultural norms. The second factor refers to the composition of the ethnic groups living in the village. The fact that the community members at Ituha village are functionally monolingual speakers (Wasafwa ethnic group form 99.5%) and that non native speakers of Kisafwa in the village are minority (0.5%), these factors together may to some extent influence young people to use Kisafwa rather than Kiswahili.

Turning to the neighbourhood domain, the respondents at Ituha village were asked the question: *Which language do you use in the neighbourhood domain when speaking to interlocutors such as an old person, a visitor, stranger, peer/age mates, men, women and children under six years of age (pre-school children)?* Like in the home domain, the results reveal that also a higher percentage of *old people* (77%) *middle aged group* (60%) and *young people* (54%) reported using Kisafwa in the neighbourhood domain more than Kiswahili. According to the results, the patterns of Kisafwa and Kiswahili language use in the neighbourhood domain are more or less the same as in the home domain. Thus, the differences between the patterns of Kisafwa and Kiswahili language use, both in the home and neighbourhood domains with respect to old people and middle aged group, are minimal and insignificant.

A notable difference of language use is reflected in the patterns of young people. The percentage of young people who dominantly use Kiswahili in the neighbourhood domain increases by 13%, that is from 33% in the home domain to 46% in the neighbourhood domain. This increase of young people to use dominantly Kiswahili in the neighbourhood domain may be caused by the following reasons. Firstly, in the neighbourhood domain, young people interact with many speakers of different socio-economic and educational background. Sometimes such speakers do create situations where Kiswahili becomes an imperative choice. Secondly, unlike in the home domain where social relationship within members of families are intimate and informal, in the neighbourhood domain social interactions are both formal and informal, depending on the context, topic and participants. This broader context of interaction increases

the number of young people to use Kiswahili especially in formal domains such as in school, hospital, primary courts and in workplaces.

3.2. Sex

Language use according to sex show a distinctive pattern of usage. Results reveal that the majority of *females* (82%) use dominantly Kisafwa in the home domain compared to 66% of *males*. Similarly, a higher percentage of *females* (73%) use dominantly Kisafwa in the neighbourhood domain compared to 55% of *males*. These results support the previous studies by Dorian (1981) and Gal (1979) who claimed that generally females use dominantly Gaelic and Hungarian languages more than English and German, respectively, than males. During their research, Gaelic and Hungarian were informal languages used in rural communities whereas English and German were formal languages used in towns. There are basic reasons to account for this situation, but for this specific study, females at Ituha village use dominantly Kisafwa due to the following factors.

Firstly, many females under study are non-literate or semiliterate people (most of them were above 40 years of age). Generally, non-literate people use their ethnic language (Kisafwa) as their primary language of communication because it is the language they know better than Kiswahili. Secondly, most females at Ituha village do not travel frequently to urban centers where Kiswahili is the main language of interaction. The reason for this is that the basic essential social services and commodities are locally available and the village is still based on subsistence agriculture. Because of this factor, most females at Ituha village interact with speakers of the same ethnic group, hence, Kisafwa becomes their appropriate language choice.

Last but not least, traditionally as mothers, females are entrusted with the role of passing on the first language to their children. As Kisafwa is the first language at Ituha village, most females consciously or unconsciously feel that it is their duty to fulfil this social obligation by speaking Kisafwa with their interlocutors so as to maintain the language for the future generation. It is important to note that females use dominantly Kisafwa between themselves, with pre-school children and old people. But, occasionally, a few females in the home domain (18%) and in the neighbourhood domain (27%) speak Kiswahili to young people, literate males and with non-native speakers of Kisafwa. The type of females who use dominantly Kiswahili in both domains are mainly the young people and a few literate middle aged group.

On the other hand, although the use of Kiswahili in both domains (the home and neighbourhood domains) seems to be dominated by males, their percentages are lower than 45%. Results reveal that the number of male Kiswahili speakers rises from 34% in the home domain to 45% in the neighbourhood domain, a difference rise of 11%. These results suggest that, overall, the number of male Kiswahili speakers in both domains is relatively small compared to the number of male Kisafwa speakers in the home domain (66%) and in the neighbourhood domain (55%). This analysis raises

another question: *Why is the number of males who dominantly use Kiswahili in both domains is smaller than those of the male Kisafwa speakers?*

Assessing the sociolinguistic profiles of speakers at Ituha village, we note with certainty that the customs and traditions governing Ituha village are currently strong enough, such that they influence the speaker's choice of Kisafwa rather than Kiswahili. This assertion is based on the fact that although a number of male speakers at Ituha village had formal primary education and that most of them travel to urban centers more frequently than females, it seems that these factors together have not had much influence on the male's language behaviour. Thus, generally, a higher percentage of both females and males use dominantly Kisafwa in both domains. The following section discusses the results of the patterns of language acquisition at home according to age and relates it with the results of the patterns of language use in both domains for analysis purposes.

4.0. Patterns of language acquisition

One of the indicators of language shift and language maintenance is to examine the patterns of language acquisition at home. Results from respondents under study reveal that the percentage of respondents who acquire Kisafwa at home as their first language (henceforth use L1) decreases steadily with decreasing age group, that is from 94% of *old people*, 85% of *middle aged group* to 76% of *young people*. Conversely, the percentage of respondents who acquire Kiswahili at home as L1 increases with decreasing age group, that is from 0% of *old people*, 7% of *middle aged group* to 10% of *young people*. On the basis of the results above, we can deduce the following:

Firstly, old people who are above 56 years of age and happen to know and speak Kiswahili at home acquired it as a second or third language. They may have acquired Kiswahili at home or elsewhere, depending on the context of the speaker. Secondly, the fact that the percentage of respondents who acquire Kisafwa at home as L1 is very high across age groups, may imply that Kisafwa language will continue to be passed on to the children (the next generation) because it appears that each age group still acquires Kisafwa and uses it as their primary language of communication.

Thirdly, although the percentage of young people and middle aged group who acquire Kiswahili as L1 at home is very small compared to Kisafwa, it is important to note that the percentage of these respondents who acquire Kiswahili as L1 increases with decreasing age group. This means that in future the number of people acquiring Kiswahili as L1 at home will increase further as more young people become parents. These parents, in turn, will pass on Kiswahili to their children at home as their L1, hence, increase the number of Kiswahili speakers.

Overall, although these results seem to suggest that Kisafwa language at Ituha village is being maintained, this contention has to be taken with caution. Considering both the patterns of Kiswahili language acquisition and Kiswahili language use at

home by young people where both patterns indicate that the percentage of young people who use dominantly Kiswahili at home and the percentage of young people and middle aged group who acquire Kiswahili as their L1 at home both increases with decreasing age group, this implies that at a given time, language shift may also take a lead over language maintenance. This contention is based on the domain analysis approach. The following section analyses the future of Kisafwa using the ethnolinguistic vitality approach.

5.0. Vitality Group Factor

Assessing the multidimensional factors at Ituha village such as linguistic situation, socio-cultural, economic and historical background of the people, responses from both the respondents and the researcher are discussed under the *status*, *demographic* and *institutional support* factors.

5.1. Status Factor

The variables constituting the status factor do not contribute equally towards the vitality of Wasafwa at Ituha village. Assessing the strength of Wasafwa, one could say that most of the people are peasants whose economic subsistence does not depend much on the urban market. The esteem of Wasafwa as a distinctive ethnic group within and outside Ituha village is very high, especially in terms of socio-cultural aspects. Speakers at Ituha village exhibit strong loyalty to their traditions, customs and most of them, including young people, adhere strongly to the community's cultural norms and values. General assessment confirm that they practice their traditions openly without fear from non-native speakers of Kisafwa. Although at intergroup level they could be assessed differently by different people in terms of social status, the intergroup loyalty to their language (Kisafwa) is very high. Kisafwa is exclusively used within and outside their linguistic boundaries.

5.2. Demographic Factor

The Wasafwa are highly concentrated in their linguistic territory at Ituha village. Only very few non-native speakers of Kisafwa live at Ituha village temporarily as most of them are civil servants. Generally, under these circumstances, non-native speakers of Kisafwa alone may not easily influence the current linguistic situation as they are both numerically very small and are not permanent residents of Ituha village. This situation may change if the present socio-cultural and peasant economy is transformed into a new culture of wider market economy where interethnic social interaction in the village becomes a normal phenomenon in life.

With regards to group numbers, there are no official records of the village birth rate or death rate. Nevertheless, the village local government Chairman reports that the village birth rate is very high. Culturally, the prestige of a family is highly associ-

ated with the big number of children the family has. Children are regarded as future investments to their parents, especially when they become old and are unable to do any productive work. Mixed marriages are not a common practice in the village. However, they are commonly found among the non-native speakers of Kisafwa. At the time the research was conducted, there were no immigrants living at Ituha village and emigration was not a problem as many people reported to be contented with their socio-cultural and economic mode of life.

5.3. Institutional Support Factor

Kisafwa receives very little formal institutional support from schools, language research institutions and from workplaces compared to Kiswahili. Although ECLs are dominantly used in rural areas, the language policy of Tanzania (1997) confines their use only in the home domain. As a result of this policy, ECLs are not used in mass media. At the village level, Kisafwa is not even used in the first three years of the primary education system. Nevertheless, Kisafwa receives informal institutional support from the home domain, religion, cultural events and from the informal education institutions from within and outside the village specially those within the same linguistic boundaries. It is important to note that Kisafwa is used as a primary language of day to day social life. It is used in formal settings such as in church services, in cultural events (e.g weddings, mourning, rituals etc) and in the informal contexts as well.

Assessing the collected data gathered from the vitality group factors namely, social status, demographic, and the institutional support factors, it is clear that the overall assessment of the socio-cultural, economic and historical background indicate a possible high vitality of Wasafwa living at Ituha village as Table 1 shows.

Table 1. A possible vitality configuration of Wasafwa at Ituha village

Vitality Group Factors	Very High	High	Medium	low	Very low
Status	–	+	–	–	–
Demographic	–	+	–	–	–
Institutional Support	–	+	–	–	–
Overall Vitality	–	+	–	–	–

Key: + Applicable – Not Applicable

It should be noted here that the current high vitality of Wasafwa at Ituha village may at a given time change to a low vitality if the factors mentioned in the discussion change to accommodate modernity and socio-economic interplay between Ituha village and the urban market economy.

6.0. Conclusion

Assessing the socio-linguistic profiles of Wasafwa at Ituha village and on the basis of the patterns of language use and language acquisition in the home domain, it is apparent that speakers exhibit signs of language maintenance. Furthermore, the patterns of language use in the neighborhood domain and the overall assessment of the vitality of Wasafwa, support the contention that the Kisafwa language at Ituha village is being maintained. The maintenance of Kisafwa is due to the fact that young people and other age groups of both sexes still use dominantly Kisafwa more than Kiswahili in both domains. Indeed, this is an indication that Kisafwa is a primary language of communication in the village. The people at Ituha village could be described as functionally monolingual ethnic (Kisafwa) speakers.

However, the contention that Wasafwa at Ituha village maintain their ethnic language should be taken with care. Although we accept that the patterns of language use according to age and sexes reveal that a higher percentage across age groups and sexes use frequently Kisafwa in the domains of home and neighbourhood, we cannot ignore completely the few people who use dominantly Kiswahili. This is because the trend of the patterns show that the percentage of Kiswahili speakers in the domains of home and neighbourhood increases with decreasing age group. The implication for this is that in future the number of Kiswahili speakers will keep on rising, hence, increase the number of Kiswahili speakers at the expense of Kisafwa whose speakers will be decreasing. Thus, at a given time, language shift may take a lead over language (Kisafwa) maintenance.

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Not “Divided Places”, But “A Living Space”: Chinese Women on the Thai-Malaysian Border*

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While borders are used to mark difference, the distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’, —the dialogue between ‘us’ and ‘them’—becomes ambiguous in the context of the Thai-Malaysian borderland. The ‘Thai-Malaysian border’ as we have on the map today was delineated only after the 1909 Anglo-Siamese treaty. Nearly a century from its demarcation, today’s Thai-Malaysian borderland is occupied with state apparatus such as immigration, customs, border police forces with guns and flags everywhere. These are representations of state authority and the institutions producing the boundary between ‘us’ and ‘them’. However, if we look closer at the experience of locals living in the borderland, the stories may be different.

This paper is about the spatial formation of the Thai-Malaysian borderland, the Narathiwat-Kelantan borderland in particular, which maintains close ties to the national boundary. It focuses on the local perspectives, especially those of the Chinese women who live as “less-visible citizens” in the “deep” Malay-Muslim world, but also as “in-between agents” by constructing various trans-border connections within the borderland. While much has been written about the diversity of southern Thailand and of Kelantan, little attention has been paid to the formation of the Thai-Malaysian borderland itself, particularly from the perspectives of local inhabitants who shape the space of the borderland in their daily practices of negotiation, manipulation, and cooperation with the state presence. From the local experience of Chinese women at the border, this paper will explore the dynamics of the Thai-Malaysian borderland as ‘a living space’ instead of ‘divided places’.

Keywords: living space, Thai-Malaysian Borderland, Chinese women, boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’, dual citizenship

* My field research was conducted under the support of the research grant by the 21st Century Centre of Excellence (COE) program, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in 2002 and 2003. My appreciation goes on to Associate Prof. Yuko Mio, Associate Prof. Ryoko Nishii, Dr. Gordon Mathews, Liew Chin-Tong and Dr. Eric Kuhonta who read the draft carefully and provided careful corrections as well as constructive suggestions on this paper.

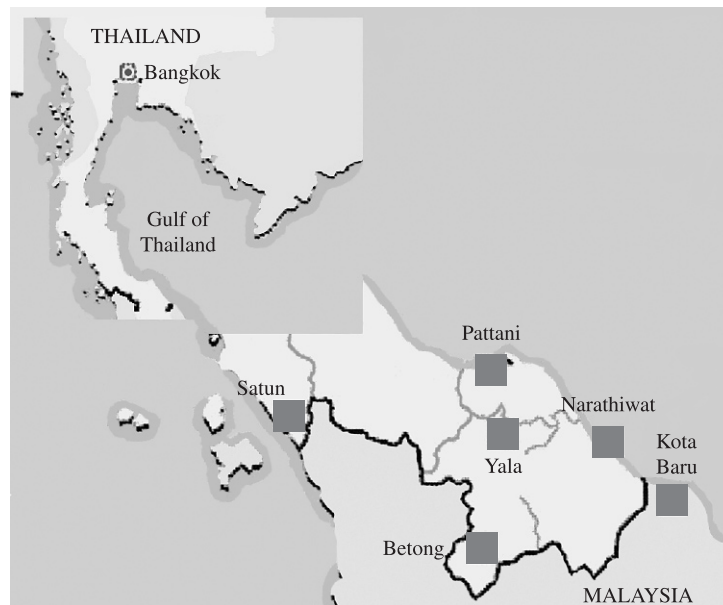
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1. 'Border' definition

The idea of 'border' we envisage today, especially in Southeast Asia, is based on birth of 'imagined community', or nation-state that declared a clear boundary between imagined 'us' and 'them'. Thongchai's work, in particular, shows how the western idea of 'border' along with mapping techniques was adopted in Siam.¹⁾ Such nature of 'border' as modern products is particularly manifested in the case of the 'Thai-Malaysian border'. The 'Thai-Malaysian border' as we have on the map today was delineated only after the 1909 Anglo-Siamese treaty. Nearly a century from its demarcation, today's Thai-Malaysian borderland is occupied with state apparatus such as immigration, customs, border police forces with guns and flags everywhere. These are representations of state authority and institutions producing the boundary between 'us' and 'them'. However, if we look closer at the experience of locals living in the borderland, the stories may be different. By analyzing daily practices of the local inhabitants living by the border, this study is to explain how the dichotomy between 'us' and 'them' is misleading. Indeed, the boundary between 'us' and 'them' is contested and negotiated by local inhabitants.

Here, I should clarify the meaning of 'border' or 'boundary' this paper denotes. The recent works on 'border' suggests two different approaches, namely, 'literalists' and 'a-literalists'. While the former approach is to regard 'border' as actual national boundary, the latter is to use 'border' in metaphorical meaning. Quoting Robert Alvarez, Pablo Vila explains the difference between 'literalists' and 'a-literalists' as below. The "literalists ... have focused on the actual problems of the border, including

1) Thonchai 1994.



(The Straits Times)

Map of the Thai-Malaysian borderland

migration, settlement, identity, labor and health. The “a-literalists,” on the other hand, focus on social boundaries on the geographical border and also on all behavior in general that involves contradictions, conflict, and the shifting of identity.”²⁾ More important, I firmly agree with Vila, these two different approaches are not contradicting, rather intertwined one another, as they “have their origins in complex issues of culture and identity.”³⁾ I admit that the issues this paper deals with largely related to the literalistic notion of the boundary, namely the national boundary. This study, nevertheless, believes that the issues on the Thai-Malaysian borderland is impossible to be untouched both, the literalistic meaning of boundary and the metaphorical notion of boundary. Both notion of ‘boundary’ or ‘border’ are coexisted, intertwined, and often crisscrossed.

2. Research object and methodology

As the title shows, this study focuses on the Thai-Malaysian borderland,⁴⁾ particularly that of the eastern coast, the Narathiwat-Kelantan borderland. As Nishii⁵⁾ points out, the Muslims of the Southern Thailand can be divided into the two different types,

2) Vila 2003, p.x.

3) *ibid.*

4) In this paper, while the term ‘border’ is used as national boundary, the term ‘borderland’ is referred to as a space beyond the national boundary.

5) Nishii 2002: 232.

namely, Thai-speaking Muslims on the western coast and Malay-speaking Muslims on the eastern coast. My research field belongs to the latter, the space of Malay-speaking Muslims on the eastern coast.⁶⁾ As many historians verify, it is impossible to write an account of Kelantan's history without touching on that of Pattani.⁷⁾ It is said that the present Malays in the northern Kelantan are the descendant of the people who had migrated from Pattani during 17th century to 18th century.⁸⁾ Historical background manifests that the Muslim population in the Narathiwat-Kelantan borderland shares a similar cultural and linguistic background.

My focus is, however, not on the majority Malay-Muslims, but on the non-Muslims, particularly the local Chinese who maintain close ties across the border. While the Chinese in Kelantan have been the subject of various works,⁹⁾ little is known its local ties across the border. As Malays, the Chinese community between the East Coast and the West Coast of the Thai-Malaysian borderland should be distinguished in respective historical contexts. As regards the West Coast, there is a J. Cushman's excellent study on the Khew family who had constructed a business and political empire in the West Coast region from Penang to Ranong in the 19th to the early 20th centuries.¹⁰⁾ The Cushman's work implies the fundamental differences between the western coast, where huge foreign invests on tin mining brought a large number of migrants from China and India, and the eastern coast, where received small impacts of foreign invests except minor invests on rubber plantation and gold mining.¹¹⁾ Consequently, the trans-border ties among Chinese on the East Coast, seems to be less mobile, have gained little scholarly attention. The cultural feature of the Chinese in Kelantan, although attracted many social scientists, often debated within the Malaysian discourse. Unlike the Thais in Kelantan and the Muslims in Southern Thailand,¹²⁾ the trans-border ties of the local Chinese in the Thai-Malaysian borderland have brought few political issues except the communist revolt in 1950s and 1960s.¹³⁾ Thus, the trans-border, but local connections of the Chinese remain 'less-visible'. This is why I believe it is important to examine the Chinese in the borderland.

6) The Muslim population in Kelantan make up 95% of the total population, the Muslims in Narathiwat make up 80% of the total population (Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia 2001, Key Statistics of Thailand 2002).

7) Rentse 1934, Kobkua 1988.

8) Azman 2000: 3–4.

9) Wang 1960, Carstens 1980, Tan 1982, Winzeller 1985, Chia 1990, Teo 2003.

10) Cushman 1991.

11) As for the history of mining practices on the East Coast of Malay peninsula, see Dodge (1977).

12) Especially the Muslims in the bordering Southern Thai provinces have been the main political issues. The recent attacks on the schools and the army camp in Narathiwat, Pattani and Yala made the government to impose the martial laws on these provinces ("Thaksin wants close watch on pondok schools" *New Straits Times*. Jan 14, 2004).

13) According to Surin, the Communist Party of Malaya had built up a trans-border network between its headquarters in Betong, Perak, and the bordering district in Yala province in the Southern Thailand, by using the economic connections of rubber plantations, timber industry, tin mining operation (Surin 1982: 8).

The Chinese in Kelantan are generally divided into two distinct groups, namely *Cina Bandar* (town Chinese) and *Cina Kampung* (rural Chinese). The latter is often described as *Peranakan* Chinese. The term *Peranakan* is a Malay word, meaning ‘locally born’. It is well known in Indonesia that the term ‘*Peranakan*’ is used for the locally adapted Chinese, distinguishing from the newcomers as *totok*.¹⁴⁾ Such usage is similarly applied in the case of the Chinese inhabitants in Kelantan.¹⁵⁾ As is well known, the features of *Peranakan* culture in Kelantan, particularly the clothing and eating habits as well as the linguistic usage, result from mixing of Hokkien, Malay, and Thai cultures.¹⁶⁾ In the context of the border town today where I have been conducting research, however, such categorization (town vs. rural) may not be applicable anymore. First, owing to the high percentage of Chinese’ attending Chinese primary schools¹⁷⁾ as well as the popularization of Chinese global media, there is a substantial increase of Mandarin-speaking population among the Chinese youth in Kelantan, regardless of their *Cina Bandar* or *Peranakan* background. Second, the pattern of the intermarriage between Chinese and Thais is changing. More than half of the recent Chinese marriages in the border town occur between Chinese males and Thai females. The significant change is that many of those wives originate from northern Thailand.¹⁸⁾ According to the local people, until the 1970s in the border town of Kelantan, marriage of the local Malaysian Chinese male with the local Sino Thai or local Thai female was the major trend of intermarriage. By contrast, the contemporary marriages become more influenced by the non-local feature. The increase of the marriages between the local Chinese male and the non-local Thai female may bring new cultural aspects in the border town. Thus, in the context of the borderland, the ‘Chinese’ is no longer to be explained by the dichotomy between *Cina Bandar* and *Cina Kampung*.

14) Winzeler 1985: 14.

15) According to Tan, while the label *Baba* is derogatory in certain contexts, the label *Peranakan* is not derogatory. Tan explains, the term, *Peranakan* is “perhaps the best objective label, for the cultural type we are discussing is similar to the *Peranakan* Chinese in Indonesia and Meleka... All the *Peranakan* Chinese have one similarity in that they are acculturated by the local people and all speak either the Malay dialect of the region they are in or a Malay dialect of their own.” (Tan 1982: 31).

16) It is often explained by the long tradition of intermarriage with Thais as well as the predominant Malay environment. Some pointed out its migrant history from Pattani in the 17th and 18th centuries. It is often argued the linguistic similarity between Hokkien spoken in Kelantan and that in Pattani. On the other hand, *Cina Bandar* is often pointed out its ‘purer’ Chineseness due to its less contact with predominant Malays in kampung (Teo 2003, Tan 1982).

17) There is a report that at least 88% of Chinese children today go to Chinese primary schools in Malaysia (“Nation Still Divided.” *Far Eastern Economic Review*. Dec 7, 2000).

18) The phenomenon of increasing Thai wives from northern Thailand can be traced to the social and economic conditions of the border town of Narathiwat where hundreds of bars and massage parlors are available. It is estimated that there are more than 20,000 sex-workers working at these bars, and most of them are from northern Thailand (according to a local Thai journalist). The number of children of Malaysian men and non-local Thai women is rising in the context of the borderland.

As I stated earlier, the aim of this study is to look at the local non-Muslims, the Chinese in particular, to elucidate how the modern nature of boundary between “us” and “them” on the Thai-Malaysian border is negotiated and contested by the local inhabitants. More importantly, its final goal is to rethink the borderland as ‘a living space’ instead of ‘divided places’.¹⁹⁾ My field research in the border town of Kelantan, or Town A, was conducted from January 2003 until February 2004. During the period, I was primarily engaged in participant observation, interviews and archive work at the National Archives in Kuala Lumpur. During the fieldwork in Town A, I stayed with a Chinese female²⁰⁾ who run a Chinese restaurant in the heart of the town. While participant observation was done at the Chinese School in the morning, interviews with the local people were conducted in the afternoon. Primary language used in my fieldwork was Mandarin. Besides, Malay was used for the conversation not only with Thais and Malays, but also with the Chinese seniors who only speak Hokkien. To investigate the borderland from the local perspective, this paper chose three different Chinese women who are living in the borderland. The first story is about a maternal family, who practiced a family business through trans-border activities. The second story is about a girl born in Thailand, who received Chinese education as Malaysian Malay. The third story is about a single mother living in Thailand, who carefully uses her dual citizenship status in her daily practice.

3. Setting: Town A

a) Making boundary

A border town of Kelantan, or Town A,²¹⁾ is situated on the eastern coast of Malay Peninsula, about 40 km away from Kota Bharu, the capital of Kelantan. Golok river, flowing to the South China Sea, is dividing soil between Malaysia and Thailand. When the 1909 Anglo-Siamese treaty declared the birth of the boundary between ‘Siam’ and ‘British Malaya’,²²⁾ the landscape of the borderland looked far from today’s

19) Borrowing the definitions by Donnan and Wilson, ‘space’ is “the general idea people have of where things should be in physical and cultural relation to each other, ‘place’, on the other hand, is “the distinct space where people live; it encompasses both the idea and the actuality of where things are (Donnan and Wilson 1999: 9). In other words, while ‘space’ is more attached to one’s sense of belonging, ‘place’ is more attached to the political and economic conditions.

20) I came to know her through the introduction by the principal of the Chinese school in Town A. Since she offered rooms to the female teachers of the school, the principal knew her well. She was born to the Hakka family in Kota Bharu. She once married to Hakka businessman in Kelantan, but the marriage didn’t last for long. After divorce, she came to Town A where her uncle (her mother’s younger brother) has run border business since 1960s. Using her uncle’s local connection, she started her furniture business for a while. Now she runs a small restaurant by her own, targeting local Chinese as well as Malaysian Chinese tourists.

21) According to the Census population 2000, the population of Town A was 4,505, there were 195 Chinese, 8 others, and only 1 Indians. Non-Malaysian citizens were 258. Most of non-Malaysian categories were Thai nationals (Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia 2001).

22) The Siamese Government transferred to Britain “all rights to suzerainty, protection, administration and control whatsoever which they possessed over the States of Kelantan, Trengganu, ↗

trading towns, as “there merely had a few small Malay *kampung* or villages along the Golok River”.²³⁾

The development of the borderland was largely due to the connection between the East Coast Railway and the Siamese Railway in 1931.²⁴⁾ The advent of the new form of transportation, together with the unprecedented amount of commodity flowed throughout the Peninsula, promised potential commercial opportunities on the borderland.²⁵⁾ Especially, the trade of rice and rubber became crucial for the economic development of the borderland. Under such situation, the border town of the Narrathiwat side, gradually had become a regional distribution center for commodities such as ‘rice’ from Northern Thailand and rubber²⁶⁾ from Kelantan and Southern Thailand.

According to the British Advisor reports,²⁷⁾ the greatest concern of the Kelantan administration at beginning was the inflow of commodities and diseases²⁸⁾ rather than human migration. This explains why the construction of Customs checkpoint as well as the signing of Customs agreement between Kelantan and Siam coincided with the opening of the railway across the border in 1920.²⁹⁾ Through the Annual Report of Kelantan in the late 1940s, we can glimpse how the people were aware of the specific value differences across the border river and how they consumed it.

*The Commodities smuggled into Kelantan are firstly rice and secondly, to a much smaller extent, Siamese tobacco. These are exchanged for rubber, copra, foodstuffs, such as tinned milk, flour, biscuits and on one or two occasions motor vehicles....*³⁰⁾

↗ Kedah, Perlis and adjacent islands”, simultaneously with the treaty, a Railway Agreement was signed, an agreement to connect up their two railway systems from Singapore to Bangkok, Siam receiving a loan of £4,000,000 from the Federation (Barron 1934, p.3 and Marks 1997: 98–99).

23) Teo Chiew Association of Sungai Golok 2001: 106–110.

24) With regard to the East Coast Railway, the Annual Report of Kelantan described as, “The Federated Malay States Railway system provides railway connection not only with the Western side of the Peninsula (through Siamese Territory) touching the coast at Tumpat, but also with Singapore running through the States of Pahang, Negeri Sembilan and Johor. The Construction of the line known as the East Coast Railway, which was begun in 1904, was completed during the year (1931). It was opened to traffic on the 6th September 1931, a formal inauguration ceremony being held on the previous day at a spot near Kuala Gris (Haynes 1932: 25).

25) Kakizaki examined how the development of railway system throughout Malay Peninsula promoted the rapid circulation of the commodities (Kakizaki 2000).

26) With the development of rubber production in Kelantan, Kelantan fall into the rice importer from the rice exporter. The import of rice in Kelantan peaked in 1928. The increase of rice import in Kelantan can be explained by two major factors, that is, the economic shift to rubber cultivation and the influx of immigrant workers (Haynes 1932: 13).

27) Arkib Negara File on Kelantan British Advisor Report.

28) There were some concerns of disease from Siam. According to the administration record of British Advisor of Kelantan, such concerns expressed as “Possible importation of infectious diseases via the Siamese Railways. Asks if medical examination of passenger could be arranged and list of passengers supplies.” (Arkib Negara File No. K1372.1399/21).

29) According to the record of the British Advisor of Kelantan, while Customs checkpoint was erected in 1921 as “Provision of facilities for handling goods at Rantau Panjang” (Arkib Negara File No. K37.37/21), “Customs Agreement” between Malay States and Siamese Government was signed in 1922 (Arkib Negara File No. K 816/47).

Such early records precisely indicate the contradicting two phenomena. While the development of the railway transport promoted the flow of commodities in the borderland, the state had struggled to control the enormous flow across the border. Nonetheless, the advent of the railway marked the initial development of the Siamese-Kelantan borderland by attracting the people who looked for the economic niches created at the border.³¹⁾

b) Control on human flow

The main transportations for crossing the national border today are sampan boat, motorbike, and car. Since the completion of the border bridge in 1973, crossing the border by sampan is regarded as illegal because it does not go through the immigration complex. Along the riverbank of the Malaysian side, there is a red signboard in three languages, Malay, English, and Thai, stating that,

Warning: Any person crossing the border through illegal entry is committing an offence under section 5 (2) immigration act 1959/63 (amendment 1997) which carried a penalty fined a maximum of RM 10,000,000 or five years imprisonment or both.

In addition to the written warning, there are border polices with rifles stationing at the several points along the Malaysian side of riverbank. Under such circumstances, however, sampan boat remains one of the major forms of transportation for the local inhabitants, especially for Malays. A strange thing is that these border polices seem not to restrict these obvious 'illegal' border-crossings. According to a Malay female who lives in Thailand and works at the shop in Town A, she has never been asked by border police upon using sampan. A Chinese female who runs a sundry shop just behind the riverbank in Town A, once told me that "I always go there (the border town of Thailand side) by sampan. I am rather afraid of go through the bridge because my border pass was expired." However, the local Chinese in general prefer to go through the bridge. Many Chinese express the fear of being captured by border police due to their 'non-local looking'. Thus, while crossing the border by sampan seems to become daily practices, there always exists a reality to face the state power such as border police. By contrast, crossing the border bridge is apparently 'legal' because it has to go through immigration and customs. However, in reality, most of the local border-crossings are merely employing the method of *Angkat Tangan* (hand raise). Although people in the borderland are entitled to be issued the border pass,³²⁾

30) Azman 2001: 72.

31) Today's borderland, the passenger service across the border has been suspended since 1978 except for the occasional cargo trains. The passenger service was stopped due to the increasing rice smugglings from Thailand and border security reasons. The train service is only available either from Sungai Golok to the north or from Pasir Mas to the south (ibid.: 71).

32) 'Border Pass' is issued to the Thai nationals who resided for more than three years within a zone of 25 kilometers from the Malaysian border, and the Malaysia nationals who resided for more ↗

the majority of them present their hands, instead of presenting the pass at the immigration checkpoint. According to a Chinese female who goes to the morning market in the Thailand side everyday, “Since I ‘know’ them (the officials), they just let me go. That’s very simple.” Such perception is common among the local inhabitants regardless one’s ethnic background.

c) Control on goods flow

As the economic structure of the border town shows, the formation of Town A closely relates to the development of the neighbouring town of Narathiwat.³³⁾ To put it more precisely, the economy of Town A itself highly depends on the economic ties with the Thailand side rather than its domestic connection. The economy of Town A can be divided into two main activities, between retail or wholesale business at *Jalan Besar* (main street) and market stalls at *Pasar Besar* (central market). As for *Jalan Besar*, there amounted 100 shops along the street. These shops are selling various products, including foods, sundries, fabric, diapers, electrical appliances, and mobile phones. Among them, Chinese owners consist half. Major business practice on *Jalan Besar*, particularly along the riverbank, is ‘sampan trade’. Whereas the author conveniently applies the term ‘sampan trade’, local Chinese call it *xia huo* in Mandarin, illustrating loading goods down to sampan boat. These shops do their retail business at front facing the main street one hand, they do their wholesale business at back facing the river on the other. Each shop has storerooms and the goods are conveyed by the long, wooden-made slopes laying from the back gate down to the river. These sampan traders are selling halal foods, imported onions, and diapers. One should note that the flows of the goods by sampan trade are always one-way, namely, from Town A (Malaysia) toward Narathiwat (Thailand). Few goods flows from Thailand by sampan to the shops in Town A could be witnessed. As mentioned earlier, there are border polices stationed along the riverbank, who obviously are aware of such activities. However, neither border polices nor Customs officers try to control such flows. According to a Malaysian Customs official, their main concern is the flow from Thailand, not from Malaysia. Since there is no border police stationing on the Thailand side, such unilateral, informal flow is to be realized. For Malaysian Customs, smugglings of rice, drug and arms from Thailand are the major problems on the border. These flows are often controlled not on the border river, but on the border police checkpoints few kilometers away from the borderline.

↗ than three years in the four northern States of Perlis, Kedah, Perak and Kelantan. The original agreement was signed in 1940 (“An Agreement between the Government of the Malay states of Kelantan, Kedah, Perak and Perlis, and the Royal Thai Government, with respect to traffic across the boundary between the Malay States and Thailand.” The Legal Advisor, Kelantan 1931).

33) The early Chinese settlers to the border town of Narathiwat were the construction workers of Siamese railway in 1910s. Many were the Hokkien and the Hakka Chinese. However, after the World War II, the Teochiew Chinese came down to the south from Bangkok. Due to the strong demands on rubber during the Korean War, the major source of income in the region was the rubber industry in the 1950s (Teo Chiew Association of Sungai Golok 2001).

On the other hand, more than a hundred small stalls occupy *Pasar Besar*, mostly run by Malay women from neighbouring Narathiwat. These women sell various Thai products ranging from fruits to cheap T-shirts. Thai rice is one of the items sold at *Pasar*. They are clearly targeting Malaysian domestic tourists from Kuala Lumpur, Penang or Johor Bharu. It is worth noting that the two business practices at *Jalan Besar* and *Pasar Besar* are fundamentally different in nature. The former is done by the residents of Town A, majority are Chinese, selling “Malaysian products” to the customers in Thailand. On the other hand, the latter is done by the residents of the Thailand side, majority are Malays, selling “Thai products” to the Malaysian tourists. Both activities, however, are involving informal flows and depending on close ties across the border.

d) History of a Chinese school on border

The Chinese school, which we shall call ‘School K,’³⁴⁾ is situated in the heart of Town A. The school is categorized as a national-type primary school, or *Sekolah Rendah Jenis Kebansaan Cina*³⁵⁾ aimed at providing both national and Chinese education for Malaysian citizens. Its founding moment, however, clearly demonstrate its close ties across the border. When the school was established in 1955, nearly half of the total 48 students were from Thailand. Many local Chinese still remember that the Hokkien association in Narathiwat played a central role to provide financial support. Since Chinese education was almost banned under Phibun’s second regime in Thailand,³⁶⁾ it was natural for the Chinese in Narathiwat to find alternative way at the Chinese school of the neighboring town of Kelantan.

The situation began to change after the implementation of 1961 Education Act. For the first five years, School K’s finance situation was said to be relatively smooth. However, under the 1961 Education Act,³⁷⁾ School K finally had to choose her own destiny, either being incorporated as a national-type school or remaining private. Having faced with financial problems then, the only option to be left for School K was to be incorporated into the national system for access to the government subsidies. Simultaneously, it meant the refusal of the students who did not possess Malaysian citizenship. Nevertheless, this did not mean the complete termination of the students cross the border everyday. This will be examined later from the experience of a former student.

34) The total students were 155, with 105 Malays, 49 Chinese and 7 Thais. Apart from this, there were about 100 children aged 4 to 5 at the kindergarten attached to School K (based on the interview with the principal of School K, on Jan 18, 2003).

35) The national-type Chinese primary schools use Mandarin as the medium of instruction. Since it is an integral part of the national system, it receives state funds and provides free education (Tan 2000: 228).

36) Wyatt 1982: 267.

37) It is generally understood that the Chinese primary schools in Malaysia were absorbed into the national system by the 1957 Education Act first, the Chinese secondary schools were absorbed into the national system by the 1961 Education Act second (Tan 1989: 61). In this regard, the case of School K is considered to be exceptional.

4. Chinese women on border

a) Practice one: maternal family

Suiyu³⁸⁾ came to the border town of Kelantan along with her mother and her grandmother in late 1940s when she was merely one year old. Her grandmother had migrated from Fujien province in China and her mother was born in the village 30 km away from Town A. Since her mother had divorced before they came to the border town, Suiyu was brought up without knowing father. As Suiyu says “My mother never had mentioned about my father. She raised me and my sister by herself.” Her mother had run a sundries shop along the river. Considering that the majority of the Chinese settlers came to the border town in 1950s and 1960s,³⁹⁾ Suiyu’s family can be considered as an earlier settler to the border town.

Suiyu went to the newly opened School K when she was eight years old. She remembers that her classmates came from the Narathiwat side by crossing the border river. “Almost half of my classmates were from there (Narathiwat). But in those days, it was just a matter of crossing a narrow river by sampan (boat). I never thought of it as a border ... I used to go for movies with my sister to the town across the Golok river. My house was on the river bank. From behind my house, we could call sampans at anytime. It took only a minute to the bank over there.” For little Suiyu, the place across the border was merely ‘a place across a narrow river’ just behind her house.

After her secondary education in Kota Bharu, she was asked to return to home to help her mother’s business. It was in the middle of the 1960s. Beside the sundries shop business, her mother crossed the border to take orders from the Narathiwat side. “With the orders from the border town of Thailand, my mother went to Kota Bharu to buy the requested commodities.⁴⁰⁾ She had always been back and forth. She had never been at home during the daytime. ... She spoke any languages such as Malay, Thai and Chinese dialects. ... My mother was a brave woman indeed.” Thus, her multiple language knowledge as well ‘braveness’ as a border-crosser helped a single mother’s business in the border town.

After the death of her mother, Suiyu shifted her family business into the fabric shop mainly targeting Muslim Malays, particularly from Southern Thailand. Thus, the business style entirely transformed from that of her mother’s. One thing she inherited from her mother was the way of recruit hands through mother-daughter relationship.

38) For protection of their own privacy, the individual names mentioned in this paper are pseudonyms.

39) According to the 1957 Census population, the Chinese population in Town A was 315 persons; this was much larger than the current Chinese population of 195 (Population Census 1957, Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia 2001).

40) Throughout the 1950s to 1970s, the town was flourishing with the border trade with Thailand. As many shop owners admit, they sold anything, from foodstuffs to the electrical products, depending on demand from the Thailand side. Due to the restricted import from China, there was a strong consumer demand for Chinese products in Southern Thailand.

As a single mother with two little daughters, her mother came to the border town to find means to survive and to earn a living. Suiyu inherited her mother's business with her husband who married into the Suiyu's family. Suiyu's husband was born to the Hokkien family in the same village where Suiyu was born. He married to Suiyu through matchmaking by a mutual friend of the two families. While Suiyu is busy dealing with her clients and salesmen, her husband always sits down quietly at the corner of the shop by reading newspapers. Thus, Suiyu has occupied a central place in family business. Now the tradition is passing on to her eldest daughter, who married a Kelantan Chinese working in Kuala Lumpur. While the husband can be back in the border town only on the weekend, the eldest daughter remains in the border town with her two sons.⁴¹⁾ Thus, the tradition of the maternal family is maintained until today.

b) Practice two: a Chinese girl with Malay name

The former teacher of School K, Lim *Laoshi*⁴²⁾ clearly remembers the students from Narathiwat. Among them, there was a Chinese girl studying under a Malay name. Yuxiang was born in the neighbouring town of Narathiwat, Thailand in early 1960s. By the time when she reached school age, nearby School K was already incorporated into government schools. As mentioned earlier, any chance to receive Chinese education in Thailand was hopeless.⁴³⁾ For the Chinese in Thailand who wished to have their children in Chinese educated, sending children to overseas was the only choice. Fortunately, Yuxiang was living in the border town of Narathiwat. School K was locating just across a narrow river.

When Yuxiang registered at the School K, her registered name was not 'Yuxiang' but was 'Zabidah', a name of a Malay girl. She was registered as a daughter of a Malay father in Kelantan. Yuxiang's father came to know her 'paper father' through his border business with Town A. He was asked by Yuxiang's father to register Yuxiang as his own daughter. However, one might ask, "how did her 'paper father' manage to get a birth certificate for a six-year-old girl?" That is simple. Since it had been normal to give a birth at home in 1960s, especially in kampung area, many did not register their children until the year of schooling. Nobody suspected anything about Yuxiang's 'paper father'. This is how Yuxiang gained a Malaysian birth certificate.

Recalling her primary school days, "In fact, I did not want to study Chinese at all. Even I hated that at the beginning. But my father wanted me to have Chinese edu-

41) According to her husband, he once asked his wife to leave for Kuala Lumpur. But this was rejected due to her strong commitment to her mother's business. However, recently, Suiyu's eldest son who is getting married with a Thai female from Chiang Rai, came back to the border town to help Suiyu's business. This event may lead to a new situation of the family business in the future.

42) Meaning 'teacher' in Mandarin.

43) There was a Chinese school that once operated in the border town of Narathiwat, but was closed in the late 1930s.

cated. Since he was a *Chong Guo Ren* or Chinese man from China, he was very serious about Chinese education.” Thus, her Malaysian birth certificate was merely a tool to receive a primary Chinese education in the border town of Kelantan. The irony is that although her aim was to receive mother tongue education, she studied Chinese as a Malay student instead of as a Chinese.⁴⁴⁾ After the graduation, Yuxiang continued her study at the private secondary school in Singapore with her real Thailand identification instead of using her ‘Malaysian Malay’ identification. Today, Yuxiang inherited her father’s trading business in the border town of Narathiwat. Thanks to her education in Malaysia, her multi-linguistic knowledge on Thai, Mandarin, and Malay is benefiting on her trading business. By contrast, her three children are educated in Thai, with little knowledge about Chinese.⁴⁵⁾

c) Practice three: a single mother with dual citizenship

Simei is in her early 30s and living in the town of Narathiwat with her two daughters studying at School K. Recently, she opened her own cake shop on the main street of the town. Simei was born in Padang Besar, another border town of Peris, as a daughter to a Sino-Thai father and Malaysian Chinese mother. As Simei remembers, her home at Padang Besar had always been in a Thai-speaking environment due to the Thai workers at her father’s sundries shop as well as the Thai-speaking relatives at home. It was natural for her to pick up Thai when she was little. After completing her primary education in Padang Besar, she left home for her secondary education in Penang. Soon after her graduation from the secondary school, she married a Chinese Malaysian working in Penang. However, her marriage didn’t last for long. After the birth of her second daughter, she divorced and moved into the border town of Narathiwat where her aunt runs a bakery.

As Simei confesses, “For me, both Thailand and Malaysia are the places where I belong.” Such dual attachment can be manifested not only by her family and educational background but also by her legal status, possessing both Malaysian and Thai citizenship. Since she was born in Malaysia, she is a natural Malaysia citizen.⁴⁶⁾ Meanwhile, because she was registered as a daughter of her father’s relative in Thailand, she gained Thai citizenship at the same time. Despite her status as being a ‘privileged’ dual citizen, she carefully uses her two identifications accordingly. Simei emphasizes that her Thai identity card is used only for her business such as purchasing properties

44) There was a similar case of a Chinese from neighbouring Narathiwat. He was registered as a child of his father’s friend in Kelantan. But in this case, he was registered as Chinese student because his “paper father” was Chinese. Now he became a successful businessman in Thailand.

45) Like many other places in Thailand, it is very normal for the third or the fourth generation of Chinese, or *Lukchin* (‘Child of Chinese’ in Thai) to be educated only in Thai (Bao 1994).

46) Citizenship law of Malaysia is based on ‘jus soli’. That is, people who born in soil of Malaysia is entitled to Malaysian citizenship. In addition to this condition, father or mother should be a Malaysian citizen or Permanent Resident (General Laws of Malaysia Vo. 1: 21).

in Thailand. When she crosses the border, she uses her Malaysian passport by renewing her visa once a month.⁴⁷⁾

Her daughters are future dual citizens too. Since they are born in Penang, they have Malaysian birth certificates, but they are also registered as daughters of Simei's relatives in Thailand. As Simei says "I am sure that their Thai Identity Card will help them (her daughters) in future. With two identity cards, they can live either in Malaysia or Thailand according to their will. Since my father gave me two identity cards, I also give them two." Like their mother, the sisters are living in both a Mandarin and Thai-speaking environment at home. But once they cross the border, they are switching into either Mandarin or Malay speaking environment at school. As Simei admits, having received five years secondary education in Chinese school in Penang brought her enthusiasm toward Chinese education. She is even considering her daughters' future education in Penang or Singapore.

Conclusion

a) Negotiating with the national boundary

As above, three experiences of the Chinese women on the Thai-Malaysian border were examined based on their personal narrations. Although these three women were all related to the same Chinese school in Town A, their backgrounds and experiences were entirely different. Nevertheless, it is clear that the national boundary between Malaysia and Thailand is the main boundary they faced with. Moreover, the experience of School K itself had to go through creating such boundary. The three Chinese women's stories, thus, precisely reflect different periods in the process of nationalization at School K.

With regard to the Suiyu's case, her experience in 1950s mirrors the pre-nationalization era at School K. Not only the evident that half of her classmates were border-crossers from Thailand, but also her feeling toward border as 'merely a narrow river' clearly demonstrate the location of School K within a living space beyond the national boundary. By contrast, Yuxiang's experience clearly reflects the transitional period in the process of nationalization at School K. The time when she attended School K was in early 1970s, a decade after the nationalization of School K. Her father's practice, using his Malaysian connection to acquire a fake identification for his daughter, was not alone. Such practices were seen generally, but probably until the 1970s. According to a former teacher at School K, there were numbers of the students from Thailand, who probably practiced the same method as Yuxiang. Lastly, Simei's experience particularly implies the contemporary situation in borderland. Her legal status as a dual citizenship represents a useful tool for the local inhabitants living in the border-

47) Other than renewing of the visa once a month, she becomes one of those 'Angkat Tangan' (hand raise) border crossers.

land. It can be explained by her personal experiences not only her education in Malaysia, but also her business in Thailand. Both Yuxiang and Simei’s cases demonstrate that the legal status plays as a tool to facilitate their border crossing. Each practice reflects the different conditions in the borderland with the times. Here, one should note that such practices of manipulating legal status are illegal in nature. Simei’s careful usage of her Thai identity card confirms her awareness of such risky nature.

The three women’s experiences interestingly reflect different stages in the process of nationalization of School K. On the surface, School K seems to have shifted its practice from inclusion to exclusion by incorporating into the national education system. In reality, however, both nationalization and denationalization are coexisted and contested in the borderland.

b) Borderland as a living space

Thus, the stories of three different Chinese women precisely illustrated that the national boundary between ‘us’ and ‘them’ is to be negotiated by the local people in the borderland. The idea of ‘living space’ came from such condition in which local people conveniently cross the border in their daily lives.

Here, we should make clear the mechanism of ‘living space’ from the local practices in Town A. The state’s control on human and goods flow, is one of the key factors to facilitate ‘living space’. That is, the selective control on the flows, according to its nature of flows, namely, local or non-local. As I mentioned earlier, actual state’s control on the flows can be witnessed at the checkpoints kilometers away from the border. In other words, actual practices of control on informal flows of human and commodity are not always conducted on the national boundary. It explains why Town A is able to sustain the way of economy depending on the informal flows, whilst smuggles of rice, drug, and arms can be controlled at the border police checkpoint. While the state delineated a clear boundary on the map, the actual practice by the state authority is creating a space of vacuum that allows various informal flows within the borderland. That vacuum is to facilitate the borderland as a “living space”.

Apart from the mechanism of ‘living space’ beyond the national boundary, the certain conditions of local inhabitants in ‘living space’ should be identified here. It can be summarized in three conditions, namely, trans-border connection (kinship, friend, business), multi-linguistic knowledge, and dual citizenship. Again using the three women’s experiences, it is to explain these conditions. With regard to the Suiyu’s case, although her mother started her business by her alone, her multi-linguistic knowledge helped her to construct business connection across the border. As for the Yuxiang’s case, her father used his business connection in Town A to acquire a fake birth certificate for his daughter to have Chinese education. As for the Simei’s case, her family background was already in dual national conditions, namely in-between Thailand and Malaysia. Being a single mother, she had to be a breadwinner to raise her children. Under such difficulties, her kinship connection as well as her dual citi-

zenship status made possible her business in the border town of Narathiwat. In addition to these conditions, their ethnic identity as Chinese demonstrated in their educational practices beyond the national boundary. Most important thing is that despite their identification toward Chinese education, Chinese identity is not necessary locating against that of Malay. The Yuxiang's case, in particular, manifests such positioning between Chinese and Malay. When Yuxiang's father asked his Malay counterpart, he obviously knew that her daughter would be registered under the Malay name. As long as Yuxiang's word, she didn't blame for what her father did. According to her former classmates in Town A, they still remember her nickname according her Malay registered name. Thus, within 'living space' beyond the border, the difference between Chinese and Malay seemed to be not contradicting, rather parallel. Even today, such condition can be identified.

c) Toward metaphorical notion of border

As I stated earlier, this study believes that both literalistic notion and metaphorical notion of border are closely intertwined on the Thai-Malaysian borderland. Since this paper mainly dealt with the experience of Chinese women at School K, the outcome is much related to the national boundary. In relation to the metaphorical notion of border, two contemporary issues at School K will be introduced briefly. Firstly, there is an increase of the Malay students. Secondly, there is another increase of the Chinese children living with non-local Thai mother in the border town of Narathiwat.⁴⁸⁾ Particularly, the increasing of Malay students is significant. While overall Chinese population is dropping in Town A, Malay enrolment is increasing.⁴⁹⁾ In Malaysia, Malay students who study at Chinese school are nothing new. There is estimation that about 10% of the student population at Chinese schools in Malaysia is non-Chinese.⁵⁰⁾ What is the particular thing at School K is that some of the Malay students at School K are from Thailand. Such phenomenon reflects the School K's location within a living space beyond the border. This exactly implies the parallel positioning among the different ethnicities within the living space that I mentioned earlier. To a degree, there is a condition to let people to choose various schools within a living space according to one's will. Due to the paper limitation, these two factors could not be examined in this paper. However, these contemporary phenomena enable us to explain that both

48) These families, I would say, are the products of the socio economic factor of the border town of Narathiwat. For Malaysian male, southern Thailand is the popular destination to enjoy 'beer and woman'. Many young women, mostly from Northern Thailand, came to Sungai Golok to work at the bars or massage parlors. These children are the result of the mix marriage, often *defact*, between Chinese Malaysian male from other states and Thai Thai-citizen female from Northern. Most of the cases are that while fathers are working in the big cities like Kuala Lumpur or Penang, probably they have families there, mothers raise children at the border town of Narathiwat. Since the living cost in Narathiwat is cheaper than Kelantan, the mothers and the children tend to stay in Narathiwat, but sending their children to Town A.

49) See Table 4.

50) The Straits Times. May 15, 2001.

the literal notion of border and the metaphorical notion of the border are coexisted, intertwined, and often crisscrossed. I will leave these matters as my future theme to develop the concept of 'living space'.

Thus, this study looked at the local livings at the border by examining the border as a "living space". While much of the debates about the border are focusing on the identity formation of the people who cross the 'painful' boundaries, little studies focus on the local people who live in the borderland. In other words, the people without mobility, but cross the border within the borderland everyday have not attracted the scholars who work on the border. Therefore, I hope this study will provide new perspectives on the borderland, particularly for the scholarship on Southeast Asia.

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Appendix

Table 1. Population of Town A by ethnic group in 2000

	Malays	Chinese	Indians	Others	Non-Malaysian citizens	Total
Town A	4040	195	1	8	258	4502
%	89%	4%	—	—	6%	100%

Source: Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia (2001)

Table 2. Transition of Chinese population in Mukim A

Year	1957	1970	1980	2000
Mukim A*	315	495	478	297

*Mukim (district) A is including bandar (town) A and surrounding rural area

Source: Department of Statistics (1957), Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia (1987), Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia (2001)

Table 3. Chinese population by age group in Town A

Age group	0–19	20–34	34–49	50–64	65–	Total
Chinese in Town A	46 (25%)	30 (16%)	46 (24%)	40 (21%)	28 (14%)	190

Source: based on the author’s field work in 2003

Table 4. Student population of School K by ethnic group

Ethnicity Year	Malays	Chinese	Others	Total
1988	57	61	7	125
1990	77	63	1	141
1993	140	42	3	185
1995	128	47	3	178
2002	105	49	7	161

Source: based on the data offered by School K

『歴史の精華』第三巻にみる
サファヴィー朝の政治文化に関する予備的考察

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Political Culture of the Safavid Dynasty
Reflected in the Third Volume of *Afzal al-tavārīkh*:
A Preliminary Study

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The purpose of the paper is to clarify the character of the elite culture of the Safavid Dynasty analyzing the description of the third volume of *Afzal al-tavārīkh* by Faḏlī Khūzānī al-Eṣfahānī.

Dr. Melville who discovered the manuscript already presented a highly valuable paper on its character. However much work is needed to recognize the specific features of the above-mentioned chronicle. In the paper, the following topics are discussed mainly in comparison with the description of Eskandar Beg's chronicle.

1. Description on family relationships. Faḏlī's chronicle contains much personal information on their kinship and marriage alliances; for example about the children of Amīr Ḥamze Ṭālesh, Moḥammad Solṭān Beygdeli and his brothers, and about the children of Bektāsh Khān *beglarbegī-ye* Marv. Faḏlī also tells about the patron-client relationships among *amīrs* in detail, most of which are unknown up to now because Eskandar Beg refers rarely to such things.

2. Description of the members of the royal household. Eskandar Beg gives few date on the family of Shāh 'Abbās and his haram. By contrast Faḏlī describes these things without hesitation. Especially interesting is his narrative of the events of the assassination of Ṣafī Mīrzā. Faḏlī gives a story that firstly Qarchaqāi Beyg, then Mīrzā Khān Ṭālesh were ordered to kill him but refused. The assassin, Behbūd was the third to be ordered to kill the prince. This is partly the same as Mīrzā Beg's chronicle but Faḏlī's description goes

Keywords: Persian Historical Sources, Kinship and Social Bonds, Safavid Royal Family, Provincial and Diplomatic activity, The Caucasus

キーワード: ペルシア語史料, 家族の紐帯, サファヴィー朝王室, 地方行政・外交, コーカサス

further and is more detailed. As for the loss of Prince Moḥammad's sight and treatment of blind princes, Faḡlī adds new information. Faḡlī often refers to the most powerful woman of the time, Zaynab Beygom, and to princesses in marriage with *vālī* family and powerful amirs. Faḡlī feels relatively free to describe 'Abbās I's reign since he worked in the provinces and after that spent his days in India.

3. One of the most important and meritable aspects for academic studies is the description of the local administration. It contains many personal names and offices thus seriously increases our knowledge of personal careers and the actual situation of local authorities and their relationship with local people. Faḡlī also frequently mentions diplomatic missions to the Ottomans and the Mughals, sometimes using the networks of his relatives of high rank in the central and provincial courts.

4. As a vazier of Barda' and Kakheti, Faḡlī's work on the Caucasus is especially worth mentioning. He even cites several Georgian words and gives us detailed information on Giorgi Saakadze (Mūrāv Beyg) and other Caucasians who had close relationship with Safavid powers. The revolt of the Georgians in 1625 caused Faḡlī's temporary unemployment. He gives very detailed information of this event.

Conclusion: All this is precious information for understanding the Safavid political culture of that time. Especially his reference to kinship and marriage alliances casts new light on the state of Safavid elite society. As well, the description of provincial officials and administration more acutely reflects the transition of Safavid policy into centric and so-called *khāṣṣe* administration than does Eskandar Beg's chronicle.

In short the third volume contemporary to Faḡlī's lifetime is the main volume in a true sense.

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I はじめに

1980年代以降、それまで停滞していたサファヴィー朝イラン研究は活性化し、歴史・文学から美術まで幅広いテーマが取り上げられるようになった。宮廷年代記や地方史料をはじめとする多くのペルシア語史料の公刊も進み、史料が不足していると考えられて

きた17世紀後半に関しても、オランダやイギリスの東インド会社に残された文書など、欧文史料を用いた新たな研究が次々に発表されている。また、旧ソ連地域における史料の利用と研究の参照も容易となりつつある。史料状況の変化と旺盛な研究熱に促され、諸学問を横断する研究成果を発表する場も増加した¹⁾。

このように、サファヴィー朝期イランに関する研究は近年大きく前進した。しかし、政治史に限定して言及すれば、必ずしも充実した成果をあげてきたとは言い難い。その要因の一つは、王朝の国家体制が宮廷中心の支配体制に移行したとされるシャー・アッバース一世期（1587-1629年）に関する研究の遅れにある。このため、16世紀から17世紀にかけてのサファヴィー朝の姿を連続して捉えた王朝史の構築は容易ではない。

王朝の画期とされるアッバース一世の42年にわたる統治であるが、意外にも、その治世を網羅した史料は多くは残されていない。エスキャンダル・ベイグ・トルキヤマーン Eskandar Beyg Torkamān によって記された『世界を飾るアッバースの歴史』(TAA)²⁾を除くと、アッバースの治世前半に関する数点の史料が知られるのみである。アッバースが信頼していた宮廷の天文長官 *monaj-jembāshī* ジャラルール・ウッディーン Jalāl al-Dīn による『アッバース史』(TA) は、別名『ジャラルールの日記』とも呼ばれるように、宮廷内部の様々な情報を日付入りで伝えるユニークな史料であるが、1020/1611年の記述を以って終了する。『サファヴィー家の庭園』(RS) はアッバース治世末期（1036/1626-27ないし1038/1628-29年）まで記述している³⁾。しかし、分量が少ないうえに、著者ミ

ールザー・ベイグ Mirzā Beyg の経歴がよく知られていないなど、質量ともに問題がある。したがって、いずれもアッバース時代の中央宮廷の変化を把握するに足る十分な史料とはいえない。

こうした状況の中、アッバース一世の治世初年度から最終年までを記録した大部なペルシア語年代記が、数年前にイギリスで発見された。これが、本稿で取り上げる『歴史の精華』第三巻(AT III)である。著者ファズリー Fazlī b. Zeyn al-‘Ābedīn Beyg Khūzānī (1593年頃誕生—1639年以降に死去) は、アッバース一世期に活躍したタージーク系官僚である。『歴史の精華』第1巻と第2巻第1部については、それぞれケンブリッジ大学図書館(Cambridge University Library, Eton-Pote ms. 172)と大英図書館(British Library ms. Or. 4678)に所蔵されている写本が知られてきた⁴⁾。しかし、著者にとって同時代の記述となる第三巻の存在が今回初めて公となったのである。

本稿は、この新発見写本の概要について紹介し、その史料価値を論じることを目的とする。

II 写本発見の経緯とその概要

発見者であるケンブリッジ大学教授メルヴ

- 1) 2002年9月、ロンドン大学で開催された「サファヴィー朝時代のイランと世界学会」*Iran and the World in the Safavid Age Conference*では、世界各国からサファヴィー朝研究者が一同に集い、4日間にわたって50本の研究報告と討論がなされた。2003年7月には「第4回サファヴィー朝研究円卓会議」*The 4th International Round-Table on Safavid Studies*がバンベルグ大学(ドイツ)で行われ、43名が研究発表をした。
- 2) エスキャンダル・ベイグは、シャー・アッバース一世の宮廷において書記官 *monshī* 職を務めた。同書は、サファヴィー朝の繁栄が頂点に達したとされるアッバース一世の治世を流麗な文体で描き出し、同王朝期を代表するペルシア語年代記として知られている。三部構成の体裁をとっており、第一部ではサファヴィー家の始祖からアッバース一世の即位に至るまでの事跡が記され、第二部においてアッバース一世の即位から統治30年目にあたる1025-26/1616-17年までの出来事が扱われる。そして第三部では1629年のアッバース一世の死をもって本文が終了する。同時代の記述である第二部、第三部のみならず、第一部に含まれる情報の重要性も指摘されている(Savory 1978-86, vol. 1, intro: 24)。装飾語句を多用した文体の難解さとは裏腹に、その記述のスタイルは事跡を年代順に平明に記述したもので、全体としてあくまで冷静な語り口が特徴である。
- 3) RS: 17; Storey 1972: 884.
- 4) 羽田 1987: 63; Melville 2003: 67.

イルは、この写本の由来、執筆の経緯や構成などについて詳細に記した論考を発表している (Melville 2003)。はじめに、写本発見の経緯と史料の概要について、同論文に基づき、簡便に紹介したい。

1997 年、ケンブリッジ大学クライスト・カレッジ図書館で『世界を飾るアッパースの歴史』の古写本を調べていたメルヴィルは、それが失われたと考えられてきた『歴史の精華』第三巻であることに気がついた。実は、この写本 (Library of Christ's College, Cambridge, Ms.Dd.5.6) は、高名なイラン文献学者ブラウンが作成したケンブリッジ大学所蔵ペルシア語写本カタログにおいて、『世界を飾るアッパースの歴史』として誤って記載されていたのである⁵⁾。氏はいち早く、学会で写本の概要について報告した⁶⁾。

写本のサイズは、34.7cm (縦) × 20.7cm (横) であり、縁取りされた文字を記す欄内 (23cm × 11cm) に本文が記されている。良質のインド製の紙片は 579 葉を数える。すなわち、1,000 ページを越す長大な作品である⁷⁾。作品中には推敲の途上と見られる箇所も多く、単線で消された記述や欄外の書き込みも多い。しかし、こうした加筆・修正は、AT III fol.420a 以降、事実上観察されず、小題が書き込まれる位置が空白のまま残されている場合も見られる。これらは、後で朱書きで入れるはずの部分が放置されたのであろう。また、人名の上には朱で線が引かれてい

るが、AT III fol.375b 以降、これも行われなくなる。興味深いことにこうした写本の特徴は、統治 30 年目と 31 年目の記述をほぼ境目 (AT III, fol.377a) として生じている。後述するが、これはエスキャンダル・ベイグの年代記との関連を示唆するものである。このように、写本は完成したものとは考えられない。一方で、修正された箇所も原文がほとんどが認識可能である。皮肉なことに、完成作品では削除された可能性もあるこうした記述が、史料の価値をいっそう高めている⁸⁾。

この第三巻の発見に伴い、これまで知られてきた第一巻、第二巻を含め、『歴史の精華』執筆過程についても、ある程度の推測が可能となった。第三巻の巻末には 1045 年ラビー第 1 月 17 日木曜日 (1635 年 8 月 31 日 [金曜日]) の奥付が付されている。しかし、自筆本とされる第二巻の写本に 1639 年の奥付があり、第三巻自体も編集途上にあると考えられることから、ファズリーが長年にわたり加筆・修正を繰り返していたことが明らかである。メルヴィルは、アッパース一世の統治 30 年までの出来事を伝える第三巻の前半部分は、おそらく作品全体の中で最も早く記された部分の改訂版であり、後半部は第一巻と第二巻の執筆後に記されたと推測している⁹⁾。

『歴史の精華』第三巻の構成は稿末の表に掲げた通りである。本文はアッパース一世の即位と反逆したアミールの処刑に関する記述で始まるが、AT III fols.7a–20a には 995 年

5) Melville 2003: 63. 後代に差し替えられた冒頭部で『世界を飾るアッパースの歴史』の序文が引用され、18 世紀にインドで写本が売買された時点ですでに『世界を飾るアッパースの歴史』の写本とされていたらしい (Melville 2003: 65, 67)。

6) Melville 1998; Melville 2003. 筆者は、2000 年 9 月、この写本の現地調査を行った。写本と未発表論考 (当時) の利用便宜を図ってくださったメルヴィル博士とクライスト・カレッジ図書館司書各位に深く感謝したい。

7) なお、筆者の手元にあるマイクロのフォリオ番号とメルヴィル博士が論文で用いている番号は AT III, fol.149b 以降異なる (メルヴィル氏の番号が一つ多い)。メルヴィル博士に問い合わせたが、解答を得ていない。現時点では確認できないが、近く予定されている CD-ROM による写本出版を待ちたい。

8) メルヴィル博士は称号などが消された箇所については、当該人物の失脚などが考えられると指摘している (Melville 2003: 70)。ただし、単純に文章の繰り返しを避けた箇所や、削除の理由が判然としない箇所も多い。

9) Melville 2003: 75.

シャアバーン月7日（1587年7月13日）の即位から1038年ジュマーダー第1月24日（1629年1月19日）の死去まで治世各年度ごとに要約が示されている。メルヴィルは冒頭部のインデックス *fehrest* を、ペルシア語年代記において極めて独特なものとして高く評価している¹⁰⁾。その後、各年度ごとに記述が続き、本文はシャー・サフィーの即位を受けて AT III fol.565a で終わるが、残りの14 フォリオ（AT III, fol.579a まで）にはアッパース一世在位時の高官の名前が列挙されている。

前述の通り、第三巻の写本は、アッパース一世の治世30年を区切りに編集上も分かれているが、これは、『世界を飾るアッパースの歴史』第二部、第三部と対応している。また、著者ファズリー自身がエスキャンダル・ベイグを直接知り、その年代記を参照しながら記述を進めていることについて本文中で度々触れている。例えば、ファズリーは、1017/1608-09年、ジャラーリー Jalālī 集団がオスマン朝から亡命して来朝した事件について詳しい記述を残している。この中で、宮廷の宰相ミールザー・ハーテム・ベイグ Mirzā Ḥātem Beyg がタブリーズで彼らをもてなした宴について、次のように記している。

「[高位の隠れ家] エスキャンダル・ベイグ書記官も、また、陛下の命令により [状況を記すために] 同席して、アーサフ Āṣaf の如きお方（＝ハーテム・ベイグ）のヴァズィールであるハージェ・シャハーブ・ウッディーン・ケルマーニー Khwāje Shāhāb al-Dīn Kermānī とともに [宴席においてペンのインク壺を持って] 立ち、その模様 *khaqāyeq* を記していた。宴席は書き表せないほどに飾られた。著者の兄弟モハンマド・ベイグ

Moḥammad Beyg もまた、この会合に加わっており、支出の管理を任されていた。おそらく、一部について情報を持っていなかったエスキャンダル・ベイグよりも、彼がよりよく記したかもしれない（AT III, fol.236a. なお、単線で消去されている箇所は [] で括弧で記した）」

このエスキャンダル・ベイグの経歴についてもファズリーは触れている（ただし、この箇所は全体が単線で消されている）。それによると、エスキャンダル・ベイグは、シャー・タフマースプ期にアゼルバイジャン州のヴァズィール職を務めたミールザー・アター・アッラー・フーザーニー Mirzā Aṭā Allāh Khūzānī（アッパース一世が即位して間もない時期の宮廷の宰相シャー・ヴァリー Shāh Valī の祖父¹¹⁾）の *gholām* であった。ファズリー自身、同族フーザーニー出身のアター・アッラーとの親族関係から、極めて近い関係 *nesbat-e ekhlāṣī* にあったとする¹²⁾。ファズリーは1025-26/1616-17年、ギャンジャ近郊ダーネギー Dāneqī 野営地でアッパース一世の治世から記述を始めたとしており、宮廷書記官として当時から高名なエスキャンダル・ベイグの作品を意識して執筆したことが想定される¹³⁾。もっとも、ファズリーの年代記は叙述のスタイルや情報の質量において、『世界を飾るアッパースの歴史』と大きく異なっている。これが意図的であったかどうかは判断し難いが、双方の記述を比較することで、アッパース一世期の国家変革の様相がより具体的に我々の前に立ち上がってくるのである。

この他、形式的な側面から注目される点として、アッパース一世の治世後半に関する記述の充実ぶりが挙げられる。エスキャンダ

10) Melville 2003: 77.

11) フーザーニー家の系図については、羽田 1987 を参照のこと。

12) AT III, fols.136a-b; Melville 2003: 86-87.

13) Melville 2003: 72.

ル・ベイグの年代記は治世前半の30年を記した第二部と残りの12年を記す第三部が校訂本の分量で約3:1(536頁と164頁、一年当たり約18頁が約14頁に減少する)であるのに対し、ファズリーは対照的に満遍なく記している(写本の比率で2:1, 714頁と377頁、一年当たり24頁から逆に31頁に分量が増加する)¹⁴⁾。アッパース一世の治世後半には、カンダハール征服(対ムガル朝, 1622年)、バグダード征服(対オスマン朝, 1625年)など、重要な対外戦争が続いたので、情報の欠を補う意義は極めて大きい¹⁵⁾。

III 記述内容の特徴:『世界を飾るアッパースの歴史』との比較を通して

この新史料に関して、前に述べたように、発見者であるメルヴィルによる詳細な紹介が存在する。その中では、記述内容の特徴についても検討されているので、本節の狙いについて、ここで触れる必要があるだろう。

メルヴィルは、ファズリーの年代記の特徴として、公文書を多く記載している点(Melville 2003: 79)、地方役人や名士について情報が多い点(Melville 2003: 80)について触れ、「ファズリーが述べている様々な都市における多くの任命は、他の同時代史料では全く触れられていない。したがって、地方と地域行政をより深く知ることが出来る」(Melville 2003: 82)と述べている。

また、「ファズリーは、彼が育ったグルジアにおける出来事との関連において、とりわけ、グルジア・カヘティの知事に6年間あったPaykar Khan Igrimi Durtのヴァズィールであった1025-34/1616-25年の間に関して、頻繁に自らについても言及している。」(Melville 2003: 89)とする。

さらに、結論で「彼の年代記に関する予備

的な考察により、もっとも価値ある独自の貢献は、地方行政や、官職の任免、パトロネージュのネットワークとサファヴィー朝統治システムにおける影響への我々の理解である。(Melville 2003: 90-91)」と、この作品の特徴についてまとめている。

筆者も、詳細 minor details (Melville 2003, p.82)にこだわる記述の数々を、この年代記最大の特徴とすることに、異論はない。ただし、残念ながら、こうした史料の特性について、前述の論考の中では十分に例示がなされていない。

メルヴィルは、この作品の特色を紹介するために、次の4つのエピソードを取り上げている。

1. シャー・アッパースの南イラン遠征 Shah 'Abbas's intervention in southern Iran (Melville 2003: 80-83)
2. ノグタヴィーの弾圧 Suppression of the Nuqtavis (Melville 2003: 83-84)
3. サールー・タギーの経歴 The career of Saru Taqi (Melville 2003: 85)
4. 自伝的記述 Autobiographical information (Melville 2003: 86-90)

この4つのエピソードのうち、自伝的記述を除いた3箇所は、メルヴィル自身が述べているように、近年サファヴィー朝研究の中で注目された事件や人物に関する記述である。ここでは、ファズリーの情報の独自性は実証されているものの、その記述の傾向については、あくまで断片的な指摘に留まっている。

氏が、史料の最大の特徴と結論付けるパトロネージュ・クライアント関係に関する記述や、地方行政に関する記述、コーカサス情報も、ファズリー個人の履歴に関する情報の紹介部分を除くと、例証に乏しく(引用のフォリオ番号が丁寧に記されている点を差し引いても)十全とは言いがたい。そして、後で指摘する

14) 計算に当たっては、冒頭部やインデックス、最後の高官一覧の箇所を省いた。

15) これは、ファズリー自身が一時的に失職した1625年のグルジア大反乱が詳述されるなど、著者の個人的背景も一因として考えられる。

ように、ファズリーの記述の特徴は、単に詳細さに留まるものではないのである。

本節では、情報そのものの独自性より、作品の傾向をより明確に示していると考えられる部分を取り上げる。便宜的に大きく4つのトピックに分類して、具体的に史料の記述を引用して、エスキャンダル・ベグの年代記など他史料の記述とも比較することで、考証を厚くしながら、より体系的な理解を試みたい。こうした作業を通じて、ファズリーの年代記の特徴がより明確になると考えられる。

1 家族関係に関する記述

ファズリーの年代記には、親族や婚姻関係など高官の家族的紐帯に関して、詳しい記述がみられる。これは、官選の正史という性格が濃厚な『世界を飾るアッパースの歴史』と大きく異なっている。以下に具体例をいくつか挙げてみよう。

アッパース一世の治世初期、カスピ海岸のターレシュ Tālesh 人を統べるアミール・ハムゼ Amīr Ḥamze は、アッパース一世に服従せず、オスマン朝に奔った。しかし、サファヴィー家に対するターレシュ人の貢献を考慮したアッパース一世は、ハムゼの息子たちに恩恵を施している。

「バーヤンドル・ハーン Bāyandor Khān の名で知られるミールザー・ハーン Mirzā Khān を百人長 *yūzbāshī* として、数年後、世襲の土地の支配を任せ、ホセイン・ハーン・シャームルー Ḥoseyn Khān Shāmlū の婿の栄誉を与えた。サールー・ハーン Sārū Khān をシェイハーヴァンド Sheykhāvand 集団のアラシュルー Arashlū のコルチの栄光ある部隊の百人長とし、バーヤンドル・ハーンの死後、ホセイン・ハーンの別の娘をサールー・ハーンに与え、ハーンの位を授けた。ミールザー・スルタン

Mirzā Solṭān とアリー・ハーン ‘Alī Khān は狩猟官 *mīrshēkār* に列せられ、天国で休息されている上様が神の恩寵のもとに達した年には、アリー・ハーンはギーラーン Gilān のラシュト Rasht のダールーグ *dārūghe* であった。このように (アミール・ハムゼ) ハーンの子息たちは皆、栄誉を見出した。(AT III, fol. 52b)」

ファズリーによれば、ホセイン・ハーン・シャームルーはアミール・ハムゼの説得に赴き、子供達を引き取り、宮廷にもたらした人物であった。したがって、ホセイン・ハーンがいわば後見人的立場にあったことが、こうした記述から伺われる。エスキャンダル・ベグも、アミール・ハムゼがオスマン朝に寝返った経緯については詳細に記している。また、ホセイン・ハーンが、砦に籠ったアミール・ハムゼの求めに応じて開城の責任者を務めたことも伝えている。しかし、彼の息子たちに関しては、アッパース一世が死去した時、アースタラーの統治者としてサールー・ハーンが言及されているに過ぎない (TAA: 441–443, 1086)。エスキャンダル・ベグは、ホセイン・ハーン・シャームルーとその後の婚姻関係について一言も触れていない¹⁶⁾。

キズィルバシュの名族シャームルー部ベグデリー Beygdeli 族のモハンマド Moḥammad とその兄弟は、アッパース一世からシャー・サフィー治世初期に活躍したが、彼らの経歴についても、次のように記している。

「上様もまた、カラパフで冬営され、アゼルバイジャン地方でもっとも素晴らしいその地域で狩猟に興じた。アッラーヴェルディ・ハーン Allāhverdi Khān やコルチ軍長官 *qūrčībāshī* のアッラーゴリー・ベグ Allāhqoli Beyg、ナド

16) ファズリーは、この他にも、サールー・ハーンとコルチ軍長官イーサー・ハーン ‘Īsā Khān との姻戚関係についても触れている (AT III, fol.494b)。

ウル・ハーン Nadr Khān や近習達、とりわけ、モハンマド・ベイグ・ベイグデリーがお傍に仕えた。モハンマド・ベイグは、その頃、自らは王権の柱石となり、兄弟であるグルーガン Gūrghān 知事のサールー・スルタン Sārū Solṭān, 上様の神聖なるハラムの侍従 *ishikāqāsi* であるヘイダル・スルタン Heydar Solṭān, 大砲隊長 *sarkār-e tūp* で、ウルミエ城砦での働きにより、この頃、城の占領の後、ハーンの称号を得て、その地域の統治に勤しんでいたガパーン・ベイグ Qapān Beyg や式部長官 *tūshmālbāshi* のゼイナル・ベイグ Zeynal Beyg は、世界の王者の恩寵に預かっていた。皆、かつてホセイン・ハーン・シャームルーの従者であり、前述のように僕に列せられ、側近として信頼されていたのである。(AT III, fol.257b)」

エスキャンダル・ベイグも、この兄弟達がシャールの側近としてウルミエ攻略で果たした役割を伝え、また、モハンマド・ベイグが死に際して息子が無く、ヘイダル・スルタンに遺産が継承された点など、ファズリーの記していない記述も残している。しかし、初出する治世 11 年目の時点でモハンマド・ベイグはすでにシャールのもとに仕えており、ホセイン・ハーンとの関係については触れていない (TAA: 535, 807–811, 820)¹⁷⁾。

以上のような親族的なまともに関する記述からは、当時の政治エリートのリクルートシステム的一端も明るみに出る。注目されるのは、アッパース一世の「引き抜き」である。アッパース一世期以降台頭したゴラーム集団

においても、兄弟が皆登用される例は頻繁にあるが、これらは、アッパース一世が認めた一家を丸ごと召抱えるという当時の政治文化が反映されていると考えられる¹⁸⁾。1024/1615–16 年、モハンマド・ベイグもかつて仕えたヘラート総督ホセイン・ハーンに対して、宮廷の僕 *bandegān-e khāṣṣe* に列するためにシャームルー部の有望な若者 12 人を宮廷に送るよう命じたとファズリーは述べている。(AT III, fol.352a)。これは当時の政治習慣を如実に反映していた。すなわち、家族関係が政治エリートの根本にあり、また、アッパース一世自身も、様々な社会集団の中から特定エリート家系を創出して優遇しながら、そのバランスの維持に腐心していたと考えられるのである。

このように、ファズリーは親族関係を中心とするコネクションについて、躊躇せずに記している。とりわけ、注目できることは、母方の親類関係に関する記述である。例えば、アッパース一世の治世 23 年目 (1018/1609–10 年) にマルヴ Marv の支配を委ねられていたベクターシュ・ハーン Bektāsh Khān が死亡した際には、『世界を飾るアッパースの歴史』では、その政治経歴が細かく記されている (TAA: 804)。一方、ファズリーは次のように記している。

「その後、ベクターシュ・ハーンの息子達が御前に達し、コルチ軍長官とベクターシュ・ハーンに育てられた百人長イーサー・ハーン・ベイグ Īsā Khān Beyg の仲介により、拜謁の榮譽を得た。モヘブ・アリー・ベイグ Moḥeb ‘Alī Beyg の母親はハーン・ジューガーズ・ベイグ・ガージャール Khān Jūqāz Beyg

17) ファズリーは 1006/1597–98 年に関する記事でも、「かつてハサン・ハーン・シャームルー Ḥasan Khān Shāmlū の従者であり、兄弟のヘイダル・スルタン、サールー・スルタン、ガパーン・ハーン、ゼイナル・ハーンとともに、(シャール・アッパース一世が) 前述のハーンから獲得して従者となり、王権の柱石の称号を得ていたモハンマド・ベイグ・ベイグデリーをラーリャーン開城の担当者として送ることを決定した」(AT III, fol.105a) と同様の内容を述べている。こうした繰り返しもファズリーの年代記には良く見られる。

18) 前田 1999; Maeda 2003.

Qājār の姉妹であり、コルチ軍長官はガージャール部との関係から¹⁹⁾、彼に他の息子達より目をかけたため、[たとえ年齢が8歳で兄弟や兄弟の子供達が彼より年長であっても、モヘブ・アリー・ベイグの知性と力は子供ながらも上様の気に入られ] 彼をオスタージュルー Ostājlu のコルチの百人長として、ハーソンの従者の一軍をコルチとした。長兄キヤルブ・アリー・ベイグ Kalb ‘Ali Beyg もまた、コルチに列し、彼の配下としたが、俸給は百人長と同じとした。ベクターシュ・スルタンの息子達 [ゾルファガール・アリー・ベイグ Zū al-Faqār ‘Ali Beyg とユーソフ・アリー・ベイグ Yūsuf ‘Ali Beyg を偉大なるアーガーに列して、大いに恩恵に与らせて] と (?) ガンバル・アリー・ベイグ Qanbar ‘Ali Beyg とビーラーム・アリー・ベイグ Bilām ‘Ali Beyg もまたアーガーに列して、それぞれに応じて好意に預からせた (AT III, fol.249a)。

ここでは、単に兄弟の経歴を書き連ねるだけでなく、母親の違いにより、待遇が異なるとする事例が取り上げられている。もちろん、ファズリーの情報を全て事実として受け入れるには慎重でなければならない。常に他史料も参照して事実確認を心がける必要がある。ただし、エスキャンダル・ベイグも、モヘブ・アリー・スルタンがアッパース一世の死去時にホラーサーンのネサー Nesā を統治していたことを伝えている (TAA: 1085)。パトロン・クライアント関係の核心にある親族関係を具体的に語るファズリーの年代記は、当時のサファヴィー朝国家体制における権力構造を解き明かす上で、貴重な情報を提供する。さらに、ファズリーの個人的経歴や血族に関する強い関心は、王家に関しても発

揮されており、こうした記述はとりわけ注目できる。

2 王族に関する記述

サファヴィー朝イラン史研究の碩学ファルサフィー N. Falsafi が、ペルシア語ならびに欧文史料を駆使して、シャー・アッパース一世に関する情報を纏め上げた著作が『シャー・アッパース一世の生涯』*Zendegāni-ye Shāh ‘Abbās-e Avval* である。この大著の中で、アッパース一世の私生活に関する記述を参照すると、そのほとんどが西欧人旅行者の記録に頼っている事実が驚かされる。晩年、自身の後継者のほとんどを処刑あるいは盲刑に処したアッパース一世の家族関係について、エスキャンダル・ベイグの筆が鈍ったであろうことは想像に難くない。ファズリーの記述も、体系的なものとは決して言いがたいが、王子の誕生や後宮に関する記述など、多くの情報を補うことが出来る。

アッパース一世期において王室内で発生した最大の出来事は、長子で後継者と目されていたモハンマド・バーゲル (サフィー) Moḥammad Bāqer (Šafi) 王子が、1024/1615年に殺害された事件であろう。エスキャンダル・ベイグは、この事件の記述を忌避している感がある。彼によれば、太子の叛意を告げる側近の言葉に、アッパース一世は最後まで耳を傾けなかったが、チェルケス系ゴラームが単独で犯行に及んだとしている (TAA: 883-884)。一方、ファズリーによれば、王子の行状に不信感を持ったシャーは殺害を決意し、はじめにガルチャガーイー・ベイグ Qarchaqāi Beyg、ついでミールザー・ハーソン・ターレシュに白羽の矢を立て、実行を命じたが断られたとする。最終的に請け負ったのがチェルケス系のゴラーム、ベフブード Behbūd であった (AT III, fols.338a-b)。

たしかに、ファズリーの記述はエスキャン

19) 当時のコルチ軍長官はガージャール部出身のアッラーゴリー Allāhqolī であった。

ダル・ベイグのそれに比べるとあまりに叙述的である。もっとも、ファズリー、エスキヤンダル・ベイグ共に実行役をベフブードとし、その理由を太子との近さゆえにシャーの寵を失っていたチェルケス系ゴラームの名誉回復であったとしており、この点では一致している。ベフブードが太子暗殺後もアップスー一世に仕えて地方総督などを歴任したことはエスキヤンダル・ベイグも伝えており、アップスー一世が命じたとするファズリーの記述はより説得力がある。そして、ミールザー・ベイグも側近との相談の上でベフブードに命じたと記している (RS: 850–52)²⁰⁾。このように、アップスー一世治世最大の出来事における、「正史」エスキヤンダル・ベイグとファズリーの記述の鮮やかな対比は、その史料価値を雄弁に物語っている²¹⁾。

また、常に関連する人物情報を事細かに伝えるファズリーの作品の特徴は、第三子と考えられているモハンマド王子を盲刑に処した際の処置からも読み取ることが出来る。

「この年 (1029/1620–21 年)、上様の御心は子息で王朝の後継者であるスルタン・モハンマド王子 Solṭān Mīrzā Moḥammad の行状のため安らぐことがなかった。(中略) 世界を見る目を削り貫くことを望み、モスタファー Moṣṭafā 王子の娘で、ゾルファガール・ハーン

Zū al-Faqār Khān が 1026 年巳年に殺害された後、彼と結婚していた正妻サーレヘ・スルタン・ベイゴム Ṣāleḥe Solṭān Beygom とともに、天国の徴マーザンダラーンから王都エスファハーンに送り、毎年 1560 トマンの年金をアーサフ・ミール・モイーン Āṣaf Mīr Mo‘īn に決済することとした²²⁾。(中略) 上様の叔父であるスルタン・アリー Solṭān ‘Alī 王子やその息子スルタン・モスタファー Solṭān Moṣṭafā 王子、上様の兄弟であるアブー・ターレブ Abū Ṭāleb 王子やタフマースプ Ṭahmāsp 王子が前述の都に滞在したため、シャイフ・アフマド・アーガー Shaykh Aḥmad Āqā の邸宅を改築して、視力を奪われた王子達はそこで生活するように定められた。かつてアリーゴリー・ハーン ‘Aliqolī Khān の従者で、宮廷の侍従に列せられており、*tasme qarn?* の名で知られるアリー・ベイグ・シャームルー ‘Alī Beyg Shāmlū が王子たちの師父に任じられ、陛下の御心は安らぎを得た (AT III, fols.415a–b)。」

このように、単に王子を盲刑に処したことを記すだけでなく、一連の処置や、他の王子の動向についても情報を伝えている。アップスー一世即位前後に、王位継承のライバルで

- 20) 後で触れるガルチャガーイーのオスマン朝への出奔事件など、ファズリーとミールザー・ベイグの作品には (エスキヤンダル・ベイグが記していない事件において) 似通った記述が見られる。執筆年代から考えれば、ミールザー・ベイグの年代記をファズリーが引用した可能性も否定は出来ないが、世間で俎上にのぼっていた話を別個に書き留めたとも考えられる。しかし、いずれにせよ、暗殺を依頼された人物としてゴラームだけではなく、ターレシュのアミールでシャームルーの婿であった人物に言及する点も含めて、その語り口は大きく異なる。
- 21) ちなみに、ファズリーは、縁深かったキズィルバシュ・アミールが太子周辺に仕えていたためにシャーの寵を回復できなかった事例を具体的に紹介するなど、(説話的記述ではなく) あくまで歴史叙述のスタイルを崩さずに事件について詳述している。なお、ファズリーは続けて、「この出来事の後、故王子の遺児である当時 4 歳のソレイマーン Soleyman 王子と 2 歳のサム Sām 王子 (後のシャー・サフィー) を、彼らの母親で正妻であるエスマーイール Esma‘īl 王子の娘ファフル・ジャハーン・ベイゴム Fakhr Jahān Beygom は、エスファハーンへ連れて行き、養育するように定められた (AT III, fol. 339a)」と記しているが、ファルサフィーはサム王子の母親をチェルケス系としている (Falsafi 1371: 541)。
- 22) なお、ファズリーは、この女性が前夫との間にバイラーム・ベイグ Bayrām Beyg と一人の女兒をもうけていたことも伝えている (AT III, fol.260b)。

あったアブー・ターレブ王子やタフマースプ王子について、エスキャンダル・ベイグはアッパース一世の即位後はほとんど触れていない²³⁾。

キズィルバーシュ・アミールの母方の親族関係について前に触れたが、エスキャンダル・ベイグと比べて、女性に関する記述が多い点が、この史料の特徴の一つに挙げられる。後宮を統べていたアッパース一世の叔母ザイナブ・ベイゴム *Zaynab Beygom* についても、ファズリーはより多くの情報を伝えている。カーシャーン *Kāshān* が彼女に与えられていたことは他の史料からも知られるが、ヴァズィールとダールーガの任命を具体的に伝えているほか (AT III, fol.61b)、ヤズドのゾロアスター教徒のジズヤに関する記事やシャーとの対立と和解²⁴⁾ など、興味深い記事が多く見られる (AT III, fols.135b, 222b, 224a, 245b, 248a)²⁵⁾。

サファヴィー朝の王女が、ヴァーリー *vālī* と呼ばれた世襲の境域君主に与えられた例は、よく知られている。例えば、アッパース一世の治世初期、反乱を起こしていたロルの統治者シャーヴェルディー *Shāhverdi* が一旦帰順した際には、彼らが預言者の一族に連なり、遠い親戚に当たるとして赦し、アッパース自らその姉妹を娶る一方、バーゲル・ザマーン *Bāqer Zamān* 王子の娘を与えた (AT III, fol.53b)。同時期、中央集権化の中で焦点の一つとなったギーラーン制圧では、タフマースプ期以来のサファヴィー家と君主の婚姻が一つの焦点となった。

また、アラベスターンの統治者セイイェド・モバーレク *Seyyed Mobārek* の息子ナーセル *Nāṣer* には自らの娘シャー・ベイゴム *Shāh Beygom* を降嫁し、モバーレクの息子が死去した際にはナーセルを帰郷させた (AT III, fols.245b, 247a, 311a, 324b, 404a)。また、後でも触れるが、コーカサスに関しては、グルジアのシモン二世に、アッパース一世の娘とコルチ軍長官イーサー・ハーンとの間に生まれたジャハーン・バーヌー・ベイゴム *Jahān Bānū Beygom* を降嫁した出来事が特に詳細に記されている。

もっとも、内政を考慮すれば、こうした諸君侯への腰入れと並んで政治的に大きな意味を持ったのは、臣下であるアミールへの王女降嫁であった。例えば、アッパース一世の師父でその即位直後に権勢を振るったモルシェドゴリー・ハーン・オスタージュルー *Morshedqolī Khān* に関して、ファズリーは次のような興味深い記述を伝えている。

「モルシェドゴリー・ハーンは故スルタン・ヘイダル王子 *Soltān Heydar Mirzā* の娘と結婚することを目論んだ。神の影であらせられる陛下も許可を与えたが、故王子の後宮にいた娘の母親はこの婚姻に許可を与えなかった。陛下は許しを得るためにたびたび大叔母の家に赴いたが、この自尊心の強い女性はモルシェドゴリー・ハーンを婿とすることに同意しなかった。」「マフムード・ハーン *Maḥmūd Khān* はモルシェドゴリー・ハーンに次のような意味のことを告げ

23) ファルサフィーはアラムートに送られたとしている (Falsafi 1371: 548)。なお、上に引用したファズリーの記事と同じ年 (アッパース一世の治世 34 年目) に、アブー・ターレブ王子がアラムートで病死したことをエスキャンダル・ベイグが伝えている (TAA: 955)。事実の確定には、他史料とのより詳細な照合が必要であろう。

24) 「グルジアへ向かった時から会うことがなかったザイナブ・ベイゴムの元へ赴き (AT III, fol.540b)」と記している。

25) ザイナブの母方の甥の活動が記されている。「上様の敬愛する叔母ザイナブ・ベイゴムの母方の叔父の子 *pesar-e khālū* である、ゴラームのダルー・ダルヴィーシュ *Dalū Darvish* にナフジェヴァーン *Nakhjevān* に赴き、住民を移動させ、渡河させるように命じた。(AT III, fol. 352b)」ザイナブはシャー・タフマースプとグルジア系の母親から生まれたとされるが、従兄弟がゴラームとして活動したという記録は管見の限り他史料には見られない。Cf. Szuppe 1995: 100–102.

た。神の影であらせられる陛下のあなたに対する感情が損なわれているならば、王 *pādshāh* の名をスルタン・ハムゼ王子 *Soltān Ḥamze Mirzā* の息子エスマーイール王子 *Esmā'il Mirzā* に委ね、グルジア人 *Gorjī* のクースタンディール王子 *Kūstandil Mirzā* の姉妹である彼の母親と結婚してはどうか (AT III, fol.24b)」

モルシェドゴリーが王族との婚姻を希望した点について、エスキャンダル・ベイグは全く触れていない。さらに、ハムゼ王子がグルジア・カルトリ王シモン一世とグルジア・カヘティ王アレクサンドレ二世の娘を娶っていたことは知られているが、具体的に王子を儲けていたことは、この史料のみが伝える独自の情報である²⁶⁾。また、王族女性の強い発言力を伝えるこの記述は、それ自体がたいへん興味深い。

このモルシェドゴリーの処刑を命じることで、アッパース一世は支配者としての権威を大いに高めた。実際、暗殺実行者たちは皆、出世の糸口を掴んでいる。その中でも、とりわけ、ホラーサーン時代からの股肱の臣であるハサン・ベイグ・チャーヴォシュル *Ḥasan Beyg Chāvoshlū* には重要州ハマダーン *Hamadān* を与えている。さらに、ヘイダル王子の婿とした (AT III, fol.25b35b-36a)²⁷⁾。

また、モルシェドゴリーを処刑後、キズィルバーシュの大立者として君臨したファルハード・ハーン *Farhād Khān* の弟ゾルファガール・ハーンに、アルダビール *Ardabil* にモガーナート *Moghānāt* とゲゼルアーガージュ *Qezelāqāj* を併せて与え、モスタファー

王子の娘と結婚させた。この時、ファルハードが準備を請け負って、ガズヴィーンで盛大な祝宴が催されている (AT III, fol.49a)。エスキャンダル・ベイグは前任者マフディーゴリー *Mahdiqoli* の処刑についてはより詳細に触れているが、ゾルファガール・ハーンの任命と婚姻については沈黙している²⁸⁾。これは、ファルハードとゾルファガールの兄弟が、後にそれぞれ処刑されたことに関連している可能性もあるが、そもそも、エスキャンダル・ベイグは政治的事件のみを記す傾向がある。ファズリーは、各年度の動きの中できちんところとした点について記しているの、アッパースの政治的意図について、より詳しく把握することが可能となるのである²⁹⁾。

3 行政・外交に関する記述

ファズリーはその生涯の大部分を地方官僚として過ごしており³⁰⁾、メルヴィルも指摘するように、地方行政や官職の任免に関して詳細な記述を残している。とりわけ、任地として過ごした北西イラン・ユーカサスについて詳しい。例えば、シールヴァーン *Shīrvān* の再征服直後の記述を見てみよう。

「総督 *beyglarbeygī* (=オスマン朝の司令官) のトユールであったシャマーヒー *Shamākhi* とその周辺の軍勢の指揮権をゾルファガール・ハーン・ガラーマンルー *Qarāmānlū* に授けた。サールー・ハージェ *Sārū Khwāje* の叔父であるハージェ・スルタン・ハサン・ガズヴィーニー *Khwāje Soltān Ḥasan Qazvinī* をヴァズィールに昇格させ、ハージェ・モハンマド・レザー *Khwāje Moḥammad*

26) Maeda 2001: 163.

27) エスキャンダル・ベイグも、ハサン・ハーンの死亡記事の中でヘイダル王子の娘と結婚し、晩年をサーヴェにある彼女の私有地で過ごしていたことを記している (TAA: 1042)。しかし、結婚の時期については明らかにしていない。

28) TAA: 439-440, 442 ですでにアゼルバイジャン総督としてゾルファガール・ハーンが登場する。

29) ちなみに、TA にも、女性を含めた王族の動向について比較的詳しい記述が見られる。

30) 親族や兄弟は中央宮廷の役職を歴任している。

Rezā を宮廷の従者として、アゼルバイジャン地方のすべての羊頭税 *chūpānbeygī* を委ねた。サファヴィー家の神聖な敷居の管財人職は、ゾルファガール・ハーンを通して、アブダール・ベイグ・ターレシュ Abdāl Beyg Ṭālesh-ī-Shayf・ザーヘド・ギーラーニー Sheykh Zāhed Gilānī の子孫を自認し、ヘラート Herāt 遠征において恩寵を受け、この頃、兄弟のシェイフ・シャリーフ・ベイグ Sheykh Sharīf Beyg や甥のチェラーグ・ベイグ Cherāgh Beyg と共に宮廷のコルチに列せられた一に委ね、教導の街アルダビールを王領地としてダールーゲ職を管財人アブダール・ベイグの責務とし、ハーレセ地の歳入を常勝軍のトユールとした。サラーブ Sarāb をシャー・ナザル・スルタン・バーパルダルー Shāh Nāzar Solṭān Bāpardalū のトユールに、オンクート Onkūt をマンスール・スルタン・チャムシュガザーグ Maṣṣūr Solṭān Chamshqazāq に授けた。ゾルファガール・ハーンのトユールであったムガン王領地にして、歳入をキャランタル *kalāntar* のチューパーン・ベイグ Chūpān Beyg におわせた。八万家屋のダールーゲ職をマンスール・ハーン・ベイグ・シャームルー Maṣṣūr Khān Beyg に授けた。ファルハード・ハーンの本拠地であったゲゼルアーガージュをランギアル・コナーン Langar Konān とともにゾルファガール・ハーンのトユールとして、セフィード・ダシュト Sefīd Dasht とオウジュルード Oujrūd? をかつてファルハード・ハーンのヴァキール *vakīl* であり、その頃、ターレシュのコルチの百人長に任じられていたヤードガル・アリー・ベグ・ターレシュ Yādgar ‘Alī に与えた。アースターラー Āstārā は、ファルハード・ハーンの近臣であったアヒー・スルタン・チ

ャーキャルルー Akhī Solṭān Chākīrlū のトユールとして、スルタンの列に編入した。アンハール Anhār とマザーレ・モガーナート Mazār-e Moghānāt をセイエディー・スルタン・ハブーシュルー Seyyedī Solṭān Khabūshlū? に与え、アゼルバイジャンに存在したゾルファガール・ハーンのトユール地はこのように分割された。そして門の中の門（＝ダルバンド Darband）の統治権をチェラーグ・スルタン・ゲラーンパー・オスタージュルー Cherāgh Solṭān Gelānpā に授け、小銃軍の百人長シャーナザル・ベイグ・タヴァッコリー Shāh Nāzar Beyg Tavakkolī を「宮廷に仕えるよう定められていた」ルームルー Rūmlū とバヤート Bayāt の一団と共にダルバンド城砦防御の任にあたせた。彼らの俸給にはハージェ・モハンマド・レザーの責務としてアゼルバイジャンの羊頭税から割り当て、毎年城砦に送られるように定められた。パークー Bādkūbe 地方はガンジャ城でアフマド・パシヤによって殺害されたロスタム・スルタン・ソグルン Rostam Solṭān Soghlun の息子オンマト・スルタン Ommat に油田三箇所と共に与えられた。毎年 800 トマンの収入になるハルギー Khargī 油田をハーッセとして定めた。(AT III, fols.218b-219b)」

このように、単にゾルファガールがシールヴァーン総督に任命されたことを伝えるだけでなく、彼の前任地であるアルダビールの権益や、シールヴァーンに連なる諸地域の統治権にまで、詳細に記している。さらに、注目されるのは、税額について具体的に述べている点であろう。税収を徴収する側、受け取る側など、配分の流れにも言及しており、引用した部分からも垣間見れるように、地方行政官らしい記述である。より詳細な研究が必要であるが、この史料の発見によって、サフ

ァヴィー朝行政についての知見が大いに増すことは疑いがない。

実際、エスキャンダル・ベイグは、統治権を担った有力アミールの任免に注意を払い、首都エスファハーンのダールーゲについてすら、ほとんど触れていない。したがって、彼の記述からは、王領地化など集権策が進んだアッパース一世期における改革の正確な姿を見ることは難しい。その点、王領地のダールーゲやキャランタルについても触れるなど、地域に密着した細かい記述を心がけており、人物に関する情報も豊富であるので、より詳細な把握を可能とする。

ファズリーは、王朝の外交政策に関しても、豊富な記述を残している。それは、彼の親族の経歴とも無関係ではないだろう。叔父ミールザー・ベイグ *Mirzā Beyg* は、オスマン朝領と接し、実際に使節として派遣されたイエ

レヴァン総督シャーゴリー・ハーン・オスタージュルー *Shāhqoli Khān* のヴァズィール職を務めていた。ファズリーの父も、アッパース一世治世初期、オスマン朝に人質として送られたヘイダル王子に同行している。ファズリーはこの使節団に関して、現在も父の手による旅行記が残っていると記し、自身も比較的詳しく触れている (AT III, fol.25a)。同様に、ゾルファガール・ハーンがオスマン朝への使節として派遣された際には、贈答品の準備の模様などについても詳述している (AT III, fol.88a-93a)。

こうした長所が発揮されているのは、インド関係の記述である。これは、彼自身が晩年をムガル朝宮廷で過ごしたと無縁ではないと考えられる。本文中に写し *naql* の語を用いて引用されている文書は、管見の限り次のとおりである。

1615-16 年	ティムール朝の結晶 <i>kholāṣe-ye dūdman-e gūrgānī</i> ジャハーンギール <i>Jahāngīr</i> 王宛で、燭台持ち <i>mash'aldār</i> のモハンマド・レザー・ベイグ <i>Moḥammad Rezā Beyg</i> が携えた上様の親書の写し (AT III, fols.341a-342a?) ³¹⁾
1616-17 年	セイイェド・ハサン・モサーエド・タブリーズィー <i>Seyyed Ḥasan Tabrizī</i> がジャハーンギール王宛てに携えた書記官エスキャンダル・ベイグの起草になる上様の親書の写し (AT III, fols.374a-375b) ³²⁾
1618-19 年	栄光 <i>ṣobḥānī</i> の影なる陛下宛ての婿 <i>gūrgānī</i> ジャハーンギール王の親書の写し (AT III, fols.395a-396b) ³³⁾
1618-19 年	ジャハーンギール王宛てに記され、アーガー・ベイグ <i>Āqā Beyg</i> が携えた、天空の従者であらせられる上様の親書の写し (AT III, fols.397b-399b)
1618-19 年	ジャハーンギール王からインドの野生動物を求めることに関して、燭台持ちのモハンマド・レザー・ベイグ宛てに発令された栄光の陰なる上様の運命が従うところの命令書の写し (AT III, fol.403a)
1619-20 年	ヌール・ウッディーン・ジャハーンギール王宛てで、ゼイナル・ベイグ・シャームルーが携えた上様の親書の写し (AT III, fols.406a-407b) ³⁴⁾
1622-23 年	(題名は空白) カンダハール征服に関するアッパース一世の親書の写し (AT III, fols.438a-439a) ³⁵⁾
1622-23 年	カンダハール占領後、ジャハーンギール王が上様に宛てて記し、ゼイナル・ベイグが携えた親書の写し (AT III, fols.440a-441b) ³⁶⁾

31) Navā'ī 1367, vol. 3: 307-308; Islam 1970: 76-77.

32) Navā'ī 1367, vol. 3: 308, 411-413; Islam 1970: 77.

33) Navā'ī 1367, vol. 3: 305-308, 407-410.

34) Navā'ī 1367, vol. 3: 308-309, 414-416; Islam 1970: 78.

35) Navā'ī 1367, vol. 3: 309-310, 418-20; Islam 1970: 83. Cf. 近藤 2000: 95-98.

36) Navā'ī 1367, vol. 3: 310-313, 421-423; Islam 1970: 83-84. AT III, fols.451a-452b で「ジャハ

1625-26 年	ジャハーンギール王への上様の手紙 raq'e (AT III, fol.491a)
1627-28 年	(題名は空白) ジャハーンギールからの親書 (AT III, fols.544b-545b) ³⁷⁾

親書以外にも、使節に対するアッパース一世の命令書も含まれている。また、AT III fol.429a からはゼイナル・ベグを大使としてインドに派遣した際のやり取りが克明に記録されている。この間、サファヴィー朝は、ムガル朝からカンダハールを奪取し、厳しい外交交渉となったゼイナルの使節は他の史料でも良く知られている。しかし、メルヴィルが指摘するように、ファズリーは直接ゼイナルと深い関係を有していただけにその記述は貴重である³⁸⁾。

4 コーカサス情報

『世界を飾るアッパースの歴史』も、アッパース一世の北西イラン・コーカサスにおける軍事行動について、詳しく述べている。しかし、『歴史の精華』第三巻は、実際にこの地の行政の文官最高責任者（ファズリーはカラバフ Qarābāgh 州バルダ Barda' とグルジア・カヘティ Kakheti のヴァズィール職を務めた）の地位に就いていた人物が、直接執筆した作品である。イランとコーカサス諸民族の関係を大きく変容させ、そして規定したアッパース一世期に、その最前線にあったフ

ァズリーが詳細な記述を残していることはごく自然であり、この年代記の価値を大いに高めている。記述内容は今後の研究に大きな影響を与えていくと考えられる。

また、細部にこだわるファズリーの性格は、彼が長年過ごしたこの地域の記述にもっともよく表れている。とりわけ、サファヴィー朝にとって、フロンティアとして大きな存在であったグルジアに関して、その知的関心は遺憾なく発揮された。例えば、ファズリーは、グルジア人が神を表す言葉として *آقمرت* (AT III, fol.186a) に言及している。これは、グルジア語で神を意味する言葉 *aghmert-i* をペルシア語風に表記したものである。ファズリーは、他の箇所でも「彼ら（＝グルジア人）の言葉を知った」カラバフのキズィルバーシュがグルジア軍の裏をかく話など、物語的なエピソードではあるが、当時の言語文化事情や習俗を知る上で貴重な記述を残している³⁹⁾。

以下は、北西イラン・コーカサス地域に係る地名や人名（総督など）が含まれた小題について、参照フォリオをまとめたものである⁴⁰⁾。

アルダビール	55b; 64b; 87b; 95a; 180a; 185b; 220a; 283b; 299b; 381b; 422a; 550a
ガラーチェダグ Qarāchedāgh	28a; 55b; 63a; 272b;
アゼルバイジャン (タブリーズ Tabrīz)	28a; 49a; 52b; 151a-b; 180a; 181b; 188b; 244a; 263b; 267b; 271b; 279a; 280a; 295b; 316b; 360a; 381b; 386a; 425a; 454b; 478b; 484a; 488a-b; 515a; 518a;

／ ジャハーンギール王の親書の写し」として繰り返し引用されている。

37) Navā'i 1367, vol. 3: 313. このジャハーンギールからの返書のもととなった、アッパース一世のバグダード征服を告げる親書は、Navā'i 1367: 432-434 に記載されている。

38) Melville 2003: 89-90; Islam 1970: 78-84.

39) グルジア国史にとってペルシア語年代記は必須の史料である。『歴史の精華』第三巻の発見はグルジア国史研究にも大きな影響を与えることになるであろう。前田 2004 は、シャー・アッパースの対コーカサス政策について、この新史料の記述を中心に検討したものである。

40) AT III, fols.412b-465b まで、ほとんどの小題が空白のまま残されているが、この箇所に関しては、内容を吟味して、詳細な記述が見られる場合は表に加えた。また、小題で言及されていない

チョフーレ・サアド Chokhūr-e Sa'd (イェレヴァン Īrevān)	155a; 156a; 161b; 169b; 176a; 203a; 211a; 244a; 269b; 275b; 361b; 362a; 365b; 369b; 371a; 380b; 386a; 484a; 513a;
ガラーバーグ (ギャンジェ Ganje, エリスバール Erisbār)	28a; 34b; 151a-b; 156a; 165a; 194b; 197a; 203a; 244a; 252a; 269b; 335a-b; 336a; 346a; 348b; 349b; 354b; 357b; 371a; 372a; 379a; 496b; 507b;
シールヴァーン (シャマーヒー, シャッキー Shakki)	51b; 57a; 171a; 178a; 185b; 203a; 206a; 215b; 220a; 245b; 258a; 339b; 348b; 349b; 378a; 515a; 518a;
グルジア Gorjestān (トビリシ Teflīs, カルトリ Kārtīl, カヘティ Kākht, スーラーム Sūrām, アーヘスゲ Ākhesqe, バーシー・アーチューグ Bāshīāchūq)	156a; 171a; 178a; 185b; 200b; 203a; 241b; 244a; 267b; 284b; 307a; 311b; 316b; 320b; 322a; 323b; 327a; 328a; 329a; 330b; 331b; 332a; 334a; 335a-b; 346a; 349b; 354b; 373a; 380; 427a; 491b; 494a; 496b; 498a-b; 500b; 504a; 505a; 507b; 509a; 515a;
コーカサス以北 (キブチャク平原 dasht-e Qepchāq, ダグズタン Dāghestān, アルボルズ山 Kūh-e Alborz, シャープーラーン Shāpūrān, タバルサラン Ṭabarsarān)	84b; 206a; 245b; 258a; 299b; 544a; 546b;

この他にも、ゲゼルアーガーシュ (AT III, fol.95a), シューレゴル Shūregol (AT III, fol.168b), ヴァーン Vān (AT III, fols.169b, 181b), ナフジェヴァーン Nakhjevān (AT III, fols.185b, 352b), パークー (AT III, fol. 206a), カルス Qārṣ (AT III, fol.211a) といった地名が小題の中に含まれて言及されている。

数ある詳細な記述の中でも、特に情報価値が高いと考えられるのは、グルジアが生んだ傑出した人物の一人、ギオルギ・サアカゼ Giorgi Saakadze に関する記述である。サファヴィー朝とオスマン朝をまたにかけて活躍したこの政治家は、シャー・アッパース一世と深い因縁を有していた。彼は、士族階級であるアズナウリから身を起こし、グルジア・カルトリ王ルアルサブ二世の義兄として王国の実権を握るが、有力貴族との抗争に破れ、アッパース一世の宮廷に亡命した。サアカゼ

は、アッパースの腹心として活躍するが、後にグルジアで反乱を主導し、サファヴィー朝軍を撃破して勇名を馳せる。オスマン朝に亡命後も厚遇され、対サファヴィー朝遠征に同行するも、最後は叛意を疑われてオスマン朝軍司令官に処刑された⁴¹⁾。

エスキャンダル・ペイグは1625年にグルジアで反乱をおこすまで、サアカゼについてほとんど触れていない。しかし、オスマン朝に亡命した後の彼の行動について触れる中で、サファヴィー朝の事情に良く通じたオスマン朝軍の案内者として、重要視する記述がみられる⁴²⁾。実際に、サアカゼはグルジアで反乱を起こすまで、十数年にわたってシャー・アッパース一世の傍近くに仕えていた。ただし、こうした事情については、断片的にしか知られてこなかった⁴³⁾。

ファズリーは、サアカゼがサファヴィー朝宮廷に亡命したことを、1021/1612-13年の

ノ (すなわちこの表で記していない) 箇所でも、任免や使節の往来など、この地域と関連する記事が載っている場合がある。ギーラーンなどカスピ海沿岸の情勢や他の西方国境、ロル人やクルド系諸将の動き、バグダード情勢など、北西イラン・コーカサスの情勢は周辺諸地域と密接に関連していた点も考慮しなければならない。なお、メルヴィル博士は、ファズリーがグルジアへの自らの関与について述べている箇所のみ、論文中で指摘している (Melville 2003: 89 n.107)。

41) この人物については、Zhamburia 1964 が詳しい。前田 2003: 41-42 も参照のこと。

42) ZTAA: 29-30.

43) サアカゼに関する一代記『大モウラヴィ伝 *Didmouraviani*』がまとめられたのは、17世紀後ノ

記事の中で伝えている (AT III, fol.311b)。この中で、彼が亡命するに至った事情、そして、グルジア王の叛意をシャーに告げたことなど詳細に記している。さらに、イランの諸事の柱石だったエスファンディヤール・ベイグ・アラブギー ルルー Esfandiyār Beyg Arabgīrlū 死去後、シャーの最も近い側近であったと具体的に述べている (AT III, fol.482b)。また、ルアルサブ二世の妃となったサアカゼの姉妹の美しさを目撃談として記したり、シャーに仕えていた弟ケイホスロウがバグダード攻防戦で戦死した現場に居合わせた記述など、グルジア語史料も伝えていない独自の情報を多く含んでいる (AT III, fols.311b, 461a)。

サアカゼが反乱を起こしたのは、彼が摂政 *vakīl* 職を務めていたカルトリ王シモン二世とシャー・アッパース一世の孫娘の婚姻が盛大に執り行われている時期であった。ファズリーは、マーザンダラーンからグルジアに至るまでの花嫁の輿入れの模様を特に詳細に記している。そして、この反乱の一部始終は、サファヴィー朝軍が壊滅した後の自身の逃避行も含めて生々しい記述を残しており、第一級の史料価値があるだろう (AT III, fols.491b-509a)。

ファズリーはグルジア人についてのみ記しているわけではない。アルメニア人商人とユダヤ商人に特権を保証した 1028/1619 年に発令された絹貿易の国家独占を命じる勅書の写しは、メルヴィルが指摘するように、この写本のみが伝えている (Melville 2003: 79)。ゴラームに関しては、アルメニア系出自の有力ゴラーム、ガルチャガーイーの来歴について、『世界を飾るアッパースの歴史』より具体的に記述している (AT III, fol.47b)。また、ガルチャガーイーが、シールヴァーン総督のゾルファガール・ハーンを王命により殺

害した後、同総督職が幼馴染の狩猟長官 *mīrshēkārbāshī* ユーソフ・ハーン Yūsuf Khān に与えられたことを不服として、一時的にオスマン朝の影響下にあった北コーカサスに出奔したことを伝えている。エスキャンダル・ベイグはこのエピソードに触れていないものの、ミールザー・ベイグは、オスマン朝への亡命を図ったとして詳しく記していることから、少なくとも世間に流布していた話と考えられる (RS: 813-14)。

また、ダゲスタンやオセチア等、北コーカサスに関しても、集団名を連ねたり、シャーとの姻戚関係について触れるなど、非常に詳しい。マーザンダラーンに強制移住させられていたグルジア人、アルメニア人についても、エスキャンダル・ベイグはほとんど記していないが、対照的にファズリーは独自の記述を多く残しており、大いに注目できる (AT III, fols.367b-370a)。

IV 結びにかえて

本稿では、近年新たに発見されたペルシア語史料『歴史の精華』第三巻を取り上げ、主にエスキャンダル・ベイグの年代記と比較することで、その記述内容の特徴について分析を加えた。その際、家族関係に関する記述、王族に関する記述、行政・外交に関する記述、コーカサス情報の 4 つの特徴に整理して論じた。

ファズリーの年代記の特徴は、メルヴィルも指摘するように、人物情報の豊富さと著者自身の経験を反映した記述にある。しかし、それは単に著者の性格に由来するものではない。ファズリーとエスキャンダル・ベイグの年代記を比較すると、二人の年代記作者のスタンスの違いが鮮明であることに気づく。アッパースの歴史を描く (ことを委嘱され

／ 半のことである。ペルシア語史料では、『サファヴィー家の庭園』が、アッパース一世の側近として仕えていたことを伝えている (RS: 889. ただし、反乱を伝える記事の中である)。

た⁴⁴⁾ エスキャンダル・ベイグが、あくまで役職にある個人が果たした宮廷における役割を記しているのに対し、ファズリーはより「私的な」立場から、各エリート家族や集団の社会的なまとまりに注目して、その浮沈を念頭において王朝史を述べていると考えられる。

そのために、母系の親族や王家の女性の動向について注意を払うのは、ファズリーにとってごく自然なことであっただろう。こうした細かな記述の数々は、サファヴィー朝で活動した様々な社会集団内部の多様性を浮き彫りにする。コーカサスに関する記述を紹介する中でも触れたが、ファズリーの年代記のこうした特徴は、外交使節や亡命者などをもてなす宮廷の接待の様子や、オスマン朝におけるサファヴィー朝使節の扱い、あるいは異国人の習俗に関する記述において遺憾なく発揮されている。こうした云わば、差異に注目し、細部へと向かう視線の持ち主であるファズリーの著作を利用することにより、流麗な筆致ながらも、平板な記述の目立つエスキャンダル・ベイグの年代記を大いに補うことができるのである。

るのである。

また、行政官僚としてのファズリーと一族の経歴を反映した外交や行政に纏わる記述からは、アッパースー一世期サファヴィー朝国家の姿とそれを取り巻いていた国際関係についても、新たな知見を得ることが可能である。官僚の任免に関する記述や具体的な数値をあげて語る姿勢は、サファヴィー朝期行政のあり方を捉えなおす一つのきっかけを提供するに違いない。

このように、ファズリー個人の知識と経験が生かされたこの新発見の第三巻こそが、まさしく『歴史の精華』の本編と呼ぶにふさわしい。その語り口は時に饒舌でエピソードや数値にはにわかに信じがたい記述も少なくない。しかし、『歴史の精華』第三巻の発見は、アッパースー一世の治世におけるサファヴィー朝社会を多方面から再検討する作業の出発点となると結論づけることができる。

[附記] 本稿は、平成15年度科学研究費補助金（特別研究員奨励費）による研究成果の一部である。

史料略号

- AT III: Fazlī Khūzānī al-Esfahānī, *Afzal al-tavārikh*, University of Cambridge, Ms.Dd.5.6.
 KhB: Moḥammad Yūsof Vāle Esfahānī, *Khold-e barīn*, British Library, MS. Or. 4132.
 KhS: Moḥammad Ma'sūm b. Khwājegī Esfahānī, *Kholāṣat al-siyar*, ed. by Īraj Afshār, Tehran, 1368.
 KhT: Qāzī Aḥmad Qomī, *Kholāṣat al-tavārikh*, ed. by Eḥsān Eshraqī, 2vols., Tehran, 1363.
 RS: Mirzā Beyg Jonābedī, *Rouzat al-Ṣafaviye*, ed. by Gholāmreżā Ṭabāṭabāi-Majd, Tehran, 1378.
 TA: Jalāl al-Dīn monajjem, *Tārikh-e 'Abbāsī*, ed. by Sayf-allāh Vahīdīniyā, Tehran, 1366; British Library, MS. Or. 6263.
 TAA: Eskandar monshī, *Tārikh-e 'ālam-ārā-ye 'Abbāsī*, ed. by Īraj Afshār, 2vols., Tehran, 1350; Savory 1978–86: *History of Shāh 'Abbās the Great*, tr. by Roger M. Savory, 3vols., Boulder, Colorado.
 ZTAA: Eskandar Beyg Torkamān shahīr be monshī va Moḥammad Yūsof movarrekḥ, *ẓeyl-e tārikh-e 'ālam-ārā-ye 'Abbāsī*, ed. by Sohaylā Khwānsari, Tehran, 1317.

44) ファズリーは、エスキャンダル・ベイグが1010/1601–02年に公式の年代記を残すよう王命を受けたことを伝えている（AT III, fol.136a; Melville 2003: 86–87）。

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『歴史の精華』第三巻構成表

fol.1b～	冒頭部（アッパースの即位に関する記述，破損していた冒頭部に『世界を飾るアッパースの歴史』の序文を補ったものと推定される）	
fol.7a～	目次	
fol.20a～	亥年（治世 1 年目）の記述	995-96/1587-88 年 ⁴⁵⁾
fol.22a～	子年（治世 2 年目）の記述	996-97/1588-89 年
fol.29b～	丑年（治世 3 年目）の記述	997-98/1589-90 年
fol.40b～	寅年（治世 4 年目）の記述	998-99/1590-91 年
fol.48b～	卯年（治世 5 年目）の記述	999-1000/1591-92 年
fol.55b～	辰年（治世 6 年目）の記述	1000-01/1592-93 年
fol.64a～	巳年（治世 7 年目）の記述	1001-02/1593-94 年
fol.81a～	午年（治世 8 年目）の記述	1002-03/1594-95 年
fol.85a～	未年（治世 9 年目）の記述	1003-04/1595-96 年
fol.94b～	申年（治世 10 年目）の記述	1004-05/1596-97 年
fol.104a～	酉年（治世 11 年目）の記述	1005-06/1597-98 年
fol.111a～	戌年（治世 12 年目）の記述	1006-07/1598-99 年
fol.119a～	亥年（治世 13 年目）の記述	1007-08/1599-1600 年
fol.127a～	子年（治世 14 年目）の記述	1008-09/1600-01 年
fol.133b～	丑年（治世 15 年目）の記述	1009-10/1601-02 年
fol.143a～	寅年（治世 16 年目）の記述	1010-11/1602-03 年
fol.149b～	卯年（治世 17 年目）の記述	1011-12/1603-04 年
fol.161b～	辰年（治世 18 年目）の記述	1012-13/1604-05 年
fol.176a～	巳年（治世 19 年目）の記述	1013-14/1605-06 年
fol.196b～	午年（治世 20 年目）の記述	1014-15/1606-07 年
fol.209b～	未年（治世 21 年目）の記述	1015-16/1607-08 年
fol.228b～	申年（治世 22 年目）の記述	1016-17/1608-09 年
fol.239b～	酉年（治世 23 年目）の記述	1017-18/1609-10 年
fol.257b～	戌年（治世 24 年目）の記述	1018-20/1610-11 年
fol.286b～	亥年（治世 25 年目）の記述	1020-21/1611-12 年
fol.303b～	子年（治世 26 年目）の記述	1021-22/1612-13 年
fol.313b～	丑年（治世 27 年目）の記述	1022-23/1613-14 年
fol.324b～	寅年（治世 28 年目）の記述	1023-24/1614-15 年
fol.340a～	卯年（治世 29 年目）の記述	1024-25/1615-16 年
fol.353b～	辰年（治世 30 年目）の記述	1025-26/1616-17 年

45) ヒジュラ暦，西暦の順に記した。なお，暦については，Melville 2003: 78-79 も参照のこと。

fol.377a～	巳年（治世 31 年目）の記述	1026-27/1617-18 年
fol.384b～	午年（治世 32 年目）の記述	1027-28/1618-19 年
fol.404b～	未年（治世 33 年目）の記述	1028-29/1619-20 年
fol.412a～	申年（治世 34 年目）の記述	1029-30/1620-21 年
fol.418b～	酉年（治世 35 年目）の記述	1030-31/1621-22 年
fol.431b～	戌年（治世 36 年目）の記述	1031-32/1622-23 年
fol.453a～	亥年（治世 37 年目）の記述	1032-33/1623-24 年
fol.473a～	子年（治世 38 年目）の記述	1033-34/1624-25 年
fol.490a～	丑年（治世 39 年目）の記述	1034-35/1625-26 年
fol.526～	寅年（治世 40 年目）の記述	1035-36/1626-27 年
fol.541～	卯年（治世 41 年目）の記述	1036-37/1627-28 年
fol.549～	辰年（治世 42 年目）の記述	1037-38/1628-29 年
fol.565b～ fol.579a	高官の一覧表	

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 2. 原稿は、「論文」または「資料」とする。「論文」は、執筆者自身による未発表の研究論文、「資料」は、研究・分析のための資料を研究者一般が利用できる形にして掲載するもので、言語テキスト、語彙資料、歴史資料など。原稿1枚目表紙には「論文」「資料」の別を明記する。
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 - ・脚注・図版・写真などを割付けた原稿のほか、それぞれ巻末にまとめて添え、挿入箇所を本文中に記してもよい。また、鮮明な図版・写真原稿は1部とし、他の2部はコピーでよい。
 4. 英語およびフランス語の原稿の場合、タイプライターによる投稿も認める。その場合、行間はダブルスペースとし、イタリック体の箇所には下線を施すこと。また、この場合にも、5. 以下の規定に従うこと。
 5. 原稿は、1枚目表紙に、「論文」「資料」の別のほか、表題、執筆者名、所属（日本語原稿の場合には、日本語・英語の両文）を記す。その他の箇所には、執筆者名および所属など筆者を特定できる情報を記載しないこと。
 6. 2枚目以降は、論文または資料の本文とし、「論文」「資料」の別を記し、表題に続いて要旨、目次、本文と、ジャーナルの形式に従って執筆すること。また、特に次の点に注意すること。
 - a. 要旨は、日本語・フランス語の論文および資料の場合には英語とすること。
 - b. 表題、要旨に続き、章、節などの大・中までの見出しを掲げ、目次として記すこと。
 - c. キーワードは日本語と英語それぞれ5語を附すこと。英語およびフランス語の場合には、英語5語のキーワードを附すこと。
 - d. 注は脚注とし、謝辞などはタイトル行に「*」として入れる。続けて1から始まる通し番号とすること。
 - e. 論文などに本文中で言及し、また引用する場合には次のような形で著者名、出版年、ページを記す。
Sapir 1925: 40-41.
今西 1972b: 25.
 7. 参考文献は稿末に一覧としてまとめる。その場合、著者の姓のアルファベット順とし、同著者による同年の文献が複数あるものについては、タイトルのアルファベット順に2004a, 2004b.として区別すること。なお、見やすくするために文献を言語別に分けてもよい。この場合には、日本語文献については五十音順とする。文献の記載方法は次の通りとする。
 - a. 単行本〔例〕
Bloomfield, Leonard. 1933. *Language*. New York: Henry Holt & Co.
 - b. 雑誌〔例〕
前嶋信次 1966 「テリアカ考—文化交流史上から見た一薬品の伝播について」『史学』38(4): 1-39.
Sapir, Edward. 1925. "Sound Pattern in Language." *Language* 1: 37-51.
 - c. 論文集掲載論文〔例〕
Polanyi, Karl. 1957. "The Economy as Instituted Process." *Trade and Market in the Early Empires* (K. Polanyi, C. W. Arensberg and H. W. Pearson, eds.), 243-270, Chicago: The Free Press.
白鳥庫吉 1944. 「拂菻問題の新解釈」『白鳥博士記念論文集（東洋学報 29(3・4)』, 407-500, 東洋協会学術調査部。
*同一論文集の論文を多数引用している場合、その論文集自体を単行本の扱いで見出しとして出し、各論文には次のような要領で論文集を示す方式を取ってもよい。
Polanyi, Karl. 1957. "The Economy as Instituted Process." *Trade and Market in the Early Empires* (K. Polanyi et al. eds.), 243-270.
 8. 本文以外の言語の引用には、必ず本文で用いた言語で訳をつける。また、言語学における例文の引用などについては、以下のよう、語または形態素ごとに訳（グロス）をつけること。
 - (1) nákorera ébaná
I.am.working.for children
'I am working for the children.'
 - (2) n-á-kor-er-a ébaná
1SG.SUB-PRES.PROG-WORK-BEN-FIN children
'I am working for the children.'
 - (3) n-á-kor-er-a ébaná
1 単主語-現在進行-働く-受益-語尾 子供たち
「私は子供たちのために働いている。」
 9. 校正は、初校を著者校正とし、資料などの性質上、必要と認められた場合には二枚目以降も著者が行う。校正時の訂正は、誤植および字句の修正以外は認めない。
- *当規定は70号（2005年3月末・9月末刊行）より適用する。（当該掲載原稿は旧執筆要領に準拠。）

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■ 編 集 後 記 ■

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■ Note from the Editor ■

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アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究 68号

2004 年 9 月 30 日 印刷発行

編集・発行：東京外国語大学アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所
編集委員会

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深澤秀夫（50音順）

印 刷：中西印刷株式会社

〒602-8048 京都市上京区下立売小川東入る

JOURNAL OF ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES

No.68

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