"AND A THORNBUSH SPRANG UP
BETWEEN THEM": STUDIES ON
"MEM U ZIN", A KURDISH
ROMANCE
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"And a thornbush sprang up between them": Studies on "Mem
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Chyet, Michael Lewisohn, Ph.D.

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"And a Thornbush Sprang up between them":
Studies on Mem u Zin, a Kurdish Romance

By

Michael Lewisohn Chyet

B.A. (University of California at Los Angeles) 1980
M.A. (University of California) 1986
C.Phil. (University of California) 1987

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

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in

NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA at BERKELEY

Approved:

Chair: .....*Martin Schwartz*........................... May 17 1991 ......

Date

.......*William Brinner*.....................................

.......*signature*...

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Studies on Mêm û Zîn, a Kurdish Romance

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by

Michael Lewisohn Chyet

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Abstract

This study is based on a corpus of eighteen oral versions of of the Kurdish romance Mem û Zîn, a tragic love story reminiscent of Romeo and Juliet which is very widespread in Northern Kurdistan. All eighteen versions, which constitute the appendix, have been translated into English, complete with notes explaining cultural concepts and linguistic niceties.

The eighteen versions of Mem û Zîn are subjected to a series of comparative folkloristic analyses. Chapter One consists of an introduction to the Kurds, their language and folklore, together with a brief summary of the story of M&Z. This is followed by a critical bibliographic survey of the literature that has been published about the oral versions of M&Z and Ehmedê Xani's literary poem by the same name, including also references for the general study of Kurdish folklore. The analysis of M&Z begins with the second section of Chapter One, in which the proverbial nature of the romance, as seen in certain expressions that are derived from it, is investigated.

Chapter Two is a consideration of the relationship between Ehmedê Xani's literary poem, revered by the Kurds as their national epic, and the oral versions of M&Z. In Chapter Three, Mem û Zîn is assigned to a specific genre of folk narrative, the romance. Chapter Four is an endeavor to restore the performance aspect of the tellings of M&Z, based on a new look at the scanty evidence at our

disposal. The poetic nature and linguistic texture of the oral versions are explored in Chapter Five: Kurdish folk poetics are discussed, followed by the application of the Oral-Formulaic Theory to Mem û Zin. A detailed comparative study of the versions is undertaken in Chapter Six, looking both horizontally, i.e., across the versions, and vertically, discussing variation within each motif. The final chapter of the study includes an attempt to establish *oicotypes* by linking the variation in the versions of the story to their geographical distribution: this section includes a map of Kurdistan on which the versions have been plotted, as well as other important sites, such as Bayazid, the site of Ehmedê Xanî's tomb, and the city of Jezira Bohtan, where the main part of the story of M&Z takes place. The study concludes with a few words about the future of the tradition.

The accompanying bibliography includes sources for the study of Kurdish language and folk literature, as well as publications dealing with folkloristic theory both in general and as applied to Middle Eastern peoples in particular.

Martin Schwartz

Professor of Iranian Studies
(Dept. of Near Eastern Studies UCB)
Dissertation Advisor
May 23, 1991

To Bahri, Sabri, Mahmud,
Hüseyin, Necip, Ahmed,
and all my other friends

Ji dostên min Behrî, Sebrî, Mehmûd,
Hiseyn, Necîp, Ahmed
û hevalên min ên din ra

"And a thornbush sprang up between them"

Studies on Mem û Zîn:
A Kurdish Romance
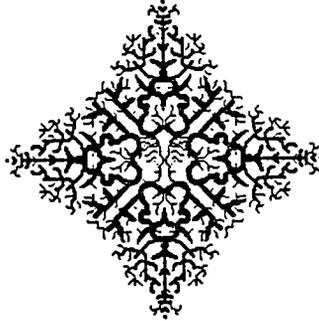
by Michael L. Chyet

Table of Contents

Volume I. Analysis

Mem û Zîn : Table of Contents

Volume II. Appendix
Texts

Mem û Zîn : Table of Contents

List of Figures, Maps, and Illustrations

Preface and Acknowledgements

The present work consists of two parts: a corpus of eighteen versions of the important Kurdish folk romance Mem û Zîn (M&Z), and a comparative folkloristic analysis of these versions. Each of the versions in the corpus has been translated into English, together with comparative and explanatory notes. The first seventeen versions have already been published, although only one English translation existed before the present work; the eighteenth (MC-1) makes it first appearance here, with a transcription of the Kurdish text and my translation.

In analyzing M&Z, I have applied the latest methods in international folklore research to Kurdish materials, perhaps for the first time. I have adopted Alan Dundes' tripartite schema of genre definition, by considering texture, text, and context of the versions in the corpus. Moreover, I have attempted to show how Ilhan Başgöz' structural analysis of Turkish folk romances (halk hikâyeleri) can, with but a few emendations, be applied to Kurdish folk romances as well: it is not surprising that the Turks and Kurds, two completely distinct ethnic groups which have lived side by side for centuries, should share a genre of folk narrative.

In Chapter One, I present an introduction to the Kurds, their language and folklore, together with a brief summary of the story of M&Z. This is followed by a critical bibliographic survey of the literature that has been published about the oral versions of M&Z and Ehmedê Xanî's literary poem by the same name, including also references for the general study of Kurdish folklore. My analysis of M&Z begins with the second section of Chapter One, in which I investigate the

proverbial nature of the romance as seen in certain expressions that are derived from it.

Chapter Two is a consideration of the relationship between Ehmedê Xani's literary poem, revered by the Kurds as their national epic, and the oral versions of M&Z. In Chapter Three, M&Z is assigned to a specific genre of folk narrative. Chapter Four is an endeavor to restore the performance aspect of the tellings of M&Z, based on a new look at the scanty evidence at our disposal. The poetic nature and linguistic texture of the oral versions will be explored in Chapter Five, where the Oral-Formulaic Theory is applied to M&Z. A detailed comparative study of the versions will be undertaken in Chapter Six, looking both horizontally, i.e., across the versions, and vertically, discussing variation within each motif. The final chapter of the study includes an attempt to establish *oicotypes* by linking the variation in the versions of the story to their geographical distribution: this section includes a map of Kurdistan on which the versions have been plotted, as well as other important sites, such as Bayazid, the site of Ehmedê Xani's tomb, and the city of Jezira Bohtan, where the main part of the story of M&Z takes place. The study concludes with a few words about the future of the tradition.

Throughout the seven chapters, rather than throwing folkloristic terminology at the reader, I have endeavored to explain my terms, giving examples that should drive home the point. I have tried to anticipate my audience in my comments.

It is not unusual for upsurges of nationalist sentiment to be accompanied by a keen interest in the nation's folklore. After all, the field of folklore has its

roots in the rise of nationalism in Europe during the Nineteenth Century. The present study is intended to serve as a model for what needs to be taken into consideration while collecting and recording folkloric material, should the Kurdish people or other kurdologists ever decide to undertake such an endeavor. In all too many cases, such collecting has been done by untrained people with purely political aims, with the achievement of such aims being perceived as more important than the learning of sound practices of linguistic and - folkloristic collection. Only in retrospect are such mistakes regretted.

In the present volume, the methodology for carrying out such a folkloristic endeavor has been laid out. Furthermore, copious examples have been given of less than satisfactory collecting techniques and their implications. The main difference between sound and unsound practices is that the former have the potential to accurately reflect the people's oral tradition from several different angles, including *texture* (i.e., language and style), *text* (i.e., the folklore item itself), and most particularly *context* (i.e., the social situation in which the item was used). Such unsound practices as neglecting to record context, changing the informant's language, or combining several versions into a composite text, run the risk of distorting reality, by failing to correctly represent the tradition that is supposedly the source of so much pride.

By myself, I am powerless to implement the methods outlined here. If others who are interested in Kurdish folklore will pick up where I have left off, rather than reinventing the wheel, I believe that this will enhance both the study of Kurdish culture and folklore on the one hand and comparative international scholarship on the other.

Mem û Zîn : Preface and Acknowledgements

It is my pleasure to express my gratitude to the people whose help has made this project possible. I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee, Professors Martin Schwartz, Alan Dundes, and William Brinner, for their encouragement, guidance, and support. My heart goes out to Shayee Khanaka for making the whole thing possible: she and I started to read versions of M&Z together, and many of her comments have given me considerable food for thought. In addition, she helped me get started in translating the Sorani Kurdish version included in the study (OM). My friends John Rundin and Peter Dorcey were of great help in acclimating me to the world of computers. My dear friend and roommate Geoffrey Graham deserves honorable mention for designing the fonts used in the dissertation, and for his excellent job in creating the map appearing in Chapter Seven. Without the invaluable help which he and our friend René Radusky offered, printing out the final draft would have been impossible.

My Armenian friend Anne Avakian is to be commended for her assistance in finding Armenian materials dealing with M&Z and other items of Kurdish folklore: my analyses of three versions (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa) are based on the English summaries which she provided. I would like to thank my friend and library colleague Rick Velez for constantly keeping me abreast of Soviet publications dealing with the Kurds, and especially for unearthing the volume in which two versions of M&Z (EP-1; EP-2) appear.

I would also like to thank my friend and colleague Robert Hoberman for helping me try to locate Kurdish informants who could recite M&Z in Israel during the summer of 1990. Although we were unsuccessful in finding anyone

during the three brief weeks of my stay, he has found what may be another Neo-Aramaic version among the unpublished material collected by Hans Jakob Polotsky.

There are several foreign scholars whose aid was enlisted. Professor D.N. MacKenzie provided me with three versions which would otherwise have remained beyond my reach (FK-1; FK-2; FK-3). I have shown my gratitude to him by including a reprint of FK-2 together with my English translation in Corolla Iranica, the Festschrift commemorating his 65th birthday which was presented to him in April (1991). I would also like to thank Professor Martin Schwartz once again, for his help in enabling my contribution to be included in that volume.

My special thanks to the Israeli folklorist Heda Jason, for her helpful suggestions, for having sent me a Yemenite tale which resembles the climax of the story of M&Z, and for introducing me to Jacqueline Alon. Mrs. Alon also deserves special mention, for having provided me with a copy of the version of M&Z which she collected in Jerusalem from an elderly Kurdish Jew, Moshe Daniel. Not only did she tape his recitation of the story, she also interviewed his sister at length about it, thereby furnishing the first running commentary on a version of M&Z.

I would like to mention the Kurdish scholars M. Emin Bozarslan and Ferhad Shakely for their kind help in providing me with copies of materials not readily available in North America. They sent me copies of Alan Ward's English translation of EP-1, and of Shakely's fine study of Ehmedé Xani's literary poem Mem û Zîn.

My friend and colleague Amir Hassanpour-Aghdam was kind enough to let me see the chapter of his dissertation dealing with the Kurdish poet Ehmedê Xani, and to send me a copy of the article he wrote for the Encyclopaedia Iranica about the Kurdish narrative form **beyt** (bayt). I am both grateful for his encouragement and proud that we are colleagues.

It is also my pleasure to thank my Kurdish friends in Southern California for allowing me to interview them about M&Z, and for introducing me around the Kurdish community. I will not mention them by name, so as to protect their anonymity.

This is the appropriate place to express my gratitude to Margaret Kahn for all her help and encouragement over the years. In many ways I see myself as following in her footsteps, and she has been a fine mentor.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family, my parents and sister, for their love and support throughout the stressful periods of my life as a graduate student, and before.

Abbreviations of the Versions
(Brackets [] designate versions not fully
integrated into the study)

EP-1 =   Jndi, Hajie, ed. "Mam i Zin," in: Kurdskie èpicheskie pesni-skazy
[Курдские эпические песни-сказы = Kurdish epic
'song-stories']. (Moskva : Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoī Literatury, 1962),
pp. 66-[97]; 183-[209]; Ward, Alan, ed. Mem û Zîn : Mam and Zin.
Kurdish National Epic. (Amsterdam : International Society
Kurdistan [ISK], 1968), 49 l.

EP-2 =   Jndi, Hajie, ed. "Mam i Zin," in: Kurdskie èpicheskie pesni-skazy
[Курдские эпические песни-сказы = Kurdish epic
'song-stories']. (Moskva : Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoī Literatury, 1962),
pp. 98-[111]; originally published by O.L. Vil'chevskiī in: Skazki
narodov Vostoka [Сказки народов Востока = Tales of the
peoples of the East] (Moskva & Leningrad, 1938), pp. 99-119.

FK-1 =   E'vdal, E. "Мәм у Zine = Mem û Zînê", in Folklora Kyrmança
(Erevan, 1936), pp. 261-292.

FK-2 =   E'vdal, E. "Мәм у Zine = Mem û Zînê", in Folklora Kyrmança
(Erevan, 1936), pp. 293-301.

[FK-3] =   E'vdal, E. & Hajie Jndi. "Memê û Zînê", in Folklora Kyrmança
(Erevan, 1936), pp. 302-307.

GNa =   Nzhdehian, G. K. [Նժդեհեան, Գ. Ք.]. "Mamo yev Zinē :
k'rdakan zhoghovrdakan vēp" [Մամo եւ Զինէ, քրդական
ժողովրդական վէպ = Mamo and Zine, Kurdish folk romance],
Azgagrakan Handes [=Ազգագրական Հանդէս], 11 (1904), 197-
240; Macler, Frédéric. "Une Forme Arménienne du thème des
amants malheureux," Revue des études Arméniennes, 2 (1922), 91-
116.

HM =   Makas, Hugo. "Mamu und Zine", in Kurdische Texte im Kurmanjî-
Dialekte aus der Gegend von Mārdin. (St-Petersburg/ Leningrad,
1897-1926; reprint Amsterdam : APA - Philo Press, 1979), pp. [5]-20.

HR-1 =   Ritter, Hellmut."Sittîye Zîn und Mämme Alâ", in Tûrōyo : die
Volkssprache der syrischen Christen des Tûr 'Abdîn (Beirut ;
Wiesbaden : Franz Steiner Verlag, 1969), v. 2, pp. 256-297.

HR-2 =   Ritter, Hellmut. "Mammo und Zîne", in Tûrōyo : die Volkssprache
der syrischen Christen des Tûr 'Abdîn (Beirut ; Wiesbaden : Franz
Steiner Verlag, 1969), v. 2, pp. 500-519.

[JA] =   Taped version collected by Jacqueline Alon in Jerusalem, from
Daniel Mosheh of Suwarê, Kurdistan of Iraq, February 1979.

LC-1 =   Le Coq, Albert von. "Ḥikâyēi mämī ālan," in Kurdische Texte:
Kurmanǧi-Erzählungen und -Lieder nebst einer Zãzã Erzählung,
gesammelt und herausgegeben in der Urschrift und in

Transkription_ (Berlin, 1903; reprint Amsterdam : APA - Philo Press, [198-?]), pp. 36-44; ٤٢ -٥٢ .

[LC-2] = Le Coq, Albert von. "Ḥîkāyêi māmî ālan," in Kurdische Texte: Kurmanğî-Erzählungen und -Lieder nebst einer Zâzâ Erzählung, gesammelt und herausgegeben in der Urschrift und in Transkription_ (Berlin, 1903; reprint Amsterdam : APA - Philo Press, [198-?]), pp. [53]-56; ٦٢ -٦٨ .

[LT] = Lescot, Roger. Textes Kurdes, Vol. 2: Memê Alan (Beyrouth, 1942), xxv, 383 p.

MC-1 = Taped version of Mem û Zîn from the province of Van, in the possession of the author. (c. 1988)

M&Z = Mem û Zîn, when used as the general name of the oral versions of the story.

OM = Mann, Oskar. "Mâm û Zîn"/"Mem und Zin", in Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden_, Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen, 4 (Berlin, 1906), Bd. 1, pp. 24-81; Bd. 2, pp. 40-135; Ayyūbiyān, 'Ubayd Allāh. Çirikey Mem û Zîn : Kurdî - Farsî [مم و زین] اچریکی مم و زین] (Tabriz : Chāpkhānah-i Shafaq, [1962]), 277 p.

PN = Prym, Eugen & Albert Socin. Der Neu-Aramaeische Dialekt des Tûr 'Abdîn ; a. Die Texte; b. übersetzung. (Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1881), v. 1, pp. 1-5; v. 2, pp. 1-8, [375].

PS = Prym, Eugen & Albert Socin. "Mâm u-Zîn"/"Mâm und Sîn", in Kurdische Sammlungen. Zweite Abteilung: Erzählungen und Lieder im Dialekte von Bohtan; a. Die Texte; b. übersetzung. (St.-Pétersbourg : Eggers et Cie., 1890), v. 2a, pp. [71]-83; v. 2b, pp. 100-117.

SHa-1 = Haykuni, S. [Յայկունի, Ս.], ed. "Mam ow Zin [Մամ ու Զինʼ", Eminyan azgagrakan zhoghovadzow [Էմինյան ազգագրական ժողովածու] = Eminskiĭ Etnograficheskiĭ Sbornik" [= Эминск Iй Этнографическ Iй Сборникъ], 5 (1904), pp. 201-227.

SHa-2 = Haykuni, S. [Յայկունի, Ս.], ed. "Mamazin [Մամազինʼ, Eminyan azgagrakan zhoghovadzow [Էմինյան ազգագրական ժողովածու] = Eminskiĭ Etnograficheskiĭ Sbornik" [= Эминск Iй Этнографическ Iй Сборникъ], 5 (1904), pp. 227-264.

ZK-1 = Dzhalilov, Ordikhane & Dzhalil Dzhalilov. "Memê û Zînê (şaxa 1)" in Zargotina K'urda = Kurdskiĭ Fol'klor. (Moskva : Nauka, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 45-65.

ZK-2 = Dzhalilov, Ordikhane & Dzhalil Dzhalilov. "Mem û Zîn (şaxa 2)" in Zargotina K'urda = Kurdskiĭ Fol'klor. (Moskva : Nauka, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 65-90.

ZK-3 = Dzhalilov, Ordikhane & Dzhalil Dzhalilov. "Mem û Zîn (şaxa 3)" in Zargotina K'urda = Kurdskiĭ Fol'klor. (Moskva : Nauka, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 90-118.

STANDARD KURDISH ALPHABET CHART

Roman (Hawar)	Cyrillic	Arabic	Pronunciation
A a	А а	١ / ﺍ	a in father (Sorani: a in had)
B b	Б б	ب	b in big
C c	Щ щ	ج	j in jig
Ç c	Ч ч	چ	between ch and j (unaspirated)
Ç'ç'	Ч' ч'	چ	ch in church (aspirated)
D d	Д д	د	d in dig
E e	Ә ә	ه	e in beg
E'e'	Ә'ә'	ع / ﻉ	voiced pharyngal fricative
Ê ê	Е е	ێ	ei in rein
F f	Ф ф	ف	f in fig
G g	Г г	گ	g in go
H h	Һ һ	ه / ﻩ	h in hat
Ḧ ḧ	Ҏ ҏ	ح	throaty h, voiceless pharyngal fricative
I i	Ь ь		~ i in bit

STANDARD KURDISH ALPHABET CHART

Ṣ ş	ص	emphatic s: voiceless, alveolar emphatic fricative]
T t	ت	between d and t (unaspirated)
T' t'	ت	t in tin (aspirated)
Ṭ ṭ	ط	emphatic t: voiceless, unaspirated, alveolar emphatic plosive]
U u	ۆ	u in win
O o	وو	oo in doom
V v	ڤ	v in vein
W w	و	w in wig
X x	خ	German ch in ach
Г г'	غ	voiced velar fricative, the voiced equivalent of ch above]
Y y	ی	y in year
Z z	ز	z in zoo
Ẓ ẓ	ظ	emphatic z: voiced, alveolar emphatic fricative]

CHAPTER ONE:
Introduction
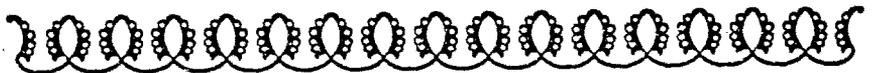
Mem û Zîn : Introduction and Bibliographic Survey

A cursory glance at a map of Iran reveals a huge land mass bounded on the south by the Arabian (or Persian) Gulf, on the north by the Caspian Sea and the Soviet Union, on the west by Iraq and Turkey, and on the east by Pakistan and Afghanistan. The official language of Iran is Persian (Farsi), but there are sizeable minorities who speak other languages, some, such as Azerbaijani Turkish, not related to Persian at all. Although Persian, an Indo-European language related to Sanskrit and many of the modern languages of India and Pakistan as well as most of the languages of Europe, is the official language of Iran, it is not the mother tongue of the majority of the country's peasants, who speak a remarkable variety of Iranian dialects and languages, some of which are mutually unintelligible. Many of these preserve ancient features of the Iranian languages which Standard Persian has long since lost, such as the gender and case inflections of nouns and the ergative verb system. Consequently, for the linguist, this linguistic potpourri is a treasure trove of clues about the growth and development of the Indo-Iranian languages, which ultimately may shed light on the history of the entire Indo-European language family.

Some of these languages, such as Tâlishî, Vafsî, Davânî and Meime'î, are spoken over relatively small areas -- some limited to the range of two or three villages. One language which is understood over a large geographic area is Kurdish, spoken mainly on the western fringes of Iran, and continuing northwest into Northern Iraq and Turkey, in a geographical area long known as Kurdistan. A cousin to Persian, Kurdish is a Western Iranian language which exists in several dialects, the major ones being Kurmanji in the north and Sorani in the center of Kurdistan. [1] In

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[1] For a brief survey of Kurdish dialects in English with maps, see: D.N. MacKenzie, Kurdish Dialect Studies (London et al. : Oxford University Press, 1961), vol. i, pp. [xv]-xxii. The dialect frontier between

addition, the related Iranian language Zaza (or Dumilî/Dimlî) is spoken in pockets in Kurdistan of Turkey, in such places as Tunceli (Dersim) and Siverek (northern Urfa province),[2] while Gurānī is spoken in and around Awroman, Iran.[3] The speakers of both Zaza and Gurānī identify ethnically as Kurds.

The various sub-dialects of Kurmanji are spoken throughout Kurdistan of Turkey and Syria, and by Kurds in Soviet Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, as well as in the extreme northern strips of Iranian and Iraqi Kurdistan, all in all by slightly less than three-fourths of all Kurds (e.g., by about 15 million people). Sorani, while being the mother tongue of less than one fourth of all Kurds, is the dialect with the most well-developed literary tradition in the twentieth century, mainly because the Iraqi government allowed an educational system in Sorani Kurdish to exist for a time, based on the dialect of Suleimaniyeh (Silêmanî). The use of Kurmanji for educational purposes is officially banned in all but the Soviet Union.

The relationship between Kurmanji and Sorani is such that the further north and west one goes, the more Kurmanji features one encounters in the language, while the further south and east one goes, the more Sorani features become evident.

Kurmanji and Sorani can be described as a line extending diagonally southwest from the town of Naghadeh at the southwest corner of Lake Urmia in Kurdistan of Iran, continuing along an imaginary line into Kurdistan of Iraq, eventually meeting up with the Great Zab River where it flows in a northeasterly direction away from the Tigris. This dialect boundary just misses the southeastern corner of Turkey by a matter of miles: thus, Sorani is unknown in Kurdistan of Turkey (and Syria).

[2] The two major works on Zaza are: Karl Hadank. Mundarten der Zârâ, hauptsächlich aus Siwerek und Kor, Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen, Abt. 3, Bd. 4 (Berlin : Verlag der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1932), xiii, 398 p.; and Terry Lynn Todd. A Grammar of Dimili (also known as Zaza). Doctoral dissertation. (Ann Arbor, Michigan : University of Michigan, 1985), xv, 277 p.

[3] Major works on the Guran include: Âge Meyer Benedictsen. Les dialectes d'Awromân et de Pâvâ, revus et publiés avec des notes et une esquisse de grammaire par Arthur Christensen (København : Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab., 1921), 128 p.; Oskar Mann. Mundarten der Gûrân, besonders das Kandûlâî, Auramânî und Bâdschâlânî, bearbeitet von Karl Hadank, Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen (Berlin. 1930); D.N. MacKenzie. The Dialect of Awroman (Hawrāmān-ī Luhōn) : Grammatical sketch, texts, and vocabulary (København : Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab., 1966), 140 p.; V. Minorsky. "The Gûrân," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. University of London , 11 (1943), pp. 75-103.

The majority of Kurds are Sunni Muslims, but there is also a sizeable minority of Shi'i Muslims (called 'Alevis' in Turkey), as well as small pockets of Yezidis, who are referred to by Muslims as "Devil Worshippers." The Yezidi religion has the unique distinction of having its liturgy in Kurdish[4]. Until this century, the following minorities have lived side by side with the Kurds: Armenians, Kurdish Jews, and Eastern Christian groups such as the Nestorians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Jacobites. With the exception of the Armenians, who speak an Indo-European language, the Jews and Christians of Kurdistan speak dialects of Neo-Aramaic, such as Turoyo and 'Assyrian.' Although tiny communities of these Christian groups still persist on their native territory, most of them now live in Europe, in Australia, and in such American localities as Detroit, Chicago, and Turlock, California. The entire community of Kurdish Jewry, except for a few souls in Kurdistan of Iran, has emigrated to Israel.

All the peoples of Kurdistan, regardless of religion or language, participated in Kurdish folklore, as it was the dominant culture in the area. In a town like Zakho, in Kurdistan of Iraq, there were Jewish and Christian taletellers who could sing and tell tales in Kurdish, Neo-Aramaic, and Arabic, and sometimes switched from one to the other in mid-sentence without being aware of it. Although knowing several languages is considered in this country to be a sign of education and sophistication, in a place like Kurdistan, even illiterate peasants commonly know two or even three languages.

The low level of material wealth among Kurdish peasants is in some sense compensated by their extraordinarily rich folklore, which is almost entirely an oral tradition. In addition to countless folktales, folk songs, folk dances, poems, riddles, and proverbs, there are a number of widely known folk romances told in a

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[4]For an example, see: Karl Hadank. Untersuchungen zum Westkurdischen: Boti und Ezadi (Berlin : Institut für Lautforschung and der Universität ; Leipzig : Otto Harrassowitz, 1938), pp. 39-60.

combination of prose and sung verse which recount adventures told as true: perhaps

the single best known example of this latter genre, at least among the Kurmanji-

speaking Kurds, is Mem û Zîn (M&Z). Other romances which are popular among the

Kurds include: **Xec û Sîyabend** (Khej and Siyabend) and **Leylê û Mecrûm** (Leyla

and Majnun), romances which, like M&Z, end tragically; **Dimdim** or **Çengzêrîn**[5],

based on an historical event, the revolt of the Kurds against the Safavid Persian ruler

Shah Abbas in 1608-1610, during which a battle was fought at the fortress of Dimdim,

to the south of Lake Urmia (Reza'iyeh) in Iran; **Zembîlfiroş**[6] (basket-seller), a poem

which tells of the lusting of an older aristocratic woman for a young basket-seller;

Ûsib û Zilêxe (Yusuf and Zulaikha)[7], the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife; and

Keř û K'ulik[8], the adventures of two princely brothers.

"Yusuf and Zulaikha"[9] and "Leyla and Majnun" [10] are examples of stories that

enjoy a wide circulation throughout the Middle East: Arabic, Turkish, and Persian

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[5]Ordikhane Dzhalilov. Kurdskiĭ geroicheskiĭ epos "Zlatorukiĭ khan" (Dymdym) [Курдский героический эпос "Златорукий хан" (Дымдым) = The Kurdish heroic epic "Zlatorukiĭ khan", i.e. The ruler with the golden hand, (Dimdim)] (Moskva : Glavnaia Redaktsiia Vostochnoi Literatury, 1967), 206 p.

[6]Zh.S. Musaêlian. Zambil'frosh : Kurdskaia poema i eĭ fol'klornye versii [Замбильфрош : Курдская поэма и её фольклорные версии = Zambilfrosh (The Basket seller) : a Kurdish poem and its folkloric versions] (Moskva : Nauka, 1983), 178 p. Formalistically, this story is generally told in verse.

[7]M.B. Rudenko. Literaturnaia i fol'klornye versii kurdskoĭ poėmy "IUsuf i Zelikha" [Литературная и фольклорные версии курдской поэмы "Юсуф и Зелиха" = Literary and folkloristic versions of the Kurdish poem "Yusuf i Zelikha"] (Moscow : Nauka, 1986), 367 p. Bakaev's six versions not mentioned in her bibliography: Ch. Kh. Bakaev. IAzyk kurdov SSSR [Язык курдов СССР = The language of the Kurds of the USSR] (Moscow : Nauka, 1973), pp. 313-[346] & Rol' iazykovykh kontaktov v razvitii iazyka kurdov SSSR [Роль языковых контактов в развитии языка курдов СССР = The role of linguistic contact in the development of the language of the Kurds of the USSR] (Moscow : Nauka, 1977), pp. 147-[211].

[8]No less than thirty versions appear in the first 260 pages of: Folklora Kyrmança (Erevan, 1936).

[9]John D. Yohannan. Joseph and Potiphar's Wife in World Literature : an Anthology of the Story of the Chaste Youth and the Lustful Stepmother (New York : New Directions Books, 1968), 310 p.; Persian

literary versions exist of both. The story of Joseph and Zulaikha, which appears both in the Hebrew Bible[11] and in the Koran[12], enjoys wide circulation in oral tradition as well: it is exceptionally popular among the Kurds, and is also found among the Jews[13] and Assyrian Christians[14] of Kurdistan. Moreover, the story of Zembîlfiroş resembles it in many ways.

As was alluded to above, several of the stories that are popular among the Kurds are also told by neighboring peoples such as the Armenian, Nestorian, Chaldean, and Jacobite Christians, as well as by Kurdish Jews. The present study contains three versions of M&Z which were translated into Armenian (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa), and three versions which were collected in Turoyo, the Neo-Aramaic language of the Jacobites (PN; HR-1; HR-2). In fact, the first oral version of M&Z we have (PN) was collected in 1869 in Damascus from a Turoyo speaker. Moreover, JA, which has not been fully integrated into the study, was collected by the folklorist Jacqueline Alon from an old Kurdish Jew living in Israel.

classical poem: Firdausî of Tûs, Yûsuf and Zalîkhâ [وزليخا   يوسف], ed. by Hermann Ethé (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1980), iv, 376 p.; Turkish poem: Yahyâ Bey, Yûsuf ve Zelîhâ hazırlayan Mehmed Çavuşoğlu (Istanbul : Istanbul Üniversitesi, 1979), 192 p. and Şeyyad Hamza, Yusuf ve Zeliha ed. Dehri Dilçin (Istanbul : Klişecilik ve Matbaacılık T.A.Ş., 1946); Arabic poem: R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, The Story of Joseph in Arabic Verse: The Leeds Arabic Manuscript 347 (Leiden, 1975) = Supplement 3 to Leeds University Oriental Society Annual, and A.F.L. Beeston, "Notes on a Middle-Arabic 'Joseph' Poem," BSOAS, 40 (1977), 287-296. This list is by no means exhaustive.

[10]Fuzûlî, Leylâ and Mejnûn, translated from the Turkish by Sofi Huri (London : Allen & Unwin, 1970), 350 p.

[11]Genesis 39:1-23.

[12]Sûrat Yûsuf [=Chapter XII].

[13]Yona Sabar, "Joseph and Zulikhaye," in: The Folk Literature of the Kurdistani Jews an Anthology, Yale Judaica Series, vol. 23 (New Haven & London : Yale University Press, c1982), pp. 11-15.

[14]Otto Jastrow, "Josephslegende," in: Der neuaramäische Dialekt von Hertevin (Provinz Siirt) (Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz, 1988), pp. 148-163.

Mem û Zîn, also known as Memê Alan, is one of the best known stories of Kurdish oral literature. Although it enjoys extremely widespread distribution among the Kurmanji-speaking Kurds and their Armenian and Neo-Aramaic speaking neighbors, this particular romance is not attested in oral tradition in the Sorani-speaking area, with the notable exception of Rafiman-i Bekir's Mukri version (OM), collected by Oskar Mann in 1903. M&Z is a tragic love story, vaguely reminiscent of Romeo and Juliet or Pyramis and Thisbe. Mem is the name of the young man, and Zîn is the beautiful girl whom he hopes to marry. Let us begin with a brief synopsis of the story:

Doves stop in a garden to rest, and are amazed at the beauty of the young girl, Zîn, whom they see there. The doves decide to bring her to meet Mem, whose beauty is even greater than hers. Mem and Zîn wake up beside one another in Mem's bed, Zîn having been brought there by the doves. At first it is unclear where they are: Mem insists that they are in his room, and Zîn likewise insists that they are in hers. Through a test they ascertain that they are in Mem's room; at this point they fall in love, and exchange rings, after which they fall asleep. Zîn is then returned to her own bed in far away Jezira Bohtan, and when Mem wakes up he thinks it was all a dream, until he discovers Zîn's ring on his finger. No sooner does he see this than he falls over in a dead faint. When he is revived, he tells his father Al pasha, the ruler of the realm, what happened, and Al pasha tries to convince him to forget about Zîn and to marry whomever he wants from their kingdom. Mem disregards his father's wishes, and acquires a fine horse, suit of clothes, and sword, to set out in search of Zîn and her city of Jezira Bohtan. Al pasha has Mem's horse, Bor, thrown in chains, and has all the city gates locked, to try to prevent Mem from leaving; however, Mem's horse, unhindered by the chains, flies over the city walls and sets out with Mem in search of

Jezira Bohtan. Al pasha sends soldiers to try to convince Mem to turn back, but they soon return without him.

Eventually the chains, which Mem has not even noticed, eat through Bor's skin, and he is unable to go on. Mem is about to despair, when the horse tells him to tend to his wounds and let him rest; when Mem does so, Bor's wounds quickly heal and they continue on their way. After a while they come across a farmer plowing his field; Mem asks him where they are, and the farmer replies that they are in Jezira Bohtan. Mem rides on, happy to have arrived. He next comes upon a hunter who is unsuccessfully pursuing a gazelle; Mem catches it for the hunter and gives it to him. The hunter is angry at first, but they soon become friends, and the hunter, whose name is Qeretajdîn, invites Mem to be his guest in Jezira Bohtan. At the entrance to the city, by a stream they encounter a woman who claims to be Zîn, but who is very ugly. Mem is once again about to despair, when Bor tells him that she is an impostor, and to disregard what she says.

Bor rides on, and takes Mem to Qeretajdîn's house, where they are treated with sumptuous hospitality. Qeretajdîn is so taken with his guest that he does not go to the court of the emir (prince) for several days; the emir, Mîr Sêvdîn, sends a messenger to enquire about Qeretajdîn's absence. Qeretajdîn brings Mem to meet the emir, who happens to be Zîn's father (or brother). Although the emir takes a liking to Mem, he does not know that his reason for coming is to marry Zîn, who is already betrothed to Qeretajdîn's brother Çekan. The emir has a villainous minister named Beko, who tries to poison the emir's mind against Mem; Beko's daughter is the false Zîn whom Mem encountered at the entrance to the city. Mem must perform the task of getting a piece of Zîn's jewelry as proof that she loves him; when he succeeds in doing this, Çekan renounces his claim on Zîn, and Qeretajdîn and his brothers become Mem's sworn blood-brothers, ready to protect Mem at any price.

The emir invites Mem, Qeretajdîn, and all the noblemen in his kingdom to accompany him on a hunting expedition. Mem feigns illness, and stays behind to be alone with Zîn. The hunters return earlier than expected, and take Mem and Zîn by surprise. Mem quickly hides Zîn behind his cloak, and is unable to rise when the emir enters. Beko makes a big deal out of this lack of respect, and Qeretajdîn, who sees one of Zîn's braids sticking out from behind Mem's cloak, realizes that if he does not create a diversion to shift everyone's attention from Mem, they will discover that Zîn is hiding behind him, and both he and Zîn will be forever disgraced. Hence, Qeretajdîn heroically has his own manor burnt down, so that everyone will rush out to see what is happening. In so doing, Qeretajdîn successfully saves Mem and Zîn's honor. Qeretajdîn and his brothers embark on a campaign to levy taxes, in order to rebuild his manor; Mem stays behind, and Qeretajdîn tells the emir that if anything happens to Mem, the emir will be held responsible. Beko suggests that the emir and Mem play chess, setting the condition that if Mem wins he may have Zîn, but that if he loses he will be thrown into prison. Mem agrees, and they start playing, with Mem winning every time. Zîn is watching from above, over Mem's shoulder; Beko suggests that the emir and Mem trade places, and when they do so, Mem looks up and sees Zîn and loses his concentration, letting the emir win. Mem is then thrown into prison, where he languishes. When word comes that Qeretajdîn is on his way back, Zîn is quickly sent to release Mem from prison, but he dies as soon as he emerges. Zîn follows him in death, and they are buried side by side in separate graves. When Qeretajdîn returns, he finds the entire city in mourning; he goes with the emir and Beko to the graveyard, where the graves are opened, and Mem and Zîn are found embracing; Beko sticks his head out over the graves to ogle, at which point Qeretajdîn pulls out his sword and slices off Beko's head. A drop of his blood falls between the two lovers, and a thornbush grows on the very spot, separating Mem and Zîn just as Beko tried to

separate them in life. It is said that every time that thornbush is cut down, it grows back.

Although this is the essence of the story, no two versions recount it in exactly the same way. Of the numerous versions that exist in oral tradition, eighteen have been translated and analyzed in the present study. Besides the oral folkloric versions, there is also a poem by the same name, well known among the Kurds, which was composed by the poet Efimedê Xanî (Ahmed-i Khani) in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The relationship between the oral versions and this poem, revered by the Kurds as their national epic, will be explored in Chapter Two.

The first collecting of Kurdish texts was conducted by Western linguists in the second half of the nineteenth century. Although primarily interested in language, such scholars as Albert Socin and Eugen Prym[15], Hugo Makas[16], and Oskar Mann[17] collected from native informants folktales, poems, and folk romances which are of tremendous importance to the field of folkloristics as well. Nevertheless, because these scholars focused on the language of the texts, rather than on their content or mode of transference, there are monumental gaps in our knowledge about M&Z and the other stories of like genre.

The bearers of the tradition, the narrator-performers who tell these stories before a live audience, are known in Kurmanji Kurdish as *dengbêj*[18]. Deng means

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[15]Kurdische Sammlungen: a. Die Texte; b. Übersetzung. (St.-Pétersbourg : Eggers et Cie, 1890), 2 vols. in 4.

[16]Kurdische Texte im Kurmanji-Dialekte aus der Gegend von Mârdîn. (St-Petersburg/ Leningrad, 1897-1926; reprint Amsterdam : APA - Philo Press, 1979), 136 p.

[17]Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden. Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen, 4 (Berlin, 1906), 2 vols.

[18]Pronounced deng-beige, with stress the second syllable. According to Ayyûbiyân, the most common term in Sorani Kurdish, at least among the Mukri of Iran, is çîrger, from the verb çirîn = 'to sing'.

'voice' and **bêj-** is the present tense stem of the verb 'to say'[19]: hence, a *dengbêj* must possess a fine voice in order to tell his story, which includes many sung interpolations. The stem **bêj** also occurs in two other important terms, **çîrokbêj** and **stranbêj**. A **çîrokbêj** is a storyteller, one who tells **çîrok** or folktales, and a **stranbêj** is a singer of folk songs,   which are known in Kurmanji Kurdish as **kilam** [20] or **stran**[21]. The type of gathering at which stories like M&Z were told is called a *çivat*: we will have more to say about this word later. It is unfortunate that neither the art of the *dengbêj* nor the goings on at the çivat has been studied in any depth by the aforementioned scholars or their successors.   We know next to nothing about the esthetics of a good performance. What little we know about how one learned to become a *dengbêj* is due to Oskar Mann's description of the situation in Kurdistan of Iran in the first decade of this century, in the introduction to his Mukri texts:

> It seems that among the Kurds, in addition to schools directed by mullahs (of which there are not too many), there was and still is a type of singing school, in which they cultivate popular epic poetry. Young people with fine singing voices betake themselves to a master (wâstâ = Persian ostâd) to follow his instruction, and learn the repertoire of these masters exclusively by oral tradition; there are scarcely any bards who know how to read and write. Raḥman [O. Mann's informant] was himself illiterate.   If these young people are exceptionally gifted, they may go later to a second and a third teacher, and becoming the latter's *shâgird* [=apprentice], but not without some sort of remuneration, the students either doing household chores, or by showing their gratitude through payment in kind.

See 'Ubayd Allâh Ayyûbiyân, Çirîkey Mem û Zîn : Kurdî - Farsî نزی و مم چریکی (Tabrîz : Châpkhânah-i Shafaq, [1962]), pp. 4-5.

[19]The infinitive is **gotin**, cognate with Persian goftan گفتن . The present stem **bêj** is suppletive, i.e. taken from another root: it is ultimately related to the Latin word *vox* from which our own word *voice* is derived

[20]From Arabic kalâm كلام , meaning 'talk, speaking,' thus stressing the narrative aspect of songs.

[21]Presumably cognate with Persian sorûdan سرودن = 'to sing'. The Sorani Kurdish word for song is **goranî**, and the Zaza (Dumilî) word is **dêr**.

The field where the art of recitation thus learned may be first practiced is in the houses of notables, who gladly pass the evening by listening to the singing of bards and generously repay the latter with *khalât* (xelat) = gifts]. Moreover, in the villages the bard contents himself with a plate of rice as payment for his recitation. In the towns, there are also coffee houses, in which only tea is served, which are packed full with people who have come primarily to hear the performance of whatever singer happens to be there.[22]

Nowhere else is mention made of such singing schools, and it is unclear whether they were limited to Kurdistan of Iran or enjoyed a wider distribution. Moreover, it would be useful to know the history of such schools, and whether they still exist today.

Albert Lord, who studied the tradition of the Yugoslav heroic epic, features a section in his book The Singer of Tales[23] on how an epic singer learned his craft. Since the appearance of his seminal study, many attempts have been made to apply both Oral-Formulaic Theory as pioneered by his teacher Milman Parry and himself, and such aspects as the art of the singer and the recitation of a story qua performance, to the narrative traditions of other peoples. In the Middle Eastern sphere, Pertev Naili Boratav[24] and his student Ilhan Başgöz[25] have studied the art of the Turkish aşık.

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[22]Mann. ibid., pp. xxviii ff. My translation. A French translation of this passage appears in: Basile Nikitine. Les Kurdes : étude sociologique et historique (Paris : Imprimerie Nationale; Libraire Klincksieck, 1956), p. 273 ff.

[23]Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 24 (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1960; reprint New York : Atheneum, 1968 et seq; reprint Harvard University Press, 1981), chapter 2, pp. 13-29.

[24]Halk Hikayeleri ve Halk Hikayeciliği [=Folk Stories and Folk Story Telling Tradition in Turkey] (Ankara : Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1943), 327 p.; a German translation exists: Türkische Volkserzählungen und die Erzählerkunst, tr. Wolfram Eberhard (Taipei : Chinese Association for Folklore, 1975), 2 vols.

[25]Ilhan Başgöz. 'Digression in Oral Narrative : A Case Study of Individual Remarks by Turkish Romance Tellers,' JAF 99 (1986), pp. 5-23 and his 'The Tale Singer and His Audience,' in: Folklore : Performance and Communication, ed. Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein (The Hague : Mouton, 1975), pp. 143-204.

Susan Slyomovics[26] and Bridget Connelly[27] have both examined the artistry of the Egyptian rāwis who recite the Bani Hilal Epic. Nevertheless, with the exception of the preceding quote from Oskar Mann, the Kurdish *dengbêj* tradition has yet to be subjected to such an examination. Although there is a fair amount of Kurdish oral material already in print, the text-oriented bias in them is clear. It is hoped that the present work will prepare the way for such a full-fledged study of Kurdish oral tradition.

The political situation in which the Kurds have long found themselves militates against the carrying out of the type of fieldwork necessary to correct this imbalance. Because of the oppressive policies of the Turkish government vis-à-vis its sizeable Kurdish minority, serious linguistic or folkloristic research on the Kurds living on land controlled at present by Turkey can only be carried out in secret: if the researcher were to be discovered, his materials would be confiscated, and he would be imprisoned, or deported if he were lucky; his linguistic informants would be tracked down and taken into custody for questioning and torture[28]. For this reason, although the largest single bloc of Kurds -- 10-15 million souls -- lives in what is known as Turkey, very little in the way of Kurdish linguistic or folkloristic texts has been collected there since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923: volume one of Roger Lescot's Textes kurdes[29] (consisting of five folktales, plus 308 proverbs and 51

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[26]The Merchant of Art: An Egyptian Hilali Oral Epic Poet in Performance (Berkeley et al. : University of California Press, 1987),

[27]Arab Folk Epic and Identity (Berkeley : University of California Press, c1986), 328 p.

[28]In January, 1991 the Turkish government announced its intention to lift its ban on the Kurdish language. As of this writing, it is unclear how this will affect open folkloristic and linguistic research among the Kurds of Turkey. The Turkish government has revoked the ban on Kurdish in an attempt to placate its angry Kurdish citizens, to prevent security problems in the event that President Bush's Desert Storm war with Iraq spills over into Turkey.

[29](Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1940-42). 2 vols.

riddles) and some passages from volume two, and Hellmut Ritter's "Kurmancî-Texte aux dem Ṭûr 'Abdîn"[30] in two parts (consisting of folktales), both from the province of Mardin, are all that have been published.

In 1989 and 1990, volumes one and two of a collection of legends from the province of Diyarbakır appeared[31]. The first volume included 117 legends, while the second contained 134. The collector of this material, a young Turkish woman from Konya named Muhsine Helimoğlu Yavuz, gathered this material by going from village to village. Because of the ethnic composition of the province of Diyarbakır, there is little doubt that most if not all of the material was collected from Kurds, i.e., from native speakers of Kurmanji Kurdish and of Zaza (Dumilî). However, once again due to text-oriented bias, neither the individual context of each of these 251 legends was collected, nor the original texture -- in the Kurdish and Zaza languages -- was preserved. While the collection is invaluable because of the number of local legends it documents from the end of the 1980's, from a linguistic point of view it is a shame that the legends could not be collected and published in the original language. If Yavuz, who knows no Kurdish, had tried to do that, she would probably have gotten herself and her informants into serious trouble, considering official Turkish policy regarding the Kurdish language. Yavuz' collection makes it clear that Kurdish folklore is still thriving, in spite of official suppression. However, not one version of M&Z appears among the texts[32]: the sixth section of both volumes is devoted to Love Legends ('Aşk üzerine efsaneler'), and only three legends appear under this category,

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[30]I. Kârboran: Oriens 21-22 (1968-69), p. 1-135; II. Yezîden: Oriens 25-26 (1976), p. 1-37.

[31]Muhsine Helimoğlu Yavuz. Diyarbakır Efsaneleri üzerine bir Araştırma (Ankara : San Matbaası, 1989-90), 2 vols.

[32]Because M&Z is told as true, it could be considered a legend for the purposes of Yavuz' collection, although I consider it a romance.

two in volume one, and the third in volume two. Such a lack is harder to interpret: it could mean that M&Z is no longer commonly told, or it could mean that Yavuz came across it everywhere, but because of its perceived importance as a symbol of Kurdish national consciousness she decided to exclude it from her collection, either out of a lack of sympathy for the Kurdish cause, or to protect herself from trouble with the authorities.

Ironically, it was possible to do research among the Kurds of Iraq until recently: D. N. MacKenzie published a two volume work in 1961-62 entitled Kurdish Dialect Studies[33], based on fieldwork permitted by the Iraqi authorities in 1954-55 treating of the dialects of Kurdish spoken there; Joyce Blau's Le Kurde de 'Amadiya et de Djabal Sindjar[34], which appeared in 1975, attests to the same policy. Both works contain texts of interest to linguists and folklorists. Other than Oskar Mann, Margaret Kahn, and Don Stilo, few Westerners have attempted to do research among the Kurds of Iran, although some Soviet publications on the subject have appeared[35]. Nor has much work been done among the Kurds of Syria by anyone other than Roger Lescot[36].

The places where linguistic and folkloristic research on the Kurds can be safely carried out today include Israel, where almost all of Kurdish Jewry has migrated since 1951; Germany and other European countries with large numbers of "Turkish" Gastarbeiter (guest workers), many of whom are in fact Kurds from Turkey; and the Soviet Union, primarily in the Republic of Armenia. It is in these three places that

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[33](London : Oxford University Press, 1961-62) 2 vols.

[34](Paris : C. Klincksieck, 1975), 252 p.

[35]K.R. Eiiubi & I.A. Smirnova, Kurdskii Dialekt Mukri (Leningrad : Nauka, 1968), 269 p.; their Fonetika Kurdskogo IAzyka : Dialekt Mukri (Leningrad : Nauka, 1985), 339 p.; I.I. Tsukerman, Khorasanski I Kurmandzhi : Issledovanie i Teksty (Moskva : Nauka, 1986), 270 p.

[36]Appendix 2 to his Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjar (Beyrouth : l'Institut Français de Damas, 1938), pp. 236-43, and his Textes kurdes vol. 2

extensive research can be done to broaden our understanding of the *dengbêj* tradition.

Having said this, it is necessary to add that in Israel the younger generation is quickly being assimilated to Israeli society, and only the older generation, which grows smaller with every passing day, can still serve as a source for folkloristic and linguistic inquiry. Yona Sabar of UCLA, Jacqueline Alon, Simon Hopkins and Hans Jakob Polotsky in Jerusalem, and Robert Hoberman of SUNY at Stony Brook are among the most avid collectors of Kurdish Jewish folkloric texts.

The Kurdish immigrant community in Europe has been under-utilized as a source of material. On the other hand, Terry Lynn Todd wrote his dissertation on the Zaza language[37], based entirely on research carried out in Germany.

Soviet scholarship on the Kurds, their language and folklore has made many important contributions: seven of the versions of Mem û Zîn used in the present study are taken from Soviet publications; moreover, four of the dictionaries consistently consulted are the work of Soviet kurdologists.

Only five important studies of the oral versions of M&Z exist:

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[37]*A Grammar of Dimili (also known as Zaza).* Doctoral dissertation. (Ann Arbor, Michigan : University of Michigan, 1985), xv, 277 p. The following quote from his dissertation may clarify what is meant by 'Zaza':

Dimili is an Iranian language, part of the Indo-Iranian subgroup of Indo-European. It is spoken in central eastern Turkey by perhaps as many as one million people. The Turks and Kirmanji speakers around them call the language Zaza which has pejorative connotations (Mann-Hadank, 1932:1) ... Mann concluded (Mann-Hadank, 1932:19) that Dimili is not a Kurdish dialect and Hadank concluded (1932:4) that the name Dimili is most likely a metathesis of "Daylemî," i.e. the language reflects that of the Daylamites who came from an area called Daylam on the south coast of the Caspian and who were often distinguished from the Kurds in medieval references. Dimili speakers today consider themselves to be Kurds and resent scholarly conclusions which indicate that their language is not Kurdish. Speakers of Dimili are Kurds psychologically, socially, culturally, economically, and politically. It is quite possible, especially since the term Kurd has always been ill-defined (D.N. MacKenzie. "The Origins of Kurdish." *Transactions of the Philological Society.* 1961:69), that speakers of Dimili should be identified as Kurds today. The language, however, is distinct from Kurdish dialects ..." (pp. iii, v-vi.)

1) Basile Nikitine. "Essai de classification de folklore à l'aide d'un inventaire social-économique," in: XVIe Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique , VIe assemblée générale de l'Institut international d'anthropologie. Bruxelles, 1-8 septembre 1935 (Bruxelles : [Imprimerie médicale et scientifique], 1936), v. 2. pp 1000-1012.

2 and 3) Roger Lescot. "Introduction," Textes Kurdes, Vol. 2: Memê Alan (Beyrouth : Institut Français de Damas, 1942). pp. [iii]-xxv; Destana Memê Alan : Kürtçe-Türkçe, tr. Baran (Istanbul : Özgürlük Yolu Yayınları, 1978). 389 p.

4) 'Ubayd Allāh Ayyūbiyān. "Bar'rasī-i tahqīqī-i "chirīkeh-i" Mam ū Zīn va shāhkār-i Ahmad-i Khānī-i Mam ū Zīn," in: Çirikey Mem û Zîn : Kurdî - Farsî چریکەی مەم و زین] (Tabrīz : Chāpkhānah-i Shafaq, [1962]), pp. 20-35.

5) Qenatê Kurdo [Kurdoev]. "Derheqa şovêd Mem û Zîna zargotî û şova Mem û Zîna Ehmedê Xanî," Govarê Koñ Zanyarî Kurd [=The Journal of the Kurdish Academy], 6 (1978), pp. 78-110.

Although one would never guess it from the title, Nikitine's analysis discusses ethnographic details and practices as reflected in one particular version of M&Z, Oskar Mann's Mukri version (OM), collected in Soujbulaq (Mehabad) in Kurdistan of Iran from Rahmani Bekir. His approach is strictly literalist, focusing on how the text accurately reflects details of Kurdish -- and other Iranian people's -- customs. Although limited to one specific type of analysis, we are lucky to have such a fine study.

It is indeed unfortunate that Lescot's "version" of M&Z is the most often quoted: the fact that it includes a French translation has made it accessible to those unfamiliar with the tradition. Moreover, its reissue in Turkey in 1978[36], this time

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[36] Destana Memê Alan. Kürtçe-Türkçe tr Baran (Istanbul Özgürlük Yolu Yayınları, 1978), 389 p

with a Turkish translation, has raised it to a most undeserved place as the ideal version to refer to. Due to this situation, in what follows I will document in detail why I think such acclaim is unjustified.

The notes in the introduction to Lescot's 1942 edition, while too brief to constitute a serious or comprehensive study of the topic, were understandably seen as an important contribution, faute de mieux. Nevertheless, from a cursory examination of them, the sorts of methodological biases that make this publication so objectionable are readily apparent. Perhaps Lescot's most valuable contribution is the comparative motif chart for four of the oral versions (LT, OM, GNa [Macler], and a version printed in Hawar) and Ehmedê Xanî's literary poem. Although he clearly states that he heard some twenty odd recitations of M&Z, and could therefore have provided us with twenty versions of the romance from his own field work, he chose instead to make one composite text based on three versions, imposing his literary bias on a folkloristic venture, with disastrous results.

The main problem with Lescot's publication is the conflation of three texts. His ideal was to obtain a "good text" of a Kurdish legend:

> the only means of establishing a definitive version without fissures was
> therefore to combine several variants. That is what has been done. The
> comparative table ... shows that the result is satisfactory.[39]

Lescot's literary palate induced him to commit the gravest of errors, for a composite text is to be avoided at all costs. If the distinction between oral literature and written literature is valid, how can one justify combining purely oral texts according to the standards of the written word? First of all it must be understood that

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[39]Roger Lescot. "Introduction," Textes Kurdes Vol. 2: Memê Alan (Beyrouth : Institut Français de Damas, 1942), p. iv. My translation.

oral tradition has its own standards, which are different from those of most written

literary traditions; hence, it is erroneous to judge an orally composed text according to

the criteria of written literature.

In speaking of how to compare the various versions of an oral narrative, the

folklorist Stith Thompson, co-author of The Types of the Folktale, and compiler of the

six-volume Motif-Index of Folk-Literature and author of the well-known book The

Folktale, has the following to say:

> Such studies cannot be based on casually selected texts, for if these have
> not been recorded exactly as heard, they are of as little value for stylistic analysis
> as a corrupt literary text would be. Unfortunately for the serious student, many
> folktale collectors have been primarily interested in making the stories they
> publish attractive to the persons who might buy their books. And this public,
> whether of children or of adults, is generally not responsive to the same kinds
> of effects as the audience for whom the tales were originally meant. Hence the
> collector revises the tales according to his own fancy or taste. Even with the
> Grimm collection, we have seen that there was a reworking of the material
> from edition to edition. The study of these texts is, therefore, of importance
> only as showing us the literary skill of the Grimms and their idea of what a
> properly told folktale should sound like. ... The scholar must realize that he is
> dealing with a folk art and that if the unlettered story-teller and his audience
> have little regard for distinctions that may seem to him [=the scholar or
> folklorist] important, they may well insist upon their own distinctions which
> may seem quite arbitrary and illogical.[40]

Furthermore, the folklorist Alan Dundes characterizes the concept of

composite texts as practiced by the Brothers Grimm as follows:

> Unfortunately, despite the avowed claims of the Brothers Grimm that
> they were reporting pure oral tradition as it fell from the lips of uneducated
> German peasants, source criticism of the hallowed Grimm canon of folktales
> suggests that this was not always the case. For one thing, as the Grimms began
> to assemble more and more versions of the same tale type, they could not resist
> the temptation of combining elements from different versions. As a result, the
> composite text they published was not really traditional at all, even though it

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[40] Stith Thompson. The Folktale (New York : Holt, Rinehart & Winston, c1946; repr. Berkeley et al. :
University of California Press, c1977), p. 450-1.

was made up of traditional elements. The tale as reported by the Grimms had
in fact never been told in precisely that form by anyone in oral tradition.[41]

Lescot is guilty of committing the same offense: by combining elements from
three different versions of M&Z, he has created an abstraction which is not
representative of the authentic oral tradition of any one place.   Moreover, his
contention that the versions were "incomplete" before he doctored them up is itself
questionable.   Nowhere does he clearly define what he means by "completeness."
Nonetheless, Lescot, like his predecessors Prym and Socin, is at least to be commended
for letting the reader know where he has taken liberties with the text.

The three informants whose material Lescot combined were known as Mîşo,
Sebrî, and "Stranvan," the latter a pseudonym.

Mîşo, whose version was taken as "texte de base" (verses 70-287; 374-756; 818-
3091; 3219-end), lived in Meqtel, Syria. He learned M&Z from his father, who learned
it from a Kurd from Behdînan[42]. According to Lescot, Mîşo's dialect, altered due to
frequent contacts with Armenians and Turks, was not among the best, nor was his
style among the purest. I would like to know how a serious linguist can consider a
dialect *good* or *bad* Also, what are the criteria being employed to measure purity of
style? Lescot goes on to say that, although of mediocre literary quality, the variant
which Mîşo transmitted was the most étoffée [action packed] of all those which could
be collected in Syria at the time [=circa 1942]. Such negative commentary is to be
encountered at every step in Lescot's introduction.   It is not clear if Mîşo's text was
taken in its entirety: it serves as "texte de base," but does that mean that if we were to

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[41] Alan Dundes. Headnote to "Little Red Cap (Rotkäppchen)" in: Little Red Riding Hood : A Casebook
(Madison : The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), p. 7.

[42] i.e., the area of Zakho and Dihok in Kurdistan of Iraq.

strip cut Sebrî's and Stranvan's passages, that what would remain would be Mîşo's version in its entirety and in the order in which he told it?

Sebrî, originally from the Hesenan tribe, had lived among the Omeran tribe, near Mardin and consequently spoke the dialect of Mardin. Sebrî's version was borrowed from liberally (verses 1-70; prose passage p. 8; 288-334; 360-373; 757-817), supposedly because his language was "better."

The episode of the chess scene (verses 3092-3218) was borrowed from "Stranvan" [43], who came from the Serhedan region, i.e., the Turco-Russian and Turco-Iranian border region, including the provinces of Kars, Ağrı, Van, and Hakkâri in Kurdistan of Turkey. Lescot rated the style [tour] of this version as more lively than what he encountered elsewhere, claiming that it exhibited real beauty. He did however consider its verse to be slightly defective.   Again, nowhere does he provide us with the criteria he used in determining what real beauty, defective verse, or good language is. Moreover, I suspect that these judgements are his own, rather than those of native Kurds.

Many of Lescot's pronouncements are based on an incomplete understanding of the material. For example, after correctly stating that whereas Mem is generally from the City of the West [=Muxurzemîn], in OM he is from Yemen, and in Xanî's version he belongs to a noble family of Bohtan, he then goes on to pass judgement, calling the divergences of OM and Xanî "distortions [entorses] imposed on the most correct and most widespread tradition[44]." He is apparently unaware that OM is representative of the southern oicotype, and that Mem is from Yemen in PS, ZK-3, JA, and MC-2 as well as OM. It is not impossible, incidentally, that the southern

[43]It first appeared in the journal Hawar, no. 36.

[44]Lescot ibid., p. xiv. My translation.

versions are more conservative than the northern ones, which would mean that Yemen is older than Muxurzemîn. The concept of "correctness" or "incorrectness" has no place in such a study: we have two regional traditions, each of which is equally valid.

When Lescot states that modern variants increasingly neglect the character "Begît[45]," [=Bengîn(eh)] he is unaware that Bengîn is a peculiarly southern oicotype, appearing only in OM, ZK-3, MC-1, and JA. The negative term "neglect" is once again uncalled for.

Lescot complained that

> the art of the dengbêj is in a state of decay [est en pleine décadence]. Those who boast of this title today are mere amateurs with a fragmentary repertoire ... at least twenty informants recited for me what they knew of Memê Alan. Most of them only knew the most salient episodes; some of them summarized in prose the secondary passages, but not one of them ever provided me with an irreproachable whole[46].
> ... Moreover, [the dengbêj] often takes the liberty of recounting certain episodes in prose, when he is tired, or when his memory fails him.[47]

This suggests that he totally misunderstands the concept of *cante fable*, i.e., stories whose texture consists of prose narration with sung verse insertions at key points. This type of textural feature is discussed in Chapter Three of the present study, in a consideration of the genre to which M&Z is to be ascribed. He is apparently also unaware that romances such as M&Z, told primarily in prose interspersed with verse, exist throughout the Middle East and the Caucasus, among the Turks, Arabs, Persians, Armenians, and Georgians, to name a few. Moreover, he was writing this in 1942.

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[45]ibid, p. xviii.

[46]ibid, p. iv.

[47]ibid, p. xxiii.

Some of the fullest versions included in the present study were collected more than ten years later[48], when according to Lescot one would have expected the tradition to have long since died out.[49]

In combining several versions, Lescot was in effect stating that no one version was satisfactory: he was not happy with the story as it was being told by and for Kurds. He specifically states that

> [n]one of the versions in print [=PN; PS; OM; HM; FK-1; FK-2; FK-3] is satisfactory: [PS] is too abbreviated and contains lacunae; [HM] is nothing but a bad summary; [FK-1,-2,-3] were dictated by Armenians, and their language is bad; [OM] is the most coherent version, but it also presents defects.[50]

It is with this denigrating of the tradition that I am most troubled. Unlike Lescot, I find nothing wrong or incomplete about the versions. Even PN and HM, which lack several of the episodes traditionally occurring at the beginning of the story, are useful additions to the repertoire. Each *dengbêj* has his own way of telling the story, and no two versions are identical, although each version is recognizably a link in the chain of the tradition. And it is a fine, robust tradition, which the Kurds are understandably proud of! I doubt that my translations of the eighteen versions of M&Z presented here can begin to capture the thrill of the original Kurdish or Turoyo, but they are as accurate as possible, considering the handicap of having to work from the written record of what were oral performances. Also, the cultural and linguistic notes I have included should make the story more readily understandable to a Western audience. I belong to a different generation than Lescot did, and I have been

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[48] e.g. EP-1 (1955); ZK-3 (1959); ZK-1 (1963); and ZK-2 (1970).

[49] This is not to say that in the last decade of the twentieth century the *dengbêj* tradition is thriving.

[50] Lescot. ibid., p. iv. My translation.

trained to let the story speak for itself, to try to understand it on its own terms and in its own cultural context, rather than imposing on it literary conventions which are foreign to it, and then attacking it for not complying with those conventions.

On pp. vi-vii, Lescot sees M&Z as reflecting an actual historical event, consulting historical sources in search of personalities with names resembling those in M&Z. In this respect, Lescot is in agreement with many Kurds for a change, in seeing the story as historical. Although I am tempted to compare this endeavor with Tim Severin's article in National Geographic Magazine attempting to trace the voyage of Sindbad[51], looking for historical evidence in purely fictional material, it is possible that some historical reality is included in the story. Certainly the appearance of Jezira Bohtan in all versions argues for considering the story a legend, even if Muxurzemîn is pure fiction. Furthermore, I am told that if one goes to Jezira Bohtan today, one will be shown Mem and Zîn's grave with a thornbush growing on it: for the local inhabitants, the story is part of their local history.

Lescot's composite text was reissued in Turkey in 1978 with a Turkish translation and an introduction by the Kurdish scholar Nurettin Zaza[52]. This edition removed Lescot's version a step further from its original milieu, by replacing words in the text which were deemed 'un-Kurdish' with words deemed 'pure Kurdish.' This may be a natural reaction to the sort of cultural repression under which the Kurds have been forced to lived, but it reflects an ideological stance which is unscholarly. No amount of Arabic or Turkish loan words is going to make M&Z an ounce less Kurdish: while there are motifs in the story which are international in distribution,

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[51]"In the Wake of Sindbad," National Geographic 162 (July 1982), 2-41.

[52]He signs the article with the pseudonym Çroknivîs = 'story writer.'

the selection and distribution of motifs seen in the story is unique, and uniquely Kurdish.

I believe that attempts to edit out words of foreign origin – a practice all too common in the Middle East – bespeaks an underlying fear that hostile forces will replace the Kurdish language and its folklore with their own language and folklore unless every last foreign word is stricken from the record. It is true that the governments that hold sway over Kurdish territory have tried to supplant Kurdish language and culture: the Turkish government is particularly guilty of this. Nevertheless, in spite of all the attempts to the contrary, Kurdish is still very much alive and well, if not a little bruised. As long as Kurdish remains a living language, it will reflect influences from the surrounding languages: only a dead language can be controlled in this respect. The Turkish, Arabic, Armenian, Syriac (Aramaic), and Persian borrowings into Kurdish are reflective of Kurdish history: are we to turn our backs on this history? Furthermore, many of the loan words have received an unmistakeably Kurdish imprint: the word ĥikyat, meaning 'folktale,' synonymous with çîrok, is borrowed ultimately from Arabic ḥikāyah حكاية ; in Turkish the form is hikâye, and in Persian hekāyat حكايت .[33] Although these are all similar, the

Kurdish form is unique, and Armenian borrowed precisely this Kurdish form in its word for folktale, hek'iat' հեքիաթ.[54] Similarly, civat, the sort of get-together at which the story of M&Z is recited, is ultimately from Arabic jamā'ah جماعة = 'group': Turkish cemaat and Persian jamā'at جماعت both mean 'a congregation or assembly,'

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[53] It should be noted that neither the Turkish nor the Persian word means 'folktale' : the Turkish hikâye refers to a folk romance, an orally transmitted genre, while Persian hekâyat حكايت refers to a literary tale. What they have in common is that they designate one or another type of narrative.

[54] Likewise, the Neo-Aramaic speaking Jews of Persian Azerbaijan have borrowed the Kurdish word çîrok, giving it the forms čorake and čoroke.

as does the Kurdish form **cimae't**[55]. However, while both **cimae't** and **civat** can have the latter meaning, only **civat** can have the former meaning: hence both its meaning and its form are uniquely Kurdish, regardless of the word's ultimate derivation.

In any case, it was a conscious decision on my part to exclude Lescot's composite text and its later permutations from the corpus of versions considered in this study, in the hopes that in so doing I will nip in the bud the unsound practice of producing composite texts of folk narratives.

Continuing our review of the literature on M&Z, the Iranian Kurdish scholar 'Ubayd Allāh Ayyūbiyān republished Oskar Mann's version (OM), in the modern orthography for Sorani Kurdish in Arabic script, together with a Persian translation[56]. Although he took a few liberties with the text, which have been indicated in the notes to my English translation of OM, he basically adhered closely to the text Oskar Mann collected from Rafiman-î Bekir. For OM, then, we are fortunate to have both a German and a Persian translation, both with (sometimes conflicting) explanatory notes.[57] Ayyūbiyān's edition includes an introductory essay in Persian[58], in which he reiterates Lescot's opinionated evaluation (or devaluation) of the earliest collected versions (PS, HM, LC-1, OM), admitting that he himself has not seen some of them (e.g., LC-1). Other introductory sections list various native terms for both the narrator-performers who tell stories like M&Z, and

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[55] also attested as **cemaet** and **cimiet**.

[56] Cirikey Mem û Zîn : Kurdî - Farsî [چیرۆکی   مه م   و   زین] (Tabrîz : Chāpkhānah-i Shafaq [1962]), 277 p.

[57] I availed myself of both of them in translating OM into English.

[58] "Bar'rasī-i taḥqīqī-i 'chirīkeh-i' Mam û Zīn va shāhkār-i Aḥmad-i Khānī-i Mam û Zīn," ibid., pp. 20-35.

for the genre of stories to which M&Z belongs[59], as well as offering a seven-page
inventory of the names of stories belonging to this genre, followed by a list of the best
known *dengbêjes*[60], both living and dead.

The late Soviet kurdologist Qenatê Kurdo [Kurdoev] published an article on
M&Z in Kurmanji Kurdish[61], not easily accessible to an audience beyond the confines
of Iraq, both because of the obscurity of the journal in which it was published[62], and
because it was printed in the Arabic alphabet, which Kurmanji-speaking Kurds in
Turkey and the Soviet Union would be unfamiliar with[63]. The article gives a sloppily
printed bibliographical survey, which may be the fault of the printer rather than of
Kurdoev. Although the title implies that the article will address the relationship
between the oral versions and the literary version, there is very little discussion of this
issue. Instead Kurdoev deals with the two realms separately, first treating of several
different oral versions, pointing out differences between them, without delving into
analysis. This is followed by a discussion of Ehmedê Xanî's literary version,
comparing it with Tristan and Isolde, and the Georgian romance Eteri and Abesalom.
In the article, Kurdoev makes mention of a planned Soviet publication containing

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[59]The term he uses is çîrîke.

[60]The term he uses is çîrger.

[61]"Derheqa şovêd Mem û Zîna zargotî û şova Mem û Zîna Ehmedê Xanî" [= About the oral versions of
Mem û Zîn and Ehmedê Xanî's version of Mem û Zîn] Govarê Korî Zanyarî Kurd [=The Journal of the
Kurdish Academy], 6 (1978), pp. 78-110.

[62]Govarê Korî Zanyarî Kurd [=The Journal of the Kurdish Academy], published in Baghdad, Iraq.

[63]Unfortunately, it is realistic to expect that very few Kurds in Turkey would ever find out that such a
journal, much less such an article, exists. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Ferhad
Shakely for making his copy of the article available to me.

Kurmanji is generally written in the Latin or Cyrillic alphabet, and Sorani is generally written in a
modified Arabic script. It is possible to write Kurmanji in Arabic letters and Sorani in Latin (or
Cyrillic) letters, as there is a one-on-one correspondance between the three alphabets. A chart of the
three alphabets can be found on the pages immediately preceding Chapter One.

thirteen versions of the romance, but as of this writing (April 1991) it has still not appeared. Kurdoev goes into far more detail than Lescot in comparing and contrasting the different versions, but it must be borne in mind that his frame of reference was also broader: whereas Lescot limited himself to four oral versions, Kurdoev availed himself of all the versions he listed in the article, twenty in number, if my reckoning is correct.[64]

In addition to these five short studies, a few early versions of M&Z are preceded by short introductions:

Makas, Hugo. "Mamu und Zine: Vorbemerkung", in <u>Kurdische Texte im Kurmanjî-Dialekte aus der Gegend von Mārdîn</u>. (St-Petersburg/ Leningrad, 1897-1926; reprint Amsterdam : APA - Philo Press, 1979), pp. [1]-4.

Mann, Oskar. "Mem und Zin: Vorbemerkung", in <u>Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden</u>, Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen, 4 (Berlin : Georg Reimer, 1909), Bd. 2, pp. 40-41.

Socin, Albert [& Eugen Prym]. "Mâm und Sîn: Vorbemerkung", in <u>Kurdische Sammlungen. Zweite Abteilung: Erzählungen und Lieder im Dialekte von Bohtan</u>: b. Übersetzung. (St.-Pétersbourg : Eggers et Cie., 1890), v. 2b, pp. [99]-100.

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[64]This includes two versions to which I have not had access, and excludes my HR-1, HR-2, and MC-1, as well as JA and MC-2. The two versions I lack are: His #7, collected by Mekslmê Xemo in 1963 In Leningrad from Miñemedê Sadiqê Bamerinî from Behdînan in Iraqi Kurdistan, and his #8, written by Erdaşê Emoyê E'reb from the village of Karvanserayê in the district of Aparan, Soviet Armenia. Apparently Erdaşê Emo, who now lives in Pustaveli, sent this manuscript to Kurdoev so that he would print it. Both these versions are among the thirteen versions that Kurdoev says will be published.

Makas gives enough background material to make it obvious that his informant was not an active bearer of oral tradition, but rather a merchant with a good enough memory to provide short accounts of several Kurdish tales.

Mann mentions two other versions of M&Z that he collected in Suruç in the province Urfa. Although he intended to publish these texts in a later volume of the series, they remain unpublished to this day.

Socin mentions having met someone in Jezira who had a manuscript copy of Ehmedê Xanî's poem, stating that the man was unwilling to sell it to him. He goes on to say that he was not in a position to clarify the relationship between Ehmedê Xanî's poem and the oral versions. His comments regarding content are opinionated, insisting that there must have been a more symmetrical original of which this is a garbled version: such attitudes were typical of the period in which he wrote, although I find them inexcusable in Lescot, who wrote fifty years later. A most frustrating omission is the identity of the informant: Socin refers to him as "the râwî," but does not make it clear whether the elderly Jew Pinchas was the source of this particular text.

In addition, Oskar Mann discusses M&Z among other romances in his consideration of Kurdish folk poetics[65]. We will come back to this in the section on Kurdish folk poetics in Chapter Five.

'Abd al-Hamīd Husaynī does not distinguish between Ehmedê Xanî's literary version and oral versions in his article on M&Z[66], calling PS, LC-1, HM, LT texts (or versions) of M&Z. He displays the same sort of literary bias as Lescot: in fact he seems to have borrowed liberally from Lescot, e.g., claiming that PS is summarized

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[65] Einleitung über Inhalt und Form der ostkurdischen Volksepik," in Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden, Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen, 4 (Berlin : Georg Reimer, 1909), Bd. 2, pp. lxvl-lii.

[66] "Ahmad-i Khānī va manzūmah-yi Mam o Zīn," Nashriyah-yi Dānishkadah-yi Adabiyat va Ulūm-i Insānī-yi Tabrīz, 25 (1352 [1963]), pp. 74-88.

(abbreviated) and as a whole is lacking (incomplete)[67]. He fails to comprehend the profound difference between Xanî's version and the oral versions: although Xanî's version is itself derived from oral tradition, this writer judges oral versions by it. This is by far the poorest piece of scholarship on the topic.

Louis Marin, the acting president of the Société d'Ethnographie de Paris, reported that at the June 6, 1931 meeting, the Kurdish intellectual Emir Sureya Bedr Khan gave a talk on "the poem Mem-o-Zine," in which he claimed that M&Z is recited over the entire area of Kurdistan[68]. As noted above, with the exception of the Mukri version collected by Oskar Mann (OM) from an area along the Kurmanji - Sorani dialect frontier, no Sorani versions of the romance of M&Z have been collected, which strongly suggests that the oral versions are in fact limited to the Kurmanji cultural sphere. This brief report includes a summary of Bedr Khan's oral version of the story, together with the interesting twist that Bedr Khan, a direct descendant of the famous chief of the Kurds of Jezira Bedr-Khan-Bek who revolted against the Sublime Porte in 1846, traces his ancestry back to Zîn and her brother the emir. The report is most valuable for its reflection of how M&Z is perceived by this prominent Kurdish intellectual.

Everything else that has been written deals primarily with the life of Ehmedê Xanî and his literary poem.

Ehmedê Xanî (also spelled Ahmed-i Khani) was probably born in 1061 A.H., which corresponds to the Christian date 1650-1651 A.D.[69] He was a member of the

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[67] است ناقص کلی وبطور ملخص , p. 82. Lescot's original ran as follows: [PS] is too abbreviated and contains lacunae (Le poème de Socin est trop abrégé, et comporte des lacunes: ibid., p. iv)

[68] "Séance du 6 Juin 1931" [Mem-o-Zine, poème kurde] L'Ethnographie, N.S. 24 (1931), pp. 4-6.

[69] See Ferhad Shakely. Kurdish Nationalism in Mem U Zin of Ehmed-i Xani (Sweden, 1983), pp. 8-17.

Xanî tribe, and although it is not clear whether he was born in Bayazid[70] or Hakkâri, he studied in Bayazid at the Muradiyah Mosque, and his grave is still to be seen above that city, just opposite the remarkable Ishak Paşa Sarayı[71]. It is also possible that he lived in Jezira Bohtan for a time. Ehmedê Xanî travelled widely, as far as Syria and Egypt, and was fluent in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, as well as in his native Kurdish. A devout and learned Muslim, he is reputed to have composed poetry in all four languages, although he is best known for his Kurdish works Mem û Zîn, E'qîda îman (The article of faith), an explanation of the foundations of Islam in verse, and Nûbar (First Fruits)[72], a rhymed Arabic-Kurdish glossary. As will be discussed more fully in Chapter Two, Xanî loved his people and wrote his literary poem Mem û Zîn, derived from oral tradition, in the hopes of establishing a strong literary tradition in Kurdish. It is sad to report that his dream is only now beginning to be realized. Xanî probably died in 1119 A.H. (1706-1707 A.D.), at the age of 57.

Although Xanî's Mem û Zîn was written at the close of the seventeenth century, it was not until the end of the World War I that it was first published. The first edition was printed in Istanbul in Arabic script, with an introduction signed by Hemze. Although tradition has it that most copies were burnt by the Turks, Shakely reports that there is a copy in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.[73] A second printing came out in Aleppo, Syria in 1947: this is apparently an offset reprinting of the first edition. Two more printings of the 1917 Istanbul

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[70]Kurdish Bazîd, modern Turkish Doğubayazit, in the province of Ağri, near Mount Ararat.

[71]This spectacular palace is often depicted on the cover of Turkish touristic guidebooks.

[72]Facsimile edition: Albert von Le Coq, "Anhang : Zwei kurdische Handschriften aus Damaskus," in: Kurdische Texte, Kurmangî-Erzählungen und -Lieder nebst einer Zâzâ Erzählung, gesammelt und herausgegeben in der Urschrift und in Transkription (Berlin, 1903; reprint Amsterdam : APA - Philo Press, [198-?]), pp. 1-47 (second grouping of section in Arabic alphabet).

[73]Shakely, ibid., p. 2.

edition have appeared, in 1954 and 1968, both bearing the imprint of Erbil (Kurdish Hewlêr) in Kurdistan of Iraq, and including Gîw-î Mukriyanî's introduction.

The late Soviet kurdologist M.B. Rudenko produced a second edition in 1962[74], consisting of a critical edition of the text in Arabic characters, based on several manuscripts housed in the Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad, plus a Russian translation. Moreover, this edition includes two introductions, one in Russian by Rudenko and one in Kurmanji Kurdish in Arabic script by Qenatê Kurdo [Kurdoev]. Rudenko's introduction, mirrored closely by Kurdoev, gives publishing history of Xanî's Mem û Zîn, some biographical information about Xanî, a brief explanation of the prosody of the poem, and a detailed description of each of the nine manuscripts upon which the critical edition is based.

M.E. Bozarslan published a third edition of Xanî's Mem û Zîn in Istanbul in 1968, this time in Latin orthography and with a Turkish translation. A second printing of this edition appeared in 1975, also in Istanbul. From personal communication with the editor, I know that these editions are bibliographic rarities: he himself possesses only one copy, of the 1975 edition.

Although Xanî wrote in Kurmanji, two Sorani translations of his Mem û Zîn have been produced in this century, one a straightforward rendering of the poem by Hejar[75], a Kurd from Mehabad in Kurdistan of Iran, the other a dramatized version by Pîremerd[76].

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[74]Mam u Zin [Мам и Зин], kriticheskiĭ tekst, perevod, predislovie i ukazateli M.B. Rudenko, Pamiatniki literatury narodov vostoka, Teksty, Mala seriia, 13 (Moskva : Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoĭ Literatury, 1962), 249, 197 p.

[75](Baghdad, 1960).

[76]Sergurustey Mem û Zîn (Silêmanî : Jiyan Press, 1925), 24 p. Pîremerd is the pseudonym of Hacî Tewfîq.

The Syrian Kurd Muḥammad Saʿîd Ramaḍânî al-Bûṭî published an Arabic translation in 1957[77], changing the poem into a novel, and excluding the references to Kurdish nationalistic aspirations. This has gone through at least five printings. Rather than reflecting al-Bûṭî's own views, the omissions were more than likely due to Syrian censureship strictures.

The Iraqi Kurdish scholar Jemal Nebez made a German summary of Xanî's poem, which came out in Munich in 1960[78]. Both al-Bûṭî's and Nebez' renderings focus on the love story of Mem and Zîn, omitting Xanî's introductory sections dealing with the place of the Kurds among the nations, and his lengthy praise of God.

Alexandre Jaba served as the Russian consul in Erzurum in the 1850's. During that period, he collected forty Kurdish texts from Mahmud Efendi Bayazidli, a sexagenarian of distinguished background, who came to Erzurum from his native Bayazid, and became Jaba's main informant. In addition to the forty texts, published in Kurmanji in Arabic characters with French translation, Jaba's collection includes notes on the tribes of Kurdistan, on eight important Kurdish poets, and on the science of grammar[79]. Presumably Mahmud Efendi was the source of all this material. The section on the Kurdish poets was for many years considered a reliable source of information: however, many of the poets' dates appearing in that section have since been revised in the light of more convincing evidence[80]. Eḣmedê Xanî is the fifth of

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[77] Muhammad Saʿîd Ramaḍân Bûṭî, Maml Zayn: qissat ḥubb nabata fî al-arḍ wa-aynaʿa fî al-samâ (Dimashq : Dâr al-Fikr, 1982), 200 p. (5th ed.)

[78] Mam und Zin: genannt Romeo und Julia der Kurden: übersetzung, Vorwort und Kommentare (München : NUKSE, 1969), 47 p.

[79] Alexandre Jaba, Recueil de notices et de récits kourdes servant à la connaissance de la langue, de la littérature et des tribus du Kourdistan (St.-Pétersbourg, 1860; reprint Amsterdam : APA - Philo Press, 1979), x, 111, 128 p.

[80] e.g., D.N. MacKenzie, "Malâ-ê Jizrî and Faqî Tayrân," in: M. Minovi & I Afshar (eds.), Yâd-nâmah-yi Irânî-yi Mînorsky (Tehran : Tehran University, 1969), pp. 125-30

the eight poets mentioned. Jaba acquired a manuscript of Xanî's Mem û Zîn, the contents of which he summarized in a letter to the scholar P. Lerch. The manuscript of Mem û Zîn is housed in the Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad, according to Kurdoev[81]. Jaba also compiled the first major Kurdish foreign language dictionary[82].

In his 1858 report on Jaba's communiqué regarding Xanî's Mem û Zîn[83], Lerch gives biographical information about Ehmedê Xanî, followed by information of questionable accuracy about Kurdish dialects. The final part of the report is a summary of the story of Mem and Zîn as it appears in Xanî's poem. Lerch asserts that the legend of Mem and Zîn is known throughout Kurdistan, which I have shown above to be unlikely.

Martin Hartmann describes in his article "Zur kurdischen Literatur"[83a] the various Kurdish literary works that were featured in a manuscript formerly belonging to a Kurd in Constantinople that he received in 1896 through the intermediary of a friend living there. Pages 224 to 403 of the manuscript were devoted to Ehmedê Xanî's poem Mem û Zîn. Hartmann discusses the meter of the verse, and the language, lamenting the difficulty of understanding certain passages due to the lack of adequate reference works: even Rudenko, working some sixty years later, found obscure passages in Xanî's Mem û Zîn. Hartmann then mentions two other manuscript editions of Xanî's Mem û Zîn and discusses problems with them, attributing some of

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[81] Kurdoev. ibid., p. 79.

[82] Auguste Jaba & Ferdinand Justi. Dictionnaire Kurde-Français (St.-Pétersbourg: Eggers et Cie, 1879), xviii, 463 p. This dictionary, commonly referred to as "Jaba & Justi," included the earlier vocabularies of Rhea and Garzoni.

[83] P. Lerch. "Bericht über "Resumé de l'ouvrage kourde d'Ahmed Effendi Khani, fait et traduit par A. Jaba." Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg. Classe Historico-Philologique. Registre 1-15. No. 547, Tome 15: No. 11. (1858), cols. [161]-171.

[83a] Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 12 (1898), 106 ff.

the difficulties to the attitude of the copyist. As a final note, Hartmann points to an inconsistency in the date that Jaba gives for Xanî's death: whereas Jaba claims that he died in 1063 A.H. (=1652-53 A.D.), in the final lines of the poem he says he has reached the year [10]64.

In speaking of the Georgian poet Rustaveli, Iosif Orbeli compares his greatness with that of the Kurdish poet Akhmed Khani (=Ehmedê Xanî)[84]. Both of them "gave their hearts to their people." Orbeli affirms that the story of Mem and Zîn existed long before Xanî worked it up into his beautifully worded poem. He mentions some of Xanî's verses whose message to the world is that the Kurds do not lack culture, and are not ruled by passion alone. Orbeli's intense fondness for the Kurdish people and his awareness of their history of suffering are abundantly clear. He enumerates with pride historical figures such as Saladin and dynasties such as the Sheddadis in Iran who were of Kurdish origin.

Writing under the pen name 'Herekol Azîzan,' Celadet Bedirxan wrote an article in the Kurdish journal Hawar entitled "Klasîkên me" [=Our classics][85]. The article basically constituted a reissue of Jaba's section on eight important Kurdish poets, this time in Latin (Hawar) script, with a few additional notes and quotes from the poets' works. In the case of Ehmedê Xanî, in addition to quoting Jaba's information including the questionable dates of Xanî's birth and death, Bedirxan points out that these dates may be incorrect: whereas according to Jaba Xanî was born

84 "Vvedenie" [Введение = Introduction], in: Pamiatniki èpokhi Rustaveli [Памятники эпохи Рустावели = Monuments of the epoch of (the Georgian poet) Rustaveli] (Leningrad : Izd-stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1938), pp. 5-6.

85 The journal was founded in Damascus, Syria in 1932 by Kurdish political activists who had fled Turkey, such as the Bedirxan brothers, together with Syrian Kurdish intellectuals. The orthography used in the journal, in Latin characters patterned after the system for writing Turkish in the Latin alphabet is still in use today, and is called the Hawar alphabet. See: Amir Hassanpour-Aghdam. The Language Factor in National Development: The Standardization of the Kurdish Language, 1918-1985. Doctoral dissertation (Urbana, Illinois : University of Illinois, 1989), pp. 129-130, 248.

in 1000 A.H. [=1591-92 A.D.], in Mem û Zîn Xanî writes that he was born in 1061 A.H. [=1650-51 A.D.]. Four works of Xanî's are cited: Mem û Zîn, Nûbar, Eqîdaîmanê, and a book on geography which appears to be lost. He then quotes some fourteen lines of poetry from Mem û Zîn, and ends by mentioning the first printing of that work in Istanbul, giving the date as 1919.

The two most critical works are Ferhad Shakely's book Kurdish Nationalism in Mem û Zîn of Ehmed-i Xanî[86] and the relevant section of Amir Hassanpour-Aghdam's doctoral dissertation The Language Factor in National Development: The Standardization of the Kurdish Language, 1918-1985[87].

Shakely's book, which is unfortunately very hard to find[88], consists of an introduction, three chapters, and a useful bibliography. In the introduction, a detailed account of the publishing history of Ehmedê Xanî's Mem û Zîn is offered. Chapter One contains biographical notes on Xanî's life. Dates for his birth and death are given, and the methods used in arriving at them are discussed intelligently and in detail. Throughout the book Xanî's verse is quoted as evidence for his attitude about one or another issue. In Chapter Two Xanî's writings are discussed at length. I would only question such statements as "The language of M&Z, its sentence structure and grammar was not much influenced by any other language" (p. 18) and "The stories of Las û Xezal, Şor Mehmûd û Merzingan and M&Z are found only among the Kurds and in Kurdish." (p. 21). In the first instance, it is an established fact that Xanî's Mem û Zîn is very heavily influenced by Persian, both in poetic form and in vocabulary. In the second instance, the story of M&Z is also popular among the Neo-Aramaic-

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[86](Sweden, 1983), 65 p.

[87](Urbana, Illinois : University of Illinois, 1989), 464 p.

[88]I would like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Shakely profusely for making a copy of his book available to me.

speaking Jacobite Christians and Kurdish Jews, and the Armenians: I would however agree that the story is not told in any of the languages that might pose a threat to the survival of Kurdish, i.e., Arabic, Persian, and Turkish.

In Chapter Three, Shakely looks at the foundations of Kurdish nationalism as reflected in Xanî's Mem û Zîn. According to Shakely, Xanî's views regarding the situation of the Kurds can be summarized in the following five points: 1) The Kurds lived in misery because their land was under Ottoman Turkish and Safavid Persian occupation; 2) This situation could be remedied if the Kurds were to govern themselves; 3) The answers provided by religion were not satisfactory to him, in spite of the fact that he was a devout Muslim; 4) The Kurdish feudal lords were not interested in unity, but would even collaborate with the Ottomans or the Safavids against each other: they had little interest in the welfare of their own people; 5) The way to liberation was through unity, force, and goodness. Shakely notes that Ehmedê Xanî was far ahead of his time in his views about Kurdish nationalism: whereas he wrote Mem û Zîn in c. 1694 A.D., it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the concept of nationalism came to the Middle East, or, I might add, to Europe.

The bibliography of this book includes several articles that are not easily available in this country or in Europe. Articles from such Kurdish journals as Hêvîya Welêt and Rûnakî are so obscure that finding them is a hopeless venture. I hope the day may come when this is not so, when important articles from obscure journals will be reissued so that they are readily available to those who need and want them.

Finally, in Amir Hassanpour-Aghdam's very fine dissertation on the standardization of the Kurdish language between 1918 and 1985, Chapter Four is devoted to the Kurdish literary dialects from the 15th century to World War I[89].

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[89]Once again, I would like to thank Mr. Hassanpour-Aghdam for his willingness to make this chapter of his dissertation available to me.

Efmedê Xanî's prominent position in this endeavor is very well covered in
Hassanpour-Aghdam's insightful study[90]. Xanî was aware of the inferior status of the
Kurdish language, and suggested a series of strategies for circumventing this situation,
such as uniting the Kurds under a single Kurdish monarch, and the use of the
language for scholarly purposes of literary, scientific, and religious nature, thereby
raising the intellectual level of the people. It was with this in mind that he composed
his poem Mem û Zîn. In other words,

> [a] prestigious language, together with a sovereign king, was the hallmark of a
> civilized and independent Kurdish nation.[91]

Xanî tried to achieve the goal of elevating Kurdish to the level of the more
prestigious languages through a series of *bide'ts* or innovations. One *bide't* was the
message with which he imbued his rewriting of the folk romance M&Z: according to
Hassanpour-Aghdam, Xanî intended Mem and Zîn to symbolize the two parts of
Kurdistan, the one occupied by the Ottoman Turks, the other by the Safavid Persians;
the villain Bekir was a symbol of the lack of unity obtaining among the Kurdish
principalities. If we read Xanî's Mem û Zîn in this way, it is the Kurds' inability to
unite which has kept Mem and Zîn, i.e., the two parts of Kurdistan, apart. This is a
gentle yet eloquent way to make people aware of what must be done to remedy the
situation.

Another *bide't* of Xanî's was his work Nûbar or Nûbehara biçûkan (=First
picking of fruit), a short Arabic-Kurdish glossary written in verse, through which he
successfully introduced Kurdish, in spite of its status as a minor language, into the

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[90]Hassanpour-Aghdam. ibid., pp. 79-87.

[91]ibid., p. 82.

Islamic educational system. It turns out that this work fit into the tradition of rote memorization which is so characteristic of the Middle East: because it was in verse, the work was both easy to copy and easy to memorize.

Hassanpour-Aghdam closes this section by mentioning the parties which Xanî expected to disapprove of his innovations, as well as those to whom he appealed for support. According to this fine scholar, Xanî defends his works, his language, and himself, in a manner which is both humble and proud.

With this we come to the end of the bibliographical survey of works dealing with both oral versions of M&Z and Eḧmedê Xanî's literary poem Mem û Zîn.

Proverbial Aspects of Mem û Zîn

We will begin our analysis of M&Z with a brief examination of the proverbial nature of M&Z as evidenced in expressions referring to some aspect of the story. The story of M&Z is so well known that it has given rise to proverbial expressions which presuppose a knowledge of the underlying story. The term *proverbial* is a bit misleading, for it may refer to anything widely referred to or famous, and is not limited to proverbs per se. Therefore, it should be clarified at the outset that none of the expressions under discussion here is actually a proverb, which is a fixed phrase statement with a topic-comment structure, usually metaphorical in use, that gives advice or passes judgement in a particular situation. Instead, most of the traditional phrases in question are *folk metaphors*, also known as *proverbial phrases*. The most salient difference between proverbs and folk metaphors is that the former are frozen in one form, while the latter can change for person and number. For example, the English idiom 'to have a ball,' meaning *to have fun*, can be conjugated in first, second, or third person, in singular or plural number, and in every tense (present, future, past, etc.): we can say 'He had a ball' or 'If not for the crowds, we would have had a ball.' 'To have a ball' is a folk metaphor. On the other hand, 'A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush' cannot change for person, number, or tense: it is frozen in form. Consequently, this expression is a proverb. Although Kurdish folklore is rich in proverbs[1], I have come across none that specifically relate to M&Z. On the other hand, there are several folk metaphors derived from the story of M&Z.

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[1] See Edward Noel. "The Character of the Kurds as Illustrated by their Proverbs and Popular Sayings," *BSOAS*, 1, iv (1920), 79-90; Roger Lescot, "Proverbes et énigmes kurdes," *Revue des études Islamiques* 11 (1937), 307-350, reprinted with corrections and additions in his *Textes Kurdes* (Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1940) vol. 1, pp. 1189[-230; Ordikhane Dzhalil & Dzhalile Dzhalil. *Mesele û Met'eloke K'urda bi Zimanê K'urdî û Rûsî = Kurdskie Poslovitsy i Pogovorki na Kurdskom i Russkom IAzykakh* (Moskva : Glavnaia redaktsiia vostochnoĭ literatury, 1972), 454 p. and their *Zargotina K'urda = Kurdskiĭ Fol'klor* (Moskva : Nauka, 1978), vol. 2, pp. 358-408; Yona Sabar. "Multilingual Proverbs in the Neo-

Before proceeding further, we must account for an anomaly: although oral versions of M&Z have been collected only from the Kurmanji-speaking areas, with the notable exception of the Mukri (Sorani) version which Oskar Mann collected from Raḥman-î Bekir in Mehabad (OM), several of the folk expressions to be discussed below are in Sorani, of which Mukri is a sub-dialect.

Unlike the other aspects of M&Z which are considered in this study, for the purposes of this particular pursuit, it is not easy to determine if these expressions are based on the oral versions of M&Z or on Xanî's literary poem. Unless the oral tradition of M&Z thrives in Sorani-speaking areas, but has not been documented due to a consistent series of oversights, which I consider unlikely, we must entertain another possibility: Eḥmedê Xanî's seventeenth century literary poem may have been read and studied by Kurds beyond the frontiers of the Kurmanji dialect areas, i.e., by Sorani-speaking Kurds[2].

In what follows, we will be examining two distinct categories of expressions. The first involves material directly from the story of M&Z which has become proverbial, while the second includes traditional Kurdish proverbs and proverbial expressions that are reflected in the oral versions of M&Z. Whereas in the first category, M&Z is the source of the expressions, in the second category, traditional expressions from outside the corpus of M&Z appear in the story in various ways.

In the first category, folkspeech deriving from M&Z, we have the following:

Aramaic Speech of the Jews of Zakho, Iraqi Kurdistan," International Journal of Middle East Studies 9 (1978), 215-235; Fattāhī Ghāzī. Amsāl o ḥikam-i Kurdī [=Kurdish Proverbs (in Persian)] (Tabrīz : Dānishgāh-i Tabrīz, 1364 [1985]), 616 p.; a recent publication, devoid of texture and context as outlined in this study, is : Abdul-Kader Amin. Kurdish Proverbs (Brooklyn : The Kurdish Program, 1989), iv, 76 p.; see also Joyce Bynum Lethin. "Syriac Proverbs from California," Western Folklore 31 (1972), 87-101.

[2]For example, I know a Kurdish family from the Sorani-speaking area of Kirkûk, Iraqi Kurdistan, whose late father, a Kurdish intellectual, owned a copy of Xanî's Mem û Zîn.

1) Hespa Memê Alan [= 'Memê Alan's mare']. This is neither a proverb nor a folk metaphor, but rather an item of folkspeech: it is a nickname for the hippopotamus. It is not well attested, appearing only in one source,   Izolî's Kurmanji-Turkish dictionary[3]. This does not constitute enough material on which to base a strong argument, but suffice it to say that seeing Mem's horse as a hippopotamus[4], a strange animal that lives in the water, corresponds nicely to the versions in which Mem's horse is caught by fishermen in the sea (LC-1; ZK-2; LT). The lack of distinction between rivers and the sea is not unusual for a land-locked area such as Kurdistan. A parallel situation exists in Upper Egypt, where the Nile is often referred to as baḥr, the Arabic word for 'sea.'

2) Bek'o E'wan. The villain of the story of M&Z, he is known in Soranî as **Bekirî Mergewere**. Both forms denote a dishonest person or a traitor, much as the name Benedict Arnold does in American culture. This usage is rather well attested: in Ayyūbiyān's edition of OM, he says in footnote #1 on pp. 142-3 that "Bekire Mergewere (Persian marg āvar مرگ آور = 'death bringing') is used proverbially for someone with negative characteristics, such as obstructionism [كارشكنى] and obstinacy [معاندت].[5]"

Moreover, Beko Awan has also been borrowed into other stories, such as the version of **Aşiq Xerîb** which Joyce Blau collected in Jabal Sinjār, Kurdistan of Iraq[6]: in this case,

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[3]D. Izolî. Ferheng : Kurdî-Tirkî. Türkçe-Kürtçe (Den Haag : Komeley Xwêndikaranî Kurd le Ewrupa, [1987]), p. 357, under 'Suaygın.'

[4]From Greek, originally meaning 'river horse.'

[5]Cîrikey Mem û Zîn : Kurdî - Farsî |ﻦﯾز ﻭ ﻢﻣ ﯼﻛﯾﺮﭼ | (Tabrîz : Chāpkhānah-i Shafaq, [1962]), pp. 142-3.

[6]Le Kurde de ʿAmadiya et de Djabal Sindjar : Analyse linguistique, textes folkloriques, glossaires (Paris : C. Klincksieck, 1975), pp. 176, 206, 233.

too, he is a villain.   In Khamoian's Phraseological Dictionary[7], two expressions containing references to Beko occur: B 115. **Bek'irê E'wana**, which can mean either 'a troublemaker' or 'a two-faced, conniving person, like Reynard the fox,' and B 398. **Bûn Bek'rê E'wana** [= 'to be(come) Bekir Ewan'], meaning 'to gossip or bad-mouth,' 'to be cunning or to outsmart,' and 'to be noted for one's perfidy.'

3) **Tu Zînî, ez Memim** [= 'You are Zîn, I am Mem']. Writing in Kurmanji in the late sixteenth century[8], the Kurdish poet Melayê Jezîrî used this expression in a poem describing his love for a girl named Aysheh.   Ayyûbiyân provides another version of the same expression, this time in Sorani, in an unidentified Kurdish folksong. The relevant verse goes as follows:

Çawit estêrey rojî meşhûrî Kurd û E'cem,
    Eto bûye Yay Zîn em[in]îş bûme Kake Mem.
Your eyes shine like the sun star, famous among the Kurds and Persians,
    You are Lady Zîn and I am Brother Mem.[9]

Although these two attestations may suggest that this a formula, with only two examples, I think such a label is premature.   It is necessary to find several more examples before this phrase can be identified as formulaic.

The next five entries are Sorani folk expressions mentioned by Ayyûbiyân[10].

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[7]M.U.   Khamoian.   Kurdsko-Russkiĭ   Frazeologicheskiĭ   Slovar'   [Курдско-русскиĭ фразеологический   словарь   =Kurdish-Russian   Phraseological   Dictionary]   (Erevan   : Izdatel'stvo A.N. Armianskoĭ SSR, 1979), pp. 48, 60.

[8]approximately one generation before the birth of Ehmedê Xanî.

[9]Ayyûbiyân.ibid., p. 27.

[10]ibid., pp. 26-7. I have transcribed the Sorani into Latin orthography, because the Arabic font on my computer lacks certain diacritics necessary for writing Sorani Kurdish. The Standard Kurdish Alphabet Chart before Chapter One shows the one-to-one correspondences between the Latin (Hawar) orthography and the orthography for the Arabic script

4) **Lên bote dirûy Mem u Zînan** [= 'For us he is the thornbush of Mem and Zîn']. This is said of a person who is disruptive, intrusive, or obnoxious. The reference is to the thornbush that grew on Mem and Zîn's grave from a drop of Beko Awan's blood[11]. The English expression 'to be a thorn in someone's side' is vaguely reminiscent of this expression.

5) **Mañ delê male gewre Tajdîn begî e** (or **Qeretajdîn begî e**) [='His house is like the house of Tajdîn Beg']. This is said of a person whose hospitality is impeccable, or who comes from a family known for its generosity in matters of hospitality. The character of Qeretajdîn, Mem's host and defender in Jezira Bohtan, is discussed at length in the section of Chapter Six entitled <u>Analysis: Is Mem a Hero?</u>

6) **Lên bote Kake Memî Alanê** [= 'For us he is Brother Memê Alan']. This is said of a young man who is madly in love with a young woman.

7) **Lên bote Yay Zînî Botanê** [= 'For us she is Lady Zîn of Bohtan']. This is used to describe a young woman who is loyal and faithful.

8) **Sûtaw in delê Mem u Zîn in** [= 'They are burnt like Mem and Zîn']. This is used in describing the passionate love between and young man and a young woman.

Each of these eight expressions calls to mind a specific character or scene from the story of M&Z. These may very well represent what the Kurds consider the most memorable aspects of the story.

The second category consists of traditional Kurdish (and Iranian) folk expressions that are attested in M&Z.

1) In several versions (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1) Qeretajdîn's wife hits a servant over the head with a wooden ladle [Motif D.I.C.], when he asks her for

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[11]See E.III. in the section of Chapter Six entitled "Motifs Exhibiting Variation: Scenes and Motifs."

something – at the request of his master – that displeases her. Compare the following Persian folk simile:

مثل كنيز كفگير خورده قر ميزند

mizanad	ghor	khordeh	kafgîr	kanîz-i	mesl-i
hits	murmur	eaten	ladle	girl	like
6	5	4	3	2	1 <– read in this direction

He complains like a slave-girl who's hit over the head with a spatula

Source: Folklore Archives, 110 Kroeber Hall, UC Berkeley. The informant, Vida Dorroh, learned this c. 1952 from her grandmother in Tehran, who used it to refer to people who were continually complaining.

According to Vida Dorroh, who calls this a 'proverb,' the background of this expression is as follows: "Making good rice is the highest art of Persian cookery. If the mistress of the house found that one of the slave-girls (for this was in the old days) did not make the rice well, she would take the rice-spatula, which is a giant copper stirring spoon [=ladle], and hit her over the head with it. The complaining servant is a familiar figure in Iranian folklore, and one who gets hit over the head with a rice-spatula would complain even more ..."

Certain details of the Kurdish scenario differ from this Persian example: the servant is male, he is not involved in cooking, and he is not a complainer by nature, although in some versions he goes back to Mîr Sêvdîn and says "Look what your daughter (or sister) has done to me." Nevertheless, I believe that the Persian and Kurdish expressions are cognate: they both feature a servant being hit over the head by

a displeased mistress with a ladle. This motif appears to be absent from Stith Thompson's Motif-Index of Folk-Literature[12].

Part of the climax of the story of M&Z includes Qeretajdîn's heroic sacrifice of his house, and in some versions of his wife, child, and/or horse, in order to create a diversion enabling Mem and Zîn to escape from the compromising position in which they are caught unawares. This sacrifice includes the literalization of two common folk expressions, numbers 2) and 3) of this category.

2) **Mala te bişewite** [= 'May your house burn down']. This exclamation is quite well attested. In a version of M&Z included in this study (FK-1), Mem is addressed as follows when he is discovered lying beside Zîn by a servant: **Memê mal şewtî rabe bike, bilezîne** [= 'Mem, whose house is burned, get up quickly'] (p. 280). In this context, **mal şewtî** [= 'one whose house is burned'] has the connotation of 'Mem, you son of a gun' or 'Mem, for heaven's sake.' This is, interestingly enough, just before the scene in which Qeretajdîn actually burns down his own house to save Mem and Zîn. In the short story "Ji me çêtira" [= 'Jinns and fairies'] by the contemporary Kurdish writer Bozarslan[13], expressions such as the following occur:

"Dayê bi gorî, tu birçî bûyî ne! ... Mala mi şewitî ji te ra! ..." (p. 21) [="Well if that doesn't put my mother in the grave! You're hungry, aren't you? ... May my house burn for you"]

"Mala mi şewitî !" (p. 22) [="May my house burn down"]

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[12](Bloomington & Indianapolis : Indiana University Press, [c1955]), 6 vols.

[13]Mehmet Emin Bozarslan. Meyro (Istanbul : Çıra Yayınları, 1979), pp. 21-4; Turkish translation pp. 86-90.

In addition, Khamoian's phraseological dictionary features the following: M 28. **Mala** *filankesê* **şewitî** = 'a tragedy befell *someone*' lit. '*someone's* house burned down.' Hence **mal şew[i]tî**, as in the quote from FK-1 above, can also mean 'wretched, miserable.' The Colloquial Arabic curse yikhrab bêtak = 'may your house be destroyed' is in a similar vein. As was alluded to above, in the story of M&Z, this figure of speech is literalized when Qeretajdîn sets fire to his manor: he is willing to risk being miserable for the sake of Mem and Zîn.

3) **Qurban** [= 'Sacrifice']. This type of expression is exceedingly common in the languages of the Middle East. In Arabic such expressions are: fidăka abî أبي فداك /wa-fidan la-ka abî أبي الله وفدى = 'May my father be thy ransom' and ju'iltu fidăka فداك جعلت = lit. 'May I be made your ransom,' or, as Hans Wehr puts it, 'Could I but sacrifice myself for you!' In Persian, qurbān-i to/shumā قربان شما / تو = '[May I be] your sacrifice,' is a common greeting. Turkish **kurban olayım** = 'May I be a sacrifice,' is a way of saying 'Please!' 'I beg you!' In Christian Neo-Aramaic of Urmia, ana xlapux = 'I [am] your replacement' is used in much the same way as the Turkish expression.

In the story of M&Z, besides setting fire to his own house, in most versions Qeretajdîn also sacrifices his wife, infant son, and/or prized horse, or is at least willing to do so. The following passage from ZK-2 may shed some light on this issue:

> Qeretajdîn said, "O guest, our fate is with God,
> Come, dismount from your horse."
> Memê the stranger neither spoke nor dismounted.
> Qeretajdîn said, "Memê, my heart is heavy,
> You are most welcome in my house,
> From today on you and I are brothers of one mother and father,
> I am ready to sacrifice [my] two brothers, Cheko and Ereb, for you,
> I am ready to sacrifice my whole household for you,
> I am ready to sacrifice Lady Ereb -- my honor in this place -- for you."
> Memê dismounted at these words and they walked together towards the hall.
>   (ZK-2, p. 77)

Qeretajdîn declares his willingness to sacrifice those who are most dear to him for Mem, and later on in the story he makes good his claim. Moreover, the aforementioned quote has the effect of coaxing Mem down off his horse, which suggests that in that culture, a vow such as the one Qeretajdîn is making is considered inviting.

4) Şîrê min Helal be [= 'May my milk be blessed']. This expression is used by mothers, or in speaking of one's mother. It contains the Arabic and Islamic concept of halâl حلال, or that which is legitimate or religiously permitted, and its opposite harâm حرام . Consider the following passage, translated from an Arabic text in the dialect of Qartmin ["Yayvantepe"], province of Mardin, Turkey:

> 13. She said, "Well, since you aren't hungry, [I swear] by the one who created me and you, just as God the Blessed one created these three eggs and made each one different, still they are alike." She meant that her milk was blessed [haliba halâl kât] (i.e. that she was an honorable woman, that the milk she had drunk from her mother was whole.)[14]

In Arabic (at least as spoken in Kurdistan), Turkish, Persian, and Kurdish, when one says that a person's — particularly a woman's — milk is legitimate, one means that the person is honorable. In Turkish there are two expressions: **sütü temiz** [= 'his/her milk is clean'] or **helal süt emmiş** [= 'having sucked legitimate (or blessed) milk'], both meaning 'of good stock, decent, trustworthy.' In addition, **sütü bozuk** [= 'his/her milk is spoiled'], means the opposite. In several versions of M&Z, passages such as the following occur:

Here is Mem's dear mother.

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[14]From W. Fischer & O. Jastrow. Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980), p. 167. My translation. The final explanatory note in parentheses is only in the German translation.

She wipes the tears from her red face,
And says: "Mem, my son, don't go, may my milk be blessed unto you."
(EP-1, ¶18)

When Mem's mother learns this,
She says, "People of Yemen, come put on my head dirt and dust from the streets!"
Then she calls out, "[My] son! Mîr Mem, Soul of my soul!
May my suffering be blessed to you, together with the milk of my breasts.
Don't go to the city of Jizîr, it's an unlucky city, and comfort is hard to find there."

Bengîneh's mother says, "My son, why are you such a thoughtless child?"
Son, the journey before you is a rare one,
Son, you may be free of your mother's milk, [but] don't abandon your master!"
(OM, p. 41; German tr. p. 73; Ayyūbîyān p. 102)

In another Kurdish romance, **Sêva Haclê**, a mother says

I have given you legitimate milk, I don't want any harm to come to you, don't go away.[15]

In both M&Z and Sêva Haclê, the mother of the protagonist says this in an attempt to persuade her son not to leave home. In these contexts, the mother is apparently relieving her son of his obligations to her. This is stated more explicitly in another passage in OM:

Take the news to Mem's mother and Bengîneh's mother, they should not long for their sons, perhaps they'll come, they'll set their sons' necks free.
(OM, p. 40)

According to Oskar Mann, when someone is unhappy about another's departure, there is a belief that a curse is resting on the neck of the one departing,

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[15]Indi, Hajie, ed. Kurdskie èpicheskie pesni-skazy [Курдские эпические песни-сказ - Kurdish epic 'song-stories']. (Moskva : Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoi Literatury. 1962), p. 152, ¶4; Russian translation, p. 30.

which must be removed if the journey is to be successful[16]. Consequently, it is necessary to absolve the one departing of his debts, cf. the Turkish expression **hakkını helâl et** [= 'relinquish your legitimate claim'] said to someone leaving by his friends staying behind.

There is also an adjective **şîrħelal**, lit. 'with legitimate milk,' which Kurdoev translates as 'noble, honest, sincere'[17]. This is more or less equivalent to the Arabic term ibn ḥalāl ابن حلال, meaning 'legitimate son' or by extension 'respectable fellow.'

The opposite is **şîrħeram**, meaning 'ignoble, dishonest, insincere.' Khamoian's phraseological dictionary lists several expressions dealing with the legitimacy of one's milk [18]. It is specifically stated that two of them, III 44. **Şîrê min te ħelal be!** and III 45. **Şîrê min te ħeram be!**, are a mother's blessing and curse, respectively.

5) The Kurds are famous for their stubbornness. The Turks even have an expression **Kürt inadı**, meaning 'Kurdish stubbornness.' In M&Z, Mem's stubbornness is manifested in his refusal to leave Zîn's side, even if it means endangering both his and her life:

> Mem said: "I swear by God the Almighty,
> Until my head falls off,
> 666 pairs of daggers
> Won't pull my mouth from Zîn's breast." (EP-1, ¶59, p. 199)

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[16]OM, German translation, p. 70, note 91.

[17]K. K. Kurdoev. Ferhenga Kurdî-Rûs = Kurdsko-Russkiĭ Slovar' (Moskva : Gosudarstvennoe izd-vo inostrannykh i natsional'nykh slovareĭ, 1960), p. 707.

[18]Khamoian. ibid., p. 266.

This is reminiscent of Kurdish proverbs whose message is that one should stand up and fight, even if one cannot win, rather than running away or giving up. Two such proverbs are:

> Heta li mirinê, ç'av li kirinê
> Until death, think of action (=lit. 'eyes on doing')

> Rê îlya mirinê be jî, tu her li p'êş be
> Even if the road leads to death, you should always be first

This second category consists of traditional folk expressions that are not specific to M&Z, but rather are part of general Kurdish folklore. None of these expressions refers directly to M&Z, referring instead to a particular motif shared by M&Z and other Kurdish tales. This is the major difference between this category and the first, which is composed of expressions that conjure up scenes and characters from the tragic love story of Memê Alan and Lady Zîn.

CHAPTER TWO:
Literary vs. Oral

The Relationship Between Ehmedê Xanî's Literary Poem and the Oral Versions

In studying the Kurdish folk romance of Mem û Zîn (M&Z), it is necessary to distinguish between the many versions of the story which exist in oral tradition on the one hand, and the late seventeenth-century literary poem of Ehmedê Xanî (Ahmed-î Khani) on the other. It is clear that the two have a common source: both feature the same basic cast of characters, and the events of the tragic love story are recognizably the same in both. Nevertheless, there are differences between the oral versions and the literary poem which are important enough to require that they be studied separately. Although in the present study only the oral versions will be considered in depth, no consideration of Mem û Zîn would be complete without mentioning Xanî's literary work, considered by the Kurds themselves to be their national epic. This chapter will outline the major differences between the two, and address the issue of derivation, investigating whether the literary poem is derived from oral tradition or vice versa.

It is worth noting that M&Z is not the only Kurdish folk narrative for which both literary and folkloric versions exist. The Soviet scholar Musaèlian has written a study of Zembîlfiroş[1], in which he includes both the text of the literary poem and several of its oral versions. Likewise, the late scholar Rudenko published a study of the Kurdish literary and folkloric versions of Yusuf and Zelîkha[2]. In addition to

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[1] Zh.S. Musaèlian. Zambil'frosh : Kurdskaia poema i eë fol'klornye versii [Замбильфрош : Курдская поэма и её фольклорные версии - Zambilfrosh (The Basket seller) : a Kurdish poem and its folkloric versions] (Moskva : Nauka, 1983), 178 p.

[2] M.B. Rudenko. Literaturnaia i fol'klornye versii kurdskoi poèmy 'IUsuf i Zelikha' [Литературная и фольклорные версии курдской поэмы 'Юсуф и Зелиха' - Literary and folkloristic versions of the Kurdish poem 'Yusuf i Zelikha'] (Moscow : Nauka, 1986), 367 p.

several oral versions of the heroic epos Dimdim, there is also a poem, attributed to the
Kurdish poet Feqîyê Teyra, which commemorates the revolt of the Kurds against the
Persian Shah Abbas at the end of the first decade of the 17th century. In his 1967 study
of Dimdim (also known as Çengzêrîn)[3], Ordikhane Dzhalilov claims that Feqîyê Teyra
lived from 1302/1303 to 1375/1376[4], and that therefore it is not possible that he wrote
the poem, which must have been mistakenly attributed to him. In a brief article
published two years later, D.N. MacKenzie determines that Feqîyê Teyra in fact lived
from about 1590 to 1660[5], the implications of which are that the poet would have been
about twenty years old at the time of the revolt. Therefore it is quite possible that the
poem is correctly attributed to him.

Regarding M&Z, the French kurdologist Roger Lescot and his student Joyce
Blau maintain a very strict distinction between the oral versions and the literary
poem. They use the name *Memê Alan* to refer to the versions in oral tradition,
reserving the name *Mem û Zîn* for Ehmedê Xanî's masterpiece.[6]   Although the
distinction is valid, the Kurds themselves do not adhere to it.[7] Both Memê Alan and
Mem û Zîn are names in use among the Kurdish folk to refer to the story: because of

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[3]Ordikhane Dzhalilov. <u>Kurdskiĭ geroicheskiĭ epos "Zlatorukiĭ khan" (Dymdym)</u> [Курдский
героический эпос "Златорукий хан" (Дымдым) = The Kurdish heroic epic "Zlatorukiĭ
khan", i.e., The ruler with the golden hand, (Dimdim)] (Moskva : Glavnaia Redaktsiia Vostochnoĭ
Literatury, 1967), 206 p.

[4]In Rudenko's 1965 study of Feqîyê Teyra's poem Şêx San'an, she accepts these dates, although she
cites two other possible dates for his death, 1497-98 and 1181-82. See: Faki Teîran. <u>Sheîkh San'an</u>, ed.
M.B. Rudenko (Moskva : Nauka, 1965), p. 4, note #4.

[5]D.N. MacKenzie. "Malā-ê Jizrî and Faqî Tayrān," in M. Minovi & I Afshar (eds.), <u>Yād-nāmah-yi
Irānī-yiMinorski</u> (Tehran : Tehran University, 1969), pp. 125-30.

[6]Roger Lescot. "Introduction," <u>Textes Kurdes</u> Vol. 2: <u>Memê Alan</u> (Beyrouth : Institut Français de
Damas, 1942), p. iii.

[7]In the present study, the oral versions are generally referred to by the abbreviation M&Z, while the
literary poem is written out in full and underlined (<u>Mem û Zîn</u>).

the sad fact that most Kurds have been deprived of the opportunity to be educated about their language and culture, many are unaware that Ehmedê Xanî's literary poem Mem û Zîn is not identical with the versions in oral tradition. Hence there is a gap between Lescot and Blau's *etic* (=analytic) term and the *emic* (=native) terms employed by the folk.

The differences between the literary poem Mem û Zîn and the oral versions can be divided into two categories: aspects of *texture*, and those of *content*. By *texture* is meant the formalistic and stylistic elements, including such considerations as whether the text is in prose or in verse. Details of the story's structure refer to its *content*.

Ehmedê Xanî's work Mem û Zîn consists of a long poem (2655 lines) in the Persian Masnavi style, characterized by strict symmetrical structure, each line consisting of two hemistichs in hazaj meter. Each hemistich contains a fixed nine to ten syllables, with each line rhyming at the end of the first and second hemistichs, but with no rhyme between consecutive lines. Hazaj meter consists of three feet, the first with two long beats (--); the second with two sets of alternating short and long beats (--- --); and the third with two short beats followed by two long beats (-- --)[8]. Hence, one hemistich of hazaj meter has the following rhythmical pattern: --/---/-- --.

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[8] Apparently there is some variation: e.g., in the second foot of the hemistich, one may encounter the pattern short-long-long-long (---), and in the third foot, one long beat (-) can be substituted for the two short beats ( ), as in the following lines:

Herg̣ ku dibêjin ho waye

   - -/ - - --/ - - -

Hindik ji efsaneyê Bohtan

   - - / - -/ - - -

These two lines are from: Ahmed-i Khani. Mam u Zin: kriticheskiĭ tekst, perevod, predislovie i ukazateli M.B. Rudenko (Moskva : Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoĭ Literatury, 1962), p. 49.

Furthermore, Persian influence is also very much apparent in the vocabulary of the poem.

In the oral versions poetic texture is not a constant. Most of the versions we have are primarily in prose, interspersed with sung verse at key points, while a few (LC-1, OM, ZK-2, JA, LT) are primarily in verse, with one or two brief prose passages. In both cases, the verse is of a different character from that of Ehmedê Xanî's poem: there seems to be no set number of syllables per line; there is no discernible caesura or division into hemistichs; several consecutive lines rhyme, with change in rhyme often signalled by a rhyme signalling device[9]. Nor is there a specific meter which is used in the versions.[10] The language of the oral versions is unselfconscious: depending on where each version was collected (or where the informant has lived), the foreign influences reflected in it tend to be either Turkish (LC-1; EP-1), Arabic (LT; HR-2), or Persian (OM).

Regarding content, Ehmedê Xanî's Mem û Zîn has a long introduction, in which he praises God repeatedly and discusses the place of the Kurds among the nations: in this section there is other philosophical discussion as well. The actual story of Mem û Zîn itself does not begin until line 189 (p. 30 of Rudenko's edition). The beginning of the story in the literary poem diverges widely from the oral versions. In Xanî's Mem û Zîn both Mem and Zîn are from Jezîra Bohtan, whereas in the oral versions Mem is from either Muxurzemîn or Yemen, and he embarks on a journey to reach Jezîra Bohtan. The way Mem and Zîn discover one another is also markedly different. Whereas in the oral versions a third party brings them together and they wake up side by side, in the literary poem Zîn and her older sister Sitî go out

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[9]This is discussed more fully in the section on Kurdish folk poetics in Chapter Five.

[10]In fact, Kurdish folk poetry seems to lack the concept of meter. See the preceding note.

disguised as young men so that no one will recognize them as they enjoy the Kurdish New Year celebration (Newrûz)[11], and Mem and Tajdîn go out disguised as young girls for the same purpose. Once Zîn and Sitî catch sight of Mem and Tajdîn, they are unable to think of anything else; the two boys-disguised-as-girls pursue the two girls-disguised-as-boys, until they finally meet and exchange rings. Zîn and Sitî think that there is something wrong with themselves because they are in love with what they think are two girls, and Mem and Tajdîn likewise cannot understand why they are in love with two boys. Zîn and Sitî reveal their predicament to their governess, who finds out the identity of Mem and Tajdîn through a fortuneteller. After a description of the wedding of Tajdîn and Sitî, Ehmedê Xanî's Mem û Zîn continues in much the same way as the folkloric versions.

In the introduction to his composite version of M&Z, Lescot discusses the differences between Xanî's poem and the oral versions, concluding that Xanî was influenced by the style of the Persian poet Jāmī, thus insuring that the Kurdish poet's work would be far removed from the story in oral tradition. The main character of the story, Memê Alan, is portrayed in a much more positive light in Xanî's Mem û Zîn than in the oral versions of the story. Whereas the Mem of oral tradition is generally as disrespectful and flighty as he is beautiful,[12]

> [t]he Mem of Xanî possesses, on the contrary, a lofty spirit, and his conduct is never tainted with baseness. The passion which animates him is entirely platonic: purified by adversity, it ceases to be addressed to Zîn, taking God as its object. In prison, Mem rises to the supreme mystical state. When

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[11]Basically identical with the Persian celebration, both falling on March 21, at the beginning of spring. It should be made clear that disguising oneself is not a custom connected with Newrûz: Zîn and Sitî simply wanted to be free to mingle with the crowd without the pomp and circumstance due to them as members of the ruling family.

[12]See the section entitled Analysis: Is Mem a Hero? in Chapter Six.

his beloved brings word of his pardon, he refuses the freedom he is offered, and dies while uttering pious words.[13]

Zîn's character is much the same in both the literary and the oral traditions. So also Mîr Sêvdîn, the ruler of Jezîra Bohtan. However Xanî's Tajdîn is a combination of Qeretajdîn and Bengîn in the oral tradition: Although Tajdîn is present when Mem is thrown into prison, he does nothing to prevent it; in this way he resembles Bengîn more than Qeretajdîn. However, in his willingness to burn down his own house in order to divert people's attention from Mem, who is hiding Zîn behind his cloak, Xanî's Tajdîn resembles the Qeretajdîn of oral tradition. Nevertheless, in oral tradition Qeretajdîn is the embodiment of honor and manliness, and constitutes a stronger personality than his counterpart in the literary Mem û Zîn.

Thus, to quote Lescot,

> We are therefore dealing with two independent poems, entirely different in spirit, in style, and sometimes in content, the Memê Alan of the storytellers and the Mem û Zîn of Xanî.[14]

An often-asked question is whether the oral tradition derives from Eḥmedê Xanî's poem, or whether he derived his literary masterpiece from an already existing oral tradition. Let us examine the evidence. At first glance, it would seem that Eḥmedê Xanî's seventeenth century poem must be older, because the first oral versions were collected much later, in 1869 (PN) and 1870 (PS). It is important to bear in mind, however, that there was very little collecting of material from oral tradition before the middle of the nineteenth century, when the field of folklore began to

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[13]Lescot. Ibid., p. xx. My translation.

[14]"Nous nous trouvons donc en présence de deux poèmes indépendants, d'esprit, de style, et parfois de contenu entièrement différents, le Memê Alan des conteurs, et le Mem û Zîn de Xanî." Ibid., p. iii.

develop as a by-product of the rise of nationalism in Europe. It is a mistake to assume that a story did not exist simply because there is no record of it from a time before stories were being collected. As will be noted below, Ehmedê Xanî was not the first Kurdish poet to mention Mem and Zîn.

From a practical point of view, in light of the high degree of illiteracy in Kurdistan, and in light of the widespread geographical distribution of the oral versions of Mem û Zîn, it seems more likely that Mem û Zîn already existed in oral tradition before Ehmedê Xanî composed his literary version, i.e., that he derived his version from folk tradition, rather than vice versa.

All the literature consulted is unanimous in stating that the oral tradition predates Ehmedê Xanî. Hassanpour-Aghdam states that

> [t]he story of this work is adopted from a Kurdish folk ballad called Mem û Zîn or Memê Alan which is still recited by Kurdish troubadours today. The details of the plot, names, characters and setting are all Kurdish.[15]

According to Kurdoev

> The *dastan* of Mem and Zîn has been found among the Kurdish people since a very early century: the names Mem and Zîn are mentioned in the writings of the Kurdish poet Melayê Jezîrî (14th century). When Melayê Jezîrî speaks of his love for Aysheh, he says of his love for her: "You are Zîn, I am Mem".[16]

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[15]Amir Hassanpour-Aghdam. The Language Factor in National Development: The Standardization of the Kurdish Language 1918-1985. Doctoral dissertation (Urbana, Illinois : University of Illinois, 1989), p. 84.

[16]"Dastana 'Mem û Zîn' berî qurna here navînda li nav xelqê Kurdda peyda bûye, navê Mem û Zîn li nivîsara şayîrê Kurd Melayê Cizîrîda (qurna 14) tê gotin. Melayê Cizîrî wextê hezkira xwe B'yişêra xeber dide, derheqa evîna xwe dibêje: 'Tu Zînî, ez Memim.' Qenatê Kurdo IKurdoevI. 'Derheqa şovêd Mem û Zîna zargotî û şova Mem û Zîna Ehmedê Xanî," Govarê Kurî Zanyarî Kurd I-The Journal of the Kurdish Academyl, 6 (1978), p 102.

Although it is known that Melayê Jezîrî (Melai Cizri) lived before Ehmedê Xanî, in light of the preceding quote it would be helpful to know how far apart in time they were. Jaba states that Melayê Jezîrî flourished in 1145-46 (540 A.H.), and died in 1160-61 (556 A.H.), while asserting that Ehmedê Xanî lived from c. 1591 to c. 1652.[17] If this were correct, then more than four hundred years would have elapsed between Melayê Jezîrî's mentioning of M&Z and Xanî's poem. As we have seen above, Kurdoev places Melayê Jezîrî in the fourteenth century. However, MacKenzie has established Melayê Jezîrî's dates as c.1570-1640 based on evidence from his poetry and that of his contemporaries, characterizing the dates given by Jaba's informant Maḥmûd Efendî Bâyâzîdî as unwarranted exaggerations.[18]

As for the dates of Ehmedê Xanî, Jaba offers the dates c. 1591-c. 1652, which would make him a contemporary of Melayê Jezîrî's according to MacKenzie's reckoning. Ferhad Shakely devotes several pages in his book Kurdish Nationalism in Mem U Zin of Ehmed-i Xani to the problem of determining Xanî's dates, concluding that he died at age 57, and lived from 1650 to 1707.[19] Hassanpour-Aghdam basically agrees with Shakely, quoting Xanî's dates as 1650-1706.[20] Apparently Ehmedê Xanî was born ten years after the death of Melayê Jezîrî. In any event, because we know that Melayê Jezîrî lived before Ehmedê Xanî, the quote from Melayê Jezîrî is the most convincing evidence we have that the oral versions of M&Z predate Ehmedê Xanî's literary poem.

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[17]Alexandre Jaba 'Notice sur les poètes et auteurs, qui, dans le Kourdistan ont écrit en langue kourde...' in Recueil de notices et de récits kourdes servant à la connaissance de la langue de la littérature et des tribus du Kourdistan (St.-Pétersbourg, 1860; reprint Amsterdam : APA - Philo Press, 1979), pp. 8-10.

[18]MacKenzie. ibid.

[19]Kurdish Nationalism in Mem U Zin of Ehmed-i Xani. (Sweden, 1983), pp. 8-14.

[20]Hassanpour-Aghdam. ibid., p. 66.

Shakely points out that there is a contradiction within Xanî's poem <u>Mem û Zîn</u> regarding its origin. On the one hand, Xanî himself admits that he used the folkloric story of M&Z as the basis for his work,[21] as the following lines suggest:

(239)   [I] put them in order and organized them,
             [I] suffered for the sake of the people.[22]

(321)   To bring their melody out of the curtain,
             To revive Mem and Zîn again.[23]

On the other hand, Shakely cites verses which indicate that the poem consists of original material:

(348)   The style, the characteristics, the meaning and the words,
             We did not borrow at all.
(349)   As a whole they are products of the mind,
             They are virgin girls and brides.[24]

He settles this apparent contradiction by assuming that in the latter quote Xanî is referring to the new ideas he breathed into the story, and the esthetic features he introduced, most notably the versification, which is clearly borrowed from a Persian model.

Thus far we have seen that Ehmedê Xanî's poem differs from the folkloric versions in form (texture) and content (text). Where the content differs, it is not

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[21]Shakely. ibid. p. 21.

[22]Inaye nizam û intizamê, kêşaye cefa jo boyê 'amê

[23]Necmê wê ji perdeyê derînim, Zînê û Memê ji nû vejînim.

[24]Uslûb û sifat û me'na û lefz, Eslen nekirin me yek ji wan qerz,
    Bilcumle netaicêd fikr in, Dûşze û new'erûs û bikr in.

unreasonable to expect the message conveyed by the two entities to differ as well. We have noted that the most salient differences are to be found in the beginning of the story. In the oral versions Mem and Zîn are brought together by some sort of supernatural force, and Mem lives in a different city from Zîn, which he leaves against his father's will in order to go find her. In Xanî's Mem û Zîn, by contrast, the two lovers are both from the same city, Jezira Bohtan, and they meet by chance at the Kurdish New Year's (Newrûz) festivities. As will be discussed in detail in the section of Chapter Six entitled Analysis: Is Mem a Hero?, the above mentioned sections of the oral versions reflect the rebellious behavior and sexual fantasies of a young man.

As for the literary poem, Hassanpour-Aghdam, Lescot, and Shakely are unanimous in stating that Ehmedê Xanî had a political objective in mind when he wrote his adaptation of Mem û Zîn. His purpose was to establish a literary tradition in Kurdish to rival those of the surrounding peoples, i.e., the Persians, Turks, and Arabs. Xanî believed that the Kurds had the makings of a great nation in their own right, yet suffered from a lack of unity. He was years ahead of his time, advocating nationalism a good two centuries before it existed as a concept even in Europe.

The vehicle he selected to get his message across was the tragic love story of Mem and Zîn. As Hassanpour-Aghdam puts it

> Mem and Zîn represent the two parts of Kurdistan divided between the Ottoman and Persian Empires. Bekir personifies the discord (şiqaq) and disunity (bêtifaqî) of the Kurdish princes which Xanî considered to be the main reason for the failure of the Kurdish people to achieve sovereignty. In spite of the divisive thorn-tree, it seems that the poet hoped that disunity would finally come to an end.[25]

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[25]Hassanpour-Aghdam. Ibid., p. 84. I have normalized the spelling of Kurdish names.

Hence, both the content and the texture of Xanî's Mem û Zîn are designed to address the issue of the Kurdish nation as constituting a unique entity, separate from the neighboring empires. The content of the poem includes a long introduction in which God is praised, and in which the low place of the Kurds among the nations is mentioned, as follows:

> (240) Let people not say that "the Kurds
> are without knowledge, without origins.
> (241) Various nations own books,
> only the Kurds are not taken into account."[26]

Xanî used the story of Mem and Zîn as a metaphor for the situation of the Kurds. He believed that notwithstanding their formidable external enemies, their biggest enemy was from within. By addressing the issue through his literary work, he hoped to make his readers conscious of the problem. At the same time, he conceived of his Mem û Zîn as the cornerstone of a new Kurdish literature which the Kurdish nation could foster along with their identity. Although his poem is regarded today as the national epic of the Kurds, his plea for Kurdish unity is only now, in the last decade of the twentieth century, beginning to receive the attention it deserves.

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[26]Shakely. ibid., p. 27.

CHAPTER THREE:
Genre
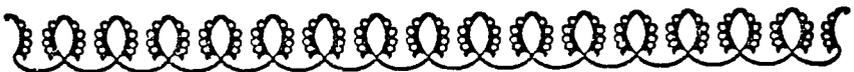
The Question of Genre

Mem û Zîn has been ascribed to a number of different genres, sometimes not clearly distinguishing between Ehmedê Xanî's literary poem and the oral folk narrative from which it derives. The following is an alphabetical list of the various terms I have encountered:

-Bend
-Bend û baw
-Beyt (Bayt)
-Cantefable
-Çîrîke
-Destan
-Epic
-Epic poem
-Epic poetry (poèzîya êpîkîyê)
-Epic song-stories (эпические   песни-сказы)
-Legend
-Lyrical epic songs (лиро-эпические   песни)
-Qewl
-Raz
-Roman [novel]
-Romantic epic

In an article which first appeared in 1964[1], Alan Dundes suggests that three criteria should be considered in assigning a genre classification to an item of folklore, namely texture, text, and context.

Texture refers to the form and style of the item in question, including such linguistic features as rhyme, alliteration, stress, pitch, juncture, and tone. All of these features vary from language to language: the more important the textural features are, the greater the difficulty of translating them into another language. An analysis of the texture of an item of folklore reveals its linguistic structure.

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[1] Alan Dundes, "Texture, Text, and Context," Southern Folklore Quarterly, 28 (1964), 256-9; reprinted in his Interpreting Folklore (Bloomington : Indiana University Press, c1980), pp. 20-32.

Every individual recitation or version of an item of folklore is a *text*. Whereas texture is largely untranslatable, the text can be translated. By analyzing a folkloric text, its folkloristic structure can be discovered: the motif chart accompanying this study, derived from the accompanying texts of Mem û Zîn, is an example of folkloristic structure.

The *context* is the specific social situation in which an item of folklore has been employed. *Context* must be distinguished from *function*, which is the use or purpose which a genre of folklore is put to. While context is specific to one particular telling of a tale, singing of a song, propounding of a riddle, and the like, function is a composite of all the contexts typified by the genre as a whole. An analysis of context clarifies the social setting of a particular item of folklore. Moreover, it lets us know how the audience has responded to the performer: if we recognize the existence of oral literature, then why not oral (or native) literary criticism? By soliciting audience reaction, we can learn a great deal about the esthetics of a good performance, and about native values and beliefs.

Without knowledge of context, it is not possible to explain why a particular text has been chosen or why that text was worded in a particular way, i.e., to understand how context influences text. Moreover, by consistently recording the context, an idea of the function of the genre may be established. Dundes gives examples in which a knowledge of the context in which a particular phrase was used makes it possible to assign it to the riddle genre, when otherwise it might be classed as a proverb.

Although the identity of the narrator is an important element that has often been recorded by folklorists, such minimal information should not be mistaken for context: data about the behavior of the narrator during performance, as well as the composition and reactions of the audience, are regularly omitted from most folklore collecting. The vast majority of folklorists have dwelt on the text, while relegating

texture to linguists, and ignoring context altogether. The published versions of Mem û Zîn that we possess are typical examples of this. All the early versions (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM) were collected by linguists interested in them as linguistic specimens. Although textural information is available for these versions, they are primarily text-oriented. The next group of versions (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa) were published only in Armenian translation. Likewise, (EP-2) was published only in Russian translation. Consequently, for these four versions the texture has not been collected[2]. Other than providing basic information about the informant[3], neither the above versions nor the ones that follow deal with context at all. The next group of versions (FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1; ZK-2) were collected by Soviet folklorists: while the last four include somewhat detailed information about the informants, for the first two only the informants' names and places of residence are provided[4]. Two Turoyo versions were collected by the linguist Hellmut Ritter (HR-1 and HR-2); they provide somewhat detailed information about the informants, as well as the texture and texts -- especially important in this case due to their being in a language other than Kurdish: nonetheless, the context is once again left out.

In applying Dundes' three criteria to Mem û Zîn, as a means of identifying the genre to which it belongs, the following chart emerges:

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[2]with the exception of the sung poetry in SHa-1, which appears both in the original Kurdish (in Armenian characters) and in Armenian.

[3]except for (PS) and (EP-2). For (PS) we know the place [Zakho] and date [1870], but the identity of the informant is unclear. As for (EP-2), we know neither the identity of the informant nor the place or date of collection. All we know is that it first appeared in Skazki narodov Vostoka [Сказки народов Востока = Tales of the peoples of the East/Orient] (Moskva & Leningrad, 1938), pp. 99-119, edited by O. L. Vil'chevskiĭ, reprinted in Kurdskie ėpicheskie pesni-skazy [Курдские эпические песни-сказы = Kurdish epic song-tales] (Moskva : Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoĭ Literatury, 1962), pp. 98-111.

[4]The omission of biographical details is unusual in a Soviet folkloristic publication.

Texture: Kurdish (Kurmanji)
                  a. verse (PS; LC-1; [SHa-2]; ZK-2; JA)
                  b. prose and verse [cante fable] (HM; [SHa-1]; [GNa]; FK-2; FK-1; [EP-2]; EP-1;
                        ZK-3; ZK-1; MC-1)

                  Kurdish (Sorani [Mukri])
                  verse (OM)

                  Turoyo
                  prose (PN; HR-1; HR-2)

                  Translation only (-Texture)
                  a. Armenian (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa)
                  b. Russian (EP-2)

Text[5]:   PN (1869); PS (1870); HM (1896); LC-1 (1901); LC-2 (1901); OM (1903); SHa-1
                  (1904); SHa-2 (1904); GNa (1904); FK-2 (1926); FK-1 (-1936); FK-3 (-1936);
                  EP-2 (c.1938); LT (-1942); EP-1 (1955); ZK-3 (1959); HR-1 (1960); HR-2 (1960);
                  ZK-1 (1963); ZK-2 (1970);
                  on cassette tape: JA (1979); MC-1 (c.1987); MC-2 (c.1989)

Context: a. identity of informants (all but PS; GNa; EP-2)
                  b. social setting (ø)
                  c. native literary criticism (JA; HR-1; MC-1; Sureya Bedr Khan)
                  d. digression (PN; PS; LC-1; OM; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2; MC-1)

The texture of the versions of Mem û Zîn which form the basis of this study may be summarized as follows: Mem û Zîn is told in two dialects of Kurdish, Kurmanji and Sorani. Whereas the sole Sorani version (OM) is in verse, some of the Kurmanji versions are in verse (PS; LC-1; [SHa-2]; ZK-2; JA), while others -- the majority -- are in a mixture of prose and verse (HM; [SHa-1]; [GNa]; FK-2; FK-1; [EP-2]; EP-1; ZK-2; ZK-1; MC-1). Of the Kurmanji versions, four have been published only in another language: three in Armenian, of which two are in mixed prose and verse (SHa-1; GNa) and one is in verse (SHa-2), and one in Russian, in mixed prose and verse (EP-2).   Three Turoyo [Neo-Aramaic] versions exist, all three in prose (PN; HR-1; HR-2).[6]   While all these versions can be used for structural analysis, for the

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[5]Arranged by date from earliest to most recent.

[6]Yona Sabar, a Kurdish Jew from Zakho, Kurdistan of Iraq, currently a professor of Hebrew at UCLA (age c. 45), has told me that he remembers hearing Zîn u Memê (as Mem û Zîn is known among the Jews

purposes of formalistic (textural) analysis such as Oral-Formulaic Theory or poetics,

the versions which exist only in translation are of no use[7]. Moreover, in translating

the versions, it would have been too difficult to translate the verse in a manner which

preserved the rhyme of the original, and consequently it was dispensed with, with the

exception of one or two passages, for which both rhyming and non-rhyming

translations were offered, e.g.:

> Gelî xelqê dinîyan û e'lamê,
> Hûnê dîna xo bidinê, çi ĥikyate hatî serê Zînê û Memê,
> Gelî alîyê li civata,
> Hûnê bala xo bidinê, çi ĥikyate bi serê Zînê û Memêda hate. (ZK-3, p. 90)

[90]   O peoples of the world and the earth,
        [You will] have a look at what happened to Zîn and Mem.
        O (turning to) the direction of the group,
        [You will] take a look at what occurred to Zîn and Mem.

A rhyming translation of this in English is:

> O peoples of the earth and world,
>
> See what on Zîn and Mem has unfurled,
>
> O members of the human race,
>
> To Zîn and Mem just what took place.

Although the latter translation captures the spirit of the type of rhyming involved in

the original, such slavish rendering of the original texture could only be done at the

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of Zakho) recited in Neo-Aramaic (a dialect distinct from Turoyo) in prose, interspersed with sung
verse in Kurdish.

[7]with the exception of the sung poetry in SHa-1, which appears both in the original Kurdish (in
Armenian characters) and in Armenian.

expense of the meaning, and the final effect would have been to trivialize the content. Therefore, I have opted to remain as true as possible to the meaning, rather than to the texture of the text.

As mentioned above, M&Z exists in two different forms: some versions are long prose narratives interspersed with sung poetry. Other versions, however, are entirely (or predominantly) in verse. The mixed prose and verse texture is reminiscent of what Başgöz calls the *folk romance hikaye*. Moreover, this combination of prose and poetry is a well known form in European literary tradition as far back as Roman times: it is known as *prosimetrum* or *cante fable*. With regard to the importance of texture as a factor in genre definition, it should be borne in mind that for Turkologists, the many Turkish versions of the long verse poem Yûsuf ve Züleyha, although structurally similar to the hikaye, are classed as a different genre.

We are faced with a dilemma: should we assign both prose and verse forms of Mem û Zîn to a single genre, or should we distinguish two different genres, as Turkologists have done with Turkish materials? To put it another way, should textural features alone determine the genre to which an item of folklore belongs? Dundes' answer to the latter question is clear: texture is only one of three criteria to consider in genre assignment, the other two being text and context. In addition, in Herbert Halpert's article "The Cante Fable in Decay," (1941)[9], he makes a clarification which may shed some light on the discussion at hand. On page 192, he says:

> ...we should make clear that the term *cante fable* as used here, refers only to forms of the folktale, and not to the highly sophisticated literary form of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, the only specimen "of French literature in the Middle

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[8]John R. Reinhard. "The Literary Background of the Chantefable," Speculum 1 (1926), 157-169.

[9]Southern Folklore Quarterly. 5 (1941), 191-200.

Ages which is composed of verse *and* music *and* prose, and ... is rightly called unique." [10]

In making this distinction, Halpert suggests that the term *cante fable* refers to the texture of a given text, as distinct from its genre. According to him, the folktale genre may assume different forms: while most folktales are told in prose, some occur in prose mixed with (sung) poetic verses. Hence, whereas Dundes argues for the inclusion of texture as part of genre definition, Halpert considers texture as external to genre classification, basing his classification solely on *content* (i.e., text). Such an approach could be labeled text-oriented, not a flattering designation according to current trends. What Dundes and Halpert share is the conviction that texture alone must not determine genre. Bearing this in mind, the present author has been able to benefit from Halpert's comments while preserving Dundes' tripartite classification scheme. For if we apply Halpert's logic to M&Z, we have a partial solution to our dilemma: whatever genre we assign to M&Z, it may assume one of two forms (or textures): either verse – perhaps the original form [11] –, or prose interspersed with verse, with the verse appearing particularly at key dramatic points in the story. Consequently, if we follow Halpert's lead, we may relegate the term *cante fable* to the rank of a formalistic (or textural) designation rather than seeing it as a genre, and in so doing we may eliminate it from the long list of genre designations under

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[10]He quotes Reinhard, ibid., p. 157.

[11]The American Bible scholar William Foxwell Albright (1891-1971) suggests in a discussion of the poetic background of early Hebrew prose that "prose was frequently a secondary form behind which lay a poetic version." [as quoted in: Robert C. Culley. "Oral Tradition and Biblical Studies." Oral Tradition, 1 (1986), 30-65; reprinted in: Oral-Formulaic Theory: A Folklore Casebook, ed. by John Miles Foley (New York and London : Garland Publishing Co., 1990), pp. 189-225, esp. 199-200. The following two works by W.F. Albright are mentioned there: From the Stone Age to Christianity (1957) and Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan (1969).]

consideration. According to this way of thinking, Turkologists might want to rethink the issue of genre assignment vis-à-vis the poem Yûsuf ve Zûleyha.

Chapter five of the present study, in which the focus is on Kurdish folk poetics and the Oral-Formulaic Theory, deals primarily with the texture of the versions of M&Z.

The texts listed above include five which have not been fully integrated into the present study: (LC-2; FK-3; LT; JA; MC-2). Largely due to time considerations, it was deemed that eighteen versions were sufficient for the purposes of analysis. Le Coq's second version (LC-2) and the third version appearing in Folklora Kyrmança (FK-3) were excluded mainly for this reason. Lescot's "version" (LT), being a conflation of three texts, is scientifically unsound: moreover, it is hoped that my exclusion of materials of this sort, consisting of composite texts, will set a precedent. The version collected by Jaqueline Alon (JA) and the one from Iraq which I purchased from a Jerusalem cassette seller in May of 1990 (MC-2) would require large blocks of time for adequate transcription, as well as native speakers with whom to consult: because of the dearth of native speakers of Kurmanji in North America as of this writing, this must regrettably be considered beyond of the scope of the present work[12]. Nevertheless, I fully intend to publish these texts in the future.

The translations of fifteen versions and the summaries of the three published in Armenian (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa)[13] are the texts upon which this study is based. In chapter four, a comparative study of the versions together with detailed motif charts, the versions of M&Z qua text are the focus of inquiry.

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[12]If I lived in Nashville, Tennessee, Los Angeles or San Diego, where fairly large Kurdish communities exist, I would have had an easier time finding native speakers. Nevertheless, the number of Soranî speakers residing in North America far outnumbers Kurmanji speakers: this may change with the expected arrival of 3,000 Iraqi Kurdish refugees sometime in 1991.

[13]for which I once again give special thanks to Anne Avakian.

Due to the fact that, for the most part, context has been ignored, anyone attempting a study of this aspect of the oral versions of M&Z is severely limited in what he can say about it. Nevertheless, some remarks are possible. The identity of all the informants but two (for PS and EP-2) is known, although the amount of detail that has been provided regarding the various informants is uneven. Next to nothing is known about the social setting in which the versions were told. It would be helpful if we knew, for instance, which versions were told before a receptive audience, and which were told purely for the benefit of the collector. According to Başgöz (1975),[14] the composition of the audience may affect the taleteller's performance quite profoundly: whereas the taleteller may embellish his tale and spread it out over several hours for a receptive audience, the same taleteller may collapse his story into a short, uninspired narrative if he perceives the listeners as hostile.

Regarding native literary criticism, if not for the unpublished work of Jaqueline Alon, we would have absolutely nothing. Mrs. Alon collected a version of M&Z from an old Kurdish Jewish man from Iraq, together with his sister's reactions to hearing the story. Moreover, I have interviewed several Kurds about M&Z and similar stories: although my interviews do not refer to a specific version of the tale, they constitute an attempt to recreate what a performance of M&Z was like, by talking to people who grew up with this tradition, and by asking them to remember back to their childhood in Kurdistan, in an attempt to see what was happening through their eyes.

14Ilhan Başgöz. "The Tale Singer and His Audience," in: Folklore : Performance and Communication, ed. Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein (The Hague : Mouton, 1975), pp. 143-204.

In addition, by applying the theory of digression as laid out by Ilhan Başgöz in another article of his, [15] it is possible to glean some interesting information about the personality of the *dengbéjes* as reflected in their side comments.

The aforementioned aspects of context are laid out in detail in Chapter Six, which is devoted to a consideration of M&Z qua performance.

At first glance, the sheer number of genres to which Mem û Zîn has been ascribed boggles the mind. Upon closer scrutiny, however, there is some unity underlying the divergence. Many of the terms contain the word *epic*. Nikitine calls M&Z an *epic poem* [6]. The Soviet Kurdish folklorist Ordîxanê Celîl [Dzhalilov] refers to it as a lyrical *epic song* [лиро-эпическая   песня] in his 1960 article [17]; in a fine collection of Kurdish folklore which he compiled together with his brother Celîlê Celîl, the three versions of M&Z which they include appear in the section entitled *epic poetry* [poêzîya êpîkîyê] [18]. Hajie Jndi, another Soviet folklorist, includes two versions of M&Z in a collection of folk narratives belonging to a genre

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[15] Ilhan Başgöz. "Digression in Oral Narrative : A Case Study of Individual Remarks by Turkish Romance Tellers." JAF 99 (1986), 5-23.

[16] Basile Nikitine. "Essai de classification de folklore à l'aide d'un inventaire social-économique," in: XVIe Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique : VIe assemblée générale de l'Institut international d'anthropologie. Bruxelles, 1-8 septembre 1935 (Bruxelles : Imprimerie médicale et scientifique, 1936), v. 2, pp. 1000-1012; "La Poésie lyrique kurde," Ethnographie, nouvelle série 45 (1947-50), 39-53.

[17] Ordikhane Dzh. Dzhalilov. "O nekotorykh voprosakh kurdskogo narodnogo tvorchestva" [О некоторых вопросах курдского народного творчества = On some questions concerning Kurdish folk literature], Patma-Banasirakan Handes [Պատմա-Բանասիրական հանդես] (1960), p. 203.

[18] Ordikhane Dzhalilov & Dzhalil Dzhalilov. Zargotina K'urda = Kurdskiĭ Fol'klor [Курдский Фольклор]. (Moskva : Nauka, 1978), 2 vols.

which he calls *epic song-stories* [эпнческне   песнн-сказы][19]. Prym and

Socin (1890) believed that Mem û Zîn and other narratives of like genre "were

originally composed in poetic form, i.e., they were originally epics[20]," although they

considered M&Z a "Roman".

The composite text published by Lescot (LT) was reworked[21] and published

with a Turkish translation under the title <u>Destana Memê Alan</u>[22] by someone using

the pseudonym Baran. *Destan* is originally a Persian word [dastān داستان / dāstān

داستان], variously glossed as: story, fable, tale, romance, history, and proverbial

expression[23]. In Turkish the word assumed the form **destan**, meaning: epic, epic

poem, ballad, song[24]. Before proceeding any further, it should be pointed out that

compilers of dictionaries are often imprecise about terminology pertaining to specific

fields of study: hence, although the folklorist would define 'myth' or 'epic' differently

than a classicist would, such differences are seldom incorporated into standard

dictionaries for the layman. This being the case, the definitions provided for Persian

dastān and Turkish destan should only be seen as approximations, rather than

accurate definitions: so far, the only thing that can be said with certainty is that the

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[19]Hajie Jndi (ed.). <u>Kurdskie ǎzicheskie pesni-skazy</u> [Курдске   эпнческне   песнн-сказы   -
Kurdish epic 'song-stories']. (Moskva : Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoĭ Literatury, 1962), 242 p.

[20]Eugen Prym & Albert Socin. <u>Kurdische Sammlungen.</u> a. Die Texte; b. übersetzung. (St.-Pétersbourg :
Eggers et Cie, 1890), vol. 1.a, p. xix

[21]i.e., words deemed 'not of pure Kurdish stock' were replaced with ones which were considered so.

[22]Baran (pseudonym). Destana Memê Alan: Kûrtçe - Türkçe = Memê Alan Destanı (İstanbul : özgürlük
Yolu Yayınları, 1978), 389 p.

[23]Muhammad Mu'īn. <u>Farhang-i Fārsī</u> [فارسی   فرهنگ] (Tihrān : Amīr-i Kabīr, 1432-1452 [1963-
1973]), vol. 2, p. 1483.

[24]<u>Redhouse Çağdaş Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlüğü</u> = <u>Contemporary Turkish-English Dictionary</u> (İstanbul :
Redhouse Yayınevi, 1983), 455 p.; <u>Redhouse Yeni Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlük</u> = <u>New Redhouse Turkish-
English Dictionary</u> (İstanbul : Redhouse Yayınevi, 1981), 1292, 45.

term dastãn/destan refers to some sort of narrative, perhaps characterized by musical accompaniment. The various Soranî dictionaries yield the following: epic poem, ode, lay[25]; *dastan* story, poem, legend, tale[26]; epic poem[27]; tale, story[28]. We know little more than when we started. Unfortunately, the Kurmanji dictionaries consulted were not much better. Only four of them listed the word at all: Kurdoev, Anter, Jaba & Justi, and tzolî. Of these, the most reliable is Jaba & Justi; they give two forms, [destan] داستان meaning *tale*[conte] and [dastan] داستان meaning *account* or *tale* [récit, conte]. Kurdoev gives **dastan**, designating it as archaic [устаревшее слово] and glossing it as *tale, story,* or *myth.* Both Anter and tzolî give the form as **destan**, defining it by the identical Turkish word. In addition, tzolî gives two examples of destans: Destana Memê Alan and Destana Rustem, thus putting the oral versions of Memê Alan[29] in the same genre as Ferdowsi's Classical Persian masterpiece, the Shahnameh[30], or even worse yet, failing to distinguish between the oral versions of M&Z and Eĥmedê Xanî's literary poem. Although the Kurmanji dictionaries have been shown to be of little use in arriving at a specific meaning for **destan/dastan**, the two most reliable Soranî sources, Joyce Blau and Wahby & Edmonds, agree with the

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[25]Taufiq Wahby and C.J. Edmonds. A Kurdish-English Dictionary (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 33.

[26]K.K. Kurdoev & Z.A. IUsupova. Kurdsko-Russkiĭ Slovar' : Soranî (Moskva : Russkiĭ IAzyk, 1983), pp. 262-3.

[27]Joyce Blau. Manuel de kurde : dialecte Soranî (Paris : Klincksieck, 1980), p. 223.

[28]Ernest N. McCarus. A Kurdish-English Dictionary : Dialect of Sulaimania, Iraq (Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 1967), p. 45.

[29]as the French Kurdologists Roger Lescot and Joyce Blau refer to the oral versions of M&Z, reserving the term Mem û Zîn for Eĥmedê Xanî's literary poem.

[30]Rustem (Persian Rostam رستم) is the hero of the Sistan cycle of the Shahnameh.

primary meaning given in the Turkish dictionaries -- and with common usage among Turkish folklorists -- in glossing it as *epic*

Hence, we have returned to our starting point: designations containing the word *epic* Nor does this word have a simple, commonly agreed upon meaning in English. In The Singer of Tales, Albert Lord admits that the term *epic* is ambiguous. Some scholars use extreme length of a narrative as a criterion for defining what is or is not an epic: e.g., we speak of "a work of epic proportions". Nevertheless, Lord rejects this criterion, arguing that some 'epics' are short. Others would like to limit the term to heroic poetry -- in fact, some scholars substitute the term 'heroic poetry' for 'epic', in an attempt to avoid ambiguity. A Lord rejects the appellation 'folk epic', saying that we have outgrown this vague term, which misrepresents oral epic (or oral narrative) poetry, rather than accurately describing it. Webster's Third New International Dictionary distinguishes three types of epic: classical epic (as Homer's *Iliad*, literary epic (as Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and folk epic (as *Beowulf*.

In her book Ethnopoetics, Heda Jason provides definitions of folkloristic terminology, including several different types of epic, namely: historical epic (e.g., Iliad; South Slavic epic; Indian Mahabharata), national epic (e.g., Russian bylina; Persian Shah-name), universal epic (e.g., first part of the Sumerian epic of Gilgamesh; exploits of Herakles; Indian Ramayana; Old English Beowulf), romantic epic (e.g., Odyssey; contemporary Central Asian epics), mythic epic (e.g., Babylonian Enuma Elish; Hittite epic about Ullikummi), and carnivalesque epic (no e.g.)[31]. Although a definition for each type is offered, it would be nice to know the criteria employed in arriving at these distinctions. It seems that some of them are arbitrary: some Russian byliny, for instance, consist of mythological material, belonging to Jason's Universal

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[31]Heda Jason. Ethnopoetics : A Multilingual Terminology (Jerusalem : Israel Ethnographic Society, 1975), pp 49-51.

epic category (#4.3.2.3., p. 50), while others reflect historical periods. The same can be said for the Shah-nameh, or the South Slavic heroic poetry.

Through a careful reading of the essays in Felix J. Oinas' collection Heroic Epic and Saga (1978), it is possible to come up with criteria which scholars of epic recognize in defining the genre. An epic, then, is a cycle of tales regarded as the history of a given people from its inception until a certain point in time. As such, epic combines myth, explaining how mankind and the world came to be in their present form, and legend, which deals with folk history[32]. A recurring theme in epic is the battles successfully fought by a national hero against a foreign enemy. It is not uncommon for several generations of rulers and/or heroes to be featured in the various episodes of an epic tradition. Regarding form (or texture), epics tend to be in poetry[33]. Some epic traditions are oral, others are the written record of what is presumed originally to have been oral.

If we now apply this folkloristic working definition of the term epic to M&Z, it is immediately apparent that M&Z does not fit the description. First of all, M&Z is a single story, rather than a cycle of tales. Secondly, M&Z does not pretend to be an historical account of the Kurdish people: it certainly does not treat of their beginnings, nor of how they came to live in the territory now known as Kurdistan. Myth, as the term is used by folklorists[34], is absent from M&Z. As for legend, it is incorporated to the extent that factual places, such as Jezira Bohtan, [and perhaps historical

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[32]as distinct from factual or scholarly history.

[33]However, Ilhan Başgöz states that "the Köroğlu epic is in prose interspersed with poetry." See his "The Epic Tradition Among Turkic Peoples," in: Heroic Epic and Saga ed. by Felix Oinas (Bloomington & London : Indiana University Press, 1978), p. 317.

[34]i.e, A sacred narrative that explains how mankind and the world came to exist in their present form. See Alan Dundes (ed) Sacred Narrative : Readings in the Theory of Myth (Berkeley et al. : University of California Press, 1984), 352 p.

personalities] are included; and it is told as true. Moreover, the thornbush motif is a typical legendary ending[35]. The story is still believed by Kurds today, and I am told that if you go to Jezira[36], the local inhabitants will show you Mem and Zîn's grave with the thornbush still growing from it, doomed forever to drive a wedge between the two lovers, even in their graves. Although brief skirmishes are depicted in some of the versions, the theme of battle is tangential to the plot: nowhere in M&Z can one find long, detailed descriptions of battle scenes. Nor can it be considered a chronicle, either of battles or of dynastic succession. Whereas the epic hero's behavior generally sets an example to be followed, Mem malingers to avoid going on a hunting expedition and fails to rise when the emir of Jezira Bohtan enters the court. In addition, Mem dies after being imprisoned in a dungeon, whereas the victorious heroes of the epic genre would scarcely ever allow themselves to fall prisoner. Epic heroes defend nations from marauders and monsters; Mem must be protected by his chivalrous host Qeretajdîn, and is imprisoned in the latter's absence. With regard to the form (texture) of the epic genre, most versions of M&Z do not exhibit pure poetry, a trait which it shares with such Turkish epics as Köroğlu. It is hoped that the preceding discussion has debunked the misconception of M&Z as belonging to the epic genre.

Among the several terms used by the Kurds themselves[37], two prominent ones are **qewl** and **beyt** Qewl is a Kurmanji term which I first learned from a Kurd from Siirt. He defined it as "a story, but distinct from the çîrok [folk tale], because

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[35]Both the French medieval romance Tristram and Isolde and the Georgian story Abessalom and Eteri, both told as true, end similarly. Although technically not legends, these stories, like M&Z, incorporate legendary material.

[36]Cizre in the recently formed province of Şimak, formerly part of the province of Siirt, Kurdistan of Turkey.

[37]i.e., emic terms.

there are songs in a **qewl**, whereas a **ç'îrok** is in prose." As an example of a **qewl** he named Sipñanê golê, of which I have not found any published versions.   In explaining what a **qewl** is, he employed the Turkish terms **destan**, which we have discussed above, and **halk hikâyesi**, to be explained below. Qewl comes from the Arabic word qawl قول meaning 'a saying, utterance, declaration'[38]. Only two of the Kurmanji dictionaries listed the word: al-Hadîyah al-Hamîdîyah and îzolî. In the former, it is defined as "talking in verse in Arabic or Kurdish, containing a story, praise, or love[39]"; in the latter, as "a story in verse". In the folklore collection assembled by the Celîl [Dzhalilov] brothers, there is a section entitled **Qewl û beyt'ê êzdîya** [Yezidi qewls and beyts]: judging from the material appearing there, **qewl** refers to a type of Yezidi religious poem consisting of three- to five-verse stanzas[40].

Another emic term is **beyt** In a fine article appearing in the Encyclopaedia Iranica, the Kurdish scholar Amir Hassanpour-Aghdam defines the **beyt**[bayt]as:

> a genre of Kurdish folk art similar to Azerbaijani Turkish *dāstān* or *hekāya*... *Bayt* is an orally transmitted story which is either entirely sung or is a combination of sung verse and spoken prose. It is distinguished from Kurdish lyrical folk songs (*hayrān, qatār* and *lāwik*) by its essentially narrative character and, generally, its length. *Bayt* is also generally distinguished from the Kurdish narrative genre *hekāyat* or *çîrōk*(story) by its sung verse form.   In contrast to its Azeri counterpart, singing is unaccompanied by instruments.[41]

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[38]It is the verbal noun (maṣdar) of the verb qāla قال = 'to say.'

[39]الكلام المنظوم عربيا لو كرديا يتضمن قصة لو مدحا لو عشقا.

[40]Dzhalilov and Dzhalilov. ibid., vol. 2, pp. 5-53.

[41]Amir Hassanpour-Aghdam. "Bayt" in: Encyclopaedia Iranica vol. 4, fasc. 1, pp. 11-12.

The similarity between this definition and the one for **qewl** above should be readily apparent. Both terms are reminiscent of the term **cante fable** discussed above. Hassanpour-Aghdam goes on to list the various types of subject matter encountered in the **beyt** First on his list is the topic of tragic love, typified by such stories as Mem û Zîn and Xec û Styabend[42]. Other topics include conflict between the Kurdish principalities and the governments in the area, intertribal conflict, religious themes, and the lives and artistry of bards.

Next, Hassanpour-Aghdam discusses the interaction between written literature and the **beyts**[43], giving "the national epic[44] of the Kurds," Ehmedê Xanî's <u>Mem û Zîn</u>, originally a **beyt** as an example of a classical poet drawing on **beyt** material for his literary creation. Although Hassanpour-Aghdam correctly states that beyts "are found in all Kurmānjī (Northern) dialect areas (Iran, Soviet Armenia, Turkey, Iraq, and Syria) and in parts of the Sōrānī (Central) dialect regions,[45]" he does not point out that the term is itself limited to the Sorani dialect: the word exists in Kurmanji also, but only with the meanings of a) a verse of poetry -- which preserves the original

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[42]or Siamend, as he calls it.

[43]He unfortunately renders **beyt** in English with the word *ballad*, which is a distinct genre.

[44]This is an example of the use of the term epic by non-folklorists. The following definition from <u>Webster's Third New International Dictionary</u> most closely approximates what is meant by epic in the present context: "b: a long narrative poem (as Milton's *Paradise Lost*) having the structure, conventions, and tone of the classical epic but dealing with later or different subject matter -- called also *literary epic*" (p. 762). As mentioned above, other types of epic distinguished in <u>Webster's</u> are *classical epic* (as Homer's *Iliad*) and *folk epic* (as *Beowulf*). The phrase 'dealing with later or different subject matter' is vague: in the wrong hands it could be used to justify classifying almost anything as an epic

[45]Hassanpour-Aghdam, <u>ibid.</u>, p. 12.

meaning of the term in Arabic[46], or b) a Yezidi religious hymn [=qewl (as used by Dzhalilov)].

According to the Iranian Kurdish scholar Ayyûbiyān, among the Sorani (Mukri) Kurds other native (emic) terms applied to M&Z include **çirîke, ṛaz, bend û baw**, and **bend**.[47] The dictionary definitions of these words are of little help: for **çirîke** we find 'shrill cry (of hawk), shriek, song on open road', for **bend û baw**, 'misrepresentation, false propaganda', and for **ṛaz**, 'secret, mystery'. If these words take on an additional meaning, equivalent to **beyt**, such usage is apparently limited to particular regions.

Whereas we cannot deny that terms such as **qewl** and **beyt** are fine native terms for the genre, it is desirable to have a scientifically sound etic term as well[48]. Albert Socin calls M&Z a *novel* [Roman][49]. Oskar Mann refers to M&Z and like stories as *romantic epics* [romantische Epen]. European scholars have applied this term to narratives that appear to resemble M&Z in other cultures. For example, M.

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[46]Arabic bayt بَيْت , the most basic meaning of which is 'house.' 'Verse of poetry' is, however, a very commonextended meaning. Moreover, the different meanings form different plurals: buyūt بيوت - 'houses,' but abyāt أبيات - 'verses.'

[47]Ayyûbiyān, 'Ubayd Allāh. "Chirîkeh ya'nî cheh?," Çirîkey Mem û Zîn : Kurdî - Farsî [چریکەی مـ و زیـن] (Tabrīz : Chāpkhānah-i Shafaq, [1962]), pp. 3-5.

[48]An emic term is one used by the folk in speaking of a genre of folklore: it is a native category. An etic term is one used by outsiders studying the culture: it is a scholarly category, useful for comparative purposes. To illustrate the difference, let us suppose that in a particular culture, one [emic] term does duty for both riddles and jokes. For the members of the culture, there is no need to distinguish between the two; for folklorists interested in studying riddles or jokes, however, it would be necessary to differentiate the riddles from the jokes, making what would be an artificial [etic] distinction by native standards.

[49]ibid., p. xix. Perhaps *novella* would be a better rendering?

Chikovani classifies the Georgian folk legend Abessalom and Eteri as a romantic epic.[50] Heda Jason offers the following definition of the genre:

> Romantic epic: Epic about a warrior-hero who wins a bride, or about a warrior and his bride/wife who overcome obstacles which hostile forces impose on their marriage/reunion. This epic is related to heroic fairy tale, but is essentially set in the realistic mode although elements of fabulous modes often appear in it (especially marvelous elements; no creative elements). This epic is set in spaces 3 [="our country"] - 4 [="this world"], in human time, often in a specific historical period and is a sub-divison of historical or national epic, according to the epic sub-genre prevalent in the culture.[51]

She then gives as examples of *romantic epic* the Odyssey and contemporary Central Asian epics, such as Alpamysh or Manas. Although this definition reflects fairly well what happens in M&Z, it differs in some important details: because Mem fails to overcome the obstacles placed in his path by hostile forces, the marriage never takes place. Strictly speaking, Mem is not a warrior-hero. What is most problematic is the use of the term *epic* in speaking of M&Z, as has been discussed above[52]. The adjective *romantic*, however, alongside Prym and Socin's designation *Roman* [novel], may be leading us in the right direction.

Ilhan Başgöz has investigated at length the Turkish **halk hikâyesi**, literally 'folk story', which he refers to as "the folk romance *hikaye* , a long narrative that

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[50]M.J. Chikovani. "On the Problem of Typological Similarities between Three Mediaeval Novels "Tristram and Isolde," "Abessalom and Eteri" and "Vis and Ramin," Proceedings VIIIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (Kyoto and Tokyo, 1968), vol. 2, pp. 337-340.

[51]Jason, ibid., p. 50, #4.3.2.4. In personal communications with Miss Jason, she told me that she would classify M&Z in this category.

[52]I may seem to contradict myself in my article appearing in the Festschrift for D.N. MacKenzie Corolla Iranica. I submitted that article before I wrote this chapter, and at that time I was still calling M&Z a 'romance epic' as had been suggested to me by Heda Jason. I tried to have the terminology changed in the article, but it had already been printed by then. I would like to thank my professor Martin Schwartz for his attempt to intercede on my behalf in this matter.

blends prose and poetry."[53] He translates the term **hikâye** (or **halk hikâyesi**) by *romance* (or *folk romance*). In his many articles on the subject, he has examined the structure of these narratives[54] and the sorts of formulas which appear in them[55], as well as considering the storytellers and their performances[56]. Although he deals with a tradition which is distinct from that of the Kurds, Kurds have lived in close contact with Turks for centuries, as they have also with the Armenians and the Neo-Aramaic speaking Jacobites and Assyrians: it is not surprising that two neighboring peoples should compose stories in a genre common to both -- if indeed the Turkish **halk hikâyesi** is the same as the Kurmanji **qewl** and the Sorani **beyt** Hassanpour-Aghdam's mention of an Azeri counterpart to the **beyt** is further support for the existence of a shared genre.

It is fortunate that Başgöz' studies reflect the three criteria proposed by Dundes for defining genre. His consideration of formulas falls under the rubric of *texture*, while his examination of structure deals with *text* and his performance-oriented articles treat of *context* Because he has dealt with all three necessary aspects of the **hikâye** genre, I impart some weight to his statements, and to his rendering of **hikâye** as *romance* in English. If Başgöz' structural analysis of the Turkish hikâye

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[53]Ilhan Başgöz. "Digression in Oral Narrative : A Case Study of Individual Remarks by Turkish Romance Tellers," JAF 99 (1986), p. 6.

[54]"The Structure of the Turkish Romances," in Folklore Today: A Festschrift for Richard M. Dorson, ed. Linda Dégh, Henry Glassie, Felix J. Oinas (Bloomington : Indiana University, 1976), pp. 11-23.

[55]"Formula in Prose Narrative Hikâye," in Folklorica : Festschrift for Felix Oinas, Egle V. Zygas & Peter Voorheis eds. (Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1982), pp. 25-58.

[56]"Digression in Oral Narrative : A Case Study of Individual Remarks by Turkish Romance Tellers," JAF 99 (1986), pp. 5-23; "Dream motif in Turkish folk stories and shamanistic initiation," Asian Folklore Studies 26 (1967), 1-18; "The Tale Singer and His Audience," in: Folklore : Performance and Communication ed. Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein (The Hague : Mouton, 1975), pp 143-204.

accurately describes the structure of M&Z, then his genre definition may also apply to M&Z.

Let us now consider Ilhan Başgöz' typology for Turkish halk hikâyeleri as outlined in his article "The Structure of the Turkish Romances"[57]. This typology is modeled on Vladimir Propp's Morphology of the Folktale[58], in which he outlines in detail the thirty one narrative segments that Russian folktales are composed of: he calls these narrative segments *functions* [59]. Başgöz has made the adjustments necessary for rendering Propp's typology applicable for the romance, breaking it down into three main stages (initial, medial, and final), as follows:

A. Disintegration of the family.

B. The Struggle to Establish a New Family.

C. Establishment of a New Family.

Each section is composed of several Plot Actions, namely:

A.   Plot Action 1: Crisis
         Plot Action 2: Transformation
B.   Plot Action 3: Search
         Plot Action 4: Obstacles
         Plot Action 5: Resolution

C.   Plot Action 6: Union

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[57]in Folklore Today: A Festschrift for Richard M. Dorson, ed. Linda Dégh, Henry Glassie, Felix J. Oinas (Bloomington : Indiana University, 1976), pp. 11-23.

[58]2nd edition, (Austin : University of Texas Press, 1968). The first English translation appeared in 1958.

[59]These are also known as *motifeme slots* according to Alan Dundes' terminology.

Başgöz waits until the end of this section to clarify that this scheme most accurately reflects those hikâyes with happy endings. Hikâyes with sad endings were the norm 150 years ago, and some of them still end sadly, while others have been consciously given happy endings, to meet the exigencies of audience demand. This is a fascinating point, which in my opinion deserves much more discussion than treatment as a mere afterthought. M&Z would have to come under the 'sad ending' category: it does not share the evolutionary change of its Turkish neighbors, perhaps due in part to the active suppression of Kurdish culture in Turkey, severely curtailing the flourishing of the tradition[60]. Some minor adjustments are required to fit the 'sad ending' category into the scheme -- particularly for Plot Actions #5 and #6, as will be seen below. These adjustments apply to Turkish hikâyes with sad endings as well as to M&Z.

Having set forth the basic units upon which Başgöz' typology is based, I will now attempt the application of it to M&Z, pausing where necessary to make adjustments and clarifications. I have used the designations appearing in the Motif Chart for M&Z from Chapter Four of the present study.

A. Disintegration of the family.

Plot Action 1: Crisis. Initial scene/situation.
1. The family is introduced in the particular social milieu within the historical and geographical setting
2. Crisis
  a. The father dies
  b. Both parents die
  c. The couple has no child
  d. The family escapes from their native land for fear of persecution
  e. One of the members of the family is cursed by an old woman to lead a tragic life

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[60]However, this 'sad ending' category holds true for versions collected beyond the borders of Turkey as well.

Propp does not consider the initial situation a *function*, but nevertheless regards it as an important morphological element. The rubric 1. above, introducing Mem's family, appears in all versions of M&Z. Under the rubric 2. **Crisis**, it is c. **The couple has no child** that is most applicable to M&Z. Başgöz finds this category important enough to add a special comment for it:

> ...if the crisis is childlessness, it is temporarily solved, following the childlessness pattern of Propp's tabulation, except that in the Turkish romances two families are involved and later each has a child, one a boy and the other a girl. The children are betrothed prenatally by their parents. The real crisis appears later, when the boy and girl reach maturity and one of the families breaks the engagement vow.[61]

My teacher William Hickman has pointed out that adoption is one means of eliminating childlessness: in version EP-1 of M&Z, Al-Pasha finds Mem on the seashore and adopts him, raising him as his own flesh and blood (A.4. of the motif chart). In several versions (LC-1; ZK-2; OM), a donor figure intercedes to provide a wife (LC-1; ZK-2) for Mem's father, or to provide a magic apple to make Mem's mother pregnant (OM). This corresponds to A.2. in the M&Z motif chart. Although in other versions Al-Pasha is not completely childless, Mem is his only child,[62] and it is generally worded as if his parents were just one step away from being childless, e.g.:

> Al-pasha and his wife were quite old, and Mem was all they had in the way of offspring. They loved their Memê delal very much. [Al-p'aşa jina xweva gelekî mezin bûbûn, ewled-t'ewledê wan Memê t'enê bû. Ewana gelekî ji Memê xweyî delal ḧiz dikirin] (ZK-1)

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[61]Başgöz. "Structure of Turkish Romances," p. 12.

[62]except in PN, where Mammo has a sister named Aminah. The first part of PN is anomalous, consisting of an otherwise unattested and unidentified folk tale. Moreover, in that version there is no Al-Pasha.

The other elements in Başgöz' note regarding childlessness are reminiscent of
the situation of M&Z, but do not exactly describe them.   While Mem and Zîn's
families do not know one another, and therefore could not possibly have betrothed
their children while still in their infancy, in many versions (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1;
EP-1; ZK-1; MC-1) Zîn is already betrothed to one of Qeretajdîn's brothers[63] -- whether
from infancy or not is often not stated.   She breaks her engagement vow with the
consent of her fiancé.   Moreover, whereas in the latter cases both Zîn and her first
fiancé are both from Jezira Bohtan, in OM, the two families whose childlessness is
cured by the consumption of a magic apple,[64] those of the king [padishah] and his
vizier, are both in Yemen.   Hence, while in both scenarios two families are involved,
Mem's or Zîn's family is only one of them: in no case are both Mem's and Zîn's
families the two families in question. Although the details of these situations are not
identical to those outlined by Başgöz, they are close enough to be within the same
realm.[65]   His typology is flexible enough to allow for elaboration: moreover, the
amount of variation between the different versions of one Turkish halk hikâyesi may
resemble the sorts of differences seen between Başgöz' description and what we find in
M&Z.[66] Let us now continue our consideration of Başgöz' structural typology:

                    3. Disintegration of the family order. The family order, which has
meant security, love, and affection for the young boy hero, soon becomes a
psychological crisis for him and reaches an intolerable point following a failure -- a

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[63]See II.J. and II.K. of the Dramatis Personae section of the M&Z motif chart.

[64]By eating the apple, Mem and his companion Bengîneh are conceived.

[65]This situation, in which the elements are present but in a somewhat different arrangement than
expected, can be regarded as an example of *displaced elements* a concept dealt with in Chapter 4.

[66]See Fikret Türkmen. Tahir ile Zühre (Ankara : Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1983), 288 p. This is a
nicely done comparative study of 24 versions of the Turkish hikâye Tahir ile Zühre.

physical or spiritual ordeal, or some social blame being placed upon the hero when he reaches puberty.

Plot Action 2: Transformation: The young boy (hero) is transformed into an adult-lover-artist.

1. This transformation takes place in an ecstatic dream; it contains the main elements of an initiation ceremony. The boy is visited by a holy figure (the future protector) who offers him a love potion and introduces a young girl to him. When he sees her and drinks the love potion from her hands, the infantile personality of the hero dies and he becomes a God-inspired minstrel. He gets a new name (mahlas), which is given him in the dream.

This transformation is the most important action of the romance:

   a. The passionate love of the romance emerges from this ecstatic experience
   b. The young man is unmistakably established as the main figure of the plot: his song and adventures become the main attraction of the narrative
   c. New characters such as the holy protector and the heroine are introduced

2. It is only after this dream that the hero, as a mature person, dares to leave his family to follow his own destiny and establish a new family of his own. This is the final blow to the little remaining family unity.

The whole dream, which includes the main characters of the romance, the romantic love, and a short description of the plot by the holy figure, is in fact the core of the romance in micro-form.

For the most part, this transformation is an accurate description of what happens in M&Z (see section B.I. of the M&Z motif chart). While the meeting of Mem and Zîn is not specifically called a dream, it is certainly endowed with dream-like qualities, in many instances being mistaken for a dream until the next day when Mem finds Zîn's ring on his finger (see B.II. of the motif chart).

The Turkish word **aşık** (ashik) has two meanings. It is derived from the Arabic active participle 'âshiq عاشق meaning 'lover, one in love'. In Turkish, in addition to this meaning, and through the inspiration of the love for a beautiful girl first seen in the dream, the young man who has had the dream wakes up in love and becomes a minstrel able to sing and recite improvised poetry. Such a minstrel is also called an **aşık** in Turkish. This meaning of **aşık** is also used in Kurdish and Armenian. Hence, whereas in most Turkish hikâyes the young man awakens from

his ecstatic dream transformed into an **aşık** in both meanings, in M&Z he is **aşık (aşiq** in Kurdish) only in the sense of being in love. In no version of M&Z does he become a minstrel. In ZK-1, however, a missing link is supplied:

> When the experienced old man saw Mem, he said, "O noblemen, may Al-pasha be well, I have good news for you: Mem is not sick, he's in love! Call an ashik, have him come play his saz[67] by God's leave Mem will get well, and we will marry off our beloved Mem." The advice of the experienced old man was immediately carried out. An ashik came, and Al-pasha ordered him to sing a love song for Mem. The ashik began to play his saz. At the sweet sound of the saz and the crooning of the voice of the ashik, Mem opened his eyes, [awakening] from a [deep] sleep.

Here Mem is cured from lovesickness by being sung to by an **aşık**, rather than becoming one himself.

Mem is visited by doves, jinns, or angels, who fulfill the rôle of Başgöz' holy figure or future protector. Rather than introducing Zîn to him or offering him a love potion, they place her beside him in his bed, and retire to let them discover one another. The immature personality of Mem is replaced by that of a young man in love, although in M&Z his name is not changed to reflect this. For an example of how Mem changes, consider the following passages from ZK-1:

> Before:
> When Mem grew up and it was time for him to marry, Al-pasha was in a constant state of anxiety, and thought, "How will a girl meet his beloved Mem, who is worthy of him?" Several times Al-pasha summoned Mem's friends and instructed them to learn Mem's thoughts, to find out which girl Mem loves, so that they could ask for [her hand] for him. But Mem would give no word to his friends, because at that time Mem was not in love with anyone.

> After:
> Mem said, "Vizier's daughter, the one my heart loves,

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67 – a string instrument.

> She is not here,
> She lives in Jizîra Bota,
> She's the daughter of mîr Sêvdîn,
> The sister-in-law of Qeretajdîn,
> The betrothed of Chekan – lion of the earth,
> She has a green gown,
> The name of this beauty is Lady Zîn,
> The likes of you will never see her color or face."

The exact details of the elements of Başgöz' **Plot Action 2: Transformation** are similar only in general outline to those of M&Z. Nevertheless, the importance he attaches to this section in the story fits M&Z to a tee. Mem and Zîn's passionate love comes into being through this experience (see a. above); Mem and his adventures are the focus of the whole story (b. above); Zîn, the other main character of the story – as well as the reason for Mem's embarking on his adventure –, is introduced at this point.

Zîn introduces herself to Mem, giving a string of her attributes, as in the following example from ZK-1:

> "I am the daughter of mîr Sêvdîn, from the city of Jizîra Bota, I am the sister-in-law of Qeretajdîn, the betrothed of Chekan, I am the owner of the green gown. My dear, these are my attributes."

Because of the way Zîn introduces herself at this point, we are given our first taste of Jezira Bohtan and the characters we will meet when Mem goes there. This approaches Başgöz' designation of the initial meeting between the young man and his beloved as a microcosm of the romance.

Başgöz theorizes that the romance pattern can be seen as a framework which combines the sexual fantasies of a pubescent boy with rebellion against paternal authority. Support for this theory can be found in a passage in version ZK-2 of M&Z.

On the morning after Mem and Zîn first meet, Mem comes to his father's diwan [court] and recounts his experience:

> Memê called out to the assembly:
> "Father, last night I had a dream,
> On one side of you is a judge,
> On one side of you is a mufti,
> Have them look at the papers to find out what the meaning of my dream is."
> The judge and mufti together called to Memê.
> They said, "Your dream is that of a young man,
> Whatever you saw,
> Came over all of us." (ZK-2, p. 70)

The last three lines are particularly revealing. What Mem claims to have seen is unmistakably interpreted by the elder authority figures of the community as the sexual fantasies of a young man. Mem's first revenge comes in what happens next:

> Memê called out to them,
> "If my dream wasn't a divine dream,
> So help me God, let me become blind and deaf in both eyes and ears,
> Let me become lame in both legs and both hands,
> So that I have to walk on my hands and knees.
> If my dream is true, if it's divine,
> May both of you become blind and deaf in both eyes and ears,
> May both of you become lame in both legs and both hands,
> So that you have to walk on your hands and knees."
> Memê's words went up to the Lord on high, went up to the heavens,
> And the judge and mufti became blind and deaf in both eyes and ears,
> They became lame, and had to walk on their hands and knees.
> Those in the assembly looked at each other in amazement. (ZK-2, p. 70)

Here we see the young man, Mem, winning a victory over two authority figures, the judge and the mufti. By becoming lame, having to walk on all fours, the two adult males are reduced to being helpless infants. Such irreverence shown to respected community figures has a tinge of impish adolescence to it.

This rebelliousness -- what Başgöz refers to as *disintegration of family unity* -- may be a key criterion in differentiating the romance from the epic, for

whereas the disintegration of the family is a common theme in romances, in the epic

the boy's search for the girl does not run counter to the will of his father. In the epic

tradition, when it comes time for a boy to marry, he manages to do so without

threatening family unity (i.e., in ways which are socially acceptable). The action in the

romance is based on individualistic aspirations as opposed to the communal norms

espoused in the epic. Such aspirations are expressed by choosing one's own mate

instead of marrying someone selected by one's parents, and by establishing a new

family that is not patrilocal. Both of these goals are attempted in M&Z.

It is only after Mem meets Zîn that he decides to leave his father's kingdom in

search of her, with the intention of establishing a new family of his own. As can be

seen from Al-Pasha's reaction to Mem's departure, he considers this to be very

damaging to the unity of the family. Consider the following passage, once again from

ZK-1:

> Mem thus prepared himself for his journey. Old Al-pasha was in a sorry
> state. He called Mem to him, and together with his council of notables advised
> Mem to give up this plan. Al-pasha said, "Son, you know your mother and I
> have grown old, we have nobody else but you, why are you doing this to us,
> leaving us desolate?" But no matter what Al-pasha and his entourage, or his
> own friends and companions said, they could not change Mem's heart. His
> thoughts would fly to Jizîra Bota, [to be] with lovely Zîn. ...

>> Al-pasha said, "Hey, my beloved Mem, my son,
>> Is there no sense in your head at all,
>> Don't you [ever] think 'My mother is elderly, my father
>>   is old?'
>> To whom can I hope to leave my throne and crown of gold?"
>> Mem said, "Hey, Al-pasha, my beloved father,
>> I know that my mother is elderly, my father is old,
>> ?Bless what I am about to embark on,?
>> Now my relationship to you is null and void."

> No matter what Al-pasha did, Mem would not come back, Al-pasha wept
> and cried bitterly.

In summary, so far we have seen that the skeleton that Başgöz has suggested·
for Turkish halk hikâyeleri is also applicable to M&Z, although the individual
details of the plot may differ. Let us proceed now to the second section in Başgöz'
typology.

B. The Struggle to Establish a New Family
    Plot Action 3: Search
              1. Following the dream, the hero gets a musical instrument and
describes his dream, then reveals his resolution to leave the family in search of the
young girl.
              2. His decision upsets his family, especially his mother who begs him
not to leave them alone.
              3. His decision is unalterable; he sets out, taking his saz and nothing
else.

As stated above, Mem does not become an aşık in the sense of minstrel, so he

does not get a musical instrument. He does however describe what happened to him

the previous night, and announces his decision to set out in search of Zîn. His

decision upsets both of his parents, who react as outlined in B.III.C. of the M&Z motif

chart. In summary, while Al-Pasha is generally more adamant about trying to prevent

Mem from leaving, Mem's mother's reaction is softer: perhaps it is summed up best by

what happens in OM: "Mem [and Bengîneh]'s mothers beg them not to go, but bless

their trip." If Başgöz is correct in seeing this type of story as dealing with a boy's

rebellion against his father's authority, then the difference between the behavior of Al-

Pasha and Mem's mother -- particularly the vehemence of the father's reaction -- is

understandable. In addition, Mem sets out on his horse, in some versions (OM; ZK-3;

MC-1) also accompanied by his trusted servant Bengîn. Whoever he brings with him,

the irreversibility of his decision is clear.

        Plot Action 4: Obstacles: This overlaps with the previous Plot Action. Actions 3
and 4 then alternate until the end of the story.

1. As soon as the hero leaves his family, obstacles arise to make the journey difficult.

2. Nevertheless, the young lover manages to locate the heroine and meet with her

3. They are separated

Each obstacle consists of the following components:

       a. Agent introducing the obstacle

       b. Motivation of the agent

       c. Nature of the obstacle

       d. Consequences of the obstacle

Plot Action 5: Resolution

1. The obstacles are successfully eliminated by the hero.

Başgöz views the rest of the story as consisting of a series of obstacles which are successfully overcome, until the final union. This can be shown to work for M&Z. First, however, I would like to suggest some emendations to Başgöz' scheme. Unless we see **Plot Action 3: Search** as underlying all the ensuing obstacles, I fail to see how it alternates with Plot Action 4. Although Mem only leaves home once, it could be argued that all his adventures relate back to his search. Once Mem leaves his place of origin, his parents are not mentioned again except in a few versions, and then only at the end of the story, after he is already dead and buried. Hence I do not perceive Plot Action 3 as recurring: if it does recur in the Turkish hikâyes, this is a difference between them and M&Z.

       I have added two more components to the structure of each obstacle, as follows:

       e. object of obstacle

       f. helper figure

Moreover, the fourth component of the obstacle schema, **d. Consequences of the obstacle** seems to be identical with **Plot Action 5: Resolution**, rendering the

latter superfluous. Moreover, in **hikâyes** with sad endings, the hero is unsuccessful in the resolution of the final obstacle which he encounters. The various obstacles that make up the body of the story will be shown below. But first we must consider the final section of the typology:

C. Establishment of a New Family.

Plot Action 6: Union.
1. The romance ends in the bridal chamber: the hero and heroine reach their earthly goals.

As mentioned above, Başgöz adds parenthetically the important point that this is the scenario for **hikâyes** with happy endings. In those hikâyes which end sadly, the lovers are united in death. This is the case in M&Z, as the following examples suggest:

> They dug up Mem's grave and positioned Zîn in her beloved Mem's arms, then returned. ... The mîr, Qeretajdîn, and the notables went to mourn by the graves of Mem and Zîn. When they opened the door of the tomb, it looked to them as if Mem and Zîn had arisen, you might say that the smile of love was on their mouths. Beko stuck out his neck and said, "Mîr, I swear by your head, come see! It looks like they've arisen." (ZK-1)

> A few days pass. One day, in the mîr's dîwan, the subject of Mem and Zîn comes up. They say, "It was something [ordained] by God, but we prevented it from happening[68]." Beko says, "No, you're wrong, o nobles of Botan, God had nothing to do with the matter. This was the work of the devil. If you don't believe me, let's go at dawn and open up Mem and Zîn's graves: if they are not in each other's arms, you will know that everything I [have said] is a lie." They all say, "All right, Beko."
> In the evening Beko goes and opens up Mem and Zîn's graves. He puts them both in one grave, and puts their arms around each other. Then he covers up the grave, and returns home. He says to himself, "I brought them together with my own hands: what if they get up from the grave and go back to their own graves?" (ZK-3)

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[68] =lit. "We did not let their desire for each other be"

When they opened up the grave, they found them face to face, with perspiration pouring out of them like little hailstones, [and] light streaming forth. (EP-1)

The idea of lovers being united in death is also good for the Turkish halk hikâyeleri **Kerem ile Aslı** and **Tahir ile Zühre**. Because hikâyes with sad endings display this sort of tragic unity, the designation "Establishment of a New Family" is not appropriate. I would suggest a more general designation that fits hikâyes with both happy and sad endings, such as "Final stage" or "Final situation".

The structural typology that Başgöz has proposed for the Turkish hikâye or romance has been shown to accurately reflect the structure of M&Z: all the major sections appearing in the motif chart are accounted for in Başgöz' structural typology. The emendations I have suggested are largely applicable to Turkish as well as Kurdish materials [69]. What follows is a full application of Başgöz' typology to M&Z, using the relevant headings from the motif chart.

A. Initial stage [Disintegration of the family]

Plot Action 1: Crisis
A.2.a-b. Mem's future father marries and begets a son (LC-1; ZK-2)
A.2.c. Mem's father is given an apple [by donor figure], which he shares with his wife, and begets a son (OM)
A.4. Mem's heroic birth: virgin impregnated by seawater abandons infant Mem on seashore, where he is found and adopted by Al-Pasha (EP-1)

Plot Action 2: Transformation
B.I. Mem and Zîn #1 discover one another
B.II. It was not just a dream

B. Medial stage [Struggle to establish a new family]

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[69] It remains to be seen to what extent this typological is applicable to other traditions in the area, particularly those of the Armenians and Neo-Aramaic-speaking Assyrians (Nestorians), Chaldeans, Jacobites, and Jews.

Plot Action 3: Search

     B.III. Mem prepares for trip

Plot Action 4: Obstacles

     B.III.C. Mem's parents' reaction to his trip
         a. Agent introducing the obstacle: Al-Pasha
         b. Motivation of the agent: to prevent Mem from leaving
         c. Nature of the obstacle: locking gates and putting shackles on
            Mem's horse's [=Bor's] feet
         d. Consequences of the obstacle: Mem successfully overcomes
            obstacle: Bor flies over gates
         e. object of obstacle: Mem
         f. helper figure: Bor

     C.I. Mem and Bor (on way to Jezira Bohtan)
         a. Agent introducing the obstacle: Bor
         b. Motivation of the agent: pain/discomfort caused by chains
         c. Nature of the obstacle: Bor's inability to continue trip
         d. Consequences of the obstacle: Mem successfully overcomes
            obstacle: he stops and treats Bor's wounds
         e. object of obstacle: Mem
         f. helper figure: donor figure: dove's feather(s) (SHa-2; GNa);
            Xidir nebî (MC-1)

     C.III. Encounter with Zîn #2
         a. Agent introducing the obstacle: Zîn #2
         b. Motivation of the agent: her lust/love of Mem
         c. Nature of the obstacle: Zîn #2 claims to be Zîn #1
         d. Consequences of the obstacle: Mem successfully overcomes
            obstacle: Bor tells him that she is an impostor
         e. object of obstacle: Mem
         f. helper figure: Bor

     ?D.I. Mem arrives in Jezira Bohtan --> variant of C.III.
         a. Agent introducing the obstacle: Zîn #2
         b. Motivation of the agent: her desire that Mem stay at her
            father's house
         c. Nature of the obstacle: Zîn #2 claims that Beko Awan's
            residence is Qeretajdîn's residence
         d. Consequences of the obstacle: Mem successfully overcomes
            obstacle: Mem is Qeretajdîn's guest
         e. object of obstacle: Mem
         f. helper figure: ?

D.II. Mem gets token from Zîn #1 and wins Qeretajdîn's approval
    a. Agent introducing the obstacle: Qeretajdîn and brothers
    b. Motivation of the agent: to prevent Mem from marrying Zîn
        #1, who is betrothed to Çekan (or: to prove that Zîn #1
        loves Mem; or: to test Mem's manliness)
    c. Nature of the obstacle: task -- Mem must bring a token from
        Zîn #1, or else!
    d. Consequences of the obstacle: Mem successfully overcomes
        obstacle: Zîn #1 gives him a token, which he brings to
        Qeretajdîn and brothers, and thereby wins their approval
    e. object of obstacle: Mem
    f. helper figure: Zîn #1

D.III. Hunting expedition
    a. Agent introducing the obstacle: Mîr Sêvdîn
    b. Motivation of the agent: to test Mem's manliness
    c. Nature of the obstacle: hunting expedition
    d. Consequences of the obstacle: Mem successfully overcomes
        obstacle: he feigns illness
    e. object of obstacle: Mem
    f. helper figure: ? (Mem himself?)

D.IV-V. Disgrace averted + D.VIII.A-C. Poetry contests
    a. Agent introducing the obstacle: Beko Awan
    b. Motivation of the agent: to disgrace Mem (or: to separate Mem
        and Zîn #1)
    c. Nature of the obstacle: trying to force Mem to stand up in Mîr
        Sêvdîn's presence (which would reveal that Zîn was
        hiding behind him)
    d. Consequences of the obstacle: Mem successfully overcomes
        obstacle: Qeretajdîn creates a diversion by sacrificing his
        own home, son, wife, etc.
    e. object of obstacle: Mem
    f. helper figure: Qeretajdîn

D. VI. Mem and Mîr Sêvdîn's game
    a. Agent introducing the obstacle: Beko Awan (& Mîr Sêvdîn)
    b. Motivation of the agent: to get rid of Mem (or: to separate
        Mem and Zîn #1)
    c. Nature of the obstacle: board game (chess) match with
        stipulations which state that Mem will be imprisoned if
        he loses

　　　　d. Consequences of the obstacle: Mem unsuccessful in averting
　　　　　　　obstacle: he is imprisoned
　　　　e. object of obstacle: Mem
　　　　f. helper figure: ø -- this occurs in the absence of Qeretajdîn

D.VII. Qeretajdîn's absence
　　　　a. Agent introducing the obstacle: dervish
　　　　b. Motivation of the agent: lust for Zîn #1
　　　　c. Nature of the obstacle: refusing to deliver Zîn's letter unless
　　　　　　she lets him kiss her
　　　　d. Consequences of the obstacle: Zîn successfully overcomes
　　　　　　　obstacle: Qeretajdîn kills dervish, thereby restoring Zîn's
　　　　　　honor
　　　　e. object of obstacle: Zîn #1
　　　　f. helper figure: Qeretajdîn

Plot Action 5: Resolution

　　　[I recommend eliminating this as being superfluous: **d. Consequences of the obstacle** fulfills the function that this is intended for. I will, however, point out at this point that all the obstacles are successfully eliminated except for D.VI., which in effect sounds the death knell for Mem]

C. Final stage [*Establishment of a new family]

　　Plot Action 6: Union [in death]

　　　　　E. Death of Mem and Zîn #1

Because the structural typology for the Turkish hikâye or halk hikâyesi outlined by Başgöz has been shown to accurately reflect the structure of M&Z as well, it can now be asserted that they belong to the same genre. Because this tabulation is

applicable to both prose and verse versions of M&Z,[70] I can reiterate my earlier assertion that texture alone should not be the basis for a generic distinction.

Başgöz uses the term *romance* as the translation of halk hikâyesi, adducing arguments which enable us to clarify even more precisely the difference between the romance and the epic. Whereas the epic, in addition to being a chronicle of the great exploits of a people, reinforces the traditional hierarchical structure of the family, the romance may be seen as a revolt against that very structure, reflecting instead a young man's desire to be his own master, choose his own mate, and establish his own household. The desire for such a revolt is a natural part of the adolescent experience, as is also daydreaming about sexual matters. It will be suggested in later chapters that the appeal of the story of M&Z may in fact lie in the vicarious escape it provides its audience from a reality in which submission to patriarchal authority is otherwise inevitable.

Alongside such emic terms as **qewl** in Kurmanji and **beyt** in Sorani, we may place the etic term **romance**. Romances abound in folk tradition as well as in literature: for this reason, the designation *folk romance* may be helpful in distinguishing between the two: M&Z would then be a folk romance. Among the best known romances are the medieval French Tristan et Isolde,[71] which seems to represent elements of both folk and literary tradition. At least one hundred versions of the Georgian folk romance Abessalom and Eteri[72] have been collected. The Persian

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[70]examples from both types have been quoted in the above illustrations.

[71]Alan S. Fedrick (tr.). The Romance of Tristan by Beroul; and The Tale of Tristan's Madness (Harmondsworth, Middlesex et al. : Penguin Books, c1970), 170 p.

[72]See N.I. Dolidze & M. IA. Chikovani. Gruzinskie narodnye skazki [Грузинские народные сказки = Georgian folk tales] (Tbilisi : Merani, 1971), pp. 197-201; 343-7; Chikovani, M.J. 'On the Problem of Typological Similarities between Three Mediaeval Novels "Tristram and Isolde," "Abessalom and Eteri" and "Vis and Ramin," Proceedings, VIIIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (Kyoto and Tokyo, 1968), vol. 2, pp. 337-340.

story of Vis and Ramin is a literary romance. Although these works are all called romances, it would be interesting to see how well Başgöz' structural typology fits them.

CHAPTER FOUR:
Context

Performance Aspect: Argumentum ex Silentio

Within the field of Middle Eastern folkloristics, good studies of oral literature taking text, texture and context into account have been published. Both Susan Slyomovics[1] and Bridget Connelly[2] have studied the Egyptian Bani Hilal epic tradition in situ, and have written fine works based on their findings; Lila Abu-Lughod's[3] study of Bedouin oral lyric poetry from the Western Desert of Egypt and Saad Sowayan's[4] treatment of the oral poetry of Arabia are also praiseworthy. In these cases, the recitation of the story qua performance is dealt with at length. Ilhan Başgöz[5] and Pertev Naili Boratav[6] have done similar work with Turkish aşıklar (bards) and their material. Unfortunately, this has yet to be done using Kurdish materials and informants, due, at least in part, to the political situation. Although Kurdish oral literature is very rich and extensive in scope, the collecting that has been undertaken

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[1] The Merchant of Art: An Egyptian Hilali Oral Epic Poet in Performance (Berkeley et al. : University of California Press, 1987).

[2] Arab Folk Epic and Identity (Berkeley : University of California Press, c1986), 328 p.

[3] Veiled Sentiments. Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society (Berkeley et al. : University of California Press, c1986), xix, 317 p.

[4] Saad Abdullah Sowayan. Nabati Poetry : The Oral Poetry of Arabia (Berkeley : University of California Press, c1985), 234 p.

[5] Digression in Oral Narrative : A Case Study of Individual Remarks by Turkish Romance Tellers," JAF 99 (1986), pp. 5-23; "The Structure of the Turkish Romances," in Folklore Today: A Festschrift for Richard M. Dorson, ed. Linda Dégh, Henry Glassie, Felix J. Oinas (Bloomington : Indiana University, 1976), pp. 11-23; "The Tale Singer and His Audience," in: Folklore : Performance and Communication, ed. Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein (The Hague : Mouton, 1975), pp. 143-204.

[6] Halk Hikayeleri ve Halk Hikayeciliği [=Folk Stories and Folk Story Telling Tradition in Turkey] (Ankara : Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1943), 327 p.; German translation: Türkische Volkserzählungen und die Erzählerkunst, tr. Wolfram Eberhard (Taipei : Chinese Association for Folklore, 1975), 2 vols.

has been largely text oriented: hence, the performance aspect, i.e., the context in which the texts were collected, has been almost completely ignored.

As a consequence of this omission, anyone attempting a study of this aspect of the oral versions of M&Z using the available materials is severely limited in what he can say[7]. Nevertheless, some remarks are possible. In the corpus of eighteen versions of M&Z appearing in the present work, the identity of all the informants but three (for PS, GNa, and EP-2) is known, although the amount of detail that has been provided regarding the various informants is uneven. Next to nothing is known about the social setting in which the versions were collected: it would be helpful if we knew, for instance, which versions were performed in front of a receptive audience, and which were told purely for the benefit of the collector.

Because we have not been provided with the necessary data to document the performance aspect of our versions of M&Z, we have no alternative but to try to work backward from the texts. The fullest versions we have include OM and EP-1. OM spans 57 pages of print -- all but the beginning in verse: according to what is stated in the final lines, it took four nights of recitation to complete it. We do not know at what point in the story the *dengbêj* Rahîman-î Bekir stopped on each of the four nights, nor how many people were in attendance, nor for that matter whether the audience consisted of the same people each night. The duration of the performance -- both per night and in toto -- is also unknown. It is tempting to conclude that the audience was very receptive, due to the amount of embellishment which this version contains: what most other versions accomplished in a few lines, Rahîman-î Bekir generally fleshed out into the better part of a page[8].

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[7]For this reason, the present chapter is shorter than I would have liked.

[8]Lest I be accused of having a literary bias, let me express my dissatisfaction at referring to oral recitations in terms of such written standards as 'a few lines' or 'the better part of a page', but such is

EP-1 was collected from E'tarê Şero in 1955. This version, in mixed prose and verse, occupies 26 printed pages, with long verse recitations appearing on every page but two. Once again, the duration of the recitation[9] and the composition of the audience -- if there was indeed an audience -- are unknown factors. According to Başgöz[10], the composition of the audience may affect the taleteller's performance quite profoundly: whereas the taleteller may embellish his tale and spread it out over several hours before a receptive audience, the same taleteller may collapse his story into a short, uninspired narrative if he perceives the audience as hostile.

Although it is reasonable to assume that these two versions are the most likely candidates for performance before receptive audiences, two things should be borne in mind. Firstly, von Sydow has made the very important distinction between active and passive bearers of oral tradition[11]. Whereas the active bearers of oral tradition are the singers, the storytellers, the *dengbêjes* the passive bearers of oral tradition are those people who make up the audience: they may not tell the stories well themselves, but they know them, and they can distinguish a good telling of a tale from a mediocre one. While both Rahman-î Bekir and E'tarê Şero are unquestionably active bearers of tradition -- and we have many other texts collected from them as evidence of their skill -- it is fallacious to infer from this that they always performed in front of enthusiastic audiences.

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the legacy of text-oriented collecting. If it were known how much time it took for a line to be recited, I could speak in terms of seconds or minutes instead.

[9] According to a comment by K.K. Kurdoev, E'tarê Şero wrote down this version himself. This runs counter to Jndi's note [see Kurdskie èpicheskie pesni-skazy [Курдские   эпические песни-сказы   =   Kurdish epic 'song-stories']. (Moskva : Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoǐ Literatury, 1962), p. 242.] In Chapter Five I discuss briefly why I think this is unlikely.

[10] Başgöz "The Tale Singer and His Audience."

[11] "On the Spread of Tradition," in: Selected Papers on Folklore, ed. Laurits Bødker (Copenhagen : Rosenkilde og Baggers Forlag, 1948), pp 11-18.

Conversely, it is clear from Hugo Makas' notes that the informant for HM, Mohammed Emîn bin Shemdîn el-Mendîlkân I, was a passive bearer of tradition: he had not heard a recitation of M&Z for some twenty years prior to the collection of this text. Consequently we have some way to explain the lacunae in his version, particularly the omission of the beginning of the story.[12]

Secondly, from my own experience collecting Turkish folklore in Turkey in 1987-88, I know that a good taleteller -- a good active bearer of oral tradition -- does not necessarily need a receptive audience to ply his trade. In a village near Elâzığ, an old man with thick glasses was brought before me as an informant. When I asked him if he knew any tales, he basically burst forth into a detailed version of Şah Ismail, complete with sung verse insertions at the appropriate moments. Because his eyesight was poor, he was not fully cognizant of the four or five people assembled in the room: the audience was irrelevant to his very fine performance. Because I have experienced this myself, I am loath to assume prima facie that all full versions were performed before receptive audiences, and that all abbreviated versions were performed under less ideal conditions.

The version FK-2 constitutes a special case. It begins, like many other versions, as a prose narration interspersed with sung verses at certain key points in the story. However, the final part, from the hunting scene (#2) [D.III.A.] to the end, seems to have been told in haste: the style suddenly changes to short, telegraphic sentences, cramming several events into a few lines; moreover the sung verse completely disappears: one gets the feeling that the collector's bus was about to leave and he had to induce the informant to quickly finish the story. Whereas most Soviet folkloristic publications give the date of collection and some biographical information about the informant, such

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12The narration begins with B.III.C *Mem's parents' reaction to his trip*

as his age, tribal affiliation, previous places of residence, ethnicity, level of literacy and the like, unfortunately the only information provided in this publication is the informant's name and the village in which the tale was collected. Due to the lack of background information regarding the tale teller's life and the circumstances of collection, we can say very little about the performance aspect of this text, and cannot therefore properly account for the sudden change in the teller's style.

Although many expectations may be pinned on the future, with the hope that future collectors will record context as well as text and texture, the texts which have already been published are not completely useless in this regard. If we were to subject the eighteen versions of M&Z included in this study to analysis aimed at uncovering the degree to which the individual personality of the narrator-performer is reflected in details varying from version to version, perhaps we would come up with enough data to at least partially fill in the void. In so doing, perhaps we would be in a position to make some guesses about the audience as well. The present chapter is an attempt to do just that. It should be made clear from the outset of such an undertaking that this is not an ideal situation: nevertheless, considering the reality which we are facing, if we desire to learn anything about the context in which the existing versions of M&Z were performed, we have no other alternative. In undertaking this task, I have made use of the fine studies of digression in oral narrative pioneered by Robert A. Georges[13] and Ilhan Başgöz[14], and added inferences of my own based on an examination of geographical and linguistic considerations.

13· Do Narrators Really Digress? A Reconsideration of 'Audience Asides' in Narrating," Western Folklore, 40 (1981), 245-252.

14· Digression in Oral Narrative : A Case Study of Individual Remarks by Turkish Romance Tellers," JAF 99 (1986), pp. 5-23.

Ideally, digressions should be studied during performance. Nevertheless, such audience asides can also be found in manuscripts and published texts, such as the ones upon which the present study is based. By the term "digression" is meant the individual remarks that a narrator-performer makes while telling his tale. As Georges rightly says,

> Noticeably missing from most published records -- or bracketed or presented parenthetically when they are included -- are narrators' judgmental, explanatory, and evaluative comments. Usually viewed as digressions and identified as interpolations or audience asides, such utterances are seldom discussed or analyzed, suggesting that they are extraneous rather than integral to narrating.[15]

Although often relegated to the sidelines, digressions may in fact tell us a great deal about both the narrator-performer and his audience. In an article on the theory of oral composition, Joseph Duggan cites an example from a medieval French chanson de geste, Huon de Bordeaux, which

> contains a remarkable passage reflecting at one and the same time the spontaneity of an oral performance and the economic reality of the bard's life [la vie jongleuresque].[16]

He goes on to quote a passage from the poem in which the bard [jongleur] says that he is very tired and thirsty, and in which he invites the audience to have a drink with him and to return the next day after dinner. Such a passage is very valuable for what it can tell us about the context in which such a story was told: we know that it was told in the evening after dinner, and that the bard's [jongleur] remuneration was in draughts of beer rather than in money. Moreover, it strongly suggests that the mode of composition was spontaneous, rather than being the recitation of a memorized text.

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[15]Georges. Ibid. p. 245.

[16]"La Théorie de la composition orale," Olifant, 8 (1981), 238-55, esp. 249-50. [my translation]

If we are to study digressions, we must first be able to identify them. Başgöz presents the following list of formalistic features which may be used in identifying digressions[17]:

a. Directly addressing the audience: Duggan's quoted passage is an example of this;

b. Changing the third person narrative into the first person;

c. Altering the pitch of one's voice: in a printed text this aspect is usually lost;

d. Altering the speed of verbal discourse: this is also lost in a printed text;

e. Gesturing to the listeners: if the text has a passage such as "it was this big" in which the gesture is not described, the wording suggests that we are missing something.

f. Indirect manifestation of self by citing such traditional folklore forms as proverbs, anecdotes, legends, and folk poetry: in this case the narrator-performer is not directly revealing himself, but rather lets a traditional form express his thoughts for him. This sort of digression has an added function which is very important: through it the narrator-performer's personal interpretation of a given motif or episode is revealed.

Examples of these features from the versions of M&Z are readily apparent. Directly addressing the audience (a.) is a frequent occurrence in MC-1, by the narrator-performer's inserting "dear listeners" [guhdarê e'zîz] at frequent intervals.

We have an example of changing from the third person to the first person (b.) in PS, in the following passage:

> Then he saw that Mir Zeidin had arrived at the door of the
> diwan.
> Zin, Lady of Bohtan, was stuck under [Mem's] coat.
> All the nobles of Bohtan assembled in the diwan.
> When Mir Zeidin returned from the hunt,
> He greeted Memê Ala.

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[17]Başgöz Ibid., p. 7.

Memê Ala returned his greeting without rising [= on his ass].
Accursed Bako rose up before him and said, "Mem, are you
better than the nobles of Bohtan?
When Mir Zeidin, Lord of Bohtan, passes by,
How do you greet him?"
[?Mem] said, "Bako, early this morning,
Mem had a bad headache,
For this reason I can't speak to Mir Zeidin, Lord of
Bohtan." (PS, p. 78)

A change of person such as this suggests that the narrator-performer is identifying with the character in his story so strongly that for a moment the two become fused in his mind.

Altering the pitch of one's voice or the speed of verbal discourse are considerations which are limited to versions for which we have the actual recording on tape. In the case of M&Z, I have in my possession three such versions (MC-1; MC-2; JA), only the first of which has been included in the present study. In MC-1, when Mem awakes to find that Zîn #1 is gone [around B.II.], the narrator-performer loudly interjects **Ey-wah!** [="woe is me"]: he alters the pitch of his voice, an example of c. above. Moreover, although at the beginning of the story the narrator-performer speaks slowly and deliberately, when he gets to Mem and Zîn's argument over who has come to whom [B.I.C.], he is speaking quickly and excitedly: thus he alters the speed of his verbal discourse (d.). These latter two features are very difficult to indicate in writing, and we will never know to what extent they were present in the other seventeen versions of M&Z.

In HR-1 there is an example of a gesture that only those present at the time of the original telling could have fully appreciated. It is as follows:

(367) They buried them the way they bury, one here and one over there by the entrance gate, (368) Three or four meters apart from each other. (HR-1, p. 294)

Although in this case the meaning is not completely lost on the reader, it is clear that the phrase "one here and one over there" was accompanied by gesturing (e.). There are other examples in this version of distances being described in terms that would be meaningful only to someone present and familiar with the area:

(108)...he only had to go as far as from here to Āstil;
(116) ...he was just opposite it, as close as from here to the lower khan. (HR-1, p. 268)

Āstil is the name of a nearby town[18]: a native of the informant's village (Kfārze, province of Mardin, Kurdistan of Turkey) would understand how far this is. The lower khan is presumably a nearby building: this is clearly a shorter distance than to the town of Āstil.

In PS, we have another example of information that only someone present at the time of the original recitation could understand, although this time probably no actual gesture was involved:

Memê Ala rode on and asked for Qaratazhdin's house. He rode on like one who is totally lost, [until] one like me came out in front of him and led him to Qaratazhdin's house. (PS, p. 73)

Unfortunately, we don't know for certain who the informant was, much less what he looked like, so this comment cannot be fully appreciated.

An example of f. above, the narrator-performer's indirect revelation of self through the use of an established item of folklore, is the following from ZK-1:

Mem says, "Come on Zîn, they say: Women are fickle,
     You give me a reliable sign,
     Which will be believed by the brothers." (ZK-1, p. 56)

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[18]According to Hellmut Ritter, it is a town adjacent to Midyat, the capital of this county (ilçe or nahiye) See note at bottom of page 269 (HR-1).

Calling women fickle [parsû xar] is either a traditional saying or a commonly held belief, or both. In any event, by prefacing such a statement with a phrase such as 'they say,' he is not committing himself to agreeing with it. Nevertheless, as Başgöz quite rightly points out,

> [t]he teller is not the creator of this form of digression, but he is the selector. He chooses and links the traditional lore to the main narrative, and assigns it a specific function, which can only be understood by a careful examination of the performance. [19]

We do not have the option of examining the performance of ZK-1 carefully; all we can do is try to piece together clues that may lead to a particular conclusion. In this case, another piece of evidence regarding the taleteller's attitude towards women is revealed in what he has Zîn #1 say in the following quote, just after Mem has fallen dead at the entrance to the dungeon pit:

> Zîn said, "My father's city is a great city,
> May cannonballs make it level with the ground,
> Who has ever seen that prisoners are brought in by men,
> yet released by women?" (ZK-1, p. 62)

These two quotes from ZK-1 suggest that the informant, E'gîtê T'êcir, had higher regard for men than he had for women. It would be nice if we could interview him to find out if this is indeed the way he felt, and if so, why.

According to Başgöz[20], the older the narrator-performer is, the more likely he is to digress. Middle Eastern cultures are what Alan Dundes calls *past-oriented* i.e.,

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[19]Başgöz Ibid., p. 8

[20]Başgöz Ibid., p. 10-11.

societies in which "individuals are measured in terms of age and how much *past*
experience they have"[21]: hence an older man in Middle Eastern society enjoys prestige
because of his age, and his experience in life insures that others will both welcome and
respect his advice. Conversely, a younger narrator-performer has not yet earned prestige
and respect, and is consequently reluctant to indulge in voicing his personal opinion too
loudly, i.e., to digress too often, for fear of angering his audience. According to this logic,
if a particular version abounds in digressions, the storyteller is likely to be quite old.

    So far we have mentioned two explanations for digressions: a receptive audience
and the age of the narrator-performer. However, it should be borne in mind that other
reasons may be adduced to account for digressing. Başgöz divides digressions into three
categories based on function and content, each of which can be correlated with specific
characteristics of the audience.   His categories are: 1) explanatory and instructional
digressions; 2) opinions, comments and criticism; 3) self-reproach and confession.
Georges' earlier findings also fit into these categories. Let us look at each category more
closely:

    1) Explanatory and instructional digressions. If the narrator-performer perceives
his audience as lacking familiarity with certain cultural concepts occurring in the story,
he may digress to explain them; conversely, there will be few explanatory digressions if
the audience is deemed sufficiently conversant with the culture.   In practice, it is
probably safe to assume that the younger the audience is, the more unfamiliar with
traditional concepts -- hence the more in need of explanatory digressions; likewise, the

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[21] "Thinking Ahead: A Folkloristic Reflection of the Future Orientation in American Worldview," in:
Interpreting Folklore (Bloomington, Ind. : Indiana University Press, c1980), p. 81.

older the members of the audience are, the more they will be familiar with such concepts -- and thus less likely to need explanatory digressions.[22]

Examples of explanatory digressions from the corpus of M&Z versions include:

I. "...he came to an inn like the inn of Midyat" (HR-1, p. 264, sentence #84);

"...he only had to go as far as from here to Åstil" (HR-1, p. 268, sentence #108);

"...he was just opposite it, as close as from here to the lower khan." (HR-1, p. 268, sentence #116);

"The man was a stranger" (HR-1, p. 274, sentence #190).

The first three quotes are similar in nature: the explanations in them are framed in terms of places familiar to a native of the area. This suggests that in addition to the Hellmut Ritter's assitant Besim, there were other villagers in attendance at the time of collection. Alternatively, perhaps the sixty year-old informant, Yūsuf Mālke Asmar, was explaining these things for Besim's benefit, and used local landmarks because that what all he knew.

The last of the four quotes, "The man was a stranger," in this context is tantamount to saying 'How should he know any better?' The frequency of digressions in this version -- the four above do not exhaust the subject -- seems to indicate that Yūsuf Mālke Asmar perceived his audience as requiring some explanation in order to fully understand the story.

II. "The man, Mammo, enters the city and asks for Bakko 'Awan's house; they direct him [and] lead him; he comes to Bakko 'Awan's house and enters as a guest. -- They receive guests there [=in Gzîro]: in those mountains a man, who may be a stranger, they take him in, whichever house he goes to ..." (HR-2, p. 508, sentences 58-59).

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[22]One could, however, expect the opposite if the subject matter included borrowings from modern technology.

This is a revealing digression. Gzîro (= Jezira Bohtan) is not in the mountains, but rather on a flat plain, on the Tigris (Dicle) River: opposite the first page of the introduction to Roger Lescot's composite 'version' of M&Z (LT) is a rather nice aerial photograph of the town, which clearly shows how flat the area is. However, the man telling the story, Sleimân Hanna Maskôbi (born c. 1913), is originally from the Ṭûr 'Abdîn, a mountainous area in the province of Mardin[23]. Sleimân's family left his native town of Mîdin in 1926, when he was about 13 years old, and they passed briefly through Syria on their way to Beirut, moving to Jerusalem for 23 years before returning to Beirut. My guess is that telling the story made Sleimân think back to his native region, and his youth, and that in his mind he substituted Gzîro/Jezîra for his native Mîdin. Middle Easterners pride themselves on their hospitality: when Sleimân describesthe way a guest was received 'in those mountains,' he may be taking pride in the hospitality for which the Kurds and their neighbors are famous. If my assumptions are correct, his explanation is more valuable for what it reveals about him than for its instructional worth, since part of the information he imparts is factually inaccurate.

The following two depend on the word 'brother':

III. "He mounted his horse, and took 42 of his villagers with him -- they were not his brothers, although in the story they are called his brothers." (PN, p. 3)

"The three brothers and Mem embraced each other on the roof of the palace, they got along like brothers, without hatred or fighting." (ZK-1, p. 57)

In the first case (PN), an aspect of village life is reflected: vis-à-vis the outside world, all members of a particular village may see themselves as related; in some cases,

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[23]Prior to May 1990, Jezira Bohtan, or Cizre, as it is officially known in Turkish, also belonged to the province of Mardin. After May 1990, it became part of the newly formed province of Şirnak.

they actually do belong to the same family. In an article I published in 1987, I explain the functional equivalence of neighbors and brothers, allomotifs appearing in the same motifeme slot in different versions of the same folktale, as follows:

> From my experience living in an Arab village, I know that married brothers often live next door to each other. Therefore, in many cases, one's brother is one's neighbor. Hence the paradigmatic equivalence of brothers and neighbors is neither surprising nor coincidental to a Middle Eastern peasant audience.[24]

In the present instance the equivalence is between brothers and villagers, but the same explanation may be used. We will probably never know why the informant Jano [Dschano] felt it important to clarify that the villagers were not actually brothers, although they are referred to as such in the story.

The second instance includes the informant E'gîtê T'êcir's definition of how brothers should treat each other. In order to appreciate this comment, we need to review the events leading up to it: Before Mem went to ask Zîn for a token of her love, Qeretajdîn's two brothers were ready to unsheath their swords and run Mem through with them, because he was making comments about Çekan's fiancée; by successfully bringing back some of Zîn's golden jewelry as proof of her love for him, Mem has just won the approval of Qeretajdîn and his two brothers; as a result, Qeretajdîn's brother Çekan has renounced his betrothal to Zîn, so that Mem may have her. Now that Mem has proven himself and has been accepted as a fourth brother, the hostility which Çekan and E'rfan had felt for him has been forgotten: they have buried the hatchet, to use an English folk expression. Hence, the narrator-performer's comment brings this whole

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[24]Michael L. Chyet. "Açıl Sofram, Açıl!" (Tischleindeckdich): A Comparative Study of Middle-Eastern Versions of AaTh 563," Fabula, 28 (1987), p. 95.

episode to a close by reminding us that what started out as hostility has ended with the strong bond of brotherhood.

2) Opinions, comments and criticism. The narrator-performer may wax philosophical, commenting on the value of life experience and the ephemeral nature of the world if his audience consists largely of elderly people; in my opinion, a younger audience would be more receptive to comments dealing with contemporary issues, such as politics.

The following is an example from M&Z:

"They sat down, and Bakko 'Awan said to the emir, 'You see that guest who is with you, the stranger, who you said was a good man? When you returned from hunting, he didn't rise before you.' -- The intelligence of these people -- after all they were Kurds (=lit. "Kurmanj") -- He got very angry: how could he, a guest, get it into his head not to rise before him?" (HR-2, p. 512, sentences #107-8).

This comment reflects a negative attitude toward Kurds, or at least reiterates the stereotypes that they are stupid and quick to anger, particularly regarding matters of honor. The informant Sleimân Ḥanna Maskôbi was probably not in close contact with any Kurds after he left his native Mîdin in Kurdistan of Turkey in 1926, when he was thirteen years old. This is also the only time that the characters in the story are specifically called Kurds (Kurmanj).

3) Self-reproach and confession. The narrator-performer may share self-reproaching digressions if he feels comfortable with the audience. By the same token, before an audience perceived as hostile, such digressions tend to be stifled.

For whatever reason, examples of this type of digression are not readily apparent in the corpus consulted. Perhaps none of the versions were collected under conditions in which the narrator-performer felt comfortable enough to speak of his own shortcomings. However, if we broaden the category to include all references by the

narrator-performer to himself – whether positive, negative, or neutral – then examples such as the following may be considered:

> "Now let's say two words about Kakeh Mem in the style *nadirî*
> This is the order of Rahîman Bakirî
> Who is both Kurmanj and Dêbokirî
> For the sake of Dr. Mann, the eternal one ..." (OM, p. 39)

and at end as follows:

> "O Lord! May Rahmân Bâkir never die! In four days he completed this
>   poem for the German master [=Oskar Mann]
> Jesus, the spirit of God, stood at the head of the German master.
> Lord Master, may you travel the seas in perfect health, and send
> greetings to your mother and sister!" (OM, p. 81)

In both cases, the collector Oskar Mann and the narrator-performer Rahîman-î Bekir are both mentioned. In the first case, he identifies himself by stating his name and tribal affiliation. In the second, he refers to Oskar Mann as the German master, and recognizes the fact that he is Christian, by mentioning Jesus. In each instance he wishes that one or the other of them have eternal life. All of this religious imagery is in keeping with the character of this version: OM, LC-1 and MC-1 constitute the versions of M&Z with the most pronounced Islamic imprint.

> "....one like me..." (PS, p. 73)

As stated above, because it is not made clear who the informant is, this comment cannot be fully appreciated. It is possible that PS was collected from Pinehas, a very aged Jew from Zakho who enjoyed a reputation as a "master-Rawi," continually travelling among the Kurdish tribes of Bohtan and Hekkari. Pinehas is mentioned in Socin's field

notes, but it is not specifically stated that he was the source of the version of M&Z included in that collection.

It should be obvious by now that any of a number of factors may influence the incidence of digressions: accounting for them is not simply a function of the narrator-performer's age or the audience's receptivity, but may reflect the composition of the audience as well. It is a frustrating fact that although Başgöz' typology is very helpful in identifying the various types of digression, without more contextual data we can only guess at what role these digressions actually played in a given version. For example, it is reasonable to assume that an explanatory digression indicates that the narrator-performer perceived the audience as being unfamiliar with a cultural concept; however, with the paltry evidence at our disposal, it is difficult, if not impossible, to prove that this was indeed the case.

What interests us here is the various ways in which the individual narrator-performer shines through from behind the traditional story he is telling.   A consideration of digressions is one strategy for achieving this objective. Two others that I would like to propose are the examination of geographical setting and linguistic evidence.

By *geographical setting* is meant the geographical details that the narrator-performer includes in his story. It can be demonstrated that the storyteller sometimes situates his characters in real-life localities that are familiar to him. Hence, considering that Ohanyan Israêl, the informant for ZK-2, is from a village not too far from Diyarbekir, it must be more than coincidence that in ZK-2, Mem reaches Diyarbekir's well known Black Bridge [P'îra Reş] and enters the city. Similarly, PS was collected in Zakho, and in that version Mem passes through Amadiyah and Zakho on the way to

Jezira Bohtan; moreover, a little further on, towns one half hour and one hour[25] east of Jezira Bohtan are mentioned. The accuracy of geographical detail in these versions is a reflection of the informants' familiarity with their respective areas.

In HR-1 there are several examples of geographical setting, including the following:

"Qara Tajdin had scarcely gotten as far as Āstil" (HR-1, p. 290, sentence #320)

Once again, we see that such details are specific to a particular region: Āstil is approximately fifteen kilometers away. This comment would have no meaning to someone unfamiliar with the layout of the Ṭūr'Abdîn.

In PN there is a passage in which Mir Sevdin and Hasso quarrel (p. 5). As a result, Hasso and his brother Chakko angrily mount their horses and ride off to Damascus. The informant for this version, Jano [Dschano], had emigrated from his native Midyat to Damascus, where he was living when this version was collected from him.   A plague of locusts which befell Midyat for six consecutive years forced Jano's people to leave their homes. It is interesting to note that both in his own life and in his story, Damascus is where one goes to escape a bad situation.

In examining linguistic evidence, we are necessarily combining texture with context. We are looking for hints in the speaker's use of language which reflect his life experience.

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[25] by horse, that is.

The use of the Arabic greeting **ahla u sahla** (=welcome) in HR-2 (p. 508, sentence #64) may reflect the fact that the informant, Sleimân Ḥanna Maskôbi (born c. 1913), has been living in Arabic-speaking countries since he was 13.[26]

Ohanyan Israêl, an Armenian originally from the village of Ḥiznemîre [=Haznamir, called in Turkish Inpınar, in the county (ilçe) of Beşiri, province (il) of Siirt] was the informant for ZK-2. According to him, Ḥiznemîre was inhabited by Armenians and Yezidis of the Reşkot tribe. Ohanyan Israêl claims to have learned a great many Kurdish songs and stories of the Reşkot tribe from Yahoê Mistê Qulo, a native of Bolind, a neighboring village. In ZK-2 there are several words in which an original ' [ع] is pronounced as ħ: **siħûd** for **si'ûd** ('luck'); **ferħît** for **e'rfît**[27] ('jinn'); **t'ibîħet** for **t'ebîe't** ('nature'). This is a reflection of his having lived among the Yezidis, who are noted for this characteristic.[28]

The proliferation of Turkish loan words in LC-1 is indicative of the region in which it was collected, in the extreme western part of Kurdistan, in an area where the Turkish-speaking population outnumbers the Kurdish-speaking population. Some examples are: yasi[an] < Turkish yatsı (= 'Muslim call to prayer in the evening'); kadı camiası (= 'community of Islamic judges [kadis]'); Şirin elma (='Sweet apple,' here a man's name); gerdek (='bridal chamber'); seyrek basan (='wide stepping'). Moreover, the reflection of the Ottoman Turkish court bespeaks an environment in which Turkish is known and perhaps held in esteem. Examples of this include the title šêxî ḥunkâre, the second word of which is **Hûnkâr**, one of the epithets of the Ottoman sultans: hence, the Hunkar sheikh would be "a sheikh of the Ottoman sultan (or some other ruler)," or "a

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[26]It should be pointed out, however, that even in the Ṭûr'Abdîn, Arabic is widely spoken.

[27]This involves an additional metathesis as well: -rf- > fer-

[28]Hellmut Ritter "Kurmânci-Texte aus dem Ṭûr'abdîn: 2. Yeziden" *Oriens* 25-26 (1976), p. 1.

royal sheîkh"; and él-pänčä dîwän sikînîn < Turkish **el pençe divan durmak** = "to stand in an attitude of respect with joined hands; to stand ready to receive orders," describing the respectful obeisance performed when coming into the presence of a king.

As will be discussed below, we know from Besim's remarks that Yūsuf Mälke Asmar, the informant for HR-1, felt more at home in Kurdish than in Turoyo, and that both his material and his vocabulary exhibited strong Kurdish influences. This being the case, it is not surprising that the word he uses for 'thornbush' at the end of the story [E.III.B.] is **dirrike**, a loanword from Kurdish **dirî**, whereas in PN and HR-2 native Aramaic words are used instead, **sälūno** and **ţulţo** respectively.

Another piece of linguistic evidence from HR-1 is the following:

Mämme Ala got up. His servant came to him and filled his water pitcher, and handed it to him. [Mämme] went out and washed himself, then spread out his prayer rug or whatever, to pray. (HR-1, p. 262, sentences 58-9)

The narrator is Christian, and therefore not completely familiar with Islamic prayer rituals. We get a clue to this from the wording 'his prayer rug *or whatever'* [bë min-yo]. This is a very subtle example of how language can reflect attitudes: if I understand the nuances correctly, there is no hostility expressed here; rather, the Jacobite Christian informant's vague idea of how Muslims pray is apparent.

Both geographical setting and linguistic factors may provide similar clues. For instance, the use of an Arabic greeting in HR-2 (a lexical detail) and having Hasso and Chakko ride off to Damascus in PN (a geographical detail) reflect the fact that both informants have been living in Arabic speaking countries, Lebanon and Palestine in the former case and Syria in the latter.

The final part of this chapter, in which native reactions to individual versions of M&Z are examined, will begin with a consideration of some brief comments by the emir Sureya Bedr Khan, a member of the prestigious Kurdish family from Bohtan, regarding the significance he attaches to the romance[29]. Firstly, as the descendant of a princely family that ruled Bohtan for centuries, he considers the story of M&Z as part of the chronicles of his own family: he regards Zîn and Mîr Sêvdîn as his ancestors. This implies that the story of M&Z has a special function for his family. Although it is known that many Kurds regard the legend of Mem and Zîn to be true, ascertaining whether or not this genealogical function of the story is unique to Bedr Khan's family would require a fair amount of fieldwork.

The emir Sureya Bedr Khan supplies another important detail, this time regarding the *dengbêj* tradition. According to him, anyone intent upon reciting either M&Z or Efmedê Xanî's literary poem, must first make a pilgrimage to the grave of Mem and Zin in Jezira Bohtan; only after this ritual do they consider themselves authorized to recite the story. Moreover, he asserts that this tradition is scrupulously adhered to[30]. I wonder just how widespread this tradition is; as it is not attested anywhere else, perhaps it is peculiar to the region of Bohtan. Certainly under present day conditions it would be difficult for would-be *dengbêjes* from Syria, Iraq, Iran and Soviet Armenia to undertake such a pilgrimage.

Seventeen of the eighteen versions included in this study have already been published. Among them, there is only one which provides any contextual information about the informant and his narrative performance: we are fortunate to have a description of the informant for HR-1. This information relates to the way the

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[29]Louis Marin. 'Séance du 6 Juin 1931' [Mem-o-Zine, poème kurde] L'Ethnographie. N.S. 24 (1931), p. 4.

[30]ibid. p 6.

informant Yūsuf Mālke Asmar told stories in general, without specific reference to his version of M&Z. Nevertheless, since besides M&Z only one other story of his appears in Hellmut Ritter's collection, some of the comments must refer to M&Z. These comments are all the more important because they constitute the only native oral literary criticism (to use Alan Dundes' term) that has been published about a specific version of M&Z.

Hellmut Ritter himself was unable to obtain permission from the Turkish authorities to conduct fieldwork in the Ṭūr 'Abdīn region of Mardin, Kurdistan of Turkey; instead he entrusted his native informant Besim, whom he met and befriended in Istanbul, with his tape recorder when Besim went home to the Ṭūr 'Abdīn for the summer (1960). Besim made many fine recordings, which he and Hellmut Ritter transcribed when he returned to Istanbul. One of Besim's most valuable contributions was a text which he himself spoke into the tape recorder, in which he recounted what he had done during his time in the Ṭūr 'Abdīn: it was in this text (#11 in volume one of Hellmut Ritter's Turoyo texts[31]) that he also gave his impressions of the people from whom he collected his texts. Among Besim's several informants was Yūsuf Mālke Asmar, from whom he collected HR-1 and one other text, a folktale. This is what Besim had to say about him:

> (305) Yūsuf Mālke is really a gifted storyteller. (306) But the stories which he knows are of Kurdish origin. (307) He translated them from Kurdish into Syriac (=Turoyo) and then told them to us. (308) Thus there are many Kurdish words in his language. (309) Yūsuf Mālke Asmar is perhaps sixty years old. He comes from Kfärze. (310) He made a special trip from the village to tell us "çïrōkât" [=folktales]. The [Kurdish] word çïrōkât is taken directly from his own mouth. (311) When he was telling stories, he spoke from the bottom of his heart. (312) He spoke word after word, sentence after sentence, as if it were poetry. (313) When he recounted in Kurdish, he spoke better and with more gusto. (314) During his recounting he spoke of battles. At the appropriate times, he also

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[31]Turōyo : die Volkssprache der syrischen Christen des Ṭūr 'Abdīn : A Texte (Beirut ; Wiesbaden : Franz Steiner Verlag, 1969), #11, vol. 1, pp 92-3.

sang.[32] (315) But unfortunately I did not record any of the Kurdish. I only recorded what he translated into Syriac. (316) For this reason there are in his stories passages about battles and poems which are missing [from the tape]. (317) For to translate these into Syriac is difficult and takes too much time.

This information contains both good and bad news. On the one hand, it is very refreshing: we finally have an assessment of a narrator-performer's artistic skill by a native member of the intended audience. Important details are supplied, such as the provenance of the informant's material, and what language he is most at home in, as well as an assessment of the storyteller's skill. However, we are also informed of an unfortunate omission: apparently the spoken prose in Turoyo was interspersed with sung poetry in Kurdish, which latter has been left out: furthermore, it is not clear from the printed text just where these omissions occur.[33] It is a sad fact that Besim's zeal in collecting material in his native language Turoyo, plus the limited number of blank tapes at his disposal, combined to create a situation in which only part of the text that his informant told has been recorded: text, texture and context are incomplete. The flow of the story's performance has been interrupted, and what has come down to us is in essence a mutilated document. What a paradox that the one version which includes context tells us explicitly what is implicit in the other versions: that we are missing too much contextual information to give proper consideration to the performance aspects of the story! In the final analysis, HR-1 is no less deficient than the other seventeen versions.

Regarding native literary criticism, another important source of information is the unpublished work of Jaqueline Alon, an American woman who moved to Israel in

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[32] I assume he means that the battles and songs were in Kurdish.

[33] Other instances of the story of M&Z's being told in a Neo-Aramaic dialect, but with the songs sung in Kurdish, have been reported among the Jews of Zakho (Kurdistan of Iraq) by Yona Sabar (personal communication).

the sixties, where she met and married a Kurdish Jew. She studied with the prominent Israeli folklorist Dov Noy at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. As the wife of a Kurdish Jew, she was accepted as a member of the Kurdish Jewish community in Israel, and as such was very successful in collecting massive amounts of material from Kurdish Jews living in Israel. Among the stories and songs she has amassed, she has a version of M&Z which she collected in 1979 from an elderly man, the late Daniel Mosheh, who was from the village of Suwarê in Iraqi Kurdistan[34]. The two Jewish families of this village[35] situated northeast of Dihok bore the distinction of speaking Kurdish, rather than Neo-Aramaic, as their native language, although they apparently also knew Neo-Aramaic.

Jaqueline Alon did not content herself merely with recording Daniel Mosheh's telling of the tale. During the ensuing weeks, she played back the recording of Daniel Mosheh reciting M&Z (in sung -- or chanted -- verse) to his sister Esther (who had been present at the initial telling), and recorded Esther's explanations and reactions. Thanks to this work -- which has remained unpublished until now -- we have some native literary criticism about M&Z. During a short visit to Israel in May-June of 1990, Mrs. Alon was kind enough to make copies of this material available to me for use in my dissertation.

Esther provides a running commentary in Hebrew[36] on her brother's recitation of M&Z. Although reproducing her entire commentary is beyond the scope of the present study, some of the most salient features will be presented. There are several

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[34]See the map in Chapter Seven for the geographical location of Suwarê.

[35]Abraham Ben-Yaacob Hosafot u-milu'im la-sefer Kehilot Yehude Kurdistan הוספות ומילואים לספר קהילות יהודי כורדיסתאן = Supplement to Kurdistan Jewish Communities (Jerusalem : Kiryat-Sefer, 1981), p. 48.

[36]That is, Hebrew as spoken by an immigrant from Kurdistan, which is a study in itself!

points in the story at which she reacts by interjecting a comment such as 'poor Mem'[37]. For example, when Mem wakes up and finds that Zîn is gone, and discovers her ring on his finger, he falls ill [B.II.B.]. At this point, Esther says:

"Now he has fallen ill, the poor thing[38]"

Further on into the story, when Mem and Bengîn have set out for Jezira Bohtan, in a twist that is unique to this version, they discover by asking people that they have missed their mark and have ridden on past it: it will take them a two day's journey to turn around and come back [C.II.A.]. When Esther hears this, she says:

"The poor things[39], tsk tsk!"

A little further on, Mem and Bengîn encounter a ploughman, who is afraid that they want to steal his mules, and therefore tries to flee. [C.II.A.2.] They tell him that they mean him no harm, and give him a handful of gold from their saddlebag. He is so delighted, that he throws down the plough, and takes them to Jezira Bohtan himself. Esther has two interesting comments at this point. First of all, when she hears that the ploughman will take them to Jezira Bohtan, she says:

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[37]In Hebrew misken מסכן.

[38]In Hebrew: 'akhshav nihyeh ḥoleh, misken! עכשו נהיה חולה, מסכן!

[39]In Hebrew: miskenim מסכנים

"Wonderful! [40]"

Secondly, while explaining to Jacqueline Alon what Mem and Bengîn say to reassure the ploughman, she has them say:

> "We are not people of -- uh, what do you call it -- we are not El-Fatah, or anything, we want only good things.[41]"

By saying "we are not El-Fatah," a reference to the Palestinian "terrorist" organization, she has brought some Israeli flavor into her explanation of this piece of Kurdish folk literature. Any Israeli Jew would immediately understand the implication of the term 'El-Fatah.'

Another valuable aspect of such studies of native reactions is what they can teach us about the semantics of certain words. For example, Esther refers to Zîn as 'Xatûn Zînê, ' literally *Lady Zîn* When Jacqueline Alon asks Esther why she is called specifically 'Xatûn,' Esther explains:

> "This is like what we say to a queen.[42]"

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[40] In Hebrew: yofi יופי

[41] In Hebrew: Anaḥnu lo anashim shel -- eh, zeh kakhah -- anaḥnu lo elfatah, lo klum, anaḥnu rak ṭovim roṣim. אנחנו לא אנשים של -- אה, זה ככה -- אנחנו לא אלפתח, לא כלום, אנחנו רק טובים רוצים

[42] In Hebrew: zeh, kama anaḥnu omrim le-malkah. זה, במה אנחנו אומרים למלכה

Therefore, we know that according to Esther's understanding, this is a term reserved for royalty or for someone to be treated with deference. Her explanation is in fact borne out by such dictionaries as Kurdoev and Bakaev.

Esther's reactions indicate that she is 'hooked into' the story, that she is emotionally involved in it, and cares what happens to the characters. When something bad befalls them, her comments show that she feels sorry for them, and when something good happens to them, it is clear from her comments that she is happy for them. Her explanation of the semantics of the term **Xatûn** as applied to Zîn shows her high regard for Lady Zîn. Esther Daniel is to be commended for her patience in the tedious procedure of listening to the tape from start to finish and dutifully answering Jacqueline Alon's questions, and for her serious attitude towards the entire undertaking.

In addition to Besim's comments about HR-1 and Esther's about JA, I interviewed a Kurdish friend of mine living in Southern California to whom I had sent a copy of MC-1, the version of M&Z which I acquired in the vicinity of Van in 1988. My friend, whom we will call Temo, is in his thirties, a well educated professional who grew up in the province of Muş, Kurdistan of Turkey. Temo makes it clear that M&Z is not his favorite story: he prefers the story of Xec û Sîyabend (or Sîyabend û Xec, as he calls it). He found MC-1 to be disappointing, both from the point of its length, and its language. Although he does allow for the possibility that it took less time to recount the story than he remembered from his childhood in Kurdistan. Nevertheless, Temo seemed to think that the *dengbéj* did not put a lot of effort into his narration. He was, however, amused with the way the *dengbéj* said that M&Z is not the Koran.

Whereas Besim and Esther's comments about the versions that they heard were positive, Temo is critical of the version he heard. To be comparative in an effective way, we would have to have the comments of several different Kurds about one particular version: the comments of different people about different versions are not

easily compared. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that both Temo and Besim are well educated, whereas Esther is a simple village woman. Moreover, Temo is Muslim, Besim is Christian, and Esther is Jewish. Temo and Esther's native tongue is Kurmanji, while Besim's is Turoyo. Temo and Besim were both young men at the time of their participation, while Esther was already a grandmother. The backgrounds of these three are quite varied: if they were all three evaluating the same version, the results would undoubtedly be very interesting. Although this sort of thing has not yet been done, it may be a very fine project for future students of Kurdish folklore.

CHAPTER FIVE:
Texture

Kurdish Folk Poetics

The field of Kurdish folk poetics is still virtually virgin territory. In a larger discussion of Kurdish folk and classical literature, Sureya Bedr Khan[1] [Bedirxan] devotes about twelve lines to the technique of Kurdish poetry, failing to make a distinction between folk and literary styles. Because his comments are followed by a discussion of the earliest Kurdish literary poets, it is safe to assume that he has literary, rather than folk, poetry in mind.

Roger Lescot[2] takes a very cursory look at the poetry of the oral versions of Mem û Zîn (Memê Alan) for which he made the unfortunate mistake of combining them into a composite text. He mirrors Oskar Mann in finding no meter whatsoever in Kurdish folk poetry, resorting to a syllable count instead. As a final contribution, he lists the end rhymes which occur in the parts of the story he pasted together from three different dengbêjes, Mîşo, Sebrî, and "Stranvan."

Basîle Nikitine wrote an article (c. 1947) on Kurdish lyrical poetry[3], specifically the genre known by the emic term *lawj* (lewc in Hawar orthography). In it he suggests that the epic poems, by which he means the genre to which Mem û Zîn belongs, may be expansions of what were originally fragments in the form of *lawj* [lewc]. In what follows, he reviews Oskar Mann's findings, and although he points out that the great Kurdish patriot and poet Kamuran Ali Bek Bedr Khan [Bedirxan] and others "cannot admit the absence [of regular metrical rhythm] among the

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[1] "La littérature populaire et classique Kurde," in XVIe Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique. VIe assemblée générale de l'Institut international d'anthropologie. Bruxelles, 1-8 septembre 1935 (Bruxelles, 1936; Nendeln, Liechtenstein : Kraus Reprint, 1969), p. 727.

[2] "Introduction," Textes Kurdes Vol. 2. Memê Alan (Beyrouth : Institut Français de Damas, 1942), pp. xxdi-xxiv.

[3] "La Poésie lyrique kurde," Ethnographie, n.s. 45 (1947-1950), 39-53.

Kurds," he himself does not find fault with Mann's analysis, concluding that a larger corpus must be examined than the one in his possession before a definitive answer can be given. His comments regarding the *dengbêj*'s memory are fairly typical of what was believed before Parry and Lord's introduction of the Oral-Formulaic Theory.

Ordîxanê Celîl [Dzhalilov][4] briefly discusses Kurdish folk poetics in his study of the heroic epic Dimdim (also known as Çengzêrîn or Lepzêrîn). He concludes that there are two prosodical forms, symmetrical and asymmetrical, and lists the most common end rhymes encountered in the epic Dimdim.

In the introduction to his study of the literary poem and folkloric versions of the Kurdish romance epic Zembîlfiroş, Zh. S. Musaèlian[5] discusses the poetry of the literary poem, with a few notes about how it differs from the folkloric versions. His notes, although brief, echo Oskar Mann's description, to be detailed below. He states that folkloric versions consist of three- or four-verse stanzas, and mentions syllable counts, stating that verses of nine, ten, eleven or more syllables are common.

Folk poetry differs markedly from classical literary poetry, the latter following the prosodic rules of Arabic and Persian classical poetry. Hence, rhyme and meter are regular in literary poetry. In the case of Ehmedê Xanî's poem Mem û Zîn, there is no question of stanzas, as the form is the Persian masnavi, in which each verse consists of two rhyming hemistichs of equal measure: consecutive verses do not

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[4]Kurdskiĭ geroicheskiĭ epos "Zlatorukiĭ khan" (Dymdym) [Курдскйй героический эпос "Златорукйй хан" (Дымдым) – The Kurdish heroic epic "Zlatorukiĭ khan," i.e., The ruler with the golden hand, (Dimdim)] (Moskva : Glavnaia Redaktsiia Vostochnoĭ Literatury, 1967), pp. 61-62.

[5]Zambil'frosh : kurdskaia poèma i ee fol'klornye versii [Замбильфрош : курдская поэма и ее фолькльорные версии = Zambilfrosh : a Kurdish poem and its folkoric versions] (Moskva : Nauka, 1983), pp 13-39, esp note #57.

rhyme, each verse containing a rhyme within itself instead. Moreover, the literary poem <u>Mem û Zîn</u> is composed in the classical meter hazaj زجه , each hemistich of which consists of three feet displaying the pattern $-/--/--$ [6]. Brief discussions of Kurdish classical prosody can be found in the introductions to Soviet editions of several classical Kurdish poems prepared by the late M.B. Rudenko. The list includes:

Ahmed-i Khani. <u>Mam u Zin</u> [Мам у Зин] : kriticheskiĭ tekst, perevod, predislovie i ukazateli M.B. Rudenko (Moskva : Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoĭ Literatury, 1962), pp. 11-12.

Faki Teĭran. <u>Sheĭkh San'an</u> [Шейх Сан'ан] : kriticheskiĭ tekst, perevod, primechaniia i predislovie M.B. Rudenko (Moskva : Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoĭ Literatury, 1965), pp. 9-11.

Rudenko, M.B. <u>Literaturnaia i fol'klornye versii kurdskoĭ poèmy "IUsuf i Zelikha"</u> [Литературная и фольклорные версии курдской поэмы "Юсуф и Зелиха"=Literary and folkloristic versions of the Kurdish poem "Yusuf i Zelikha"] (Moscow : Nauka, 1986), pp. 6-52.

The only serious attempts to outline in detail the characteristics of Kurdish folk poetry are the earliest ones, by Albert Socin and Oskar Mann.

Albert Socin was the first to tackle the subject, prefacing his <u>Kurdische Sammlungen</u> [7], with a pioneering look at Kurdish folk poetics. Socin claimed that stanzas as a rule consist of four rhyming lines, although he admitted that the number of lines may vary between three and four. Regarding rhyme, he was prescriptive rather than descriptive, even daring to change wording which deviated

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[6]according to Rudenko. See Ahmed-i Khani. <u>Mam u Zin</u>: kriticheskiĭ tekst, perevod, predislovie i ukazateli M.B. Rudenko (Moskva : Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoĭ Literatury, 1962), p. 11. According to W. Wright, in Arabic poetry the pattern for hazaj is $-/--//--/--$. See W. Wright. <u>A Grammar of the Arabic Language</u> 3rd ed., revised by W. Robertson Smith & M.J. de Goeje (Cambridge et al. : Cambridge University Press, c1896-98, 1975), v. 2, p. 363.

[7]Albert Socin [& Eugen Pryml. "Anhang: Die Form der kurdischen Poesie," in <u>Kurdische Sammlungen. Erzählungen und Lieder in den Dialekten des Tûr 'Abdîn und von Bohtan;</u> a die Texte (St.-Pétersbourg : Eggers et Cie, 1890), v. 1a, pp. [xxxviii]-lxiii. This consists of folktales and poetry collected and translated into German by him and Eugen Prym in the regions of Tûr 'Abdîn and Bohtan during 1869.

from what he considered to be correct: nevertheless, he is to be commended for indicating when he did so, as well as recording what the wording was before he tampered with it. His attempts to reconstruct the original form, a typical pursuit during that period, also caused him to emend the text unnecessarily. A valuable contribution was his noting what sounds could rhyme with each other, e.g., he noted that it is permissible for û and î to rhyme, as in sandîda and osûda, or hûna (?) and ma:sîna. When it came to poetic meter, Socin claimed that both trochaic (-◡) and iambic (◡-) meters exist, being unable to see that meter as we know it is absent from Kurdish folk poetry. His discussion of meter degenerated into a technical discussion of the phonetic intricacies of syllabification, and how stress patterns influence vowel coloring, both of which really belong to the realm of phonology and morphology rather than poetics. Oskar Mann's comment that this should not be included in a paper purporting to treat of the forms of Kurdish poetry was well taken. Finally, nowhere in his discussion did Socin employ examples from the Kurdish version of Mem û Zîn which he collected (PS).

Much of what Socin wrote was reviewed, expanded, and corrected by Oskar Mann, in a treatise preceding the German translation of the texts he collected among the Mukri tribe of Iranian Kurdistan, <u>Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden</u>[8]. His discussion deals largely with the texts (including a version of Mem û Zîn) which he collected from Rahman-î Bekir, who spoke Mukri, a variety of Sorani (or Central) Kurdish, which is distinct from Kurmanji (or Northern) Kurdish[9]. Nevertheless, he includes findings from his own hitherto unpublished Kurmanji material, in addition to critiquing Socin's earlier treatise on Kurmanji poetics. As should be

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[8]Oskar Mann. "Einleitung über Inhalt und Form der ostkurdischen Volksepik," in <u>Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden</u> Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen, 4 (Berlin : Georg Reimer, 1909), Bd. 2, pp. [xv]-li.

[9]The group of dialects in which the majority of the versions of Mem û Zîn has been collected.

evident from the preceding survey, later scholars still refer to Mann's findings in discussing Kurdish folk poetics: the present study is no exception. In what follows, I will attempt to ascertain to what extent his findings for Sorani are also applicable to Kurmanji versions of Mem û Zîn.

He isolates three criteria by which a poetic text may be identified, namely rhyme, meter, and Strophenbildung, or stanzaic form.

Rhyme in the texts Mann collected is predominantly feminine[10], although masculine rhyme is also occasionally to be found. The predominance of feminine rhyme accounts for the meaningless -e often added at the end of a line of verse. This last explanation is valid for Kurmanji also: in the following example, the final -e has no other function than as a poetic marker:

> Rojekê ji rojê xudane,
> Bi ser vî bajarê hade hatî e'ydeke mazin /sic/, e'ydeke qurbane.
> Xwarzî diçûne malê xalane,
> Birazî diçûne malê apane,
> Bûk derk'etin ji malê xezûrane,
> Berê xwe dane malî bavane,
> Ji xoŗa çûne zeyane,
> Ev hersê milûkê ha k'urdê wan kore, warê wan undane,
>> One day (of God's days),
>> A great feast came over this city, the Feast of the Sacrifice.
>> Nephews went to visit their uncles,
>> Nieces went to visit their aunts[11],
>> Brides left the homes of their fathers-in-law,
>> Headed for the homes of their fathers,
>> And went to visit their parents.
>> There were three noblemen whose luck was dry, whose houses
>> were empty, (ZK-2, pp. 65-6)

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[10]A rhyme of two syllables in which the second syllable is unstressed, e.g., fóllow and hóllow, or bríghtly and níghtly. this is typified by trochaic meter (-ᵕ). There is also masculine rhyme, a rhyme of only a single stressed syllable, as in cát and hát, or unstressed followed by stressed, as in annóy and enjóy. this is typified by iambic meter (ᵕ-).

[11]- lit. "Sisters' sons went to visit their mothers' brothers, / Brothers' sons went to visit their fathers' brothers."

In prose and everyday speech, the final words of each line would be [xudan], [qurban] [xala(n)], [apa(n)], [xezûra(n)], [bava(n)], [zey(îy)a(n)], [unda + ye/ne]. This phenomenon is so prevalent in Kurdish folk poetry that it serves as one of the main ways to identify language as poetic.

According to Mann, impure rhyme is quite common. Examples of this in the Kurmanji versions of Mem û Zîn abound. One need only look at the rhyme words in the three stanzas quoted from ZK-1 in the discussion of stanza below (bozin, pozin, but *pîroz be*; şêne, têne, but *dibême*; řeşin, serxweşin, but *xweş be*), or the rhyme in the quoted passages from Zembîlfiroş in the discussion of E'tarê Şero's style in the next section (derda, xatûnêda, veda, ç'e'va/ç'ava) to get a feeling for the prevalence of impure rhyme.

Mann has the following to say about meter in Kurdish folk poetry:

> [If by] 'meter' [is meant] an alternation of long and short, or stressed and unstressed syllables according to fixed rules, or a demonstrable limiting of the number of syllables from rhyme to rhyme in the majority of verses, [then] not even the slightest trace of it is to be found.[12]

In view of the total absence of identifiable meters, Mann speaks of counting syllables as an alternative. He distinguishes between a) strings of long verses, in which each line is of a different length, and b) series of short verses, averaging eight syllables per verse. In my section on Oral-Formulaic Theory, I employ syllable counts as a way of identifying individual formulas.

With regard to accentuation, the only difference between poetry and prose is in the predominantly feminine rhyme of the former, which coincides with trochaic meter (-ᵕ).

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[12]Mann. ibid., p. xxxiii. My translation.

As for stanzaic form (Strophenbildung or strophische Gliederung), Mann identifies the emic term *bend* (bānd), meaning 'verse,' and defines the stanza (Strophe) as a complex of verses containing the same rhyme. Sets of three- or four-line stanzas with parallel content are of common occurrence: in fact, although stanzas (or rhyme sequences) may be from two to five or even six verses in length, the overwhelming majority are three to four verses long. Moreover, he hypothesizes that Mem û Zîn and other stories belonging to the same genre originally consisted entirely of three-line stanzas.

I would differ with Oskar Mann in his use of the term 'stanza' to designate this phenomenon. In the versions of Mem û Zîn which are entirely in verse, such as LC-1, LT, OM, and ZK-2, as well as in other stories belonging to the same genre, the same *rhyme sequence* can go on for much more than six verses. For example, the first page and a half of LC-1 contains 53 typeset lines exhibiting a rhyme sequence in -ane: if each individual verse were printed on a separate line -- as has been done in my English translation -- rather than in a run-on fashion resembling prose, the verses exhibiting this rhyme sequence would take up approximately three pages. As mentioned below, the majority of verses in LT-Sebrî and LT-Mîşo also manifest a rhyme sequence in -ane. Can a rhyme sequence that spans twenty pages be considered a stanza?! The term *rhyme sequence* is preferable, as it can be used whether the sequence consists of two verses or of two hundred verses.

There are also cases in which the term stanza is warranted. In the prose versions of Mem û Zîn, the sung verse that is inserted at certain key points often

appears in parallel groupings that can be described as stanzaic. Consider the following, which consists of three parallel groupings of three verses each[13]:

Qeret'ajdîn go: "Gelî bira, em sê birane, hespê me hersêka bozin,
Em li dinê digeřin de'w û dozin,
Zinê bûka mine, bira li Memê bimbarek û piroz be".
        Qeretajdin said, "O brothers, we are three brothers, all
             three of our horses are grey,
        We roam the world in search of fights,
        Zin is my sister-in-law to be, may she be happy with Mem."

E'fan go: "Gelî bira, em sêne, / hespê me hersêka şêne,
Em de'w û doz ji dinê têne,
Zinê bûka mine, ez li Memê ĥelal dibême".
        Efan said, "O brothers, we are three, / all three of our horses are
             chestnut color,
        We go to wars in the world,
        Zin is my sister-in-law to be, I say [let her be] legally Mem's."

Ç'ekan go: "Gelî bira, em sêne, hespê me hersêka řeşin,
Em li dinê digeřin, bi serxweşin,
Zinê dergîstiya mine, bira li Memê ĥelal û xweş be".
        Chekan said, "O brothers, we are three, our horses are all
             three black,
        We roam the world, light-headed,
        Zin is my fiancée, may she be legally Mem's."(ZK-1, pp. 56-7)

Different strategies for signalling the beginning or the end of a stanza are discussed: one way of signalling the end of a stanza is by the repetition or paraphrasing of the second-to-last verse; a device for signalling the beginning of a new stanza (a rhyme signalling device) is the insertion of a verse such as the following:

        K'ê   bû   lã mãm û bengînî   bãlãkcãwa

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[13]In the original, the second stanza is typeset as four lines, but since by analogy the second line corresponds to the last four words of the first line in stanzas one and three, I have taken the liberty of punctuating all three stanzas according to one standard, as a heuristic device.

            Who   was   [from] Mem and Bengîneh   beautiful-eyed

=Who was it? Beautiful-eyed Mem and Bengîneh (OM, p. 49)

The subsequent lines will rhyme in -âwa, the rhyme having been set by this introductory verse. This is particularly effective when it occurs in a series of stanzas (or rhyme sequences) in close succession, as in the following:

I.   kⁱê bû lä mäm û bengînî bäläkcâwa
       lä särîncâwäï kânîê bûn pîâwa.

II.   kⁱê bû lä jûtîärî jindîa,
      jûtî bärałdä kird, bô yâya zînê birdî mizgênîa.

III.   kⁱê bû lä kurî jûtêrî naujûâna,
      här râî däkird, bô mäm û bangînân dâîhênâ, nâna.
      awân nânäkäïân däkhwârd, dâîân-bizhârt shukrâna.
      ⁱnjâ bô jûtêrîân däkird bä khälâd bakhshâna.

I.   Who was it? Beautiful-eyed Mem and Bengîneh,
      They dismounted at the source of a well.

II.   Who was it? The handsome plowman,
      He let go of the plow, [and] brought the good news to Yaya Zîn.

III.   Who was it? The beautiful young son of the plowman,
      He ran and brought bread for Mem and Bengîneh.
      They ate the bread and gave thanks,
      Then they gave the plowman a reward. (OM, p. 49)

Several Kurmanji versions of Mem û Zîn display a different device for achieving the same goal. I propose the term *rhyme signalling device* [RSD] to refer to this phenomenon. In the versions designated LC-1, LT, and ZK-2, all of which share with OM the distinction of being almost entirely in verse, a rhyme signalling device such as the following is inserted:

LC-1:   a. <u>dîlîmin dîlîkî dîne</u>
            a͜ekî mâme dîwîne
            hámâ ziârâtîne
            wâ hâmâ ğânâtîne.

> <u>My heart is a crazy heart</u>, /dîlîmin dîlîkî dîne/
> Those who see Memê
> Are all [worthy of] shrines
> And all [38] [worthy of] paradise. (LC-1, pp. 37-38)

         b. <u>dîlîmin dîlîkî lâxâne</u>
            sâlâ mâmê kétene dâhâne
            a͜ekî lâ rûiye mâmê difkire nâzâne
            šémsu qámer kižâne
            mâmê girtin žâ bâr nâfsî dâ-u bavâne
            wa hûrdû âpâne
            dâne bâr dâstî xoğâne 'ôlâmâne
            mâm čekîrin kûškî mâdirsâne
            hattâ bâ šeš sâlâ qadâm kire haftâne ...

> <u>My heart is an apparent heart</u>, /dîlîmin dîlîkî lâxâne/
> When Memê turned ten years old,
> Those who looked at Memê's face couldn't
> Tell it apart from the sun and the moon.
> They took Memê away from his parents
> And his two uncles,
> They handed him over to (80) teachers and ulemas,
> They made a school pavilion for Mem.
> When he was six going on seven ... (LC-1, p. 38)

         c. zînê gô <u>dîlîmin debê</u>
            tû lâwe kéi
            šâvâ lâ nîve šâve balgî sârî min lâ čê dîgârêî
            kârîe mârûî âyâye bâ riswâtû wâre sâr ğie xâtûnâye
            râbe âzâ bañ kim lâ ğâlâliâ wâdâ qasâbe mérâ âtâ bûkûžin
                nâvîmin bâ târâ pîs bûwe lâ dûnyêi

> Zîn said, " Dîlîmin debê,
> Whose son are you?
> In the middle of the night [40] what are you looking for on my
>   pillow?
> It is the act of the men of an agha
> To bribe their way into a lady's bed.
> Get up! I will call the Jelalîs, our butchers, they will kill you;
> My name has become dirty in the world because of you."
>   (LC-1, p. 40)

LT-Sebrî: a. Got: "Dilê min li yan e, sê cara li yan e!
Emrê min, yemsîkê, sêzde ye, dikeve çardane.
Ji roja ko ez ji diya xwe re bûme, û heyanî roja îro, min ne diye ruyê
zilama û xortane. ..."

He said, "My heart is accursed, three times accursed!
I am thirteen years old, almost fourteen.
From the day I was born until today, I have not seen the faces of
men and boys ..." (LT-Sebrî, l. 287-290, p. 28)

b. Memo dengekî banê Zînê, qîza Beko Awan kir, go: "Lê, lê, xûşkê, dilê
min liyan e, sê cara liyan e!
Ez î xerîb im, nizanim riyan û derbane.
Xwedê hebîna, bihurê felatê Cizîrê kîjan e? ..."

Mem gave a call to Zîn, the daughter of Beko Awan, saying,
"O sister, my heart is accursed, three times accursed!14
I am a stranger, I don't know the roads and ways.
For heaven's sake, which is [the way to] ford the Tigris River?"
(LT-Sebrî, l. 782-84, p. 74)

LT-Mîşo: Memî got: "Xwalo, dilê min î liyan e;
îro dilê min bûye yataxa derd û kulane ..."

Mem said, "Uncle, my heart is accursed;
Today my heart has become a den of grief and sorrow ..."
(LT-Mîşo, l. 638-39, p. 60)

ZK-2: a. Ferhît dibê: "Mîrê mino, dilê min lîyane,
Bila îro serê min bibe qurbana stîya Zîn û Memê Alane".

The ifreet said, "My mîr, my heart is accursed [heavy],
May my head be a sacrifice for Lady Zîn and Memê Alan."
(ZK-2, p. 68)

b. Dilê min lîyane, lîyane,
Memê-Ala û stîya Zîn bi hev hisîyane,
Tirs û saw û hêbeteke giran k'ete dilê wane,
Herdu ji xwera li hev û dinê şaqis mane.

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14liyan/lîyan = 'grieving, afflicted, heavy (of heart)'

My heart is accursed, accursed [heavy, heavy],
Memê Alan and Lady Zîn became aware of each other,
Fear and awe entered their hearts,
They were amazed at themselves and at each other. (ZK-2, p. 69)

c. Memê dibê: "Bavo, dilê min li bêye[15],
    Dilê min lêdide, weke mewcê be'rêye,
    Çiqa qîz û bûkê di bajarê Muxurzemînêda hene, bêjine min: bira, ezê ji
        wanîa bêjim: xuaye,
    Ji xîna stîya Zîn li ser rûyê e'rdêye".

        Memê said, "Father, my heart is windy,
        My heart is swaying, like the waves of the sea,
        As for the girls and brides of the city of Mukhurzemîn, they
                should all call me 'brother,' and I shall call 'sister'
        [All women] on the face of the earth except for Lady Zîn."
        (ZK-2, p. 72)

All the examples of this type of rhyme signalling device include the expression
my heart [dilê min] plus a modifier such as [li bê-] or [liyan-] plus the copula *is*
[-(y)e]. The meaning of some of the modifiers, such as [li bê-], is not altogether
clear[16]. This RSD can either occupy the end of the verse, as in (LC-1) c., (LT-Sebrî)b.,
(LT-Mîşo), (ZK-2)a. & c., or the entire verse, as in (LC-1)a. & b., (ZK-2)b.[17] As with the
RSD "K¹ê bû ..." in OM, the rhyme of the subsequent verses is then fixed. In the
case of both LT informants (Mîşo and Sebrî), however, the rhyme sequence is -ane in
the verses preceding the RSD as well: in fact, the majority of both informants' verses
display this rhyme sequence.

Much of what Oskar Mann has to say regarding the folk poetics of the Mukri
Kurds holds true for Kurmanji folk poetry as well. Rhyme, usually feminine and

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[15]li bêye. This phrase, which appears also in Le Coq's versions collected in Zincirli in 1901, is obscure.
It could be the preposition li + the oblique case of ba = 'wind' + the copula -ye, meaning altogether
'it is from the wind.'

[16]At least not to me. See the preceding note.

[17](LT-Sebrî)a. can be considered in the latter category, since it is a quotation preceded by one word, *he
said* [got]

often impure, is the single most palpable criterion by which folk poetry may be identified. Meter as we know it does not exist, syllable counts being a useful substitute. Stanzaic divisions as Mann describes them, i.e., a group of *bends* or verses exhibiting the same rhyme, often with parallelism in structure, seems to be more common in the prose versions of Mem û Zîn with sung verse insertions; in the verse versions of the romance epic, I would replace the term 'stanza' with *rhyme sequence*, since the number of rhymed verses may be well over the four-verse limit observed by Mann. The rhyme sequences are often signalled by a *rhyme signalling device* [RSD].

Oral-Formulaic Theory

Oral-Formulaic Theory was originally devised as a means of ascertaining whether or not Homer's poetry was the product of an oral – rather than written – tradition. Milman Parry and Albert Bates Lord conceived the idea of studying a living oral tradition, that of the Yugoslav epic songs (junačke pesme), to see to what extent it resembled Homer's works. Their discovery is by now well known: the formulaic language of both the Ancient Greek tradition and the living Yugoslav tradition is indeed similar. Both exhibit formulaic structures on the level of the verse, the type-scene, and the theme. Since the publication of Albert B. Lord's book The Singer of Tales in 1960, oral-formulaic theory has been applied to such literary traditions as Old English poetry, Old French poetry, and Russian byliny.

In applying oral-formulaic theory to M&Z, several clarifications need to be made at the outset. Firstly, the theory was originally developed by Parry and Lord as a way of trying to prove that Homer's Odyssey and Iliad were the compositions of an oral bard. Whereas there was some doubt about the oral character of the Ancient Greek, Old English, and Old French poems before they were examined in the light of oral-formulaic theory, M&Z is, like the Yugoslav case, unquestionably a living oral tradition.

Since there is no need to prove the oral nature of M&Z, it is tempting to assume that the problems confronting anyone trying to reconstruct a performance of, say, Song of Roland in Old French, do not exist for a living tradition such as that represented by M&Z. The frustrating fact is, however, that although the tradition of reciting the tragic love story of Mem û Zîn is entirely oral (Ehmedê Xanî's 17th century literary poem is derived from this oral tradition), we possess nothing but text-oriented transcriptions of oral performances. Beginning with the earliest version

collected by a Western scholar in 1869 (PN) and continuing up to the version I acquired on cassette tape in 1988 (MC-1), very little is known about the story of M&Z as performance, or about the art of the *dengbéj* who tell it. Nor do we have more than one telling by any single *dengbéj*. Hence, in spite of the twenty odd versions that exist in print, and in spite of our total certainty as to the oral character of the tradition that spawned M&Z, anyone attempting a serious study of it is not much better off than the scholar of such long-extinct traditions as the Old English or Old French.

Whereas Homer's works, as well as the Old French, Old English, and other traditions -- whether epics, romances, or chansons de geste -- are completely in verse, the versions of M&Z can be divided into two categories. Some versions are primarily in verse (PS, LC-1, OM, ZK-2, LT), but the majority of versions I have seen consist of prose narration with sung verse inserted at key points in the story: this sung verse is the most stable part of the story, and seems to be formulaic[1]. William Foxwell Albright (1891-1971), the American Bible scholar, suggests in a discussion of the posited poetic background of early Hebrew prose that "prose was frequently a secondary form behind which lay a poetic version.[2]" If we assume that the versions of M&Z in verse preserve the older, more archaic form of the story, and that the prose versions are a more recent development, then M&Z may provide evidence in support of Albright's thesis. Prym and Socin (1890) believed that M&Z and other romances of

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[1] The two Neo-Aramaic (Turoyo) versions collected by Hellmut Ritter (HR-1 and HR-2) are entirely in prose narrative, without any sung verse at all. We know from a passage by Ritter's native assistant Besim that HR-1 included sung poetry in Kurdish, which he failed to record. In a personal communication, Yona Sabar told me that he remembers (c. 1970-1980) hearing the late Hayyo Çilméro of Zakho, Iraqi Kurdistan, tell the story of Zin u-Mameh (as Mem û Zîn is known among the Jews of Zakho) in Neo-Aramaic in prose, inserting sung verse in Kurdish at certain key points.

[2] Robert C. Culley. "Oral Tradition and Biblical Studies," Oral Tradition, 1 (1986), 30-65; reprinted in: Oral-Formulaic Theory. A Folklore Casebook, ed. by John Miles Foley (New York and London : Garland Publishing Co., 1990), pp 189-225, esp. 199-200. The following two works by W.F. Albright are mentioned there: From the Stone Age to Christianity (1957) and Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan (1969).

like genre "were originally composed in poetic form, i.e., they were originally epics. For no. XXXI [=Mem û Zîn] this is as good as certain; the epic became more and more abbreviated in the mouth of the folk, and as far as the content is concerned, it was even partially distorted, to the point where [something as garbled as the Neo-Aramaic version in] Prym and Socin, Der Neu-Aramaeische Dialekt des Tûr 'Abdîn I (=PN) could arise.³ Oskar Mann likewise suggested that M&Z and stories of its genre originally consisted entirely of three-line stanzas.⁴ Unfortunately, we have no oral versions from before 1869, and the earliest versions we do have, from 1869 to just after the turn of the century (PN, PS, HM, LC-1, LC-2, OM, GNa, SHa-1, SHa-2), exhibit both verse and prose types. Due to the lack of evidence, it is difficult to prove or disprove Prym and Socin or Oskar Mann's hypotheses.

In applying oral-formulaic theory to M&Z, both verse and prose versions will be considered. Although some of the literature on oral-formulaic theory sets a minimum of two occurrences of a phrase (group of words) within one text as the criterion for being considered a formula⁵, I have taken liberties with this stricture, as will be seen below.

Three different contexts have been considered in examining the oral-formulaic nature of M&Z:

1) Formulas occurring only once in a version, but with unmistakable parallels in other versions;

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[3] Albert Socin [& Eugen Prym]. "Anhang. Die Form der kurdischen Poesie," in Kurdische Sammlungen. Erzahlungen und Lieder in den Dialekten des Tûr 'Abdîn und von Bohtan: a die Texte (St.-Pétersbourg : Eggers et Cie., 1890), v. 1a, p. xix. My translation.

[4] Oskar Mann. "Einleitung über Inhalt und Form der ostkurdischen Volksepik," in Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden, Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen, 4 (Berlin : Georg Reimer, 1909), Bd. 2, p. L.

[5] Jean Ritzke-Rutherford. "Formulaic Microstructure: The Cluster," in: The Alliterative Morte Arthure: A Reassessment of the Poem, Karl Heinz Göller ed. (Cambridge, England : D.S. Brewer, 1981), p. 72.

2) Formulas repeated more than once within one version;

3) Formulas shared between one or more versions of M&Z on the one hand, and other stories belonging to the same genre (e.g., Xec û Sîyabend, Leyla û Mecrûm, Sêva Haclê, Zembîlfiroş, etc.) on the other.

Because we do not possess more than one version of M&Z per *dengbêj* we are limited as to what we can say about the style of any particular *dengbêj* Fortunately, we do possess other orally composed texts collected from some of the informants. Hence, as a partial remedy to the problem at hand, I have examined other narratives by some of these informants, in an attempt to isolate stylistic elements occurring both in M&Z and in other stories they tell, that may be unique to one or another of them. This may be considered a sub-set of 3) above.

In Albert B. Lord's book The Singer of Tales, the *formula* is defined as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea[6]." A line or half line of epic poetry constructed on the pattern of formulas is called a *formulaic expression*. In a discussion of the formula in a Middle English text, the Alliterative Morte Arthure, Jean Ritzke-Rutherford modifies Lord's definition of the formula by adding the condition that "two or more occurrences in the same poem are necessary to identify a phrase as a formula.[7]"

She then proceeds to demonstrate how several formulas occurring together repeatedly, in differing contexts, can be called a *formula cluster*[8]. Although I have incorporated the latter term in my analysis, in adopting Parry and Lord's definition, I

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[6]Albert Bates Lord. The Singer of Tales Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 24 (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1960, reprint New York : Atheneum, 1968 et seq; reprint Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 30.

[7]Ritzke-Rutherford. ibid.

[8]ibid., pp. 73 ff.

have had to make some clarifications. Kurdish folk poetry does not contain verses of
uniform length, unlike many of the poetic traditions of Europe and the Middle East: a
syllable count of the first set of parallels below (I.) shows that in every version each
line consists of a different number of syllables, the shortest containing seven syllables
(FK-2, third line; EP-1, fourth and sixth lines), and the longest containing a
phenomenal 26 syllables (ZK-1, fourth line)! Moreover, the formulas tend to be a full
line in length, rather than the one half-line which is the norm for the Alliterative
Morte Arthure.

Ritzke-Rutherford's addition to Lord's definition does not hold for the
situation in Kurdish folk literature: although many of the formulas and formula
clusters I will be discussing appear only once per version, the similarity of whole lines
across versions makes their traditionality and cognation abundantly clear. Perhaps the
real difference between the material that Ritzke-Rutherford is addressing in her
definition and that with which I am dealing is that she is treating orally-derived
written texts for which very limited numbers of versions are available, while I am
dealing with multiple versions of transcribed oral performances. I would like
therefore to present a definition of the formula which is applicable to a Kurdish oral
context, as follows:

> A formula is a group of words, up to one whole line in length, which is
> regularly employed to express a given essential idea. One occurrence per
> version of a poem is sufficient to identify a phrase as a formula, provided that
> the phrase in question has clear parallels in other versions. To qualify as a
> formulaic cluster, two or more formulas must co-occur at least two times in a
> comparablecontext.

Furthermore, I would like to point out that such phrases as "Once upon a
time" and "They lived happily ever after" occur once per folktale, yet the accepted

terms for them are, respectively, introductory and concluding *formula*. Thus we see that the term *formula* can refer to a group of words occurring only once in a text, provided that it has analogues in other texts, be they different versions of the same story or different stories belonging to the same genre.

I will begin my examination of oral-formulaic theory in M&Z with the first of the three contexts mentioned above, namely formulas occurring only once in a version, but with unmistakable parallels in other versions. The first set of parallels I have chosen corresponds to B.I.A.1 in the motif chart, in which three birds, or fairies dressed as birds [usually doves] ask God to send down a fourth dove's garb for Lady Zîn[9]. The numbers in parentheses at the end of each line indicate the number of syllables in the line.

I. Three doves ask God to send down a fourth dove's garb for Zîn [B.I.A.1]

(FK-1)   Xwedêo tu bikî ferware,   (9)
p 261   Libsê kevotkekê bikî xare,   (10)
             Em sisêne, Zînê bi mera bikî çare.   (13)

                    God, you make a command,
                    Send down a dove's gown,
                    We are three, make Zîn [our] fourth.

(FK-2)
p.293   Kevotkek dibêje, -- Werin emê îsmekî xwedê serda bixûnin, em sisêne, bona k'ele[ş] Zîn-xatûn ser me bibe çar.
             Ewana distirên:
                    Ay rebî tu bikî ferware,   (9)
                    Zîna mîr Sêvdîn ser me bikî çare,   (11)
                    Post jorda têne xare.   (7)

One dove says, "Let us cast a divine spell, we are three, let lovely Lady Zîn be the fourth."

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[9]Motif F821.1 6. Dress of feathers.

They sing:

> "O Lord, you make a command,
> Make Mîr Sêvdîn's Zîn the fourth one of us,"
> A doveskin came down from above.

(ZK-1)   "Xwedêyo, tu bikî ferware,   (9)
p. 46   Libaseki kewotka biki xare,   (11)
                Em sisêne, xatûn Zîna delal bive çare,   (14)
                Sifieta nîvê şevê, şeherê Muxurzemîn,
                         p'encera Memê delalda biki xare."   (14 + 12 = 26)

> "Oh God, you make a command,
> Send down a dove's attire
> We are three, lovely Lady Zîn will be the fourth,
> At the hour of midnight, in the city of Mukhurzemîn, set
>   her down at the window of Memê delal."

(EP-1)   --Yarebî, bikî ferware,   (8)
#6, p. 185   Posteki kevotka bînî xare,   (10)
                Em bi xwe sisêne--
                Zînê ser me biki çare.   (6 + 8 = 14)
                Xadêda bû ferware,   (7)
                Postek jorda hate xare,   (8)
                Sê hori bûne çare.   (7)

> "Oh Lord, make a command,
> Bring down a dove's garment,
> We ourselves are three,
> Make Zîn the fourth one of us."
> God made a command,
> Plumage came down from above,
> The three houris became four.

(SHa-1)[10]   Խոստէ բը կրաֆր վուարայ,
p. 201   Թոստէ կետավլորֆկայ ժորտա բրկրա խորայ
                էամ սրաէն ա, Զինէ րժմատ բրբէ չար ա:
                Xodê bikira ferware,   (8)
                Postê kevotka jorda bikira xare   (12)
                Em sisêne, Zînê ijmeřa [=ji meřa] bibe çare.   (13)

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[10]In the original Armenian text, the sung poetry that appears throughout is given both in the original Kurdish in Armenian characters and in Armenian translation. I have given the Kurdish both in Armenian characters as printed in the text, and in an approximation of the same in Kurdish Hawar orthography [in the Latin alphabet].

> If God would make a command,
> Send down a dove's garment from above,
> We are three, may Zîn be [our] fourth.

This set of parallel passages is a formulaic cluster, as it can be further broken down into three discrete formulas, each a full line in length, as follows:

a.
(FK-1) Xwedêo tu bikî ferware,   (9)
                                       God, you make a command,

(FK-2) Ay rebî tu bikî ferware,   (9)
                                       O Lord, you make a command,

(ZK-1) Xwedêyo, tu bikî ferware,   (9)
                                       Oh God, you make a command,

(EP-1) Yarebî, bikî ferware,   (8)
        ....
        Xadêda bû ferware,   (7)
                                       Oh God, make a command,
                                       ....
                                       God made a command,

(SHa-1) Xodê bikira ferware,   (8)
                                       God, make a command,

b.
(FK-1) Libsê kevotkekê bikî xare,   (10)
                                       Send down a dove's gown,

(FK-2) Post jorda têne xare.   (7)
                                       A doveskin came down from above.

(ZK-1) Libasekî kewotka bikî xare,   (11)
                                       Send down a dove's attire

(EP-1) P'ostekî kevotka bînî xare,   (10)
....
         P'ostek jorda hate xare,   (8)
                                       Bring down a dove's garment,

                                       ....
                                       Plumage came down from above,

(SHa-1) P'ostê kevotka jorda bikira xare   (12)
                                       Send down a dove's garment from above,

c.
(FK-1) Em sisêne, Zînê bi mera bikî çare.   (13)
                                       We are three, make Zîn [our] fourth.

(FK-2)
        ...em sisêne, bona k'ele[ş] Zîn-xatûn ser me bibe çar.   (16 - prose)
                                       ....
         Zîna mîr Sêvdîn ser me bikî çare,   (11)
        "...we are three, let lovely Lady Zîn be the fourth."
                                       ....
                                       Make mîr Sêvdîn's Zîn the fourth one of
                                                    us,

(ZK-1) Em sisêne, xatûn Zîna delal bive çare,   (14)
                                       We are three, lovely Lady Zîn will be the
                                                    fourth,

(EP-1) Em bi xwe sisêne--
              Zînê ser me bikî çare.   (6 + 8 = 14)
        ....
         Sê horî bûne çare.   (7)
                                       We ourselves are three,
                                              Make Zîn the fourth one of us.
                                       ....
                                       The three houris became four.

(SHa-1)Em sisêne, Zînê ijmera [=ji mera] bibe çare.   (13)
                                       We are three, may Zîn be [our] fourth.

It is noteworthy that this cluster of formulas appears only in versions of M&Z in which Mem and Lady Zîn are brought together by three doves [B.I.A.1 in the motif chart]. In versions in which they are brought together by jinn [B.I.A.2] or angels [B.I.A.3], this passage is absent. It should also be noted that cognates also exist in SHa-2, GNa, and EP-2, but they have been excluded from this textural analysis because the original Kurdish has been lost: only Armenian translations of the two former versions have been preserved, and the original Kurdish text of the latter version was destroyed in the siege of Leningrad during World War II; we are fortunate to have even the Russian translation of it.

The order of the lines is a.-b.-c. except in FK-2, in which the order is a.-c.-b. Because these lines appear together, and in a fairly fixed order, I have adopted Ritzke-Rutherford's terminology, and refer to them as *formula clusters* although in the context of M&Z we could also think of the formula clusters as individual poems, clearly set off from the surrounding prose narrative.

Another anomaly in FK-2 is that formula c. appears first in the prose narration leading up to the sung verse, and that the prose rendering of formula c. is fuller than the verse rendering of it. If we include the prose formula c., the order is c.-a.-c.-b. The situation we encounter in this passage is anomalous, because on the one hand, the first appearance of formula c. is in a prose passage, yet on the other hand FK-2 is clearly an oral traditional text. Perhaps this occurrence of formula c. in prose should be seen as a preamble to the formula cluster (i.e., poem) to follow.

Albert B. Lord tells us that "one cannot have *formulas* outside of oral traditional verse ... If one discovers repeated phrases in texts known not to be oral

traditional texts, then they should be called repeated phrases rather than formulas.[11]*
Paul Kiparsky contradicts this by asserting that

> formulas should occur equally in oral poetry that uses relatively free metrical
> schemata, and in oral prose. I think there is no question that all oral
> literatures, not just those with tight meter, tend to be formulaic to some degree.
> ... Folktales are the most obvious example of formulaic language in oral prose.
> An advantage of the grammar-based analysis proposed here is that the formula
> in such forms of oral literature can be defined in exactly the same way as for
> Homer.[12]

If we broaden Kiparsky's scope to include all types of folk narrative, then

legends, myths, and romances such as M&Z would be included. As will be seen

repeatedly in this chapter, the consideration of formula in M&Z cannot be limited to

the poetic passages. Hence, I will side with Kiparsky on this matter, as against Lord.

In reference to the formula as defined by Ritzke-Rutherford, specifically to the

requirement that a phrase appear a minimum of two times in the same poem in order

to be considered a formula, it could be argued that EP-1 meets that required minimum.

In this version the order is a.-b.-c.-a.-b.-c. If the first a.-b.-c. cluster constitutes a *request*

with the verbs in each line in the subjunctive mood, the second cluster furnishes the

result: here all three verbs are in the simple past tense. The doubling is neatly parallel.

EP-1 is one of the more embellished versions collected: it was told by E'tarê Şero, a fine

storyteller who will be discussed more fully below. A talented singer "can shorten or

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[11] Albert B. Lord. "Perspectives on Recent Work on Oral Literature [excerpted]," in: Oral-Formulaic Theory: A Folklore Casebook, John Miles Foley ed. (New York & London : Garland Publishing, Inc, 1990), p. 46; reprinted from: Oral Tradition, 1 (1986), pp. 467-503.

[12] "Oral Poetry: Some Linguistic and Typological Considerations," in: Oral Literature and the Formula ed. Benjamin A. Stolz and Richard S. Shannon, III (Ann Arbor : Center for the Coordination of Ancient and Modern Studies, The University of Michigan, c1976), pp. 67-8.

lengthen his songs at will according to his artistic personality[13]: this type of parallel structuring is one of the strategies he might use to extend a short song.

In examining each formula separately, it is possible to discern a structural pattern for each. Formula a. consists of three elements:

<u>[O]God</u>   <u>[you] make</u>   <u>a command</u>
   1   2   3

Element #1 consists of a word for *God* [Xwedê - Xadê - Xodê][14] or *Lord* [rebî][15], often in a vocative form expressed with vocative particles [ay - ya] or by adding a vocative ending to the word God [Xwedêo - Xwedêyo].

Element #2 consists of a verb, in four cases out of six a second person singular subjunctive form: *make!* [(tu) bikî]. In SHa-1, we have what appears to be a past subjunctive form [bikira]. In the second EP-1 line (the 'response'), we have a simple past tense form: *was* [bû]: all the verbs begin with **b**.

Element #3 is identical in all six instances: *command* [ferware].

As far as the number of syllables per line is concerned, FK-1, FK-2, and ZK-1 consist of nine syllables, the first EP-1 line (the 'request') and SHa-1 consist of eight syllables, and the second EP-1 line consists of seven syllables. The spread between seven and nine (7-9) syllables is not too significant: the average is 8.2. This verse and

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[13]Matija Murko "The Singers and Their Epic Songs." in: <u>Oral Formulaic Theory: A Folklore Casebook</u>, John Miles Foley ed. (New York & London : Garland Publishing, Inc; 1990), p. 14. This is an English translation by John Miles Foley: the original appeared in <u>La Poésie populaire épique en Yougoslavie au début du XXe siècle</u> (Paris : Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1929), pp. 1-31.

[14]The Persian cognate is khodā خدا .

[15]From Arabic rabbi رجّ = 'my lord.' This is a specifically Islamic way of referring to God.

the next are examples of what Oskar Mann meant by "a series of short verses, averaging eight syllables per verse."

Formula b. is composed of five discernible elements, although some versions only exhibit four of the five:

garment	of dove	from above	make	down (adv.)
1	2	3	4	5

The first element is a word for *garment* [libsê - libasekî] or *skin* [p'ost - postê - postek(î)]. The second, *of dove* [kevotkekê - kewotka - kevotka] is absent in two out of six instances. The third, *from above* [jorda] appears in three out of six instances: in only one case (SHa-1) do elements two and three appear together.

The fourth element is a verb form: in three cases it is a second person singular subjunctive [bikî - bînî]; in one case it is a past subjunctive [bikira]. In three out of the four cases mentioned thus far, the verb *to do* [kirin: bikî - bikira] appears. In the other two cases, the verb *to come* [hatin] is used, once in the present tense [têne] and once in the past tense [hate]: moreover, the verb *to bring* [anîn: bînî] may be seen as a causative form of the verb *to come*: i.e., to bring is to cause something to come. In four out of six cases (the four subjunctives), the verb begins with **b**.

The fifth element is again consistent throughout: *down* [xare].

The number of syllables per line varies considerably in the different versions of formula b.: FK-2 has seven syllables, the second EP-1 has eight, FK-1 and the first EP-1 have ten each, ZK-1 has eleven syllables, and SHa-1 has twelve. The range between seven and twelve is rather large: the average is 9.66.

Formula c. also consists of five elements:

We three are, Zîn	for us	make	four

The first element, *we are three* [em sisêne] occurs in four out of the six instances: of these, one is the anomalous prose line in FK-2; in the first occurrence in EP-1, the phrase *ourselves* [bi xwe] has been interpolated between *we* [em] and *are three* [sisêne]. The verse counterpart to this line in FK-2 lacks this element, and the second occurrence in EP-1 has simply *three* [sê].

The second element appears as [Zînê] in FK-1, the first EP-1, and SHa-1. In three instances, Zîn appears with qualifiers: *lovely lady Zîn* [keleş Zîn-xatûn] in the prose line in FK-2, *mîr Sêvdîn's Zîn* [Zîn mîr Sêvdîn] in the verse line in FK-2, and *Lady Zîn the lovely* [xatûn Zîna delal] in ZK-1[16]. In the second EP-1 line, *houris* [horî] does duty for Zîn.

The third element, a prepositional phrase, is hard to render literally in good English. For the purposes of this analysis, a literal translation will be used. *On us* [ser me] occurs three times, in both the prose and verse lines of FK-2, and in the first EP-1 line; *with us* [bi mefa] occurs once, in FK-1; and *to us* [ijmefa] also occurs once, in SHa-1. This element is lacking in ZK-1 and in the second EP-1 line.

The fourth element is the second person singular subjunctive *may you make* [bikî] three times: in FK-1, the verse line of FK-2, and the first EP-1 line. It is the third person singular subjunctive *let her become* [bibe - bive] three times: [bibe] in the prose line of FK-2 and in SHa-1, and [bive] in ZK-1. In the second EP-1 line, the verb is *they became* [bûne]. Once again, all the verbs begin with b.

As in the preceding two lines, the final element is uniform: *four* [çare]. The only deviation is in the prose line of FK-2, where the form is [çar] rather than [çare]. In

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[16] It will be seen below that Zîn the lovely [Zîna delal] is another type of formula, consisting of a proper noun plus epithet

normal speech, the word for four in Kurdish is in fact çar: the additional -*e* occurring in [ferware], [xare], and [çare] is part of the poetic convention of predominant feminine rhyme outlined above by Oskar Mann.

As for the number of syllables in this line, the second EP-1 line is the shortest, counting only seven syllables. The other parallels resemble each other more closely in this regard: the verse line of FK-2 consists of eleven syllables; FK-1 and SHa-1 consist of thirteen; and ZK-1 and the first EP-1 line consist of fourteen. The prose line of FK-2 adds an additional word, *in order to* [bona], and consists of sixteen syllables. The average is 14.666. The line consisting of 26 syllables mentioned above is from an additional line in ZK-1, which has no cognates in the other versions, although it coincides with the last two elements of our line b.: *you make down* (=you send down) [bikî xare].

As far as geographical distribution is concerned, the following chart shows that all the versions exhibiting this formula cluster come from one continuous area, comprised of Soviet Armenia and the area contiguous to it across the border in Eastern Turkey[17]. SHa-2 and GNa have been included, although they clearly contain the formulas in question, their exact form in uncertain, since for these versions only the Armenian translation of the Kurdish original is available. EP-2 was excluded, because too little information is available about it: neither the name of the informant nor where or when it was collected is known, nor by whom. Moreover, only a Russian translation of the original Kurdish exists. T = Turkey; SA = Soviet Armenia. With the exception of SHa-2, all of these versions are prose narrations with sung verse insertions: the Armenian translation of SHa-2 is entirely in verse, and a note at the beginning states that "with [the informant's] and Kisag Nalbandian's help, S. Haykuni

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[17]See map (Figure 7a) in Chapter Seven.

translated Onbashi Mehon's version into Armenian, trying to preserve the poetic texture of the original."

Version	Informant	Date	Place	Collector
SHa-1	Oskan Ohanian	1904	Şemsettin, Van, T	S. Haykuni
SHa-2	Onbashi Mehon	1904	Van, T	S. Haykuni
GNa	? [a Kurd]	1904	Eleşkirt, Ağn, T	G. Nzhdehian
FK-2	Fekoê Mraz	1926	Gozeldere, Axbaran, SA	E. E'vdal
FK-1	XudoêQaşo	pre 1936	K'arvanserê, Axbaran, SA	E. E'vdal
EP-1	E'tarê Şero	1955	Nork, Erevan, SA	Hajie Jndi
ZK-1	E'gîtê T'êcir	1963	Sîçanlû (=Avtona), T'alîn, SA	?Ordîxanê Celîl

The second formula cluster to be examined is also from the beginning of the story of M&Z. This time, however, I have chosen formulas which exist only in versions told entirely in verse: the versions are LC-1, LC-2, LT, and ZK-2. Of these, only LC-1 and ZK-2 are fully translated and integrated into the motif chart. My reasons for excluding LT are discussed elsewhere: in the present analysis, only parts of

LT taken from Lescot's informant from Mardin, Sebrî, are in question.   LC-2 was

collected in the same place and at approximately the same time as LC-1.

II. Childless rulers and the arrival of the Feast of the Sacrifice [A.2]
(ZK-2)
        Rojekê ji rojê xudane,   (9)
        Bi ser vî bajarê hade hatî e'ydeke mazin [sic], e'ydeke qurbane.   (21)
        Xwarzî diçûne malê xalane,   (10)
        Birazî diçûne malê apane,   (11)
        Bûk derk'etin ji malê xezûrane,   (11)
        Berê xwe dane malî bavane,   (10)
        Ji xora çûne zeyane,   (8)
        Ev hersê milûkê ha k'urdê wan kore, warê wan undane,   (18)

                One day (of God's days),
                A great feast came over this city, the Feast of the Sacrifice·
                [66] Nephews went to visit their uncles,
                Nieces went to visit their aunts[18],
                Brides left the homes of their fathers-in-law,
                Headed for the homes of their fathers,
                And went to visit their parents·
                There were three noblemen whose luck was dry, whose houses were
                    empty,

(LT-Sebrî)
p. 1, l. 11-19
        Rojekê ji rojê Xwedê, bi ser wan de hatiye Eydê Qurbanê, (20)
          Xwarzî diherin malê xalane,   (10)
          Û brazî diherin malê apane.   (11)
          Elî begê, Emer begê û Elmaz begê derketine ser yazlixane. (22)
          Ji xwe re li hev nerîn û giriyane,   (12)
      (15)Digotin: "Gelî birano, em sê bira ne.   (13)
          Emrê me şêst in, dikevin şêst û pêncane.   (13)
          Rebê Alemê daye me malê girane.   (13)
          Emê warocax ê kordûnda ne.   (10)
          Rojekê ji rojê Xwedê, emê serê xwe deynin diyarê rehmetê, axê gorane. (26)

                One day (of God's days), the Feast of the Sacrifice comes upon them,
                Nephews go to visit their uncles,

18= lit. "Sisters' sons went to visit their mothers' brothers, /

Brothers' sons went to visit their fathers' brothers."

Nieces go to visit their aunts,[19]
Ali beg, Emir beg, and Elmaz beg went out onto their balcony.
[15]They looked at each other and [started to] cry,
Saying, "Brothers, we are three brothers,
We are sixty going on sixty five.
The Lord of the world has given us much wealth,
[But] we are without descendants or heirs.
One day (of God's days) we will go to rest in the kingdom of mercy, in
the dust of the grave..."

(LC-1)
p 34, l. 3-15
lākin sā bāge vî bāžārî hānā ḥārsē berāye hāvin ămmā aulād tûnnen
kōre kōr oğayîn wārwāndāne (34)
rō₄ke [5] lā bin rûye xudē lā bāžārî moyrîbē piāng 'îd gāštine hāv yāk   'îda
ānsarāne   (30)
yāk 'îda yahûdiāne   (8)
yāgžî 'îda mûslimānāne   (9)
yāgžî rōyā ğûlûs hûmāyun yāgžî rōyā nābiā wā enbiā rōyā Inā 'îda
paiyāmbārāne   (31)
vā ḥarsē bāgāna pādîšāhî moyrîbiāne   (15)
bādārketin sār taxtî sultānā sērû tamāše kirin lā ahālî moyrîbiāne (26)
sākirin hārkāsikî xēru wā xairāt d₄hārine sār mālē bāvāne   (22)
bûkā bā dāstî aulādîxā girtin d₄hārin sār mālî bāvāne   (20)
lāwîkî čārdāh sālî suar debûne [10] lā hāspāne   (16)

But there are three begs in this city, all three are brothers; they have no
children, their households are empty, their lineage is lost.
One day [5] in the city of Mughrib five holidays coincided, one an *eed* of
the Christians,
One an eed of the Jews,
And one an eed of the Muslims,
One the day of the imperial session, and one the day of the Prophets,
Friday, Eed of the Seers,
All three begs, the rulers of Mughrib
[Sat] on their imperial thrones watching the people of Mughrib,
Hearing everyone going to visit their father's house in goodness,
Young wives took hold of their children's hands and went to their
father's house,
Fourteen year-old boys mounted [10] their horses,

(LC-2)
p. 53, l. 1-4
šāv dāhāte 'idānû arāfātāne   (12)
lā bāžārî moyrîbē pē debûnā sā berāne (15)
kōre kōr ōğaye war wāndāne...   (10)

_____

19See note #18 above, at the parallel passage in ZK-2.

The evening of the Festival of Arafat[20] came around,
In the City of Mughrib three were brothers,
Their households empty, their lineage lost.

From the preceding passages, three sets of formulas can be discerned, as

follows:

a. (ZK-2)   Rojekê ji roje xudane,   (9)
                Bi ser vî bajarê hade hatî e'ydeke mazin, e'ydeke qurbane.   (21)
                    One day (of God's days),
                    A great feast came over this city, the Feast of the Sacrifice·

(LT-Sebrî)   Rojekê ji rojê Xwedê, bi ser wan de hatiye Eydê Qurbanê,   (20)
                    One day (of God's days), the Feast of the Sacrifice comes upon
                    them,

(LC-1)   rö̧ke lä bin rüye xudê lä bäžarî moyrîbê piäng 'îd gästine häv
                yäk 'îda änsaräne   (30)
                yäk 'îda yahûdiäne   (8)
                yägžî 'îda müslimänäne   (9)
                yägžî röyä ğülüs hümäyun yägžî röyä näbiä wä enbiä röyä Inä
                'îda paiyämbäräne   (31)
                    One day in the city of Mughrib five holidays coincided, one an
                        eed of the Christians,
                    One an eed of the Jews,
                    And one an eed of the Muslims,
                    One the day of the imperial session, and one the day of the
                        Prophets, Friday, Eed of the Seers,

[(LC-2)   šäv dähate 'îdanû aräfatäne (12)
                    The evening of the Festival of Arafat came around,]

b(ZK-2)   Xwarzî diçûne malê xalane,   (10)
                Birazî diçûne malê apane,   (11)
                Bûk derk'etin ji malê xezûrane,   (11)

20 i.e., the Feast of the Sacrifice, also known as the Feast of Immolation, the most important festival
in Islam, connected with the hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca.

Berê xwe dane malî bavane,   (10)
Ji xoɍa çûne zeyane,   (8)
    Nephews went to visit their uncles,
    Nieces went to visit their aunts[21],
    Brides left the homes of their fathers-in-law,
    Headed for the homes of their fathers,
    And went to visit their parents·

(LT-Sebrî)   Xwarzî diherin malê xalane,   (10)
    Û brazî diherin malê apane.   (11)
        Nephews go to visit their uncles,
        Nieces go to visit their aunts,

(LC-1)   sākirin hārkāsikī xēru wā xairāt d‚hārine sār mālē bāvāne (22)
    būkā bā dāstī aulādixā girtin d‚härin sār mālī bāvāne   (20)
        Hearing everyone going to visit their father's house in goodness,
        Young wives took hold of their children's hands and went to
        their father's house,

c. (ZK-2)   Ev hersê milûkê ha k'urdê wan kore, warê wan undane,   (18)
        There were three noblemen whose luck was dry, whose houses
        were empty,

(LT-Sebrî)   Emê warocax ê kordûnda ne.   (10)
        We are without descendants or heirs.

(LC-1)   lākin sä bāge vi bāžārī hänä ḥärsë berāye hävin ämmä aulād
    tünnen kōre kōr oğayin wärwändäne   (34)
        But there are three begs in this city, all three are brothers; they
        have no children, their households are empty, their lineage
        is lost.

(LC-2)   kōre kōr ōğaye war wändāne...   (10)
        Their households empty, their lineage lost.

One feature common to all these versions is their end rhyme, which in all the

versions in question is consistently in -*ane* These versions are almost entirely in

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verse, and the uniform rhyme continues for long periods[22]. The ending -*ane* appears most often as the plural of the oblique case of nouns, as is generally the case in formulas a. and b. above; at other times, it may consist of a word ending in -*a* plus the suffix -*ne*, which either serves as the plural copula (=we/you/they are), as in formula c. above, or performs no other function than to preserve the rhyme. As mentioned above in the section on poetics, Oskar Mann offered the convincing explanation that this can be accounted for by the predominance of feminine rhyme in Kurdish folk poetry. Whereas in ZK-2 and LT the verses are arranged on the page in verses ending in -*ane*, in LC-1 and LC-2 the original text consists of one undifferentiated paragraph. I have taken the liberty of arranging the verses on the analogy of ZK-2 and LT, with each line ending in -*ane* (or the appropriate end rhyme), so that visually it is easy to discern where each line of verse ends.

Formula a. is fully attested only in ZK-2, LT, and LC-1: LC-2 has only a vague analogue, as will be seen. The formula can be reduced to the following constituent elements:

one day of God's days	onto the city	came	a great festival
1	2	3	4

LT provides the ideal pattern for this formula. In ZK-2, the formula is realized as two consecutive verses, with element #1 as the first, and elements #2, #3, and #4 as the second verse: both *God*[xudane][23] and *sacrifice*[qurbane] end in -*ane*. LC-1 is extraordinarily embellished at this point, featuring five enumerated festivals where the other versions have only one: the enumeration is not part of the formula.

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[22] i.e., for many pages in a printed text. See discussion above in section on poetics.

[23] Here we have the noun **Xuda** [God] plus a grammatically meaningless -ne which performs no other function than to preserve the rhyme.

Whereas ZK-2 extends the formula over two verses, in LC-1 it makes up less than one whole verse, or 23 syllables out of 30 total: the remaining seven syllables, which consist of the first of the five festivals to be enumerated, furnish the rhymed syllable *-ane* which ends the verse. Moreover, in LC-1 element #3 *arrived at each other* = coincided [gāštine hāv] is preceded by element #4 *five eeds (festivals)* [pîānĝ 'îd]. Although LC-2 can be said to lack this formula, the line *The evening of the Festival of Arafat came around* [šāv dāhāte 'îdānû arāfātāne] seems to vaguely parallel the elements outlined above, as follows:

šāv	dāhāte	'îdānû arāfātāne
The evening	came	Festivals and Arafats
1	3	4

Here the second element is lacking; the first is a time expression, but a different one from what appears in the other versions. The fourth element of LC-2 is a paraphrase of its parallel elsewhere. Whereas in LC-1 a one-line formula is expanded into four lines, in LC-2 only one line occurs, and it makes only a vague allusion to the formula and its motif. In endeavouring to explain this, I would like to suggest that LC-2 was told by a less-skilled informant than LC-1, and that this truncated line is as a whole representative of LC-2, which is a relatively short version.

The number of syllables in this formula in LT is 20; in ZK-2, the first line consists of 9, the second of 21 syllables (30 syllables all told); in LC-1, the line consists of 30 syllables, only the first 23 of which belong to the formula in question. The parallel passage in LC-2 has only 12 syllables. This formula tends to be relatively long, 20 syllables or more: if the passage in LC-2 is included, it is conspicuously short, partly because it lacks one of the constituent elements of the formula, element #2.

What I have designated as b. is actually a series of enumerations consisting of several verses displaying the same formulaic pattern, and I shall therefore consider them together as a unit.   This is reminiscent of what Ritzke-Rutherford calls *formulaic system*, defined as

> a group of half-lines, usually loosely related metrically and semantically, which are related in form by the identical relative placement of two elements[24]

If we remove the limitation of 'a group of half-lines,' the definition describes the phenomenon at hand. The pattern is as follows:

[A relative]	goes	to the house of	[a relative]
1	2	3	4

The first two verses of ZK-2 are clearly cognate to LT; the third and fourth verses of ZK-2 bear similarities to LC-1. LT and LC-1 do not share any of the same cognate verses, although their patterns are similar. There are only two differences between the verses common to ZK-2 and LT: 1) The tense of the verb is different, ZK-2 having the past continuous *they were going* [diçûne] where LT has the (irregular) present tense *they go* [diherin]; and 2) The second line of LT begins with the conjunction *and* [û].

The pattern outlined above requires some adjustments to fit LC-1. First of all, the first verse begins with an additional element, the verb *they heard (that...)* [sâkirin]; secondly, element #1 in the pattern is replaced by a pronoun *everyone of* [hârkâsikî] and its modifiers *goodness and good things* [xêru wâ xairât]; thirdly, the second verse adds an element between #1 and #2: *by the hands of their*

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[24]Donald K. Fry, Jr., Aesthetic Applications of Oral-Formulaic Theory: Judith, 199-216a, Dissertation (Berkeley · University of California), p 36, as quoted in: Ritzke-Rutherford. ibid., p. 72.

children they took= they took their children by the hand [bā dāstî aulādîxā girtin], so that the subject, element #1, has two verb complements, one a transitive past tense verb *they took* [girtin] and one a present tense intransitive verb *they go* [d̦hārin]. Verses three and four of ZK-2 also contain a shared subject *brides* = daughters-in-law [būk] with two verb complements, *they came out* [derk'etin] in line three, and *they headed for* [berê xwe dane] in line four: hence element #1 is not repeated in line four, and is therefore absent. Consequently, ZK-2 and LC-1 share the word *brides* [būk - būkā] and elements #3 and #4 *their fathers' houses* [malî bavane - sär malî/mālê bāvāne].

Hence, while the similarity between the verses in ZK-2 and LT is readily apparent, the relationship between ZK-2 and LC-1 requires some explanation. The same is true of the syllable count: both ZK-2 and LT have ten or eleven syllables in each verse, whereas the verses in LC-1 are considerably longer, containing twenty to twenty two syllables each.

Formulas a. and b. are logically related, and co-occur in the same order in all three versions[25]. Formula c., while part of the same general theme, is not as tightly connected to the preceding two formulas, following them in three cases (ZK-2, LT, and LC-2), preceding them in one (LC-1). The underlying pattern is[26]:

With one's hearth blind　　　with one's encampment lost
　　　　1　　　　　　　　　　　　2

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[25]excluding LC-2, which lacks formula b. altogether.

[26]I have translated the idioms literally for the purposes of the analysis *Blind of hearth* [korocax] actually means 'childless' and *lost of encampment* [warwundal means "extinct" in speaking of a family line.

In LT, the *dengbêj* seems to have made a slip of the tongue, saying [warocax ê kordûnda], transposing the first element in each of the two expressions, where he probably meant to say [*korocax ê war wunda]. [Warocax] means "dwelling" or "residence," and [kordûnda] yields no meaning in the dictionaries I consulted. In ZK-2, the first element is *their Kurd is blind* [k'urdê wan kore], which is explained as meaning "unfortunate." If we replaced [k'urd] with [ocax], we would have basically the same expression as in LC-1 and LC-2.

One curious point about this formula is that it can take up the entire line, as in LC-2, or just part of the line, as in LC-1. In ZK-2 and LT, there is one element preceding element #1: in ZK-2 it is *these three rulers* [ev hersê milûkê ha], a noun and its modifiers , and in LT it is *we* [em- + -ê], a pronoun plus an untranslatable complement. The formula itself tends to consist of anywhere from eight or eleven syllables. In LC-2 the verse is ten syllables long; in LC-1, the last ten syllables of the 34 in the verse make up the formula. In ZK-2, the final eleven of the eighteen syllables in the verse constitute the formula, and in LT, a ten-syllable verse, the formula includes all but the first two syllables (i.e., the formula makes up eight of the ten syllables).

The geographic distribution of the versions of M&Z which feature these formulas is indicated in the following chart[27]. Although all the versions come from the same general area, LT-Sebrî and ZK-2 are from the two adjacent provinces of Mardin and Diyarbekir, making them closer to each other than either is to the versions from Zincirli in what is now the western part of the province of Gaziantep. LC-1 and LC-2 are unique in that they were collected by Le Coq from two men from the

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[27] See also map (Figure 7a) in Chapter Seven.

same village: the similarities between them give us some clues as to a regional oicotype, i.e., the form the story of M&Z assumes in a particular geographical area[28].

Version	Informant	Date	Place	Collector
LC-1	Ja'far Oğlu Seidi Bîyâ	1901	Zincirli (or Kilis?), Gaziantep, T	Albert von Le Coq
LC-2	Ali Gâwânde Dâlika	1901	Zincirli (or Kilis?), Gaziantep, T	Albert von Le Coq
LT-Sebri	Sebrî	c.1940	Mardin, T	Roger Lescot
ZK-2	Ohanyan Israêl	1970	Ḧiznemîr, Diyarbekir, T[29]	Ordîxanê Celîl?

The second of the three contexts I will examine is that in which formulas are repeated more than once within one version. This phenomenon is to be found in all Kurdish language versions that I have read. The formula cluster examined below occurs several times within a single version, while having parallels in other versions as well.

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[28] As will be seen in Chapter Seven, LT-Sebrî and ZK-2 belong to the central zone, while LC-1 and LC-2 are in the western zone, vis-à-vis the geographical spread of M&Z.

[29] Although this version was collected in Soviet Armenia, the informant, an Armenian named Ohanyan Israêl, was born in 1910 in the village of Ḧiznemîr in the province of Diyarbekir, and lived there until age 17, when he fled with his family across the border to Qamîṣlî, Syria. He remained there until 1966, when he moved with his family to the sovkhoz of Artenîyêl in the district of T'alîn, Soviet Armenia. According to the notes at the back of Zargotina K'urda, Ohanyan Israêl learned his material from Yaḧoê Mistê Qulo, a Kurd from the village of Bôlind, adjacent to Ḧiznemîr (between 1910 and 1927).

The following are the repeated passages within each version. The first seven occurrences (three from PS, three from ZK-3, and one from ZK-2) include the formulaic phrase "a newborn dove", while the remaining fifteen occurrences lack it. Nevertheless, the two sub-groups are obviously cognate, because: a) they are used at the same points in the story; and b) there are formulaic phrases other than the aforementioned one which are common to both sub-groups. This suggests that in a formula cluster, not all of the constituent formulas need be present.

III. Description of Zîn

(PS)a   hacî zîna žhva zîna,   (7)
p.74, l. 7-8   au kavôka nû-farhîna,   (8)
             au huška mîre-mina mîr zeidîna.   (11)
                        Zin is just Zin,
                        A newborn dove,
                        The sister of my Mir Zeidin.

(PS)b   yadî au buhva zîna   (7)
p.75, l 9-11   au kavôka nu-farhîna,   (8)
             au huška mîr zeidîna.   (7)
                        The other one is Zin herself,
                        A newborn dove,,
                        The sister of Mir Zeidin.

(PS)c   bô-cê nâbêži yârkâ-min zîna,   (10)
p 80. l. 8-9   au kavôka nû-farhîna,   (8)
             huškâ mîrê-mina mîr zeidîna.   (10)
                        Why don't you say your beloved is Zin[30],
                        The newborn dove,
                        Sister of my prince, Mir Zeidin?

(ZK-3)a   Dibê, ew stîya Zîne,   (7)
p.91   Kewoka nû ferxîne,   (7)
             Xuyê t'ac, e'mbarê zêñne,   (9)
             Xuka mîr Zêydîne,   (6)
             Domama Qeret'ajdîne,   (8)

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[30] lit. Why don't you say, "My beloved is Zîn ... "

Welat û memlek'etê wênekê li Cizîra Bota dimîne.   (19)
                    [He says,] this is Stîya Zîn,
                    A new-born dove,
                    Possessed of a crown of golden amber,
                    The sister of mîr Zêydîn,
                    The cousin of Qeretajdîn,
                    Her native land is Jizîra Botan.

(ZK-3)b*   Ewa pêşî ko tu dibînî, jêĩa dibêjin stîya Zîne,   (18)
p.105   kewoka nû ferxîne,   (7)
                xayê t'ac û e'mbarê zêĩne,   (10)
                xuka mîr Zêydîne,   (6)
                domama Qeret'ajdîne   (8)
                    Do you see the one in front? They call her Lady Zîn,
                    a new-born dove,
                    possessed of a crown of golden amber,
                    the sister of mîr Zêydîn,
                    the cousin of Qeretajdîn

(ZK-3)c   Memo dibêje: "Ya mîrê min, wel, ko Bek'o digotî, (16)
p.108   P'eĩya dilê min disotî,   (9)
                Muĩuba dilê min ko heye, jêĩa dibêjin Zîne,   (16)
                Kewokeke nû ferxîne,   (8)
                Xuka mîr Zeydîne,   (6)
                Domama Qeret'ajdîne."   (8)
                    He says, "My mîr, what Beko says
                    Has me quite upset
                    I do have a beloved, they call her Zîn,
                    A new-born dove,
                    The sister of mîr Zêydîn,
                    The cousin of Qeretajdîn."

(ZK-2)a   Memê dibê: "Beko, ya min Zîne, Zîne û Zîne,   (15)
p.81   Kevokeke nû ferxîne,   (8)
                Waye, xu ji navkê û bi jorva ji miĩa di p'encerêda dertîne,   (21)
                Ji ek'sê te û bavê teĩa, xuka mîrê te mîr Zêydîne." (18)
                    Memê said, "Beko, the one I want is Zîn, it's Zîn and it's
                    Zîn,
                    A newborn dove, she's gazing down at me through the
                    window screen,

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* Attestations marked with an asterisk occur in the text as if they were prose i.e., they are not originally aligned on the printed page in separate verses, but rather appear as part of a prose passage. I have taken the liberty of arranging them so that the individual verses are easily discernible; the first word of each verse remains in lower case, as in the original attestation.

Unlike you and your father, she's the sister of your prince
Mîr Zêydîn."

(ZK-2)b   Memê dibê: "Qeret'ajdîn, tiştê ko dilê min dixast stîya Zîne,   (16)
p.80   Xua mîr Zêydîne,"   (5 or 6)
                     Memê said, "Qeretajdîn, the one I wanted was Lady Zîn,
                     The sister of Mîr Zêydîn,"

[(HM)a   äz zänim därgestîja tä kîje. ḫwaškä mîr sävdînä   (prose: 16)
p 6   I know who your betrothed is. It is the sister of mîr
                       Sevdîn.]

(HM)b   ärê lö lö bakö awânö.   (9)
p 10   tä šwîr u misḥäf le-bär me d'-aninö.   (11)
          ḥodê ;älämê : suräja dôstê me tuninö,   (14)
          ž'-ḥalafê jeki . nävê wî zînêjä.   (11)
          qîza hätunê qaratäždînä,   (10)
          ḫwaškä mîr sävdînä... "   (6)
                  "Yes lo lo o Báko Awâno.
                  You placed sword and Koran before me.
                  God knows that I don't have a herd of lovers,
                  There is only one: her name is Zînê.
                  She is the daughter of the lady of Qaratajdîn,
                  The sister of mîr Sevdîn."

(LC-1)a   min pirs kir äv qizä kîe dugö qizä mirî 'azîm   (16)
p.39, l 125-8   xûčikä mîr zändin   (6)
          dutmäma hasän čäkö qumsî-bäkü qaratašdîne   (16)
          nävixä dilbär zîne ...'   (7)
                  I asked, 'Whose daughter is she?'
                  They said, 'She is the daughter of Mîr 'Azîm,
                  the sister of Mîr Zendîn,
                  the first cousin of Hasan-Cheko, Qumsî-Beko,
                            Qaratashdîn,
                  Her name is Dilber Zîn.'

(LC-1)b   zîne gö dilîmin dîne   (8)
p.40, l.175-6   pismäme min hasan čäkö qumsi bäkü qaratašdîne   (17)
          bäveₑ min mîr 'azîme   (7 or 8)
          beräyₑ min mîr zändîne   (8 or 9)
          bä mürä dewên dilbär zîne" (9)
                  Zîn said, " *Dilîmin dîne,*
                  My cousins are Hasan-Cheko, Qumsi Beku, Qaratashdîn,
                  My father is Mîr 'Azîm,
                  My brother is Mîr Zendîn,

They call me Dilber Zîn,"

(SHa-1)a
p.203

Եա կու էազ դրքխոազմ Նա լրվրա.
Նավէ վի ՋիՆէ,ջ, ղիզա Միր ՍէլտիՆէ,
Նաւէա Միր ԱդլասաJ, վէլի ջզիր ԲոթաՆաJ,
ՇաՆաJ ջիՆէ ռաՆգիՆաJ.

Ya ku ez dixwazim na li vra (9)
Navê wê Zînek, qîza Mîr Sevdîn e, (11)
Nevîya Mîr Atlas e, velî Cizîr Botane,   (14)
Şaneşînê rengîne.   (7)
          The one whom I want is not her.
          Her name is Zîn, she is the daughter of Mîr Sevdîn,
          She is the granddaughter of Mîr Atlas, the governor of
                              Jezîra Bohtan,
          The colorful capital.

(SHa-1)b
p.214

Եարա Մաֆէ թաթուՆ ՋիՆ ա.
Եուջկա Միր ՍըլտիՆ ա, ղիզա Միր ԹաժտիՆ ա,
Նաւիա Միր Ադըլաս ա,
վէլի ջաՆա ջիՆա ըռէՆգիՆ ա.

Yara Memê xatûn Zîn e.   (8)
Xûşka Mîr Sêvdîn e, qîza Mîr Tajdîn e,   (12)
Nevîya Mîr Atlas e,   (7)
Velî şaneşîna rengîne.   (9)
          Mem's beloved is Lady Zîn.
          She is the sister of Mîr Sevdîn, the daughter of Mîr
                              Tajdîn,
          She is the granddaughter of Mîr Atlas,
          The governor of the colorful capital.

(FK-2)a
p.295

Ya ez dibêm ew xewn rojek nîne,   (10)
Ya ez dibêm ew Zîne, qîza mîr Sêvdîne,   (13)
Baltûza Ç'ekan--Qeret'ajdîne.   (10)
Ya ez dibêm, ew qîzeke bûkîne,   (11)
Bejna xweba kaxezekî hêşîne,   (11)
Tîlî-pêç'îyê wê nermike-mijmiljîkîne.   (13)
Cîyê wê Cizîre, ew qîza mîr Sêvdîne.   (13)
          "The one I speak of is no daydream,
          The one I speak of is Zîn, the daughter of mîr Sêvdîn,
          The sister-in-law of Chekan and Qeretajdîn.

          The one I speak of is a bride-like girl,
          Her waist is [as thin as] a green leaf,
          Her fingers are soft and tender,
          She lives in Jizîra, she is the daughter of mîr Sêvdîn."

(FK-2)b*   ...[dibê:] ya ez dibêm, ew xatûn Zîne,   (11 or 9)
p.295   cîyê wê dixazin, Cizîra Botane,   (12)
          ew qîza mîr Sêvdîne,   (7)
          baltûza Qeret'ajdîne.   (8)
                ...he says, "The one I speak of is Lady Zîn,
                if you ask where she lives, [it is] Jizîra Bota,
                she is the daughter of mîr Sêvdîn
                [and] the sister-in-law of Qeretajdîn."

(FK-2)c   Ya ez dibêm, canikeke bûkîne,   (11)
p.295   Bejnêda k'axezekî hêşîne,   (10)
          Navê wê k'eleş xatûn Zîne.   (9)
          Bi xwe qîza mîr Sêvdîne,   (8)
          Ew bûka Qeret'ajdîne,   (8)
          Cîyê wê Cizîra Botane."   (9)
                "The one I speak of is a tender bride,
                Her waist [is as thin as] a green leaf,
                Her name is lovely Lady Zîn.

                She's the daughter of mîr Sêvdîn,
                The [future] sister-in-law of Qeretajdîn,
                She lives in Jizîra Botan."

(FK-1)a*   --Ez Zîn-xatûnim, qîza mîr Zêvdînim,   (11)
p.262   xûşka mîr Sêvdînim,   (6)
          nevîa mîr Etlesim, ji Cizîra Bota me, xwedana koçik serê rengînim, (24)
          k'exbê hêşînim,   (5)
          eger rast dibêjî ez bûka Qere-T'ajdînim."   (14)
                "I'm Lady Zîn, daughter of Mîr Zêvdîn,
                sister of Mîr Sêvdîn,
                granddaughter of Mîr Atlas, from Jizîra Bota, owner of a
                           many-coloredpalace,
                [and] a green gown;
                if you speak truthfully, I'm the sister-in-law-to-be of
                           Qeretazhdin."

(FK-1)b   Ya ez dibêm xatûn Zîne,   (8)
p.265   Qîza mîr Zêvdîne,   (6)
          Xûşka mîr Sêvdîne,   (6)
         Ew Cizîrê dimîne.   (7)

          Koç'kada t'imê dimîne,   (8)
          Ew li vira nîne,   (6)
          Bûka E'fîn-Qeret'ajdîne,   (9)

Dest girtîa Ç'ekîne,   (6)
Xweya k'exbê hêşîne."   (7)

> "The one I want is Lady Zîn,
> The daughter of Mîr Zêvdîn,
> The sister of Mîr Sêvdîn,
> Who lives in Jizîra.
>
> She lives in a palace,
> She isn't here,
> The sister-in-law of Efîn and Qeretazhdîn,
> The fiancée of Chekin,
> She wears a green gown."

(FK-1)c
p.285

Memê: --Bekir, yara min ew nîne,   (10)
Yara min xatûn Zîne,   (7)
Qîza mîr Zêvdîne,   (6)
Xûşka mîr Sêvdîne,   (6)
Xudanê k'exbê hêşîne,   (8)
Dîsa dibêm, xatûn Zîne."   (8)

> Mem: "Beko, that one isn't my beloved,
> My beloved is Lady Zîn,
> The daughter of mîr Zêvdîn,
> The sister of mîr Sêvdîn,
> Owner of a green gown,
> I'll say it again, it's Lady Zîn."

(ZK-1)a*
p 47

Ez qîza mîr Sêvdînim,   (7)
ji şeherê Cizîra Bota, bûka Qeret'ajdînim,   (16)
dergîstîya Ç'ekanim, xweyê k'exbê hêşînim...   (14)

> I am the daughter of mîr Sêvdîn,
> from the city of Jizîra Bota, I am the sister-in-law of
> Qeretajdîn,
> the betrothed of Chekan, I am the owner of the green
> gown...

(ZK-1)b
p.49

Memê go: "Qîza wezîr, ewa, dilê min dîñebîne,   (16)
Ew li vir nîne,   (5)
Li Cizîra Bota dimîne,   (9)
Ew qîza mîr Sêvdîne,   (7)
Bûka Qeret'ajdîne,   (7)
Ew dergîstîya Ç'ekin - şerê zemîne,   (12)
Xweya k'exbê hêşîne,   (7)
Navê wê nazik, xatûn Zîne, (9)
Gelekê nola we qet ñeng û ñûyê wê nabîne".   (15)

> Mem said, "Vizier's daughter, the one my heart loves,
> She is not here,
> She lives in Jizîra Bota,
> She's the daughter of mîr Sêvdîn,

> The sister-in-law of Qeretajdîn,
> The betrothed of Chekan -- lion of the earth,
> She has a green gown,
> The name of this beauty is Lady Zîn,
> The likes of you will never see her color or face."

This formula cluster consists of the following constituent formulas:

a) Her name is Zîn (or: Mem's beloved is Lady Zîn);

b) A newborn dove (first seven occurrences only);

c) She is the daughter (or sister) of Mîr Sêvdîn (plus enumerations of other familial relations);

d) She lives in Jezîra Bohtan (or: Jezîra Bohtan is her abode);

e) She is the owner of [some item];

f) She is not here (of limited occurrence).

Formula a. has several realizations: they all have as their final word the name Zîne (sometimes Zîn + e = is Zîn). This formula often occupies only half of the verse, as in (PS)c, (ZK-3)b, (ZK-3)c, (ZK-2)a, (ZK-2)b, (HM)b, (SHa-1)a, and (FK-1)a: hence the term *formulaic system* may be used in this instance in exact accordance with Ritzke-Rutherford's usage of it. With the possible exception of (HM)a, every version includes one or another sub-type of formula a.

Sub-type a1 is as follows:

<u>Her name</u>   <u>[modifiers] Zîn is</u>
    1   2

This is found in (IIM)b, (LC-1)a, (SHa-1)a, (FK-2)c, and (ZK-1)b.

Sub-type a2 is:

<u>To [her]</u>   <u>they call</u>   <u>[modifiers] Zîn</u>
   1   2   3

This is found in (ZK-3)b, (ZK-3)c, and (LC-1)b.

Sub-type a3 is:

[My] beloved *or* My [beloved]   Zîn is
         1   2

This occurs in (PS)c, (ZK-2)a, (SHa-1)b, and (FK-1)c. In (SHa-1)b it is *Mem's beloved is Lady Zîn* and in (ZK-2)a it is literally *My female one is Zîn*.

Sub-type a4 is:

[The one I say]   she/it   [Lady] Zîn is
   1   2   3

This occurs in (ZK-3)a, (FK-2)a, (FK-2)b, (FK-1)b, and (FK-1)c - last line. In (ZK-3)a, element #1 is *He says, this is Stîya Zîn* The element *The one I say* [Ya ez dibêm] occurs elsewhere in (FK-2)a and (FK-2)c: apparently it forms part of a formula in its own right, particularly since it tends to occur in the same context, descriptions of Lady Zîn. The attestation in (FK-1)a, *I am Lady Zîn* [Ez Zîn-xatûnim], could be seen as a variant of this sub-type also: this would require the dropping of element #1, and expanding element #2 to include pronouns in other persons: the person of the copula (i.e., first, second, or third person) in element #3 must agree with the pronoun in element #2 in person (and number).

      Formula b. occurs in all three versions of PS and of ZK-3, and in one of the versions of ZK-2. It displays the following pattern:

[She]   dove   newborn is
 1   2   3

      The first element occurs in all three attestations in PS, and nowhere else. The verse contains seven or eight syllables: the eighth syllable is either the pronoun *she*

[au = ew] at the beginning of the verse (in PSa-b-c), or the indefinite article suffix *a/an* [-ek-] appended to the word *dove* [kewok - kevok] (in ZK-3c and ZK-2a).

As with formula b. in cluster II. above, formula c. is a series of enumerations consisting of several verses displaying the same formulaic pattern, which will be considered together as a unit. Any one attestation may have as few as one (in PSa-b-c, ZK-2a-b, HMa) and as many as four (FK-1a) verses with the formula, but most versions have two or three verses. This is perhaps the most distinctive formula in the cluster, and no attestation occurs without some form of it. The pattern for formula c. is:

[Female relative] of	[man's name]
1	2

The most common words appearing in the 'Female relative' slot in element #1 are: *sister of* [huškà - xuka - xua - hwaškâ - xûşka - xūčikā]; *daughter of* [qîza]; *granddaughter of* [nevîya - nevîa]; *bride* or *sister-in-law of* [bûka]; *sister-in-law of* [baltûza]; *female cousin of* [domama - dutmâma]; and *fiancée of* [dest girtia]. Lady Zîn both describes herself and is described by Mem in terms of several of her male relatives. It is interesting to note that in (LC-1)b, Lady Zîn enumerates her male relatives, using the following terms: *my male cousin* [pismâme min]; *my father* [bave min]; and *my brother* [berâye min]. I would argue that this is the same formula, seen from a female perspective.

Formula d. is of more limited occurrence, appearing in (ZK-3)a, and in all attestations for FK-2, FK-1, ZK-1. Sometimes it is only part of the verse, as in (FK-2)a, (FK-1)a, and (ZK-1)a. It consists of the following sub-groups:

Sub-typed1:

Her place	Jezîra [Bohtan] is
1	2

This is the pattern for all three attestations in FK-2, although (FK-2)b interpolates *[if] you want [to know]* [dixazin] between elements #1 and #2.

Sub-typed2:

<u>Her kingdom</u>   <u>in Jezîra Bohtan</u>   <u>remains</u>
    1   2   3

This sub-type, which is transitional between d1 and d3, contains an analogue of the first element of sub-type d1, and the final element *remains* [dimîne] of d3. It is attested only once in the versions included in this study, in (ZK-3)a.

Sub-typed3:

<u>[She]</u>   <u>in Jezîra [Bohtan]</u>   <u>remains</u>
 1   2   3

This occurs in two versions, (FK-1)b and (ZK-1)b. The former includes the first element *she* [ew] and has *[in] Jezîra* [Cizîrê] as the second element, while the latter excludes the first element and has a fuller form, *in Jezîra Bohtan* [li Cizîra Bota], as the second. Both attestations are seven syllables long.

Sub-typed4:

<u>From [the city of] Jezîra Bohtan</u>
           1

This has two attestations. in (FK-1)a and (ZK-1)a. The former lacks 'the city of' and adds the copula *I am* [me]; the latter includes 'the city of' and lacks a verb.

Formula e. in the cluster is even more limited in distribution, occurring only in (ZK-3)a and (ZK-3)b, and in all attestations for FK-1 and ZK-1. It consists of the following pattern:

<u>Owner of</u>   <u>[item(s)]</u>   <u>[modifier ending in -în-]</u>
   1   2   3

In (FK-1)b-c and both ZK-1 attestations, Zîn is *the owner of a green k'exbe/k'exbe* [=wedding gown?]; in (FK-1)a, she is *the owner of a colorful palace and green k'exbe*. The modifiers in -în- are *green/blue* [hêşîn] and *colorful* [rengîn]. In (ZK-3)a-b, Zîn is *the owner of a crown of golden amber*. Here the modifier in -în- is *golden* [zêrîn].

Formula f. occurs in only three passages: (SHa-1)a, (FK-1)b, and (ZK-1)b. All of them are at the same point in the story, when Mem is at the party thrown for him by his father in the royal garden [B.II.C. in the motif chart]. The pattern is:

[She]	here	is not
1	2	3

In (SHa-1)a, this forms part of a longer verse, and the order of elements is 3 - 2, *not here* [na li vrai].

The attestations of this formula cluster occur at fixed points in the story: A) when Lady Zîn introduces herself (or is introduced for the first time); B) when Mem tells his father (or others in his native land) about Zîn; C) when Beko Awan tricks Mem into revealing who his beloved is during a verbal duel [D.VIII.B. in motif chart]; D) when a group of four or five girls is described, one of whom is Lady Zîn; and E) when Mem speaks to Qeretajdîn about Lady Zîn. The following chart indicates which of the five scenarios is applicable for each occurrence of the formula.

Version	Page	Scenario A-B-C-D-E
(PS)a	p. 74, l. 7-8	E
(PS)b	p. 75, l. 9-11	D
(PS)c	P. 80, l. 8-9	C
(ZK-3)a	p 91	A

(ZK-3)b	p. 105	D or E
(ZK-3)c	p. 108	C
(ZK-2)a	p. 81	C
(ZK-2)b	p 80	E
(HM)a	p. 6	E
(HM)b	p 10	C
(LC-1)a	p. 39, l.125-8	A
(LC-1)b	p. 40, l.175-6	A
(SHa-1)a	p. 203	B
(SHa 1)b	p. 214	C
(FK-2)a	p. 294	B
(FK-2)b	p. 295	B
(FK-2)c	p 295	B
(FK-1)a	p. 262	A
(FK 1)b	p 265	B
(FK-1)c	p. 285	C
(ZK-1)a	p. 47	A
(ZK 1)b	p. 49	B

     Of the versions of M&Z in which this formula cluster occurs, PS, ZK-2, and LC-1 are primarily in verse, whereas the other versions (ZK-3, HM, SHa-1, FK-2, FK-1, ZK-1) are prose narrative with sung verse inserted at key points. Hence, it cannot be said that this cluster is limited to one or the other type, unlike the clusters I. and II. above.

The version collected by Oskar Mann in Soujbulaq (modern Mehabad, Kurdistan of Iran) in 1903, which I have designated OM, is in a class by itself. As far as I know, it is the only version of M&Z that has been collected in Mukri, a northern sub-dialect of the Sorani (Central) dialect of Kurdish: hence, shared formulas between the Kurmanji versions and this Mukri version (my context #1), while not impossible, are unlikely. Nevertheless, this version, recited by Raḥman-î Bekir, is extraordinarily elaborate: it abounds in recurrent formulaic phrases (my context #2). In demonstrating this, I have followed Lord's method of taking a sample passage of fifteen lines, indicating which verses or groups of words are repeated elsewhere in OM. In searching for parallels, I limited myself to the first ten pages of OM, which in themselves provided ample material for comparison.

IV. The doves debate whether Mem or Zîn is more beautiful.
"bezâna, rûmatî kâka manî zarîftira yân cirâ û fanâra".
áu k'ê bû la parî dä tarlâna,
shaqqizhniân la baḧî khoïân dä, daïân-girtawa ḥau tàbàqäï âsmânâna,
la nic kûêkiân wucân nadädâ, hattâ dâcûnà shârî cizîrê, lä sar kôshkî
      yâya zînê däbûnâwa mïwâna,
5   dabûn ba kôtirî shîn, dä kunî pànjârân-dâ dâcûnä zhûrê, haḧ-dânîshtin
läsärdäḧâqâna.
khúshkî gaurä däḧê: "jâmînê, säfînê, am'nû bébim bä qurbânaʾ
iniâ bezânîn kâka mam zarîfa yân yâya zin zêdä jûâna".
khúshkî nêwinjîn däḧê. khúshkê, khuḧä haḧnâgirê pêm bedôrênïawa
      îmânê;
rúḥî kâkä mamî läwê râhâtûa, awâ râwästâwa dâkâ säïrânê;
10   ägär béḧêîn: yâya zîn zärîfa, rúḥî kâkä mâmî zîz dâbê, dâcê,
shikavatmân lê däkâ la kin sâhibî ârz û âsmânê.
ägär béḧêîn: kâkä mäm zärîfa, rúḥî yâya zîn zîz dâbê, lêmân dâbêtâ
      arzâcî lä khizmât pêghambärî âkhirî zämânê".
khúshkî cúkälä kutî bä khushkâna:
"amïnû bébim bä qurbânaʾ
ama bayava zînê haḧg'rin, bibêna yamânî gaurä û girâna,
15   bezânîn kâka mäm zarîfa yân yâya zin zêdä jûâna".
      Let's see whether Kakeh Mem's cheeks are more radiant or lamps and
        lighthouses [are]
      Who is this? Fairies [dressed] as falcons"

They were flapping their wings, they were flying up to the seventh layer
    of heaven,
Nowhere did they rest, until they reached the city of Jizîr, they were
    guests at the palace of Yaya Zîn.

5   They became blue doves, they entered at the window [openings], they
    perched on the windowsill.
The eldest sister says, "Jemîn, Sefîn, may I be a sacrifice for you.
Let us see whether Kakeh Mem is more delicate, or Yaya Zîn is more
    beautiful."
The middle sister says, "Sister[s], God wouldn't like it if I lost my faith.
Kakeh Mem's soul has come from there, he's standing there,
    wandering about.

10   If we say Yaya Zîn is [more] beautiful, Kakeh Mem's soul will get mad,
    he'll complain about us to the master of the earth and heavens:
If we say Kakeh Mem is [more] beautiful, Yaya Zîn's soul will get mad,
    she'll become a plaintiff against us to the Prophet of the end of
    time."
The youngest sister says to her sisters:
"May I be a sacrifice for you!
Let's pick up Yaya Zîn and take her to Yemen the great and powerful,

15   Let us see whether Kakeh Mem is more delicate, or Yaya Zîn is more
    beautiful." (OM, p. 28)

In the following discussion, I will discuss each verse individually, referring to

each one as numbered above.

Verse 1.

"bezâna, rûmātî kâkä mâmî zärîftira yân cirâ û fänära".
Let's see whether Kakeh Mem's cheeks are more radiant or lamps and
    lighthouses [are].

Cf. p 26:
khúshki gaurä datë bä khúshki cûkalâ: "khułâkäi, khúshkê, rûmätî kâkä
    mämî zärîftira yân cirâ û fänära?"
The eldest sister says to the youngest one: "By God, Sister, are Kakeh Mem's
    cheeks more radiant, or are lamps and lighthouses?"

Verse 2.

áu k'ê bû lä pärî dä tärlâna,
Who is this? Faines [dressed] as falcon?

The first four words of this verse [âu k'ê bû lä –] constitute an example of the rhyme signalling device [RSD] discussed above in the section on poetics.   The last three words [pärî dä tärîâna] first occur in the middle verse of a three-line stanza on p. 26. The stanza is as follows:

khâliq! här atðî lä sär hämwâna!
dênä rûî zämînê sê pärî dä tärîâna,
la sär kôshkî käkä mamî, brâhîm pâd'shâî yämänê dâîândâ säîrâna.
          O creator! You alone are above everyone!
          Three fairies as falcons come down to earth[31]
          Above the palace of Kakeh Mem, the son of Brahim, King of Yemen,
          they fly about.

Verse 3

shaqqızhnîän lä bâłî khôîân dä, daîän-girtawa hâu tabäqâî âsmânâna,
They were flapping their wings, they were flying up to the seventh layer
                    of heaven,

The second half of this verse *they were flying up to the seventh layer of heaven* [daîân-girtawa hâu tabâqâî âsmânâna] has several parallels, each one substituting a different verb in place of [daîân-girtawa].   As Nikitine notes, this formulaic phrase reflects the Islamic belief that the heavens contain seven layers[32].

Cf
hâłîân-girt, lä pänjarânîân hênâ dârê. lä sär bâłî khôîân dânâ, lä khułâî
          pârânawa, häräkätîân lä khôîân dä, cûna hâu täbäqâî âsmâna
They put her on their wings, prayed to God. they started moving, they went to
          the seventh layer of heaven. (p. 28)

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[31] =lit "Come down to earth three fairies as falcons"

[32] Basile Nikitine "Essai de classification de folklore à l'aide d'un inventaire social-économique" in XVIe Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique : VIe assemblée générale de l'Insutut international d'anthropologie Bruxelles 1-8 septembre 1935 (Bruxelles Imprimerie médicale et scientifique 1936) v 2 pp 1002-3

dāngî mālāîkātân dāîgâtê lä ḥáu täbäqāî hâsmânê
The sound of angels reaches it from the seventh layer of heaven, (p. 31)

hattâ ḥáḧân-ġirt, birdîân, lä ḥáu täbäqāî âsmânê râwästâwa
Until they took her up to the seventh layer of heaven[33]. (p. 33)

In addition, this formulaic element is part of another full line formula manifested twice on p. 31 of OM, as follows:

kâkä mäm dä̂ê· khâtûnê, kôshkî mın bılında sär lä ḥau täbäqāî âsmânê,
Kakeh Mem says,?"Khatun, my palace is very high, its tip reaches the   seventh
                layer of heaven, (p. 31)

yâya zîn dä̂ê· mîr mäm, kôshkî mın bılında sär lä ḥau täbäqāî âsmânê,
Lady Zin says,?"Mir Mem, my palace is very high, its tip reaches the   seventh
                layer of heaven, (p. 31)

Verse 4.
lä hic kûêkiân wucân nadâdâ, hattâ däcûnä shârî cizîrê, lä sär kôshkî
                yâya zînê dâbûnäwa mîwâna,
Nowhere did they rest, until they reached the city of Jızîr, they were
                guests at the palace of Yaya Zîn.

This verse has a very close parallel further down on the same page, in   which the main difference is that the focus is on Zîn and her surroundings in the first, and on Mem and his in the second passage:

lä hic kûêiân wucân nâdadâ, hattâ dähâtınä shârî yämânê, lä bûrjî
                baḧäk dâbûnawa mîwâna,
Nowhere did they rest until they reached the city of Yemen, they were
                guests at Burj-i Belek.

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33=lit "Until they picked her up, took her, in the seventh layer of heaven halted"

Verse 5.
dabûn ba kôtîrî shin. dä kunî pänjärân-dâ däcûnä zhûrê, hał-dänîshtin
    läsärdäłâqâna.
They became blue doves, they went in through the window [openings], they
    perched on the windowsill.

This verse yields two parallels, as follows:
dabûm bä kôtîrêkî shin, da kunî panjärân-dâ hał-dänîshtım lä sär
    däłâqâna.
I became a blue dove, at the window opening I perched, on the window sill
    (p. 27)

dä kunî pänjärân-dâ däcûnä zhûrê, yâya zînîân wêrâî mîr mämî dirêzh
    däkırt shân bä shâna.
bô khôîân däfirîn, däcûnä sär däłâqâna.
They went in through the window opening, they stretched out Yaya Zîn next to
    mîr Mem shoulder to shoulder.
They flew to the window sill[34]. (p. 28)

Verse 6.

khushkı gaura dałê:?"jamînê, safînê, amınû bêbım bä qurbâna!
The eldest sister says,?"Jemin, Sefin, may I be a sacrifice for you.

The first three words are part of a very common formulaic system, in which
the middle word *eldest* [gaurä] may be substituted by *middle* [nêwinjîn] as in verse
8 below, or by *youngest* [cûkälâ] as in verse 12 below; the third word *says* [däłê] may
be substituted by the same verb in a different tense, such as *said* [kutî] in verse 12
below, or by another verb, such as *asked* [pirsîa] (p. 26); moreover, complements such
as *to the sisters* [bä khushkâna] may be added, as in verse 12 below.

34=lit: "themselves they flew, they went to the window sill"

The second part of the verse *may I be a sacrifice for you* [amᵢnû bébim bä qurbänaJ is a traditional oath, with some interesting variations:

khúshkê, ázid bébim bä qurbâna!
Sister, let me be a sacrifice for you! (p. 26)

khúshkê, ázû bébim bä qurbána!
Sisters, let me be a sacrifice for you! (p. 27)

amínû bébim bá qurbâna!
May I be a sacrifice for you! (verse 13, p. 26)

khúshkê, wázû bébim bá qurbâna!
Sisters, let me be a sacrifice for you! (p. 28)

In three out of the four parallels, the verse begins with the word *sister[s]* [khúshkê]. In verse six, the sisters are addressed by name [jämînê, säflnê]. In the same three parallels, the Kurmanji form of the first person singular pronoun *I* [az = ez] is used, rather than the normal Sorani form [(a)min], which appears in verses 6 and 13. This is one of several examples of Kurmanji influence in this version of M&Z[35]. In all but verse 6, the formula occupies almost the whole verse, preceded in three cases by the word *sister[s]*/[khúshkê].

Verse 7.
injä bezânîn käkä mäm zärífa yân yâya zîn zêdä jûâna.
Let us see whether Kakeh Mem is more delicate, or Yaya Zîn is more beautiful.

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[35]One would even go so far as to say that the mere existence of the story of Mem û Zin in a Sorani dialect is in itself an example of Kurmanji influence

This verse has four close parallels, each one differing in minute details:

"bezânîn kâkä mäm zärîftira yâ yâya zîn zêdä jûâna".
" Let us see [whether] Kakeh Mem is more delicate, or Yaya Zîn is [more]
        beautiful." (p. 27)

"bezânîn, jâ kâkä mäm zärîftira yâ yâya zîn zêdä jûâna".
" Let us see whether Kakeh Mem is more delicate, or Yaya Zîn is [more]
        beautiful." (p. 27)

"bezânîn kâkä mäm zärîfa yân yâya zîn zêdä jûâna".
" Let us see [whether] Kakeh Mem is [more] delicate, or Yaya Zîn is [more]
        beautiful." (verse 15, p. 28)

"bezânîn yâya zîn zärîfa yâna mîr mäm zêdä jûâna".
" Let us see [whether] Yaya Zîn is [more] delicate, or Mîr Mem is [more]
        beautiful." (p. 29)

This formula also bears comparison with the formula in verse 1 above: both

contain the element *Kakeh Mem is more delicate* [kâkä mäm zärîf(tîr)a], and

both include a comparison of Mem's beauty with some other entity.

Verse 6.
khúshkî nêwinjîn dälê: khúshkê, khulâ hatnâgirê pêm bedôrênîawa
      imânê;
The middle sister says,?"Sister[s], God wouldn't like it if I lost my faith.

The first part of the verse [khúshkî nêwinjîn dälê] has already been mentioned

above in the discussion of verse 6 above.   The last three words in the verse have a

parallel in the following:

      añgô tämâhtâna bämín bédôrênin îmânê,
      You are ambitious that I lose my faith, (p. 29)

Verse 9.

rúhî kâkâ mâmî läwê râhâtûa, awâ râwâstâwa dâkâ sâîrânê;
Kakeh Mem's soul has come from there, he's standing there, wandering about.

This is the only verse in the fifteen-line selection that seems to have no parallels.

Verse 10.
ägär bêtêîn: yâya zîn zärîfa, rúhî kâkâ mâmî zîz dâbê, dâcê,
  shıkayâtmân lê dâkâ lâ kın sâhibî ârz û âsmânê.
If we say Yaya Zîn is [more] beautiful, Kakeh Mem's soul will get mad,
  he'll complain about us to the master of the earth and heavens:

Verse 11.
ägär bêtêîn. kâkâ mäm zärîfa, rúhî yâya zîn zîz dâbê, lêmân dâbêtâ
  arzâcî lä khizmät pêghambârî âkhirî zämânê.
Îf we say Kakeh Mem is [more] beautiful, Yaya Zîn's soul will get mad,
  she'll become a plaintiff against us to the Prophet of the end of
  time.

With the close parallelism between verses 10 and 11, the first part of them *If*
we say (X) is [more] beautiful, (Y)'s soul will get mad [ägär bêtêîn: (X) zärîfa,
rúhî (Y) zîz dâbê] constitutes two examples of the same formulaic element. The only
difference is that the names [yâya zîn] and [kâkâ mâm] trade places between the two
verses. In addition, the second part of each verse is a paraphrase of the other:
'complaining to the master of the earth and heavens' and 'becoming a plaintiff to the
Prophet of the end of time' are equivalent.

Verse 12.

khúshkî cûkälá kutî bä khushkâna:
The youngest sister said to her sisters:

In addition to the discussion above (see verse 6) about the formula system that this verse exemplifies, it has both an almost exact parallel, viz.

khúshkî cıkôlá kutî bä khushkâna:
The youngest sister said to her sisters: (p. 27)

and several close parallels which make it clear that this construction is not merely a sub type of the formula system discussed above at verse 6, but is rather a full line (whole verse) formula in its own right. The other manifestations of this formula are:

khúshkî gaurä dûbârä kutî bä khushkâna:
The oldest sister again said to her sisters: (p. 26)

khúshkî nêwinjî kutî bä khushkâna:
The oldest sister again said to her sisters: (p. 27)

khúshkî gaurä kutî bä khushkâna:
The oldest sister said to her sisters: (p. 28)

As in the case of verse 6 above, any one of the three sisters, *youngest* [cûkálá / cıkôlá], *middle* [nêwinjî], or *oldest* [gaurä] may be 'plugged in'; in the parallel from page 26, the word *again* [dûbârä] is inserted.

Verse 13.

'amínû bébim bä qurbâna!
" May I be a sacrifice for you!

See verse 6 above for discussion.

Verse 14.

amä bâ yâya zînê hâ‡g'rîn, bîbênä yämänî gaurä û girâna,
Let's pick up Yaya Zin and take her to Yemen the great and powerful,

The second half of this verse, *Yemen the great and powerful* [yämänî
gaurä û girâna], has the following parallel.

ägär kâkä mäm mân nägäîândawä yämänî gaurä û girâna,
If we could not bring Mem back to Yemen the great and powerful, (p. 27)

Moreover, the word pair *great and powerful* [gaurä û girâna] appears in yet
another verse:

kôshkî min kôshkêkî gälêg gaurä û girâna.[36]
My palace is a very great and powerful palace. (p. 31)

This adjectival word pair is curious, in light of what is said below regarding
word pairs or doublets. It is not unusual to have a word pair (such as *pavilion-and-
palace* [k'oçk û seral] modified by an adjective, e.g., *colorful pavilion-and-palace*
[k'oçk û serayê rengin], in which the entire phrase is a formulaic element. In the
present instance we have the opposite, a noun plus an adjectival word pair. Both
cases are examples of noun-plus-epithet-serving as formulaic elements.

Verse 15.

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[36]Note the alliteration.

bezânîn kâkä mäm zärîfa yân yâya zîn zêdä jûâna.
Let us see whether Kakeh Mem is more delicate, or Yaya Zîn is more
       beautiful.

See verse 7 above for discussion.

Several of the formulas occur (with slight variations) as many as five times in
the first ten pages of OM. Within the fifteen sample verses analyzed above, three
formulas occur twice each (6 & 13; 7 & 15; 10 & 11). The version spans 57 pages of
print, and supposedly took four nights to recite. Although we do not possess another
version of M&Z from Rahman-î Bekir, by comparison with other versions, this one is
extremely elaborate. The repitition of formulas is a strategy for 'padding' a story,
particularly useful if the storyteller has an attentive audience that wants the story to
continue for a long period of time.

Let us turn now to context 3) Formulas shared between one or more versions
of M&Z and other stories. Formula cluster I. above is not limited to M&Z, as an
example of it has turned up in a version of another Kurdish story, *Memê û E'îşê*.
One version of Memê û E'îşê ends with the following lines:

(65) Ew bû lı e'nırê xadêye. (8)
Jorda p'ostê gura k'etîye. (9)
Wetê têda hılatîye. (8)
Bûye gura serê çiyaye. (9)

              This was by the order of God,
              From above a garment of wolves fell,
              Wetê[37] got into it,
              She became a wolf on the top of the
                     mountain [36].

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[37] Wetê is the name of Memê's mother in this story

[38] "Mame i Aîshe - Memê û E'îşê," in Kurdskie Epicheskie Pesri Skazy, ed. Hajie Jndi (Moskva , Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoî Literatury, 1962). pp 15-[23]; 139-[146]; 239 This text was collected in 1939

Only the first two lines concern us here, however the poetic texture of this version as a whole must be understood. Unlike the versions of M&Z in which our formula cluster appears, this version of Memê û E'îşê is entirely in verse; the number of syllables in it varies between seven and fourteen, most commonly with eight or nine syllables per line. In the four lines above, the first and third lines consist of eight syllables, while the second and fourth lines consist of nine syllables each. The end rhyme can change every couple of lines, or it can go on for a long time without changing. In the above, case, the end rhyme -*eye* begins nine lines above, and in our four lines it varies between -*êye*, -*îye*, and -*aye*. This is an important consideration, because in all the versions of M&Z which include formula cluster I. discussed above, the end rhyme is -*are* [ferware; xare; çare]. Although the texture of Memê û E'îşê requires a different end rhyme, formulas a. and b. of our formula cluster I. are discernible in the passage from it quoted above.

Let us compare the pattern for formula a. with Memê û E'îşê (henceforth ME). The pattern for formula a. is:

a. [O]God   [you] make   a command
   1   2   3

In ME. the same three elements are there, although the order of the pattern is different, dictated by the exigencies of the rhyme scheme:

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from a 55 year old peasant named Aloê Slo, resident of the village Tiseli of the Akhaltsykh district of the Georgian S.S.R. Although himself a member of the Celalî tribe from the Turco-Iranian border region, the majority of Kurds in his district of the Cûnik tribe, from near Oltu in the province of Erzurum, Turkey (?. Oltynskiî raîon) Alo lived for a long time among the Sîpkî tribe who inhabit the Talîn and Aparan districts of the Armenian S.S.R. bibliographic references of other versions are given on page 239

Ew bû	ji e'mrê	xadêye
[This] was	by the order of	God
2	3	1

The second EP-1 line (the 'response') is closest to the ME line:

Xadêda	bû	ferware
At God	was	a command
1	2	3

In both, the same form of the word for God is used, [xadê], and the same verb, *was* [bû] is used. *By the order of* [e'mrê] and *a command* [ferware] are paraphrases of each other. It would appear that the formula is flexible enough to adjust to different poetic environments while remaining recognizable.

Let us continue now, with formula b. of formula cluster I. above:

garment	of dove	from above	make	down
1	2	3	4	5

The parallel in ME is:

Jorda	p'ostê	gura	k'etîye
from above	garment	of wolves	fell
3	1	2	4-5

Once again, the order of the elements is different; in addition, elements #4 and #5 have collapsed into one: *fell* [k'etîye]. 'Falling' is a paraphrase of 'sending something down'.

One interesting difference between the M&Z versions on the one hand and ME on the other is that in the former it is a dove's garment (Motif F821.1.6. **Dress of feathers**.) which God sends down, while in the latter a wolf's garment (cf. Motif F821.1.3. **Dress of raw fur**) comes down. At this point, it should be pointed out that this formula cluster seems to be limited to the primarily prose versions of M&Z. There are two versions that have a motif comparable to this, but belong to the group of versions that are told mainly in verse: they are OM and LC-1. OM is unusual because it is in Sorani (Mukri), a Central Kurdish or Group I. dialect according to MacKenzie's classification scheme, whereas the rest of the Kurdish language versions are in Kurmanji, MacKenzie's Northern Kurdish or Group II. dialect group[39]. LC-1 is a version from the western edge of the continuous area in which Kurmanji is spoken[40], and is heavily influenced by Turkish.   What is lacking from both versions is the request that God send down a dove's garment: instead, the doves (or falcons in OM) simply?"tied fairy wings onto Zîn" (LC-1) or?"put a splendid outfit on her" (OM). It is perhaps no coincidence that these two versions are also the most heavily laden with Islamic religiosity, particularly if underlying the request to send down a dove's garment is a pagan belief that the different animals have gods. In the Yezidi religion[41] it is believed that different domestic animals have protectors [pîr] which look after

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[39]D N MacKenzie <u>Kurdish Dialect Studies</u> (London Oxford University Press, 1961-62) vol 1, p xviii.

[40]There are Kurmanji speech enclaves further west just south of Ankara in Central Anatolia in such places as Polatlı and Haymana (province of Ankara), Aksaray (until recently province of Niğde), and Çiçekdağı (province of Kırşehir).   as well as in Sivas   These dialects have yet to be documented.

[41]a religion the majority of whose followers are Kurds   The Yezidi religion has the distinction of being the only religion whose liturgy is in Kurdish. For some examples of Yezidi prayers in Kurdish see Karl Hadank <u>Untersuchungen zum Westkurdischen Boti und Ezadi</u> (Berlin : Institut für Lautforschung and der Universität : Leipzig   Otto Harrassowitz, 1938), pp 39-60

them and speak to them in their own language[42]. Due to Islamic influence, such beliefs would then have been forced into a monotheistic mold, in which God looks after the various animals himself. For a truly religious Muslim, however, the whole idea may still smack of paganism: this could account for the muted reference to this motif when the narrator is a pious Muslim, as in LC-1 and OM.

Formula c. does not work in the context of ME, and is therefore absent from it. Nevertheless, the co-appearance of the same two formulas (a. and b.) in two different stories is noteworthy. It is unlikely that coincidence alone could account for this. What I have just demonstrated argues for the validity of Ritzke-Rutherford's concept of formula clusters vis-à-vis Kurdish oral literature.

At this point, I have given examples of the three contexts in which formulas may occur in M&Z: across versions, within one version, and between M&Z and other stories in the same genre. I would now like to examine certain formulas which a given informant uses in M&Z and in other stories collected from him. As mentioned above, we do not possess more than one version of M&Z per informant (*dengbêj*), hence, we are severely limited as to what we can say about the individual style of any particular dengbêj. However, since other stories and poems have been collected from several of the *dengbêjes* who tell M&Z, we can look at these other stories in an attempt to isolate stylistic features peculiar to a specific *dengbêj*.

E'tarê Şero, of the Kurdish tribe Ortilî, which inhabits the Ashtarak region of Soviet Armenia, was born in 1901 in the village of Soybilax (Soğukbulak)[43] in the

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[42]see Kurdskie Epicheskie Pesni-Skazy, p. 126, note 28. Also Rudenko, M.B. Literaturnaia i fol'klornye versii kurdskoi poèmy 'IUsuf i Zelikha' [Литературная и фольклорные версии курдской поэмы "Юсуф и Зелиха"=Literary and folkloristic versions of the Kurdish poem "Yusuf i Zelikha'] (Moscow : Nauka, 1966), p. 53.

[43]or from the village of Damasxane, according to Qenatê Kurdo [K.K. Kurdoev], "Derheqa şovêd Mem û Zîna zargotî û şova Mem û Zîna Ehmedê Xanî," Govarê Koñ Zanyarî Kurd

county (kaza) of Surmelî, Kurdistan of Turkey[44]. A Yezidi by birth, he was a literate peasant, who lived in Nork, a suburb of Erivan, capital of Soviet Armenia, until his death in 1974. He was a jolly fellow who loved to talk, and knew, wrote, and collected most types of Kurdish folklore, including folktales, romances, and songs. Two versions of the story of Yusuf and Zulaykha (Ûsiv û Zelîxe) have been collected from him, one in 1965 and the other sometime prior to 1976[45], as well as two versions of Zembîlfiroş which he wrote down himself in 1933[46]. The version of M&Z which I have designated EP-1 was collected from him in 1955. It is most closely related to ZK-1, FK-1, FK-2, SHa-1, and GNa, but in many places is more embellished than these, as in the first formula examined above, in which E'tarê Şero added a second set of formula clusters parallel to the first set, an example of how a skilled singer might lengthen an otherwise short song.

Let us now examine three passages in EP-1 which are similar:

Ew roiekê, [Zînê] pêşya carîê xwe k'et û hate nav baxê Torkirî, xwera seyrange kir. (EP-1: #4, p. 184)
One day she led her maidservants to the garden of Torkirî, and made a picnic for herself.

...sibê t'emam werne baxê minî [=yê Al-p'aşa] Torkirî... (EP-1: #10, p. 187)

[*The Journal of the Kurdish Academy], 6 (1978), p 83. The late Professor Kurdoev also states that E'tarê Şero *wrreored* this version and gave it to Hajie Jndi, a detail not mentioned elsewhere, and -- although believable -- is not verified

[44] Ordikhane Dzhalil & Dzhalile Dzhalil Zargotina K'urda = Kurdskii Fol'klor (Moskva Nauka, 1978), vol 2, p 501 and Hajie Jndi (ed.), Kurdskie Epicheskie Pesni-Skazy (Moskva . Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoi Literatury, 1962), p 242

[45] [1965] Ch. Kh. Bakaev. Rol' IAzykovykh Kontaktov v Razvitii IAzyka Kurdov SSSR (Moskva : Nauka, 1977), p 189-211 and [pre 1976?] M B Rudenko. Literaturnaia i Fol'klornye Versii Kurdskoi Poemy "IUsuf i Zelikha" (Moskva Nauka, 1986), pp. 300-310, 336-247

[46] [1933] Ordikhane Dzhalil & Dzhalile Dzhalil Zargotina K'urda = Kurdskii Fol'klor (Moskva : Nauka, 1978), vol. 1,#10, pp 189-194 and [1933] Zh.S Musaèlian Zambil'frosh Kurdskaia poema i eè fol'klornye versii (Moskva Nauka, 1983), pp 110-116

...all must come tomorrow to my [=Al pasha's] garden Torkirî...

Ez u tu jî emê heřne baxê T'ořkirî, xweřa k'êfkin (EP-1: #57, p. 198)
Let's you and I go to the garden of Torkirî and take pleasure in one
another.

The garden of Torkirî (or the Enclosed Garden) is mentioned in three different

contexts in one story. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say *a* garden of Torkirî

rather than *the* garden of Torkirî. Upon close inspection, it turns out that at least two

(possibly three) different gardens are intended. In the first and third cases, the garden

in question is in Jezira Bohtan, while in the second case, it is in Mukhurzemin, Mem's

home town. How could the same garden appear in two different cities? If we look at

other versions, we find that in ZK-1, for instance, the garden in Mukhurzemin is

calledXas-baxçe[47], whereas the one in Jezira Bohtan is baxê T'ûrkirî, clearly a variant

of the name of the garden appearing three times in EP-1; in FK-1, the order is reversed:

the first garden is **baxê t'ořkirî**, and the second is **xasbaxçe**[48]. We find him using

this same formula in both of his versions of Yusuf and Zulaykha:

"Aqûb, řave em heřin nava baxê minî t'ořkirî, wê derê hewzê minî meřmeř
    heye..." (Bakaev: #4, p. 190)
"Agûb, řave, emê heřine nav baxê minî t'orkirî, wê derê hewzê minî mermer
    heye." (Rudenko: #27, p. 300)
"Jacob, come let's go to my garden of Torkirî [or- to my enclosed garden], I
    have a marble pool there."

Apparently *the garden of Torkirî* [baxê t'ořkirî] is a formula which E'tarê

Şero uses whenever he describes a large, well-watered garden belonging to a dignitary

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[47] cf. Turkish Has bahçe.

[48] Because these texts are orally transmitted, there is no standard regarding punctuation or capitalization. In some versions the names of the gardens are capitalized, while in others they are not. I am preserving the capitalization of the originals which is not always homogeneous.

or ruler. This is an example of what Lord calls a *formulaic theme*, consisting of "the repeated incidents and descriptive passages in the songs."[44a]

The following examples deal with another aspect of E'tarê Şero's style:

Çûn gotne Al-p'aşa, go ... (EP-1: #9, p. 186)
    They went and told Al pasha, they said:

...Bor k'êiimî, dîsa gote Memê, go: ... (EP-1: #36, p. 193)
    ...Bor spoke, once again he said to Mem, he said:

...paşê Qeret'ajdîn gote mîr, go: ... (EP-1: #44, p. 195)
    ...then Qeretajdîn said to the mîr, he said:

In all three cases, the sentence narrates what somebody said, and is followed by a quotation. What is distinctive about the style is the repetition of the word *said* [gote - go] in each case, appearing the first time in a full form [got(n)-] plus a dative suffix [-e] (=he said to...), and the second time in a short form [go] often used in introducing direct quotations. In substandard English, one can hear such analogues to this structure as the following: "So I says to him, I says, ...".

Once again, a similar construction can be found in E'tarê Şero's tellings of Yusuf and Zulaykha:

Roieke Sixir divêje, divê ... (Rudenko: #27, p. 300)
Rojekê Sixir divêje Aqûb, divê: (Bakaev: #4, p. 190)
    One day Sikhir says [to]Jacob], he says:

Ew diçe cem Meyanê û divêje, divê ... Meyane divîne boşe, gerekê xwe
aşkelake. divêje Aqûb divê ... (Bakaev: #8, p. 191)

44aAlbert Bates Lord. The Singer of Tales. Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 24 (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1960; reprint New York : Atheneum, 1968 et seq; reprint Harvard University Press. 1981). p 4 & chapter 4 (pp 68-98).

He goes to Meyane and says to her, he says ... Meyane sees that it is no
use, she must reveal herself, she says to Jacob she says ...

The only difference between the use of this stylistic feature in E'tarê Şero's
Yusuf and Zulaykha on the one hand, and in his M&Z in the other, is the tense of the
verb: in M&Z he tends to narrate in the past tense, whereas in Yusuf and Zulaykha he
narrates in the present tense[49]. In both cases, the same verb is repeated, the first time
in its fullest form [gote, divêje], the second time in its shortest form [go, divê]. Other
examples can be found in E'tarê Şero's repertoire:

Hesenîko:

Xulam usa jî diçine divêjine Se'dûm-beg. Divên: ...[50]
The servants likewise go and tell Sadum-beg. They say:

Heian:

Xweyê malê tê derxist. weki dız xame. gote jina xwe, go: ...[51]
The master of the house guessed that the thief was naïve, he said to his
wife, he said:

Bûk û stûn:

Řokê xasî gote bûka xwe, go: ...[52]
One day a mother-in-law said to her daughter-in-law, she said:

As can be seen, sometimes the present tense is used, while at other times the past tense is. This stylistic trait is far from unique to E'tarê Şero, as the following examples from other storytellers indicate:

Aẍa û xulam:

...dît welḍ ḣalê wî boşe, gote xulamê xwe, go: ...[53]
...he saw that his condition was helpless, he said to his servant, he said:

Kuṛê feqîr:

Yekị gote hevalê xwe, go. ...[54]
Ûne [fellow] said to his friend, he said:

In addition, there are also times when E'tarê Şero says simply *he said* [go] or *he says* [dibê - divê]. This is exclusively the case in the versions of Zembîlfıroş which he himself wrote down. This trait seems to work best in an un-self-conscious, oral context: as soon as an oral stylist is asked to write down a story, he is no longer un-self-conscious, and certain features of his oral style will disappear. This seems to be the case with respect to the narrator's role of introducing direct speech[55].

So far the two examples we have seen of E'tarê Şero's style, the way he describes a garden and the way he often builds up to a quotation, are taken from the prose sections of his narratives. Although Kiparsky finds prose material adequate for oral

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[53]ibid., vol. 2, #6:5, p. 201. The informant is Aḣmedê Mîrazî from the village of Qulîbeglu (now callec Sovêtakanı in the district of Hoktêmbervan, Soviet Armenia. He was born in Diyadin, in what is now the province of Aġrı Turkey.

[54]ibid., vol. 2, #862, p. 207. The informant is Cerdoê Esed, from the village of Sabûnḍ in the district of Talin, Soviet Armenia. His parents fled from Kars in what is now Turkey.

[55]If I am right, then Professor Kurdoev's statement that EP-1 is E'tarê Şero's *written* version of Mem û Zîn is false. See note #(30) above.

formulaic theory,[51a] stylistic clues can also be gleaned from the poetic passages of E'tarê Şero's M&Z. In EP-1, the following two cognate passages occur:

> Qeret'aidîn bi brava hat derda,   (10)
> Selam dane Memê di serda,   (9)
> Hêja bùne çar bra hevîa xeberda   (11)   (EP-1: #39, p. 194)
> > Qeretajdîn and his brothers came inside,
> > They greeted Mem first,
> > They became as four brothers speaking together.

> Gava Memê çû derda   (7)
> Selam da mîr bi serda,   (7)
> Mîr selam e'lêk' veda.   (7)
> Sivik-sivik rabû ji berda   (9)   (EP-1: #43, p. 195)
> > When Mem went inside
> > He greeted the mîr first,
> > The mîr returned his greeting,
> > Rising ever so slightly to his feet.

The first two lines of both passages clearly consist of formulas. Both first lines exhibit the following formulaic structure:

$$\underset{1}{[\text{Person}]} \quad \underset{2}{\underline{\text{came/went}}} \quad \underset{3}{\underline{\text{inside}}}$$

In the first passage, element #1 has the modifier **with his brothers** [bi brava], and in the second passage, the conjunction **when** [gava] precedes the first element. The line is ten syllables long in the first, and seven syllables long in the second passage: the length of the former is explained by its containing the rather long name Qeret'ajdîn (four syllables) plus the modifier **with his brothers** [bi brava]. Moreover, the second passage consists of a series of relatively short lines (7-9 syllables

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[51a]Kiparsky Ibid.

in length), which accounts somewhat for the length of the second occurrence of this formula.

The second line consists of the following formula:

<u>Greeting</u>	<u>gave [to]</u>	<u>[person]</u>	<u>first</u>[56]
1	2	3	4

In the first occurrence, it is nine-syllables long, while the second is seven syllables. Other than this, there are no striking differences between the two. The rhyme is in -erda throughout, with one irregularity: *he returned* [veda] in the third line of the second passage, in -eda. Thus far, two attestations of this formula within the same text have been demonstrated. In addition, the formula occurs in both versions of Zembîlfiroş which E'tarê Şero wrote down in 1933:

I.   Zembîlfiroş diçû derda,   (8)
      Selam da xatûnê serda,   (8)
      Xatûn sivik rabû ji berda,   (9)
      Dest qisê kir û t'ev xeberda.[57]   (9)
                  Zembilfirosh went inside,
                  He greeted the lady first,
                  The lady rose slightly to her feet,
                  They spoke and conversed together.

As in the two passages from M&Z, the first two lines of this passage fit into the patterns for the two formulas outlined above. Line three is cognate to the fourth line of the second passage in EP-1, the only difference being that the first two syllables are [sivik] in EP-1[58], and [xatûn] in Zembîlfiroş. The fourth line ends with their *speaking*

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[56]bi serda = lit. 'at the head'

[57]Dzhalil & Dzhalil. ibid., vol. 1,#10, p 191 and Zh.S. Musaëlian. ibid., #1, ¶18, p 112. The verse is identical in both versions

[58]which are repeated in the third and fourth syllables of the verse, yielding *lightly lightly* = very lightly [sivik-sivik]

together [t'ev xeberda], which resembles the third and final line of the first EP-1

passage. Hence, whereas within EP-1 itself, only the first two lines of the passage are

cognate, the passage from Zembîlfiroş bears comparison to the last lines of both of the

EP-1 passages.

The passage in E'tarê Şero's version of Zembîlfiroş has cognates in other

versions, as is shown below.

    II.   Zembîlfiros hate derda,
           Silavek dabû xatûnêda,
           Xatûnê silav alek veda,
           Go:?"Ser-serê min hatî, ser herdu ç'ava".[59]
                      Zembilfirosh came inside,
                      He greeted the lady,
                      The lady returned his greeting,
                      She said,?"On my head you have come, on my eyes[60]"

    III.   Zembîlfiroş çû derda,
           Ewî silav kire serda,
            Xanûm ji evînya ravû berda.[61]
                      Zembilfirosh went inside,
                      He greeted [her] first,
                      The madame, out of love, rose to her feet.

    IV.   [Dibê: "Zembîlfiroş, k'erem ke jor, xanûm te dixaze".]
           Zembîlfiroş çû derda,
            Ew xanûm bû, rabû berda.[62]
                      [He says, "Zembilfirosh, please come up, madame wants you."]
                      Zembilfirosh went inside,
                      It was madame, she rose to her feet.

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[59] Musaëlian ibid., #2, ¶8, p 117. Collected in 1964 in Tbilisi, Soviet Georgia, from Tafûr Mamûd, illiterate, born in 1862 in Digor, province of Kars in what is currently Turkey.

[60] i.e., "Welcome"

[61] Musaëlian. ibid., #5, ¶5, p 130. Collected in 1964 in the village Koryokhaz Aparansk, Soviet Armenia, from Oko Silêman, illiterate, born in 1891 in Kars.

[62] Musaëlian ibid., #6, ¶2 p 134. Collected in 1964 in Tbilisi, Soviet Georgia, from Şamo Davoev, illiterate, born in 1894 in the village of Mîrak Aparansk, Soviet Armenia.

V.   Zembîlfiroş hatibû ji derda,
     Slavek xatûnê veda,
     Xatûn got:?"Tu ser serî, herdu ç'e'va".[63]
            Zembilfirosh had come inside,
            A greeting the lady returned,
            The lady said,?"You are on [my] head, both my eyes."

VI. Zemîlfiroş hatibû derda,
     Selamek xatûnê veda,
     Xatûnê got:?"Tu ser serî, herdu ç'e'va".[64]
            Zemilfirosh [sic] had come inside,
            A greeting the lady returned,
            The lady said,?"You are on [my] head, both my eyes."

It can be seen from a comparison of all six versions in which this formula cluster occurs that there is another formula which is not in all the versions: *You are on [my] head, both my eyes* = welcome! [Tu ser serî, herdu ç'e'va]. As for the rhyme, [veda] occurs in II., V., and VI. *Eyes* [ç'e'va] represents an even further departure from the rhyme in -erda. In fact, only I., III., and IV. have rhyme in -erda throughout. In II., it is questionable whether one can speak of a rhyme scheme at all: each verse ends in something different, viz. -erda; -êda; -eda; and -ava. A similar situation obtains in V. and VI., with a different ending in each of the three verses. The fairly consistent end rhyme, in this case in -erda, while not unique to E'tarê Şero, is characteristic of his style: in both passages from EP-1 and in the cognate passage from his versions of Zembîlfiroş (I. above), the end rhyme in -erda is strictly adhered to, with one exception: [veda] in the second EP-1 passage. Moreover, the same can be seen in the EP-1 version of the first formula examined in this chapter, under I. Three doves ask God to send down a fourth dove's garb for Zîn. If I am correct in my analysis, it would also explain why the formula *You are on [my] head, both my*

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[63]Musaèlian. ibid., variant Abdala #1, ¶9, p. 141. Collected in 1927.

[64]Musaèlian. ibid., variant Abdala #2, ¶9, p. 146. First published in 1933. Very similar to Abdala #1 (see the preceding footnote)

eyes = welcome! [Tu ser serî, herdu ç'e'va] is absent from E'tarê Şero's repertoire, as

being too deviant from the rhyme scheme[65].

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[65]Another dengbêj, Ohanyan Israel, also employs this formula cluster in his version of Mem û Zîn. An important characteristic of his version is that it is in verse. Hence, this formula cluster cannot be said to be limited to either verse or prose versions of the romance epic. Ohanyan Israel's parallels are as follows

Hate alê odê, silav di dîwanê werda,

Xulam û xizmetk'ar û Bek'o řabûn ji berda,

Memê qûna wî řanebû ji wan cîya û wan e'rda.

    [Then] came to the hall, giving greeting to his diwan.

    The youths and servants and Beko stood up,

    [But] Memê wouldn't get up off his ass.

Go: "Gelî xulama, mîrê me, mîr Zêydîn, silav di dîwanê werda,

Em hemî řabûn ji berda,

Û Memê řanebû ji wan mesk'ena, ji wan e'rda."

    [Beko] said, "O youths, our prince, Mîr Zêydîn, gave greeting to his diwan,

    [And] we all stood up,

    But Memê did not rise from his place on the ground."

Qaweçî go: "Mîrê min Qeret'ajdîn, mîr Zêydîn hat ji derda,

Silav di dîwanê werda,

Xulam û xizmetk'ar û Bek'o řabûn ji berda,

Qûna Memê řanebû ji wan mesk'ena, ji wan e'rda."

    The coffee pourer said, "My mîr Qeretajdîn, Mîr Zêydîn came in from outside,

    Gave greeting to his diwan,

    The youths and servants and Beko stood up,

In continuing to survey the applicability of Oral-Formulaic Theory to Kurdish oral literature, I will next examine the related phenomenon of word pairs (or doublets), which is common to all Middle Eastern languages: Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Kurdish, among others. As for Turkish, G. L. Lewis states in his Turkish Grammar[66] that:"on almost every page of the dictionary will be found nouns and adjectives consisting in pairs of assonant words," a description that is applicable to Kurdish as well. In Robert C. Culley's article:"Oral Tradition and Biblical Studies[67]," he reviews the literature on word pairs in Biblical Hebrew and related literatures (e.g., Ugaritic). The linguist Yakov Malkiel has written a very nice exploratory essay, in which he calls such word pairs *binomials* and discusses this phenomenon with regard to English, German, French, and a few other European languages[68].

The doublets, both constituents always the same part of speech, can be a pair of nouns, adjectives, or verbs, either linked by a dash (when written down) or joined by the word *and* |û|[69]. The paired words may be: a) alliterative, i.e., they may both have the same initial sound; b) synonymous; c) complementary in meaning, e.g., *mother*

[But] Memê wouldn't get up off his ass. (ZK-2, p. 84)

[66](Oxford . Clarendon Press, c1967, 1978), p 236.

[67]Oral Tradition, 1 (1986), 30-65; reprinted in: Oral-Formulaic Theory: A Folklore Casebook, ed. by John Miles Foley (New York and London . Garland Publishing Co., 1990), pp 189-225.

[68]Yakov Malkiel . "Studies in Irreversible Binomials," Lingua 8, ii (1959), 113-160; reprinted in his Essays on Linguistic Themes (Berkeley & Los Angeles : University of California Press, 1968), pp. 311-355.

[69]There are numerous examples of the same word pair occurring in both ways in one and the same text, e.g. in ZK-1, where in the first occurrence of a particular formula, the forms |agir û alav(ê)| and |dil û hinav(ê)| are found, while the second occurrence has |agir-alav(ê)| and |dil-hinav(ê) |. In the following discussion, only pairs of nouns and adjectives will be considered. pairs of verbs will not be dealt with

and father = parents [dê û bav] or *night and day* [şev û řoj]; or, rarely, d) rhyming, e.g., *lions and men* [şêr û mêr], a hendiadys meaning 'courageous men'. It is not uncommon for an alliterative pair to also be either synonymous, e.g., *friends and companions* [heval û hogir] and *servants and attendants* [xulam û xizmetk'ar] or complementary, e.g., *throne and crown* [t'ext û t(')ac]. Such doublets tend to occur several times within a given text (context #2), as well as having parallel occurrences across texts (context #1).

These doublets may modify the meaning of the individual components in several ways, the most prominent of which are: 1) hendiadys; 2) making the meaning exceedingly ornate; or, conversely, 3) keeping the meaning simple. As in the example [şêr û mêr] quoted above, the paired words may form a hendiadys, in which the paired nouns take on the meaning of a noun plus modifier. Some doublets impart a more intense connotation to the constituent words than either of them has when used alone. Hence, [xulam û xizmetk'ar] means something like 'all kinds of servants and attendants', creating an image of a large group of servants tripping over each other, whereas when "xulam[70]" appears alone, it simply means 'servant boy', and "xizmetk'ar" is just a 'servant' or 'attendant.' Likewise [şim û me'sa(ne)] may conjure up an picture of every imaginable sort of footwear, although by itself "şim[ik]" is a wooden-soled slipper for use in the bath[71], and "mel']s" denotes slippers made of yellow leather[72] or prayer slippers[73]. In point of fact however, in the versions of M&Z

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[70]from Arabic ghulām غلام *y (x̌) > x under the influence of izmetk'ar? [Suggested by Martin Schwartz, personal communication].

[71]according to Bakaev's dictionary.

[72]according to Jaba and Justi's dictionary.

[73]according to Izoli's dictionary

in which the phrase [şim û me'sa(ne)] appears, it simply means 'a pair of shoes': consequently, doublets may also convey the simplest   meaning inherent in the paired words.

The following chart consists of the formulaic doublets that occur in version ZK-2 of M&Z. In the fourth column, entitled 'Relationship', **a** = alliterative, **s** = synonymous, **c** = complementary, and **r** = rhyming.

Doublet	Meaning	Part of Speech	Relationship	Number of Occurrences
har [û] dîn	crazy	adj.	s	1
hebs û singdan	prison	n.	s	2
k'êf û ḧenek	pleasure	n.	c	2
k'êt u şayî[ne]	pleasure	n.	c	1
oxir û telek	destiny, fate	n.	s	3
qîz û bûk	girls & brides	n.	c	3
rê û dirb	roads	n.	s	2
saz û sazbend	musicians	n.	a	2
şêr[a] û mêr[a]	brave men	n.	r	2
şim û me'sa[ne]	shoes	n.	s	3
te'jî û t'ûle	hounds	n.	a/s	3
tevir[a] u bêr[a]	shovels	n.	s	1
t'ext û tac	throne & crown	n.	a/c	3
xîf û xalî	desolate	adj.	a	2
xîret û namûs	honor	n.	s	1

xulam û	servants	n.	a/s	3
xizmetk'ar				

In the aforementioned discussion, formulaic doublets were taken from ZK-2, a version of M&Z completely in verse. Now let us consider a version in prose with sung verse insertions. In the following chart, containing selected doublets from the first twelve pages of ZK-1, a sixth column has been added to indicate whether a given word pair appears in a prose or verse context:

Doublet	Meaning	Pt. of Speech	Rel-ship	No. of Occs.	Prose/Verse
aqil û k'emal	brains and beauty	n.	s	2	P-1/V-1
bertîl û bac	taxes	n.	a/s	2	V
ça û qawa-	tea & coffee	n.	s	2	P
ç'ira û şemdane	candles	n.	s	1	V
dest û r̃û	face	n.	s	2	P
de'w û doz	fight	n.	a/s	2	V
eşq û şa	celebration	n.	s	2	P
e'yan û k'ubar	nobles	n.	s	3	P
gede-gùda	beggars	n.	a	2	P-1/V-1
heval û hogir	friends	n.	a/s	3	P
k'oçk û sera	palace	n.	s	5	P-4/V-1

k'urk û libas	coat	n.	s	2	V
lal û duř	jewels	n.	s	3	P-1 / V-2
qeyd û çîdar	chains	n.	s	5	P-1 / V-4
qîz û bûk	girls & bndes	n.	s	4	P-3 / V-1
řeng û řû	good looks	n.	a	3	V
xulam û xızmetk'ar	servants	n.	a/s	3	P-1 / V-2

As the chart shows, formulaic doublets may occur either in the prose section or in the sung verse sections. There is a tendency for a given doublet to be limited to one or the other: in the cases where it does occur in both, however, there is a definite preference for one or the other texture. Of the seventeen doublets in the chart, seven occur both in prose and verse sections of the story: of those, two occur once for each of the two textures (aqil û kemal; gede-gûda), while five display a marked preference for one or the other.

The fact that this type of formula, the doublet, occurs both in verse and in prose textural environments, is problematic for oral formulaic theory. Parry and Lord, as well as all those who have applied their theory to traditions in other languages, have made it clear that the theory is applicable only to poetry. In the case of M&Z, if not for Kurdish oral literature in general, a particular type of formula, the doublet, occurs both in prose and in poetry. Even if a particular doublet is more common in a prose context than in a poetic one, there are cases in which the same doublet can occur in both contexts. If, as mentioned above, the prose versions are paraphrases of a tradition

which was originally entirely in verse, then some of the poetic characteristics may have been carried over into the prose retellings.[74]

Regardless of which of the two textures a particular doublet occurs in, the class of traditional pairs of words as a whole clearly exists both in prose and in poetry. Word pairs that occur in verse versions of M&Z, such as ZK-2, as well as in the verse sections of the prose versions, such as ZK-1 and FK-2, are perhaps the best candidates for consideration as formulaic building blocks. Examples of doublets that occur in both of the above charts, i.e., both in verse and prose versions of M&Z, include the following:

> qîz û bûk
> girls-and-brides

> t'ext û t(')ac
> throne-and-crown

> xîî û xalî
> empty-and-desolate

> xulam û xizmetk'ar
> servants-and-attendants

The doublet *(unmarried) girls and brides* [qîz û bûk], occurs in nine out of eighteen versions used in this study[75]. Both unmarried girls and married women

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[74]It should be noted, however, that some of the word pairs are common in everyday speech. For example, dê û bav is the simplest way to say 'parents.'

[75][SHa-1], [SHa-2], [GNa], FK-2, [BP-2], BP-1, ZK-1, ZK-2, and MC-1. In OM, the same thing is said in another way, using "jin û kiç" rather than "qîz û bûk": this also switches the order of the elements. In Xanî's literary poem, the half-line dûşîze û new'erûs û bikr in [= are girls and new brides and virgins] (second hemistich of line 349) is apparently a literary equivalent to "qîz û bûk." Note that three words are used rather than two, and the simple three syllables are expanded to ten, constituting one entire hemistich in hazaj meter.

share the distinction of being female: this is an example of a complementary doublet,
calling to mind all sorts of women, or women both before and after marriage, the all-
important line of demarcation in the context of a traditional society. This formula is
not limited to M&Z: in a poem attributed to E'vdalê Zeynê recited by E'tarê Şero, the
informant (*dengbêj* for version EP-1, the following verse occurs:

Mîna berê   qîz û bûka   qe   dora xwe   navînim [76].
As before   girls and brides   at all   around myself   I don't see
=I no longer see girls and brides all around me, as before.

In addition, it appears in another story, Dewrêşê E'vdî (Avdi the Dervish), as
told by two different *dengbêjes* Ohanyan Israêl, from whom we have version ZK-2
of M&Z, and E'gîtê T'êcir, teller of version ZK-1. In Ohanyan Israêl's version (Z-29),
we encounter the following:

Hicûma e'wil, emê bavêjinê   ser k'ozê   qîz û bûkê wane,[77]
Attack   first, we-will throw   on sheepfold-of   girls and brides their
=We will launch our first attack against the sheepfolds of their girls and
                                              brides

Hicûma e'wil, wê bavêjine ser k'ozê qîz û bûkê we kîka û we milane,[78]
=We will launch our first attack against the sheepfolds of the girls and brides of
                              you Kîkas and you Milas[79]

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[76] Ordikhane Dzhalil & Dzhalile Dzhalil. Zargotina K'urda - Kurdskiĭ Fol'klor (Moskva : Nauka,
1978), vol. 2, #813, p. 97.

[77] ibid., vol. 1, #29, p. 279.

[78] ibid., p. 280.

[79] names of two tribes.

Hicûma e'wil, li ser k'ozê qîz û bûkanę,[80]
=We will launch our first attack against the sheepfolds of the girls and brides

In E'gîtê T'êcir's version (Z-33), the following verse occurs:

Qîz û bûkê şeherê Bîrê fadivin t'emaşą[81]
The girls and brides of the city of Bîr get up to [watch] the spectacle.

In all the above cases, the meaning is 'all sorts of women'[82]. The three occurrences in Z-29 are cognate, being three manifestations of one formula. The one occurrence in Z-33 is not related to the formula so well attested in Z-29, but rather is cognate to a phrase which occurs twice in ZK-1, and appears to be part of E'gîtê T'êcir's style. The relevant passages from ZK-1, both of which are in prose, are:

... sivê bira qîz û bûkê şeher t'emam bêne baxê T'ûrkirî
tomorrow morning all the girls and women of the city should come to the garden
of Tûrkirî (ZK-1, p. 48)

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[80]ibid., vol. 1, #29, p. 281.

[81]ibid., vol. 1, #33, p. 297.

[82]This formula may be very old indeed, for I have come across an close analogue of it in the Genesis Apocryphon, an Aramaic text that forms part of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In column XX, in a description of the beauty of Abra[ha]m's wife Sara[i] at the time of their descent into Egypt (paralleling Genesis, chapter 20), the expression betulan we-kalan בתולן וכלן, (=virgins and brides) appears [see Joseph A. Fitzmyer. The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I : A Commentary (Rome : Biblical Institute Press, 1971), line 6, pp. 62-3]. The full sentence reads: "There are no virgins or brides who enter a bridal chamber [who are] more beautiful than she." This phrase forms part of a poem which has no direct counterpart in the Biblical passage; the Aramaic text is an apocryphal account of it, reflecting orally circulating versions of the Biblical narrative. The long period of historical contact between Aramaic and the Iranian languages makes it possible that a formula could exist in both Aramaic and Kurdish. It should be remembered that three versions of Mem û Zîn included in the present study are originally in Turoyo, the Neo-Aramaic language of the Jacobites of the Tur 'Abdîn region of Mardin, Kurdistan of Turkey: this bespeaks a shared oral tradition between speakers of Kurdish and of Neo-Aramaic.

Qîz û bûkê şeherê Muxurzemînê, bi evîntya Ñîzkirîna Memê dilê her yekêda,
qol-qolbûbûn,
        The girls and women of the city of Mukhurzemîn, each one with the love of Mem
in her heart, strolled arm in arm (ZK-1, p. 48)

Hence, a word pair such as qîz û bûk may form part of several different verse-long formulas, as in Z-29 and Z-33. Although this use of the term formula more nearly fits Lord's definition, in that phrases of this type occupy only part of a given line of verse, I find it confusing and unsatisfactory to employ the term *formula* in describing both the formulaic phrase as a whole and its constituent parts. If the three verses in Z-29 are three versions of one and the same formula, then qîz û bûk, a fixed element within that formula, cannot be designated by the same term which denotes the verse as a whole. Robert C. Culley[83] makes it clear that there is a debate regarding whether or not word pairs should be considered formulas at all, at least in the context of Biblical Hebrew. In any event, a distinction must be drawn between building blocks, such as word pairs like qîz û bûk which are used in constructing longer formulaic strings, and those longer formulaic strings themselves. Albert B. Lord suggests calling a line or half line that is formulaic a *formulaic expression*, leaving the term *formula* free to designate the constituent elements of the verse; in the context of Kurdish folk poetry as analyzed here, the lack of distinction between a whole line and half line is unsatisfactory. Alternatively, the term *formula* could be limited to the verse as a whole, employing a term such as *formulaic element* or *formulaic phrase* to denote the constituent elements of the verse. The latter terminology has been used in the present study.

In ZK-1, there are two occurrences of a verse that are clearly formulaic, consisting of two (in one case: three) word pairs. They are as follows:

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[83] ibid., pp. 202-4.

Agir û alavê   dil û hinavê   qîz û bûka   disotin, (18)
Fire-and-flames   heart-and-innards-of girls-and-brides   burned
     (1)   (2)   (3)
=Fire and flames erupted in the hearts and breasts of the girls and women,
(ZK-1, p. 49)

Agir-alavê   dil-hinavê   Qeret'ajdîn birava   disotin, (19)
Fire-and-flames   heart-and-innards-of Q. and brothers   burned
     (1)   (2)
=Fire and flames engulfed the hearts of Qeretajdin and his brothers,
(ZK-1, p. 59)

Whether or not the word pairs are themselves formulas in the sense Parry and

Lord have in mind, some of them regularly occur in verses which are formulaic, as

demonstrated above. Others occur with fixed epithets, a context which is also

formulaic. Examples:

lal û dur,   bavê cewahir
rubies-and-pearls,   the father of jewels (ZK-1, twice - verse)

k'oçk û serayê   rengîn
pavilion-and-palace   colorful
=colorful pavilion-and-palace (ZK-1, twice - prose)

şim û me'sê   zêrînje
slippers-and-sandals golden
=golden slippers-and-sandals (ZK-2 and Dzhalil & Dzhalil, vol. 1, #29,
                                                 once each)

This construction is reminiscent of another formulaic convention, that of

proper noun plus epithet. Milman Parry first carved a niche for himself in classical

scholarship by devoting a monograph[84] to the analysis of the technique of formulaic epithets, and Albert B. Lord explains the concept in <u>The Singer of Tales</u>[85] in the chapter on the formula. John Miles Foley refers to these as 'noun-epithet formulas' in <u>The Theory of Oral Composition</u>[86], and gives as examples from Homer:

> "much-suffering divine Odysseus," "swift-footed divine Achilleus," "ox-eyed queen Hera," "Gerenian horse-man Nestor," "goddess gray-eyed Athena," "Diomedes of the great battle-cry" [and] "Menelaos of the great battle-cry"[87]

The literature consulted was unanimous in considering such phrases as formulaic elements: in fact, oral-formulaic theory was largely developed as a way to explain them. The same phenomenon can be found in M&Z, although once again not limited to a poetic environment. Some examples are:

Memê	delal
Mem	the lovely
Zîna	delal
Zîn	the lovely
Memêye	nazik
Mem	the delicate
Zîna	nazik
Zîn	the delicate
Bek'olyê	E'wan
Beko	the troublemaker
Qeret'ajdînê	dîn
Qeretajdîn	the crazy

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84 <u>L'épithète traditionnelle dans Homère</u> (Paris, 1928)

85 (New York : Atheneum, c1960, 1976), pp. 34 ff.

86 <u>The Theory of Oral Composition : History and Methodology</u> (Bloomington & Indianapolis : Indiana University Press, 1988), pp. 23-24.

87 <u>ibid</u>, p. 24. An example from Avestan, like Kurdish an Iranian language, is naire.man ô kərəsāspō- "manly Krsāspa" [see: Christian Bartholomae, <u>Altiranisches Wörterbuch</u> (Berlin & New York : Walter De Gruyter, 1979), col. 1053]

   Al-p'aşayê kal
   Al pasha   the old

  If we see the word pair plus epithet phrase as structurally equivalent to the proper noun plus epithet phrase, then we have a criterion for judging whether or not the word pairs are themselves formulaic. I would argue that whereas the phrase *Qeretajdîn the crazy* [Qeret'ajdînê dîn] is formulaic, the name Qeretajdîn by itself is not; hence, although *golden slippers-and-sandals* [şim û me'sê zêrîn)e] is a formulaic phrase, why should the word pair [şim û me's(an)] alone be considered formulaic? The additional fact that many of the word pairs occur in prose narrative, as well as in everyday speech, strengthens the argument that these doublets should be regarded simply as nouns, perhaps enjoying a status similar to that accorded proper nouns. Therefore, it is my conclusion that word pairs are not formulaic except when they occur with fixed epithets.

  In this section, Oral-Formulaic Theory has been applied to the oral versions of M&Z included in the corpus. A definition for the formula and formula cluster vis-à-vis Kurdish oral literature has been offered, and three different formulaic contexts have been examined, with examples provided for each. The three contexts are: a) one occurrence of a formula per text, with obvious parallels in other versions; b) several occurrences within the same text; and c) one or more occurrences in M&Z with a parallel in some other story. As a corollary to this last context, the style of one *dengbêj* has been scrutinized in the light of formulaic evidence. Although most of the formulas examined occur in verse passages, there are also examples of formulas in a prose environment. Finally, the formulaic nature of word pairs or doublets has been debated, and the conclusion has been reached that in and of themselves word pairs are

not formulaic, although they do appear in formulas in conjunction with fixed epithets.

CHAPTER SIX:

Text
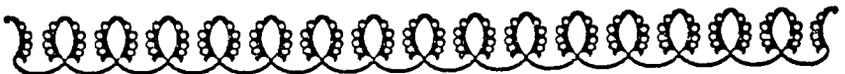
Doves, Jinn, or Angels?: Motifs Exhibiting Variation

In this section, the story of M&Z will be broken down into its constituent parts, and each part will be subjected to comparative analysis based on the range of variation exhibited across the eighteen versions used in this study. The method employed in this investigation is both comparative and structuralist. It is a combination of the Comparative Method (also known as the Historical Geographic or the Finnish Method) and Proppian Structuralism. Breaking the story down into its constituent parts is in keeping with the Russian folklorist Vladimir Propp's methodology: he called these parts *functions*, but Alan Dundes has replaced this with the term *motifeme*.[1] Within each individual *motifeme* slot, indicating what happens in each version at that point is an application of the Comparative Method as pioneered by the Finnish folklorists Julius and Kaarle Krohn and Antti Aarne.

To give the reader an idea of what a *motifeme* is, let us start with an example from Cinderella, a tale familiar to most Westerners. In the version of Cinderella which has been popularized by Walt Disney, when Cinderella leaves the prince's ball just after the clock strikes the midnight hour, she loses one of her glass slippers in her rush to leave. In other folk versions of the tale, she loses a ring instead.[2] Within the motif N350. *Accidental loss of property,* the glass slipper and the ring are variants which fit into the same slot in different versions of the tale. This slot is an example of

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[1]See his "From Etic to Emic Units in the Structural Study of Folktales," Journal of American Folklore 75 (1962), 95-105; "Structural Typology in North American Indian Folktales," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 19 (1963), 121-30; reprinted in his The Study of Folklore (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. : Prentice-Hall, c1965), pp. 206-15; and "The Symbolic Equivalence of Allomotifs in the Rabbit-Herd (AT 570)," Arv: Scandinavian Yearbook of Folklore 36 (1980) [1982], 91-8; reprinted in his Parsing Through Customs : Essays by a Freudian Folklorist (Madison : The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), pp. 167-77.

[2]See Anna Birgitta Rooth. The Cinderella Cycle (Lund : C.W.K. Gleerup, 1951)

a *motifeme slot* and the different items that can be fit into such a slot -- in this case a glass slipper and a ring -- are *allomotifs*.[3] Let us now cite an example from M&Z. At the beginning of the story, Mem and Zîn are brought together by three doves in some versions, by the jinn in other versions, and by two angels in yet other versions. The *motifeme slot* that these three *allomotifs* fill could be termed " *Characters who fulfill the function of bringing Mem and Zîn together.*"

The only other attempt to construct a chart showing correspondances between the various versions of M&Z was by Roger Lescot in the introduction to his composite text (LT)[4]. His chart consisted of six columns, entitled (from left to right) Version moyenne; Mîşo; O. Mann [=OM]; Hawar; Xanî; Mader [=GNa]. "Xanî" refers to Ehmedê Xanî's literary poem. "Mîşo" and "Hawar" refer to two of the three versions included in the pastiche that he created: his "Version moyenne" is the version that he intended to come up with as an abstraction based on all the versions, as if he were dealing with numbers, for which an average could be produced by adding up all the sums and dividing by the number of constituents. Only two of the eighteen versions included in the present study appear in his chart, OM and GNa. Why the other early versions were excluded is a mystery to me. Certainly Lescot knew of PN, PS, LC-1 (and LC-2) and the three FK versions: he specifically mentions some of them in his introduction. The chart is most useful for its comparison of Ehmedê Xanî's poem with the oral versions.

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[3]The terms motifeme and allomotif were first used by Kenneth L. Pike in his Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior (Glendale, 1954; reprinted: The Hague : Mouton, 1967) , by analogy with the linguistic terms morpheme - allomorph and phoneme - allophone.

[4] Les Variantes de Memê Alan," in the introduction to his Textes Kurdes, Vol. 2: Memê Alan (Beyrouth : Institut Français de Damas, 1942), pp. lviii]-xiii.

Kurdoev's article[5] about the folk versions of M&Z and Ehmedê Xanî's version is also a comparative study of the versions known to him (PS; HM; LC-1; OM; FK-2; FK-1; FK-3; EP--1; ZK-1). Differences between the various versions are discussed, but they are neither plotted in a chart nor listed in a table. According to Kurdoev, the Leningrad Department of Kurdology has been planning to publish thirteen versions of M&Z for some time now: this welcome addition to the field has yet to appear as of this writing, thirteen years later.

It is hoped that the following discussion, together with the accompanying charts and tables, will enhance the study of M&Z for kurdologists, folklorists, linguists, and students of comparative literature.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

I.A. Mem.

Mem is known as Mem, Memê, Memo, or Memê Ala[n]; in OM, he is sometimes referred to as Kakeh Mem [= 'older brother Mem'], and other times as Mîr Mem [= 'emir or prince Mem']. Mem is short for Muḥammad, a very common Islamic name. The story itself is known by two different names, either **Mem û Zîn** or **Memê Alan**. The French kurdologist Roger Lescot used the term Memê Alan to refer to the oral versions of the story, reserving the term Mem û Zîn for Ehmedê Xanî's literary poem. Although the distinction is important, the folk use the two terms interchangeably; moreover, there is another well known folk romance which goes by two names: the story of **Xec û Sîyabend** (or Sîyamend), also known as **Sîyabendê Silîvî**. Here, too, we have the same two types of titles: one consisting of

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[5] Derheqa şovêd Mem û Zîna zargotî û şova Mem û Zîna Ehmedê Xanî," <u>Govarê Koî Zanyarî Kurd</u> [=The Journal of the Kurdish Academy], 6 (1978), pp. 78-110.

the names of the man and woman around whom the story revolves (although in M&Z the man is named first, whereas in Xec û Sîyabend the woman's name comes first), the other the man's first name followed by his tribal affiliation.

Mem is an only child in all versions but one (PN), in which he has a twin sister named Aminah, about whom we hear nothing after they are born. Two common noun-plus-epithet formulas are **Memê delal** [= 'Mem the lovely'] and **Memêye nazik** [= 'Mem the delicate'].

I.B. Mem's father (Al pasha)

Mem's father is generally known as Al-Paşa, Alan-paşa (ZK-2), Alan-begê (ZK-3), Alâ (HR-1), Mîr[ê] Alan (PS; HM). This is not his personal name, but rather means the *pasha beg* or *emir* of the Al tribe. Hence, Mem is Mem of the Al tribe, and his father is the leader of the tribe. In reality there is no Kurdish tribe known as Al or Alan[6], however there was an ancient nomadic Iranian in the southern Caucasus people by that name. Al in Kurdish can mean 'a flag or banner' or 'a rock, boulder, or crag' (although this latter meaning is from a source of questionable reliability) and in Turkish, **al** is one of several words for 'red'; there is also an Arabic word âl آل

meaning 'tribe or clan.' To make matters more confusing, the city that Mem comes from is shrouded in mystery: this will be discussed more fully below, under I.F.

In a few versions, Mem's father is given a personal name. In LC-1 (4.) he is called şîrin almâ, which is Turkish for 'sweet apple'[7]. In OM (5.) he is called Brâhîm Pasha or Brâhîm Padishah: Brâhîm is a Kurdish form of the Arabic name Ibrâhîm, known in Judeo-Christian tradition as Abraham. SHa-2 has a King Kachants, an

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[6]-an is an inflectional ending, signifying the oblique case of the plural.

[7]Şirin elma in Turkish.

Armenian name, and PN (3.), which begins the story with a heretofore unidentified folktale, features Yusif Agha as Mem's [Mamuno's] father.

I.C. Mem's mother

Mem's mother is unnamed in nine versions (PN; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1), and is not mentioned at all in seven (PS; HM; FK-2; EP-2; HR-1; HR-2; MC-1). Among the versions in which she is mentioned but not named, in one (GNa) we are told that she is dead, but later on she is alive; in another (EP-1) she is a virgin living at shrine; in PN (1.d.) she is Yusif Agha's female cousin.

Mem's mother has a name in two versions: in LC-1 (3.) she is zâlîxâ xâtun, kâčîkâ qorëišiâne [= 'Lady Zelikha (or Zulaykha), daughter of the Qureishis']. Zelikha (or Zulaykha) is the name given to Potiphar's wife in Islamic versions of the biblical story of Joseph, and Qureish is the name of the tribe that the Islamic prophet Muḥammad belonged to. In ZK-2 (4.) she is known as Têlî 'Işan: this is comparable to Zîn #1's second name in EP-1, Têlî Xatûn [see II.A.3.b.], and to Telli Nigâr, the name of Köroğlu's beloved in the Turkish folk romance Köroğlu. Telli is a Turkish word which originally means 'containing wire or thread [tell],' but in speaking of brides it means 'decorated with gold or silver wire or thread': this latter meaning fits for the three young women in question, as they are all of marriageable age at the time.

I.D. Mem's servant Bengîn

Bengîn, or Bengîneh as he is called in OM, appears in only four of the versions included in the study (OM; ZK-3; ZK-2; MC-1). In addition, he also appears in JA and LT: in the latter he is called 'Begî.' All the attestations are from southern versions, but his absence from PS is striking in this regard. Bengîn accompanies Mem to Jezira

Bohtan in OM, ZK-3, and MC-1 (2.), but stays behind in ZK-2 (3.). In versions without Bengîn, Mem has a faithful companion in his horse Bor, for which see I.E. below.

I.E. Mem's horse (Bor): See also B.III.A. and C.I.

Mem's horse is named Bor in eight versions (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1; MC-1), and Bozê Rewan (or Rewal) in two versions (LC-1; ZK-2). In seven versions, he is not named (2. : PN; PS; OM; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2), and in one version (HM) he is not mentioned at all. In the versions in which the horse is called Bozê Rewan (3. : LC-1; ZK-2), to which we may add LT-Mîşo[8], he is caught by fishermen in the sea, Motif B184.1.3. *Magic horse from water world* In OM (1.c.) the horse is unnamed, but is referred to as **espî bor** [= 'gray horse']. The word **bor** means both 'gray' and 'horse'; as a matter of fact, **boz** also means 'gray' as well as 'a horse or donkey with a grey coat'.

I.F. Mem's homeland (Mukhurzemin or Yemen)

In most versions, Mem's native city is called Muxurzemîn or one of it variants: Şeherê Muxurzemînê (ZK-1); Mukhurzemin (EP- 2); şeherê Mixurzemînê (EP-1); Mukher Zamin (SHa-2); Muxur Zemîn (FK-1); Muxlur-Zemîn (FK-2); Mkhur-Zaman [Մխուր-Զաման] (GNa); Merxebzemîn (MC-1); bâžâre moyrîbiâne (LC-1); Bajarê Mîxribiyan (LT). In southern versions, however, it is known as Yemen (PS; OM; JA) or Bajarê Yemenê (ZK-3). In four versions (PN; HM; SHa-1; HR-1) it is unnamed, although in PN (3.b.) we are told that it is near the land of India. In HR-2 (4.) it is called 'the place of the Ala'.

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[8]See LT, p. 16, line 137.

There is a curious sort of inversion in some versions (PS; OM; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; ZK-2): ironically, no one in Muxurzemîn (or Yemen) has ever heard of Jezîra Bohtan, when in fact it is Muxurzemîn that is a fictional place: Jezîra Bohtan really exists.

By gathering together the various forms of the name Muxurzemîn that appear in the various versions, we are in a position to make some guesses as to the meaning of the word. Zemîn is undoubtedly the Persian word zamîn زمين meaning 'land': this has a native Kurdish cognate zevî [= 'field']. For Muxur- we have the following variants: Mîxur-, Muxur-, Merxeb-, Mixribiyan (LT), and moyribîäne (LC-1). I suspect that Merxeb- is a metathesis of *Mexreb-, which we see in Mixribiyan and moyribîäne , from the Arabic word maghrib مغرب , meaning 'west.' If I am right, the forms Muxur-/Mîxur-/Muxur- would have lost a final -b. An analogous situation obtains in the Kurdish forms mitirb /mit'irp /mirt'ib /mirt'iv [= 'Gypsy'], from Arabic mutrib مطرب [= 'singer, entertainer'], which exhibit the same types of metatheses, -tri- --> -tir- and -tri- --> -rti-: one need only imagine the disappearance of the final -b in the Muxur-/Mîxur-/Muxur- group as a simplification of the consonantal cluster -rbz-, furthered by dissimilation in the labial environment (i.e., the two m's in Muxurzemîn). The Maghrib is the western part of the Arab World, the part of North Africa in which Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia are situated. Hence, Muxurzemîn could mean 'Western land,' or 'Morocco.'

What does this have to do with Yemen? Yemen is a southern land. The Semitic root √YMN means both 'right side' and 'south', e.g. Hebrew yamin [YaMiN] ימין = 'right' and teman [ta-YMaN] תימן = 'south; Yemen'. Apparently, to the Semitic peoples, east was up: when one looked up, one was facing east, and one's right hand was to the south. In any event, Yemen is thought of as a far away and exotic place, as is Morocco: so also India in PN. My explanation, then, is that for the Kurdish peasant,

Morocco in the west, Yemen in the south, and India in the east were equally strange places, and Mem could come from any one of them. Incidentally, this strengthens the argument that the Al tribe to which Mem belonged was not Kurdish.

I.G. Minor donor figure.

The major donor figures, the doves, jinns, and angels who bring Mem and Zîn #1 together, will be dealt with below in B.I.A. : hence, the following discussion will be limited to other, less widespread donor figures. There is no minor donor figure in ten versions (PN; PS; HM; SHa-1; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2). Of the versions which have an initial stage [see A. in Scenes and Motifs], both the three that have a childless man as Mem's future father (2.a-c. : LC-1; OM; ZK-2) and the one with Mem's heroic birth (4. : EP-1) have donor figures. In A.2a-c., LC-1 (2.a.) has the Royal sheikh [šêxî ḥunkāre], OM (2.c.) has Veysel Karanî of Mahidesht, and ZK-2 (2.b.) has Xocê Xizir (Khizir), who appears also in MC-1 as Xidir nebî or Xidir Eylas. Veysel Karanî[9] was a local saint who was a contemporary of the Prophet Muhammad: his grave is a shrine on the road between Bitlis and Diyarbekir. Xizir or Xidir[10], generally depicted as a little old man with a long white beard who appears out of nowhere to help people in trouble, is a *Deus ex machina* figure often identified with Elijah the Prophet in Jewish tradition and St. Elias in Christian tradition. In Turkish he is known as Hızır, and in Arabic as Khiḍr خضر , from a root meaning 'green,' suggesting a connection with

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[9]Also known as Uways al-Qaranî or Wêsulqranî. See M. M. van Bruinessen. "Other saints of Kurdistan," in: Agha, Shaikh and State : on the Social and Political Organization of Kurdistan, Thesis (Utrecht : Rijksuniversiteit, 1978), p. 275-6.

[10]For a monograph in Turkish on the belief in Hızır, see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak. İslâm-Türk İnançlarında Hızır yahut Hızır-İlyas Kültü [The Hızır or Hızır-Elias cult in Islamic-Turkish Beliefs] (Ankara : Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1985), 229 p. For a brief discussion of al-Khiḍr in an Egyptian context [in English], see Susan Slyomovics. The Merchant of Art: An Egyptian Hilali Oral Epic Poet in Performance (Berkeley et al. : University of California Press, 1987), p. 12.

fertility. In EP-1 (A.4. in Scenes and Motifs) the donor figures who are instrumental in Mem's conception are three riders, guides of luck and fortune.

In SHa-2 and GNa, when Mem is intent upon healing Bor's wounds in the transitional stage [C.I.], the doves from the beginning of the story reappear and give Mem one (SHa-2) [or three (GNa)] of their feathers, instructing him to dip it in water and then to rub Bor's wounds with it: this heals his wounds.

When Mem faints after finding Zîn #1's ring on his finger [B.II.A-B.], in ZK-1 his father finds an old man [Kalê zemanê] who tells him what is wrong with Mem and what to do about it. This is not as clearcut a case as the others listed here, as no magic is performed.

II.A. Zîn [#1]

Zîn #1 is called Zîn or Zînê, and her name is oftened accompanied by epithets, e.g. dîlbär zîne or zîna zeîdâne (LC-1), zînê sîttîä bohtä (PS). In some versions she is called Lady Zîn: Zîn xatûn (FK-2; FK-1); Xatûn Zîn (ZK-1; MC-1); Khatun Zin (SHa-2); Stîya Zîn (ZK-3; ZK-2); Sityâ Zîn (HR-1); Yay Zîn (Yaya Zîn) (OM). In EP-1 she has the additional name of T'êlî Xatûn: this is discussed above under I.C. Zîn is supposedly a shortened form of the Arabic name Zaynab, known best to westerners in the Greek form Zenobia.

There are several references to Zîn featuring some form of the word sitî: zînê sittîä bohtä (PS); Stîya Zîn (ZK-3; ZK-2); Sityâ Zîn (HR-1); Sittîye (HR-1). As will be seen below in II.L., Qeretajdîn's wife, i.e. Zîn's elder sister, is often called Sitî: this is the case in Eḥmedê Xanî's literary poem as well. The word resembles the colloquial Arabic way of saying 'my lady,' namely sittî. Hence, in some cases it is taken as the equivalent of xatûn or yay (OM), meaning 'lady,' while in other cases it is a proper name in its own right.

Two common noun-plus-epithet formulas are **Zîna delal** [= 'Zîn the lovely'] and **Zîna nazik** [= 'Zîn the delicate']. It is noteworthy that the same epithets often accompany Mem's name.

II.B. Mîr Sêvdîn, emir of Jezîra Bohtan

The Mîr's name has three main forms: Mîr Sêvdîn, Mîr Zeydîn, and Mîr Zêndîn. Hybrid forms such as Mîr Zêvdîn and Mîr Seydîn also occur, but it is interesting to note that each of these hybrids occurs together with the form Mîr Sêvdîn: in FK-1, Mîr Sêvdîn is Zîn #1's brother, while Mîr Zêvdîn is her father; likewise, in EP-1 Mîr Sêvdîn is Zîn #1's uncle, and Mîr Seydîn is her father.

In LT, the Mîr is called Mîr Ezîn. All of these variants presumably come from Arabic names like **sayf al-dîn** [sêf-ed-dîn] ميـفـالديـن   [= 'the sword of the religion'] and **zayn al-dîn** [zên-ed-dîn] زيـنالديـن   [= 'the beauty of the religion']: Ezîn may come from **'izz al-dîn** ['izz-ed-dîn] عزالديـن   [= 'the 'strength of the religion'].

II.C. Mîr Sêvdîn's relationship to Zîn [#1]

In nine versions (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; ZK-3; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1) Mîr Sêvdîn is Zîn #1's brother, and in five versions (SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-2; EP-2; ZK-1) he is her father. In two versions (GNa; HR-1) there is an inconsistency such that at the beginning of story we are told that Mîr Sêvdîn is Zîn #1's brother, but later on he is referred to as her father. As mentioned above in II.B., there are also two versions in which she has two male relatives with similar sounding names, Mîr Sêvdîn [brother] and Mîr Zêvdîn [father] in FK-1, and Mîr Seydîn [father] and Mîr Sêvdîn [uncle] in EP-1: taking these into account, Mîr Sêvdîn is Zîn #1's brother in ten versions, and her father has a name like that in seven versions.

II.D. Zîn #1's father

As has just been stated above in II.C., Mîr Sêvdîn is Zîn #1's father in seven versions (SHa-1; SH₂-2; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-1). In three versions, her father is an emir, but with a different name: Mîr Zerav in PN; Mîr Şărăf in HR-1; and mîrî 'Azîm in LC-1. In two versions (HR-2; MC-1) it is specifically stated that Zîn #1 is fatherless, and in another five versions (PS; HM; OM; ZK-3; ZK-2) Zîn #1's father is not mentioned.

II.E. Beko Awan the villain

The villain of the story, Mîr Sêvdîn's right hand man, is known both by the full form of his name, Bekirê E'wan, or by his nickname Bek'o or Bek'oyê E'wan. E'wan is an epithet meaning 'troublemaker, schemer.' In other versions he is known as bakôê na;latî [= 'Beko the accursed'] (PS); qumsî-bäkū [= 'Gossip-Beko'] (LC-1); and Bekirê Direwîn [= 'Bekir the liar'] (MC-1). In OM he is referred to in three different ways: Ka Bekir [= 'Brother Bekir']; Bekir Agha [= 'Bekir the agha (feudal lord)']; and Bekirî Mergewere [= 'Bekir the bringer-of-death']. As has been mentioned elsewhere, he is the proverbial Benedict Arnold of Kurdish oral literature. His personality is discussed in the section of Chapter Six entitled Analysis: Is Mem a Hero?.

II.F. Zîn #2: relationship to Beko Awan

In twelve versions (PN; HM; OM; SHa-2; GNa; EP-1; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2; MC-1) Zîn #2 is Beko Awan's daughter, while she is his sister in four versions (SHa-1; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2). In two versions (PS; LC-1) there is no Zîn #2. In a few versions (OM; MC-1; JA) this character is called by a different name, Melik Reyhan or the like.

II.G. Zîn #2: her profession [excludes II.F.3.]

Zîn #2 is a sorceress or fortuneteller [remildar or sihirbaz] in nine versions (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-2; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-1; MC-1). She is the maidservant of Zîn #1 in seven versions (OM; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; HR-1; ZK-2; MC-1). In four versions (SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; MC-1) she is both.

II.H. Maidservant of Zîn #1

In five versions (SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; HR-1; ZK-2) Zîn #1's maidservant is also named Zîn or Zînê: in four of the five cases (SHa-2; GNa; HR-1; ZK-2) the maidservant is Beko Awan's daughter, and in one case (FK-1) she is his sister. In GNa Zîn #1 has forty maidservants, all named Zine. In three cases (LC-1; OM; MC-1) -- four including JA -- Zîn #1's maidservant is named Melîk Reyhan (OM), Melek Rîhan (MC-1), or Reîhan(e) (LC-1): in OM and MC-1 she is Beko Awan's daughter. In two versions (ZK-3; ZK-2) Gule'îş (or Gule'yîşan) is Zîn #1's servant girl. No maidservants are mentioned in five versions (PN; PS; SHa-1; FK-2; EP-2). Maidservants are mentioned, but left unnamed, in six versions (HM; LC-1; EP-1; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2): in HM the number of unnamed servants in two, while in three versions (LC-1; EP-1; ZK-2) there are forty unnamed servants.

II.I. Qeretajdîn

Qeretajdîn is present in all but one version (PN): in that version his duties are shared between the Mîr and the characters Hasso and Chakko, who are the equivalent of Qeretajdîn and his brothers in other versions. In the Armenian translations (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa) he is called Gharatazhdin (Ghara-T'azhdin in GNa) or Tazhdin; in the Russian translation of EP-2 he is known as Karatadjin. The name seems to mean

'Black crown of the religion,' combining Turkish kara [= 'black'] with Arabic **tāj al-dīn** [tāj-ed-dīn] تاجِ الدّين [= 'crown of the religion']. A formulaic name-plus-epithet is qaratāždîne dîn (PS) or Qeretajdînê devdîn (EP-1) [= 'Crazy Qeretajdîn'].

II.J. Qeretajdîn's brothers (* = betrothed to Zîn [#1])

In most versions, Qeretajdîn has two brothers, E'rfan and Ç'ekan: in seven versions (SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-1; EP-1; EP-2; ZK-1; MC-1) it is Ç'ekan who is already betrothed to Zîn #1 when Mem comes onto the scene. E'rfan's name displays the following variation: E'fan (FK-2; ZK-1); Afan (SHa-2); Arfó (HM); Arfo[n] (SHa-1); 'Irfo/'Ärfo (OM); E'rfîn (FK-1); Arfin (EP-2); E'rif (ZK-3; MC-1); E'reb (ZK-2). Çekan's names also displays variation, as follows: Ç'ekan (FK-2; EP-1; ZK-1); Jakan [ᴊᴀᴋᴀɴ] (SHa-2; GNa); Ç'eko (ZK-3; ZK-2; MC-1); [Chakko] (PN); Cheko (OM); cakō (PS); [ḥasan-] čākō (LC-1); Jako[n] (SHa-1); Ç'ekîn (FK-1); Chekin (EP-2). In a few versions, the names of Qeretajdîn's two brothers resemble word pairs. In two cases they rhyme: makō and cakō (PS); Kakan [ᴋᴀᴋᴀɴ] and Jakan [ᴊᴀᴋᴀɴ] (GNa). The first pair, makō and cakō, is a reworking of the pair Hasso and Chakko (PN) [also ḥasan-čākō (LC-1)]. In GNa, it is Kakan rather than Jakan who is betrothed to Zîn #1.

In two versions (PS; LC-1) Qeretajdîn has a third brother as well: mîr mahmūd (PS) and qumsi-bäkū (LC-1). When all three brothers' names are rattled off at once, a rhythmic effect is created: makō, cakō, mîr mahmūd (PS); ḥasan-čākō qumsi-bäkū (LC-1). In the former, the alliteration in m- is quite conspicuous, while in the latter čākō and bäkū rhyme.

II.K. J-1, J-2 (& J-3) are Qeretajdîn's brothers

In EP-2, Arfin (a variant of the name E'rfan) is Zîn #1's brother, and Chekin is Qeretajdîn's brother, who is mentioned once as being betrothed to Zîn #1, after which

this is forgotten: hence this version lacks motif D.II.D., in which Çekan renounces his engagement to Zîn #1. In HR-1 there is no mention of Qeretajdîn's brothers: instead, his son is betrothed to Zîn #1.

In HR-2 Qeretajdîn has no brothers. Likewise in OM, 'Irfo and Cheko are not Qeretajdîn's brothers, but rather princes who, like Mem, have come to try to win Zîn #1's hand. In PN, on the other hand, it is Qeretajdîn who is absent: Hasso and Chakko, the equivalent of Qeretajdîn and his brothers, are the brothers of Mîr Sêvdîn and Zîn #1 in this version.

II.L. Qeretajdîn's wife (Sitî or Perî)

In six versions (OM; SHa-1; EP-2; ZK-3; ZK-2; MC-1), Qeretajdîn's wife is named Sitî or some variant of it: Sitî (MC-1); Stîyê (ZK-3); Setiya (EP-2); Xatûn Estî [Lady Astî] (OM); Sutin (SHa-1); and Stîya E'reb [Lady Ereb] (ZK-2). In five versions (SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1) her name is Perî: Perî (xanim) (FK-1); Khanum Perî (GNa); Perî-xatûn (ZK-1); Xatûn Perî (EP-1); Gul Perî (SHa-2). In HR-1 she is called Bêgî xânim (HR-1), while in three versions (PS; FK-2; HR-2) she is mentioned, but not named. In several versions her name includes a title which means 'lady': xanim, xatûn, or sitî (in Stîya E'reb).

In three versions (PN; HM; LC-1) there is no such character: PN lacks a Qeretajdîn, hence it is not surprising that his wife is also absent; in HM Arfo's wife, who is also Beko Awan's sister, is mentioned.

II.M. Her relationship to Zîn #1

In seven versions (PS; OM; GNa; ZK-3; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1), Qeretajdîn's wife is the sister of Zîn #1 and Mîr Sêvdîn. In four versions (SHa-1; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-1) she is the sister of Zîn #1 only: these coincide with versions in which Mîr Sêvdîn is Zîn #1's

father. In four versions (SHa-2; FK-1; EP-2; HR-1) it is not stated that the two women are related.

II.N. Qeretajdîn's servants. See also D.I.C.

In eleven versions (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; FK-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1) there is no mention of Qeretajdîn's having servants. In five versions (SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1) Çawîş or Chavush, meaning 'sergeant or servant' is part of the servant's name: Çawîş Mêrdîn (FK-1; ZK-1); Badîn Çawîş (EP-1); Chavush (SHa-2); Ghavaz Chavush [Ղավազ Չավուշ] (GNa). Notice that in SHa-2, Chavush is the servant's name. In GNa, the servant Ghavaz Chavush is Qeretajdîn's oldest son. Two servants are mentioned in FK-1: Çawîş Mêrdîn and Badîn. There are other, unnamed servants in four versions (EP-2; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa): SHa-2 and GNa include both named and unnamed servants.

II.O. Zîn #1's homeland (Jezîra Bohtan)

Unlike Mem's native city, the name of Zîn #1's hometown is quite stable throughout all the versions. The fullest form, Cizîra Bohtan, occurs only in GNa (Jezira-Boht'an [Ջզիրա Բոհթան]). Bohtan appears as Bota, Botan, or Bohta. Jezira has a special form in Turoyo: Gzîro. Each of the Armenian versions rendered the name slightly differently: Jzir [(u) Bot'an] [Ջզիր ու Բոթան] (SHa-1); Chzir u Bodan [Ճզիր ու Բոդան] (SHa-2); Jezira-Boht'an [Ջզիրա Բոհթան] (GNa). In two cases (HM; OM) a title accompanies the name: walâtê jezîrê bôtâ [= 'Kingdom of Jezira Bota'] (HM); Şarî Cizîrê [= 'City of Jizîr'] (OM). The city still stands today: it is known as Cizre in Turkish, and is part of the newly formed province of Şirnak, and was formerly part of the province of Mardin. The city was an important center in the past, with a small Jewish community closely linked to the Jews of nearby Zakho across the

border in Kurdistan of Iraq. If one goes there today, I am told, one will be taken to see Mem and Zîn's grave with Beko Awan's thornbush still growing on it.

II.P. Man sent by Zîn #1 to bring Qeretajdîn back (kisses Zîn; carries message). See also D.VII.B. & D.VII.C.

Of the six versions in which this occurs, three of them (PN; SHa-1; FK-1) feature a dervish. In HM, the messenger is a **pajâ** [peya = 'passerby or man']; in ZK-3 he is Zîn #1's baldheaded servant boy [xulamekî k'eç'elokî; and in ZK-2 he is a poor boy who exchanges gold pieces for silver ones, to pay taxes to Qeretajdîn. In LC-1, the attestation is so brief that no messenger is specifically mentioned: all we are told is that

> Zîn took a hodja and dictated a letter to Hasan Cheko [to the effect] " *Ya wallah,* Mîr Zendîn has thrown Memê into prison, come without delay!" Hasan-Cheko and Qaratashdin immediately mounted [their horses] and came asking. (LC-1, p. 43)

It is not specifically stated that the hodja was the messenger, but in any case, a hodja is a religious man, as are the dervishes in the first three versions mentioned above. Only in PN and LC-1 is the messenger not killed.

SCENES & MOTIFS

A. Initial stage : Introductory tale elements extraneous to structure of the story

This stage is absent in all but five versions. In 2., occurring in three versions, Mem's father is unmarried, i.e. without a family (LC-1; ZK-2) or childless (OM). Through magical means, such as the eating of a magic apple, this lack is liquidated, and Mem's father obtains a family. This cluster of motifs appears in several folktales

and romances, such as the story of Shah Ismail[11]. PN (3.) exhibits an unusual accretion: it begins as a folktale and switches midway to what is clearly the story of Mem and Zîn[12]. In EP-1 (4.), Mem is born through an heroic birth à la Lord Raglan[13]: his mother is impregnated by the sea foam; gives birth to him through her mouth; and abandons him on the seashore, where he is found and reared by Al-Pasha. Here, as in 2. above, Mem's father is childless.

B.   Preparatory stage -- Mukhurzemîn

B.I.   Mem and Zîn #1 discover one another

B.I.A. Discovery of Mem and Zîn.

The statistically most common way that Mem and Zîn are brought together is at the hands of three birds, usually doves, although the number and species does vary a bit (1. : SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1; EP-2; OM; GNa; LC-1). [B.I.B.] The ten versions in which this scenario appears are evenly divided as to which of the two lovers the doves notice first: in five, they notice Mem first, and in five, they notice Zîn first. An alternative way that Mem and Zîn discover one another is through the jinn (2. : ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2), who are commanded by their king to bring the two to him, so that he may see if they are in fact as beautiful as he had heard; once he sees them and is convinced of their beauty, he orders his jinn to take them both to Mem's room, where they wake up in each other's arms. In two versions (3. : PS; MC-1), rather

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[11]For a Kurdish version see: "Shah Ismail and Qamberta" in: D.N. MacKenzie Kurdish Dialect Studies-II (London et al. : Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 4-33; also a Turkish folktale, EB Type 247.

[12]The folktale is as yet unidentified.

[13]Lord Fitzroy Richard Somerset Raglan."The Hero of Tradition," Folklore, 45 (1934), 212-31; reprinted in: Alan Dundes (ed.) The Study of Folklore (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. : Prentice-Hall, c1965), pp. 142-57.

than the jinn, two angels bring them together. PN (4.) is once again anomalous: here Mem learns of Zîn through a merchant from Mosul. This closely resembles a Turkish folktale, EB Type 188 Hüsnü Yusuf. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, doves, jinn, and angels are allomotifs filling the same motifeme slot; this is also an example of Thompson's variation type #11 *animals and ogres or demons may be shifted*

B.I.C. Mem & Zîn argue: Who has come to whom?

This motif is absent in two versions (PN; HM). In FK-2 (2.), the argument is substituted by a polite debate. With these three exceptions, the argument between Mem and Zîn is a standard part of the story. Zîn's coming to Mem rather than the other way around implies that she is the pursuer.

B.I.D. Argument resolved by a proof.

The two most common allomotifs for proving their whereabouts are: (1.) They count the number of minarets in the city: there are 366 in Mukhurzemin, and only 66 in Jezira Bohtan; and (2.) Zîn calls her servants, and after no one answers, Mem calls his, and he immediately answers. In two more versions (3. : LC-1; OM) calling someone plays a part. EP-2 (4.) and SHa-1 (5.) exhibit unusual departures from the norm. The whole motif is absent in two more versions (PN; HM).

B.I.E. Exchange of rings and vows; exchange initiated by [Mem or Zîn].

Mem initiates the exchange of rings in only two versions (1.a. : FK-2; PN), whereas Zîn takes the initiative in six versions (2. : PS; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; HR-1; ZK-1). The most common scenario, however, a mutual exchange, appears in nine versions (3. : LC-1; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; ZK-3; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1). Only one version (HM) lacks this motif.

B.I.F. Items exchanged

In fourteen versions, only rings are exchanged. However, in three southern versions (2. : PS; OM; MC-1) both rings and handkerchiefs are exchanged. As HM does not begin until B.III.C., it is not surprising that it lacks this motif.

B.I.G. Zîn #1 tells Mem to come after her

This motif is absent in twelve versions and present in six, of which 1. and 2. include the threat that Zîn #1 will marry someone else unless Mem comes after her. Although not fully developed, this must be connected somehow with Zîn #1's betrothal to Qeretajdîn's brother Çekan [J-2.]. It is reminiscent of Motif N681. *Husband returns home just in time to forestall wife's wedding to another*, which appears in the Odyssey. In allomotifs 3. and 4. Zîn #1 is depicted as playing the coquette, whereas in 5. she seems timidly hopeful.

B.II. It was not just a dream

B.II.A. Proof that Mem and Zîn's visit was not just a dream

Mem discovers Zîn #1's rings on his finger in six versions (1. : PS; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-1), and Zîn #1 discovers Mem's ring on her finger in only one version (3. : MC-1). There are three versions in which both Mem and Zîn #1 discover one another's rings on their finger (2. : LC-1; OM; GNa). It is interesting to note that these same three versions are among the nine versions in which the exchange of rings is mutual: for those three versions, such mutuality is a type of parallelism, perhaps a stylistic feature. There are two versions (4. : ZK-3; HR-2) in which Mem knows that

Zîn #1's ring is on his finger, without having to discover it there. The whole motif is absent from six versions (PN; HM; SHa-1; SHa-2; HR-1; ZK-2).

B.II.B. As a result

In three of the six versions in which Mem discovers Zîn #1's ring on his finger, he faints (2. : FK-2; FK-1; EP-1); in two more (PS; EP-2), no result is mentioned; in one, Mem falls lovesick (1. : ZK-1). Mem falls lovesick in two other versions, one because he knows he has her ring (HR-2), and one without any prompting (SHa-2). Both Mem and Zîn fall lovesick in two of the three versions in which they discover each other's rings (3. : OM; GNa). The result in the one version (4. : MC-1) in which Zîn discovers Mem's ring is that she becomes morose. In SHa-1 (5.) Mem falls in love when he awakes to find Zîn #1 gone: this does duty for B.II.A. (discovery of the ring) and B.II.B. (its result) in this version. In ZK-3 (6.) Mem gives his servant Bengîn an ultimatum that if he doesn't find Zîn #1 for him, Mem will have his head; in this version Mem's father is also given an ultimatum, as will be seen below. In ZK-2 (7.) we have another interesting variation: Mem goes to his father's diwan and tells what happened during the night; he swears that if he is lying, he will go blind and lame, but if he is telling the truth, the judge and mufti will be so afflicted; the judge and mufti go blind and lame, which shows that God is supporting Mem.[14]   This motif is lacking in six versions (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; EP-2; HR-1).

B.II.C. Party in Al-Pasha's garden for Mem to choose bride

In ten versions (eleven counting the footnote in SHa-2) Al-Pasha throws a party for Mem in his garden, and orders all the unmarried girls [qîz] and married

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[14]God revokes his support for Mem later on in this version. See D.VIII.A. below.

women [bûk] in the kingdom to attend it. In four of these versions (2.), Mem is to throw an apple at the girl he wants. This motif, for which cf. Motif H315. *Suitor test: apple thrown indicates princess's choice* is reflective of a custom which is still practiced. In three versions (2.a., c-d. : SHa-1; FK-1; MC-1) he doesn't throw the apple at anyone. In FK-2 (2.b.), he throws it at the wall in anger, and it lands with such force that it bursts into a million pieces. In three versions (MC-1; ZK-3; HR-1), one of which overlaps with the apple motif, Al-Pasha goes out in search of Zîn #1 for Mem: in ZK-3 (3.a.), Mem gives his father seven days' respite to find her, similar to his threat to Bengîn (see B.II.B. above), and in HR-1 (3.b.), he threatens to disown his father unless the latter finds out where Jezira Bohtan is. Whereas in ZK-3 Al-Pasha fails in his task, in HR-1 he stays in an inn where he meets a merchant who has just come from Jezira Bohtan, so he comes back successful in his mission. Perhaps the scenario in PS (4.) is the simplest of all: Al-Pasha tells Mem that he will request the hand of whichever girl Mem wants to marry. The entire motif is absent in four versions (PN; HM; LC-1; HR-2).

B.III. Mem prepares for trip

B.III.A. Mem chooses a horse

In three versions, Mem already has a horse (2. : PS; ZK-3; MC-1). In six versions (1. : SHa-1; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1), Mem chooses a scrawny horse from the royal stables, which he instructs the stablehands to water copiously and care for for a couple of weeks, after which he becomes a fine riding horse, cf. Motif D1868.1. *Nag becomes riding horse.* He names the horse Bor, a word which means both "horse" and "gray." In OM, he chooses a gray horse [espî bor]: here the quality "grayness" replaces scrawniness as well as tying into the horse's name in the other versions. In

two versions (3. : LC-1; ZK-2), Mem's horse comes from the sea and is named Bozê Rewal [or Bozê Rewan], cf. Motif B184.1.3. *Magic horse from water world* In the Turkish epic Köroğlu, allomotifs 1. and 3. are combined: a fine mare from the sea is captured, and is brought to the royal stables; the foal of that mare looks very thin and frail, but because Köroğlu's father, the royal stablekeeper, knows what fine stock it is from, when the bey of Bolu orders him to bring him the finest horse in the stable, he brings him the frail foal; the bey of Bolu becomes furious and punishes the stablekeeper by having him blinded. The method by which Mem acquires a horse in EP-2 (4.) is unique: a mare tells him to go to a ravine in the mountains and choose one of her sons. This motif is absent in five versions (PN; HM; SHa-2; HR-1; HR-2).

B.III.B. Mem acquires items for trip [in order of acquisition]

In eight versions, Mem acquires a saddle and/or harness, suit, and sword, in various orders and combinations. In PS (4.) and ZK-2 (5.) he already owns these items, and they are brought to him: hence in PS, Mem already has both a fine horse (see B.III.A. above) and fine items for his trip. In six versions (1.-3. : GNa; FK-1; FK-2; EP-1; EP-2; ZK-1), he goes to the saddlemaker, tailor, and blacksmith and orders fine items for his trip, requesting them by a certain date. This motif is absent in ten versions (PN; HM; LC-1; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; MC-1).

B.III.C. Mem's parents' reaction to his trip

In five versions (1. : FK-2; FK-1; ZK-1; GNa; EP-1) Al-Pasha tries to prevent Mem from leaving by bolting the city gates and chaining down Mem's horse [Bor]. In three versions (2. : HM; ZK-3; ZK-2) Al-Pasha curses the trip: in one of these (ZK-3), Mem's mother also curses it; in another (ZK-2), however, she encourages Mem to

go.[15] In two versions (3.-4. : OM; HR-2) one or another of his parents asks him not to go, but gives him help in the form of money or a blessing when he actually does go. Only in SHa-2 (5.) does Mem have the blessing of both of his parents. The motif is absent from seven versions (PN; PS; LC-1; SHa-1; EP-2; HR-2; MC-1).

B.III.D. Mem's temporary escorts on the trip: they turn back

In five versions (1. : SHa-2; PS; GNa; ZK-2; EP-1) Mem sends the men home: he prefers to be alone. In three versions (2: OM; ZK-3; HR-1) he does not request their departure, but every day (OM; HR-1) or every hour (ZK-3) one of them turns back, as prearranged with Al-Pasha, in a futile attempt to induce Mem to return. This motif appears in four more versions (3.-6. : PN; LC-1; SHa-1; MC-1), but each is different enough to be classed separately. In three of them (3.-5. : PN; LC-1; SHa-1) Mem's escorts only accompany him up to a certain point, after which they turn back. In SHa-1 (6.) Al-Pasha sends men to frighten Mem, but he eludes them by taking a different route: this is a different strategy by Al-Pasha to achieve the same goal, i.e. to induce Mem to return home. The motif is absent from six versions (HM; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; HR-2; ZK-1).

C.   Transitional stage -- between Mukhurzemîn and Jezîra Bohtan

C.I.   Mem and Bor

C.I.A. Horse talks; Wounds from chains

In nine versions (1. : SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1; ZK-2; MC-1) Bor is granted the gift of speech and tells Mem that he cannot continue because of the

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[15]Note that it is at this point that HM begins.

chains which are still fastened to his legs. [Cf. Motif B211.1.3. *Speaking horse*] The image of a miraculous horse galloping as fast as an airplane, even though his feet are in fetters, is one of the most vivid images in the story of M&Z. In PN (2.) also, the horse speaks, but here he has something different to say: he tells Mem to go home, furthering the purpose outlined in B.III.D. above. In EP-2 (3.) the chains fall off before they leave Mukhurzemin. This motif does not appear in seven versions (PS; HM; LC-1; OM; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2).

C.I.B. Mem stops and treats Bor's wounds

In eight versions Mem stops and treats Bor's wounds. In three of those eight (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa) Mem ignores Bor's complaints for a time, finally giving in. In PN (3.) Mem stops twice: the first time he feeds his horse, and the second time a snake climbs up Mem's leg. The motif is absent from nine versions (PS; HM; LC-1; OM; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2). See also D.VIII.A.

C.I.C. Bor's wounds heal

In five versions (1. : FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1; SHa-1) Mem washes and binds Bor's wounds with a handkerchief, and puts him out in the meadow to graze. In two versions (2. : SHa-2; GNa) the doves from B.I.A.1. reappear and supply feathers which Mem dips in water and applies to Bor's wounds, which magically heal. In one version (3. : MC-1) Xidir, another donor figure, comes to help. This motif does not occur in ten versions (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2).

C.II. People encountered along the way

C.II.A. Mem asks farmer how far it is to Jezîra Bohtan

In twelve versions, Mem encounters a farmer or ploughman and asks him either what the name of that place is, or how far it is to Jezira Bohtan; the farmer replies that the place is Jezira Bohtan (or that it is close by); Mem gives the farmer some gold as a reward for the good news. In seven of them (1.a-b. : SHa-1; SHa-2; EP-2; HR-1; MC-1; GNa; FK-2) that is all that happens. In OM (1.c.) the ploughman is with his son, and they have been sent there by Qeretajdîn's wife Ladî Astî for the express purpose of meeting Mem. In two versions (2. : ZK-1; EP-1) Mem comes back a second time to ask another question: in EP-1 (2.b.), the farmer thinks that Mem wants to kill him and take back the gold, and tries to flee; in FK-1 (2.c.) Mem almost comes back to ask another question, but changes his mind. In PS (1.d.) Mem encounters a gentleman [juãmêreg] instead of a farmer. In ZK-3 (3.) he encounters two different people, one an old man, the other a farmer. In ZK-2 (4.) three people cross his path: an old man (Xizir), a porter, and a miller; Mem asks them how far it is to Jezira Bohtan; the porter says it is still far, and Mem, displeased with this news, frightens him with his sword, for which action he [=Mem] falls from God's favor; the miller says it is near, and Mem rewards him with gold because of the good news. This motif is absent in four versions only (PN; HM; LC-1; HR-2).

C.II.B. Determining where Mem should stay in Jezîra Bohtan

Two alternate scenarios appear at this point in the story: a) Mem meets up with Qeretajdîn; or b) Mem meets up with Zîn #2, the daughter or sister of Beko Awan. In four versions (1.a-c. : FK-1; ZK-1; FK-2; EP-1), Mem encounters Qeretajdîn who is out hunting. Mem successfully intercepts Qeretajdîn's quarry, and they meet, quarrel, and part as friends: Mem winds up being Qeretajdîn's guest in Jezira Bohtan. In one more version (1.d. : GNa) the same occurs, except that Qeretajdîn is not angry that Mem

intercepts his quarry. In ZK-2 (1.e.) Qeretajdîn, Mîr Sêvdîn and Beko Awan are out hunting together when Mem meets them. In three more versions (2. : OM; MC-2; ZK-3) Mem asks Zîn #2 [Beko Awan's daughter or sister] where he should stay (see C.III. below). In PS (3.) he asks the gentleman he meets up with (see C.II.A.d. above) where to stay in Jezîra Bohtan. The entire motif is absent from eight versions (PN; HM; LC-1; SHa-1; SHa-2; EP-2; HR-1; HR-2).

C.II.C. Qeretajdîn's identity is or is not revealed at time of first meeting [with C.II.B.1]

In three versions (FK-1; ZK-1; ZK-2), Qeretajdîn reveals his identity to Mem. In two more versions (FK-2; EP-1) his identity is revealed to the audience, but not to Mem. In GNa (3.) his identity is not revealed at all. This motif only occurs with C.II.B.1.

C.III. Encounter with Beko Awan's Zîn (Zîn #2) [see also II. F.-H.]

C.III.A. Zîn #2 tries to trick Mem at entrance to Jizîra Bota

For the motif of Zîn #2 being mistaken for Zîn #1, see also in D.I.E. and D.II.A.3-4. In three versions (SHa-1; FK-1; EP-1) of the fifteen (1.-2.) in which this motif appears, Zîn #2 has already been mentioned earlier. In ZK-3 and HR-1 (2.), she tests Mem's gallantry by spreading her laundry on the road, in order to see how he reacts: in both cases, he shows his good breeding by making a detour. In three more versions (3.-5. : LC-1; OM; ZK-2) something transpires which is obviously cognate. In ZK-2 (3.) Zîn #1 plays a trick on Mem, and Mem mistakes Zîn #2 for her: this is the only version in which it is Zîn #1 who tries to fool Mem. In OM (4.) Mem deceives himself: Zîn #1's maidservant, called Melik Reyhan in this version, explicitly states that she is not Zîn #1, but Mem insists that she is. In LC-1 (5.) Mem meets an unnamed

girl at the river who claims to be Zîn #1; Mem does not believe her, and guesses that she is Zîn #1's maidservant. The latter three (3.-5. : LC-1; OM; ZK-2) all involve some sort of displaced element in which the common element of intersection is Zîn #2 [Zîn #1's maidservant] being mistaken for Zîn #1. This motif is absent from two versions only (PS; HM).

C.III.B. Place where Mem encounters Zîn #2

In ten versions (1. : SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2), Mem encounters Zîn #2 at a well, fountain, or spring [kanî]. In five more versions (2. : PN; LC-1; OM; FK-2; MC-i) they meet by the river. In EP-1 (3.) Zîn #2 is on a bridge when Mem approaches her. In all three cases, Zîn #2 is near a water source.

C.III.C. Activity Zîn #2 is engaged in

Zîn #2 is engaged in some sort of woman's work. In three versions (1.a. : SHa-1; GNa; FK-1) she is spinning; in eight (1b.-2.a-b. : FK-2; ZK-1; PN; HR-1; MC-1; OM; ZK-3) she is washing; in one (3. : EP-1) she is sewing; and in three (4. : EP-2; HR-2; ZK-2) she is drawing water. If we divide the allomotifs differently, in five versions (1. : SHa-1; GNa; FK-1; FK-2; ZK-1) she is handling wool, and in five (2. : PN; HR-1; MC-1; OM; ZK-3) she is doing laundry. In SHa-2 and LC-1 (5.) it is not stated what she is doing.

C.III.D. Mem asks Zîn #2 where his ring is

In five versions (1.-2. : FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1; SHa-2) (six including the GNa footnote [1.d.]) she claims to have lost Mem's ring accidentally while at the water source. In one (3. : GNa) she says that she left it at home. In MC-1 (4.) this is replaced

by Zîn #2's reproaching Mem for not remembering who she is. The motif is absent from eleven versions (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; SHa-1; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2).

C.III.E. Final words

In six versions (1. : FK-2; FK-1; ZK-1; ZK-3; EP-1; LC-1) Zîn #2 asks Mem to take her with him when he goes. In four of the six (FK-2; FK-1; ZK-1; EP-1) she will go as Zîn #1's maidservant, and in one (ZK-3) as the wife of his own servant Bengîn. In GNa (2.), Mem knocks her down when she tries to prevent him from passing. This contrasts with the two versions (ZK-3; HR-1) mentioned above in C.III.A. in which she tests Mem's gallantry by spreading her laundry on the road, in order to test his reaction to having his path blocked. In those two cases, he acts politely, stepping around her laundry, whereas in this case he behaves violently to being hindered. This motif does not appear in eleven versions (PN; PS; HM; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; EP-2; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1).

D.   Main stage - Jezîra Bohtan

D.I.   Mem arrives in Jezîra Bohtan

D.I.A. Mem's host in Jezîra Bohtan [see C.II.B. above]

Qeretajdîn's house is the most commonly attested place where Mem stays in Jezira Bohtan, appearing in twelve versions (1. : PS; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-1; ZK-3; ZK-2; OM; HR-1). In LC-1 (1.c.) Mem stays with Ḥasan čakô, Qeretajdîn's brothers. Of the twelve versions in which Mem stays with Qeretajdîn, in two he almost ends up staying elsewhere: in OM (1.d.) he originally heads for Beko Awan's house, but finding no one at home, he goes to Qeretajdîn's; in HR-1, Mem first goes to the mosque, where Zîn #2 finds him and takes him to her father Beko Awan's house,

telling him that Beko Awan is Qeretajdîn; when the lie is discovered, he goes to Qeretajdîn's house. In ZK-3 and ZK-2 (1.b.) Qeretajdîn tests Mem's honor by sending his own wife to Mem's room, but Mem acts honorably and sends her away, thereby winning Qeretajdîn's trust. In two versions (2. : FK-2; PN), Mem stays with Mîr Sêvdîn instead: this is not so surprising in PN, because there is no Qeretajdîn in that version; however, FK-2 is anomalous in this respect. In MC-1 (4.) Mem stays seven days with Qeretajdîn, then seven days with Mîr Sêvdîn. In HR-2 (5.), Mem stays first with Beko Awan, then with Mîr Sêvdîn: this is reminiscent of HR-1, in which Mem is taken to Beko Awan's first. In one version (3. : HM) Mem is solely Beko Awan's guest.

D.I.B. Jealousy of Mîr

In ten versions (1. : OM; SHa-2; GNa; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1; PS; FK-1; MC-1) the Mîr is jealous because Qeretajdîn has not been to see him in several days. In ZK-2 (2.) the Mîr is jealous because Mem has opted to stay with Qeretajdîn rather than with him. In LC-1 (3.a.) instead of the Mîr's feeling jealous, he invites Mem to his house along with Qeretajdîn and his brothers. In SHa-1 (3.b.) Qeretajdîn suggests that they all go to the Mîr's diwan, hence the Mîr's jealousy is avoided in this version also. The motif does not occur in five versions (PN; HM; FK-2; HR-1; HR-2).

D.I.C. Servant hit on head by Qeretajdîn's wife with ladle

In five versions (1. & 3. : SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; EP-1; ZK-1) Qeretajdîn's wife hits the Mîr's servant on the head with a ladle when the Mîr sends him to summon Mem to his diwan. In two versions (2. & 3. : SHa-1; FK-1) Qeretajdîn's wife sends a servant to the Mîr's diwan to inform Qeretajdîn that he should come home immediately, because he has a guest. In SHa-1, this motif occurs twice, once in each of the above scenarios. In ZK-2 (4.) Qeretajdîn's wife hits Qeretajdîn himself on the head with a

shoe, for not trusting Mem (see D.I.A.1.b. above). This motif is absent from eleven versions (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; FK-2; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; MC-1).[16]

D.I.D. Mîr Sêvdîn is very fond of Mem

It is explicitly stated that the Mîr is very fond of Mem in ten versions (1. : PN; PS; OM; SHa-2; GNa; EP-2; EP-1; HR-2; ZK-1; MC-1). In another three versions (2. : FK-2; FK-1; ZK-3) it is clear from the context that this is implicit. The Mîr is undecided as to what he thinks of Mem in SHa-1 (3.), and the motif is lacking in four versions (HM; LC-1; HR-1; ZK-2).

D.I.E. Mîr Sêvdîn offers Mem a gift

In three versions (1. : GNa; EP-2; EP-1) Mîr Sêvdîn lets Mem choose his own gift. In another three versions (2. : FK-1; SHa-1; SHa-2) Mîr Sêvdîn offers Mem a whole principality to rule. Whereas in the latter case the Mîr treats Mem as an equal, in PS (5.) he wants Mem to serve as his tobacco and pipe bearer, until Qeretajdîn informs him that Mem is his equal in rank. In OM (3.) the Mîr offers Zîn #1 to Mem, but because Beko Awan has spread rumors that she has leprosy, Mem politely refuses. In two versions (4. : ZK-3; ZK-2) Zîn #2 is offered to Mem, but he mistakes her for Zîn #1, and accepts the offer until the error is discovered later. The motif is absent from eight versions (PN; HM; LC-1; FK-2; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; MC-1).

D.I.F. Mem takes as gift a position [that enables him to be near Zîn #1]

In four versions, Mem requests a position as cook or coffee server in the dîwan (1.a.-d. : GNa; SHa-2; EP-1; FK-1). In some versions (e.g. ZK-1) he had a similar job in

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[16]See the section on proverbial usages in Chapter One.

his father's diwan. In one version (i.e. : SHa-1) he requests to be a *qavuş* [=servant or doorman]. Ironically, whereas in PS in D.I.E. above a position serving the Mîr was considered beneath Mem, in the five versions mentioned so far in conjunction with the current motif, Mem chooses a position which is beneath his social standing: what is important to him is being near Zîn #1, regardless of what job he has. In EP-2 (3.) Mem requests a fur cloak[17]. Two versions in which Mem's high status is preserved are OM (2.), in which he requests to be leader of the hunt, and PS (4.), in which he is given a seat of honor opposite the Mîr in his diwan. In two cases (SHa-1; EP-2) Mem has been advised beforehand by Zîn #1 regarding what to request.

D.I.G. Mîr Sêvdîn stands up when Mem enters

This is present in seven versions (1. : SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1; FK-1), and absent in eleven (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; SHa-1; EP-2; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1). Qeretajdîn presents the possibility that the Mîr will unwittingly stand up when Mem enters the diwan in the form of a wager.

D.I.H. Handkerchief as proof

The Mîr denies having stood up when Mem entered the diwan, but by placing a handkerchief on his seat when he stands up, Qeretajdîn has proof that it happened. It is curious that the Mîr is uniformly unaware that he has stood up. This exhibits the same distribution as in D.I.G. above. Cf. Motif H113. *Identification by handkerchief*.

D.II. Mem gets token from Zîn #1 and wins Qeretajdîn's approval

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[17]An explanation of this is offered in the section of this chapter entitled "Notes on the Different Versions of M&Z Used in the Study," under EP-2.

D.II.A. Mem and Qeretajdîn + brothers sit on balcony; Zîn's caravan passesby

In seven versions (1. : SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-1; FK-1) Zîn #1 passes by with a caravan of pots and pans to wash at the well while Mem, Qeretajdîn and his brothers sit on the balcony and watch; Mem says that he wants to ambush the caravan and collect a tax from it, which angers the brothers, because Zîn #1 is still betrothed to Çekan. In two versions, there is no anger: in OM (2.a.), 'Irfo and Cheko, who are not Qeretajdîn's brothers, but rather rival suitors for Zîn #1's hand, are not angered by what Mem says; in LC-1 (2.b.) Ḥasan čakö encourage Mem to go water his horse at the spring as an excuse to talk to Zîn #1. There are two versions in which Zîn #1 and Zîn #2 are confused at this point: in ZK-2 (3.) this scene is confounded with C.III., when Mem encounters Zîn #2 at a water source before entering Jezira Bohtan; in ZK-3 (4.) Mem agrees to marry Zîn #2 rather than Zîn #1, an error later corrected. The motif is absent from seven versions (PN; PS; HM; EP-2; HR-1; HR-2; MC-1).

D.II.B. Task: Mem must get a token (piece of jewelry) from Zîn #1

In eight versions (1.-2. : PS; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1) Mem must bring back a token of Zîn #1's love for him, or else he will be beheaded. In two of those versions (2. : SHa-1; FK-1) Mem imposes this task on himself. In GNa (3.) Mem has two tasks to perform: a) he must bring stored grain from the town of Sakhlan and fight off an ambush on the way, and b) he must get a gold piece from Zîn #1. In ZK-3 (5.) Zîn #1 writes Mem a letter in which she informs him that he has mistaken the servant [Zîn #2] for the mistress [Zîn #1]; as proof he is to come see both of them in the royal garden. ZK-2 and MC-1 will be treated in D.II.C below. This motif is absent from six versions (PN; HM; LC-1; EP-2; HR-1; HR-2).

D.II.C. Zîn #1 gives Mem jewels she was wearing

In ten versions (1. : PS; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-1; EP-2; FK-1) Zîn #1 gives Mem her adornments (gold coins) as a token of her love for him. The idea of something of valuable being given as a token is preserved in ZK-2 (2.) in a slightly different context: Qeretajdîn gives Beko Awan two gold pieces as a token of Mem's betrothal to Zîn #2. In MC-1, Zîn #1 throws two bouquets into the air, one red and one yellow; if Mem catches the red one, they will achieve their goal in this world; if he catches the yellow one, they will achieve their goal in the next world; he catches the yellow one. The yellow bouquet is a token of Mem and Zîn's union, just as the gold coins from Zîn #1's adornments are: the gold coins Qeretajdîn gives Beko Awan (for the wrong Zîn) also symbolize such a union, but between Mem and Zîn #2. This motif is absent in six versions (PN; HM; LC-1; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2).

D.II.D. Çekan renounces his betrothal to Zîn #1, gives her to Mem (with II.J & II.K of Dramatis Personae)

In six versions (1. : SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; EP-1; FK-1; ZK-1) Çekan renounces his betrothal to Zîn #1, giving her to Mem. In two of the six (1.c. : SHa-2; ZK-1) Çekan objects first, but ultimately renounces his claim on Zîn #1. As allomotifs to this, in OM (3.) 'Irfo and Cheko, rival suitors for Zîn #1's hand, renounce their intention to pursue Zîn #1, and in HR-1 (2.) Qeretajdîn nullifies his son's engagement to Zîn #1, both so that Mem may have her. In a similar vein, in ZK-2 (5.) Mem renounces his engagement to Zîn #2. Çekan's renunciation of his engagement to Zîn #1 signals that Mem has won complete acceptance by Qeretajdîn and his brothers: in FK-2 (4.) it is this result that appears in place of Çekan's renunciation. This bears comparison with another way in which Mem wins the approval of Qeretajdîn, in D.I.A.b. above: Qeretajdîn tests Mem by having his own wife adorn herself, then sending her to tempt

Mem; when he learns that Mem has sent her away, i.e. renounced any claim on her, he wins Qeretajdîn's total trust and support. Both in the present scene and in D.I.A.b., a man's foregoing of a claim on a woman is connected with earning approval at the hands of another man. This motif is absent in eight versions (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-2; MC-1). Cf. Motif P311. *Sworn brethren*

D.III. Hunting expedition (#2); Mem's feigned illness

D.III.A. Hunting expedition (#2)

This motif occurs in some form in all versions. In seventeen out of eighteen cases, it is a hunting expedition that Mîr Sêvdîn invites all the able-bodied men to join him in: the point at which this section occurs varies greatly from version to version. In SHa-2 (3.) both a hunting expedition and a jireed match (similar to a jousting tournament) take place. In ZK-3 (2.) only the jireed match takes place.

D.III.B. Mem's feigned illness

There are two major realizations of this motif: a) Mem stays home; b) Mem sets out with the others, but comes back early. In eleven versions (1. : PS; HM; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-1; MC-1) Mem does not go on the hunting expedition at all, claiming illness as the reason. In four cases, his feigned illness is his own idea (SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; MC-1); in four cases, it is Zîn #1's idea (OM; SHa-1; EP-2; EP-1); in one case it is suggested to Zîn #1 by Beko Awan (ZK-1); in two cases Qeretajdîn is in on the idea (HM; PS). In three versions (2. : LC-1; ZK-2; HR-1) Mem sets out with the other men, then turns around and comes back: in ZK-2 (2.a.) this is due to a headache; in LC-1 (2.b.) Hasan čakô send Mem home; and in HR-1 (2.c.) Mem goes against Qeretajdîn's will by turning back. In the two jireed matches, each occurrence has a

slightly different outcome: in ZK-3 (3.a.) Mem falls from his horse, as suggested to him by Qeretajdîn; in SHa-2 (3.b.) Mem hides under his horse, as suggested to him by the horse himself. The entire motif is absent in three versions (PN; FK-2; HR-2).

D.III.C. Purpose of hunting expedition (#2)

In three versions, the purpose of the hunting expedition is to test Mem's manliness (1. : SHa-1; FK-1; HR-1). In FK-1 (1.b.) it is stated that he may have Zîn #1 if he is manly enough. In HR-2 (2.) the purpose is to get everyone to leave for a while, so that Mem and Zîn #1 can be alone together. In GNa (3.) Beko Awan plans to do away with Mem during the hunt, and to make it look like an accident. In the remaining thirteen versions (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; SHa-2; FK-2; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1; ZK-2; MC-1) no specific purpose is mentioned.

D.III.D. Site of Mem and Zîn #1's rendez-vous

In ten versions (PN; PS; HM; OM; ZK-3; ZK-2; MC-1; LC-1; HR-1; HR-2), Mem and Zîn meet in the diwan of the palace. Although the diwan generally belongs to the Mîr, in LC-1 (1.b.) it is the diwan of Ḥasan čako, and in HR-1 (1.c.) it is the diwan of Sitt îye Zîn. In HR-2 (1.d.) the location is more generalized, taking place in the palace. In eight versions (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; FK-2; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-1) Mem and Zîn's tryst takes place in the Mîr's garden. The diwan variant seems to occur in southern versions, the garden variant in the north.

D.III.E. Reason why the hunting expedition (#2) is cut short

There are four versions (PN; HM; LC-1; OM) in which the hunt is not cut short, but rather comes to a normal end, at which time the participants return home. In the remaining fourteen versions, however, the hunt comes to an early end, for one of

three reasons: a) due to inclement weather (PS; SHa-1; ZK-1; SHa-2; FK-1; EP-1); b) due to the machinations of Beko Awan (HR-2; EP-2; HR-1; GNa; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-2); or c) because the Mîr does not want to go hunting without Mem (MC-1).

In the first instance, there is a connection between hunting and rain- or hailstorms. In olden times, it was believed that if one went out hunting, this could cause it to start raining. We see this in the Mu'allaqah (pre-Islamic Arabic ode) of Imru' al-Qays, in which it begins to rain while he is out hunting[18]. So also here, while the hunters are out hunting, a rainstorm (PS; SHa-1; ZK-1) or hailstorm (SHa-1; FK-1) suddenly appears, or else Beko the villain suggests that it will soon rain (EP-1), forcing the hunters to seek shelter in the Mîr's garden at the edge of the city, where Mem and Zîn just happen to be having a tryst. The storm is generally connected with D.III.D2., i.e. the garden rather than the diwan as the place of Mem and Zîn's rendez-vous: in only one version (PS) do they return to the diwan because of a rainstorm. EP-1 forms a link between the rainstorm allomotif and the allomotif of Beko Awan's interference, because he says "My mîr, it will rain a lot, let us ride to your garden of Torkirî and dismount. I just saw two young fawns in your garden. We can capture them, and make a meal out of them, until the rain stops."

Beko Awan's manipulations take many different forms: in HR-2 (2.a.) everyone turns back simply because of Beko Awan's suggestion that they do so; in EP-2 (2.b.), he slanders Mem; in HR-2 (2.c.) he claims that the hounds cannot follow the scent. It is interesting to note that in some versions (e.g., ZK-1) Beko Awan stays behind to spy on Mem and Zîn: in such a case the rainstorm performs the function that Beko Awan does here. In three versions (GNa; FK-2; EP-1) Beko Awan tells the Mîr that the deer to be hunted are in the garden: the deer are a reference to Mem and

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[18]This idea originally comes from Professor James Monroe, Department of Comparative Literature, University of California, Berkeley

Zîn. This scenario is connected with the tryst in the garden [D.III.D.2.], whereas the following occurs only in connection with the tryst in the diwan [D.III.D.1.]. In ZK-3 and ZK-2 (2.e.) Beko Awan makes a bet with his men to pursue him to Mîr Sêvdîn's diwan with instructions that if they overtake him (=Beko Awan), they must kill him: putting his life at stake in this manner forces Beko Awan to ride very quickly to reach the diwan [19].

The Mîr's desire to call off the hunt since Mem is not coming along (3. : MC-1) is another indication of the Mîr's fondness for Mem (see D.I.D.).

D.IV. Mem and Zîn #1 are in trouble[20]

D.IV.A. Mem and Zîn #1 almost discovered; Zîn hides under Mem's coat

In eight versions (PS; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; EP-2; ZK-3; MC-1) Mem initiates the hiding of Zîn #1 under his coat. In six versions (PN; FK-2; FK-1; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1), or seven if we include EP-1 (3.), the hiding is initiated by Zîn #1. In three versions (HM; LC-1; ZK-2) it is not stated who the initiator is. If we compare this motif with B.I.E. *Exchange of rings and vows* above, in which the exchange is initiated by Mem (KF-2; PN), Zîn #1 (PS; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; HR-1; ZK-1), or is mutual (LC-1; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; ZK-3; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1), the following results emerge: a) in no one version is Mem the initiator in both cases; b) in three versions (FK-1; HR-1; ZK-1) Zîn is the initiator in both cases; c) in six versions (OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; ZK-3; MC-1) there is a mutual exchange of rings and vows in B.I.E. coupled with hiding initiated by Mem in D.IV.A; d) in two versions (PS; EP-2) B.I.E. is initiated by Zîn #1, while

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[19] and not the garden!

[20] The Israel Folktale Archives has a Yemenite Jewish folktale which is very similar to this whole scene. It was collected in Israel in 1959 by Heda Jason from Yafet Shvili. The archival number of the tale is IFA 1292. Special thanks to Heda Jason for this reference.

D.IV.A. is initiated by Mem. These statistics render it difficult to come up with a clear pattern regarding whether Zîn #1 or Mem takes more initiative in particular versions: statistically, the most common correlation is for Mem and Zîn to conduct a mutual exchange of rings in B.I.E., and for Mem to initiate hiding Zîn #1 under his coat in D.IV.A.; the next most common correlation is for Zîn #1 to initiate in both cases. There seems to be no clearcut geographical distribution of these motifs, as northern versions appear in both of the aforementioned scenarios.

D.IV.B. Word for Mem's cloak

There are basically four different names given to Mem's cloak: a) fur; b) cloak; c) overcoat; and d) animal hide. 'Fur' occurs in nine versions (PN; HM; LC-1; FK-2; ZK-3; ZK-2; FK-1; EP-1; GNa), including the word pair k'urk û libas/livas [fur and garment] in FK-1 and EP-1, and the Armenian word mushtak մուշտակ in GNa. 'Cloak' occurs as the Arabic loanword 'abā عبا [cloaklike wrap] in three versions (MC-1; HR-1; EP-2), including one Turoyo (Neo-Aramaic) version, and one version for which only the Russian translation of the Kurdish original exists.[21] 'Overcoat' (qap'ût in Kurdish) occurs in another three versions (ZK-1; HR-2; SHa-2), including a Turoyo version and a version for which we have only the Armenian translation of the Kurdish original.[22] In two southern versions, one in the Southern Kurmanji dialect of Zakho (PS) and one in Mukri [Sorani] (OM), the term 'animal hide' occurs, appearing as kavi:l in PS and káu† in OM.

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[21] Although we cannot be completely sure what the original Kurdish term was in this version, the Russian translation has voĭlochnaia aba войлочная аба - 'felt cloak' (EP-2). The Armenian term (SHa-1) farach փարաջ may also mean 'cloak '

[22] Although we cannot be completely sure what the original Kurdish term was in this version, the Armenian translation has verark վերարկ - 'overcoat' (SHa-2).

D.IV.C. Mem fails to stand up when Mîr Sêvdîn enters

This scene includes a disrespectful act -- a sin of omission rather than of commission -- on Mem's part. In twelve versions (PN; PS; SHa-1; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2), Mem remains seated when the Mîr enters the diwan. In three more versions, similar scenarios occur: in ZK-3 (3.) Mem fails to stand up and vacate Mîr Sêvdîn's seat when the latter enters; in MC-1 (4.) Mem is about to stand up, but Zîn #1 tells him that if he does, he will disgrace her; and in HM (2.) Mem fails to greet Mîr Sêvdîn when the latter enters the diwan. SHa-2 (5.) is unique, because in it Mem actually stands up, but he bows sluggishly, which is considered disrespectful, judging by Beko Awan's comments. The motif is not mentioned in two versions (LC-1; OM): considering how fully most scenes are described in OM, the absence of this one is particularly notable.

D.IV.D. Mîr Sêvdîn's reaction

In ten versions, Mîr Sêvdîn's reaction to Mem's lack of respect is one of anger: in eight versions (SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-1; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2), his reaction is immediate, while in two (PN; FK-2) it is delayed. In HM (1.b.), Mîr Sêvdîn is shocked or surprised [ajebbû] by this. In one version (3. : EP-2) Mîr Sêvdîn is not angered, and in six versions (PS; LC-1; OM; GNa; EP-1; MC-1) Mîr Sêvdîn's reaction is not mentioned.

D.IV.E. Beko Awan's interference

In eight versions (PN; PS; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-1; ZK-2) Beko Awan comments on Mem's failure to get up, in an attempt to get Mem into deep trouble by publicly drawing attention to his failings. In three versions (2. : FK-1; ZK-1; MC-1), one

of which (ZK-1) overlaps with the preceding allomotif (1.), Beko Awan lights a fire right beside Mem (and Zîn #1), so that they sweat and will eventually have to get up and move[23]. I believe that the insertion of a fire at this point is somehow connected with Qeretajdîn's burning down his house (see D.V.B. below). In another three versions (3. : SHa-1; EP-1; ZK-1), Beko Awan exploits religiosity, by suggesting that they all stand up and pray to God (SHa-1; ZK-1), or, in a version which overlaps once again with the first allomotif (1.), that Mem stand up and pray to God (EP-1). Both allomotifs 2. and 3. share the idea of doing something to try to force Mem to stand up and publicly reveal Zîn #1's hiding place. In one version (EP-2), Beko Awan is the butt of the Mîr's anger rather than Mem, in that Mîr Sêvdîn says that it is Beko Awan who has tricked him. This motif is absent from six versions (HM; LC-1; OM; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2).

D.V. Qeretajdîn's sacrifice

D.V.A. Qeretajdîn sees Zîn #1's hair sticking out from under Mem's coat, and understands

In five versions (six including the footnote to SHa-2) Qeretajdîn notices Zîn #1's braids (1.a. : SHa-2 [footnote #26]; GNa; FK-1; EP-2; HR-2; ZK-1). In one version (1.c. : EP-1), which furnishes a link to allomotif 2., Mem rearranges Zîn #1's braids, and Qeretajdîn notices. In six versions (seven including the footnote in SHa-2), Mem takes an active role in letting Qeretajdîn see Zîn #1's braids sticking out from under his coat (2. : PS; SHa-1; SHa-2 [footnote #26]; ZK-3; HR-1; ZK-2; MC-1): in all but one, Mem shows Zîn #1's braids to Qeretajdîn, while in HR-1 (2.b.), Mem signals Qeretajdîn with

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[23]This is reminiscent of Mem and Zîn's sweating in the grave [E.II.B.1.c (FK-1)].

his eyes[24]. The remaining variations are single occurrences: in OM (3.) it is Zîn #1 herself who shows Qeretajdîn her braids; in FK-2 (4.), in what I consider a displaced element, Beko Awan shows Zîn #1's braids to Mîr Sêvdîn. In LC-1 (1.b.), there is a curious allomotif in which Hasan čâkô & Qeretajdîn notice a woman's skirt sticking out from under Mem's coat, but don't know if it belongs to Mîr Sêvdîn's sister or wife, or to Hasan's wife. The element of intersection -- if I may use my newly-coined term in this fashion -- between this and the preceding allomotifs is that both a woman's hair and her skirt are sexually diverting to many a heterosexual male.

There are two versions which lack the motif of something sticking out from underneath Mem's coat. They are PN (5.), in which Hasso and Chakko instinctively know that Zîn #1 is hiding behind Mem, without any further explanation being offered, and HM (6.), in which Qeretajdîn tries unsuccessfully to warn Mem and Zîn that Mîr Sêvdîn is coming by making noise outside the dîwan: in this version it was Qeretajdîn who suggested that Mem feign illness, so he knew of Mem and Zîn #1's rendez-vous ahead of time.

D.V.B. Qeretajdîn causes diversion; heroic rescue by Qeretajdîn; Items sacrificed:

The heroic nature of Qeretajdîn's sacrifice is discussed in the section entitled **Analysis: Is Mem a Hero?** In all but two versions (HM; FK-2), Qeretajdîn's house is set on fire to create a diversion which will enable Mem and Zîn to disengage themselves from their precarious situation. In eleven of the sixteen cases in which Qeretajdîn's house burns down, another item is sacrificed as well (PN; PS; LC-1; OM; SHa-1; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-3; HR-2; ZK-1; MC-1); in two cases (HR-1; ZK-2), two other items are sacrificed. To put it differently, there are only three versions (SHa-2; GNa; EP-2) in

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[24]Because the narrative is interrupted at this point, it is impossible to say what Mem's next action would have been.

which only the house is sacrificed. In HM, there are two sacrifices, one of his brother Arfo's wife and child, the other of Mîr Sêvdîn's horse and tent, but Qeretajdîn's house is not burnt down in this version.

Other items sacrificed include: a) Qeretajdîn's child (2. : PS; FK-1; ZK-1; SHa-1; MC-1; EP-1; OM); b) Qeretajdîn [or Hasso]'s wife (#.a-b. : PN; HR-2); c) Qeretajdîn's wife and child (3.c-d. : ZK-3; HR-1; ZK-2), or his brother Arfo's wife and child (HM); and d) horses (4. : HR-1; ZK-2; LC-1; HM). In the case of Qeretajdîn's child being sacrificed (2.), there are three versions in which the cradle is mentioned rather than the child itself (SHa-1; MC-1; EP-1), and one in which it is unclear if he is actually sacrificed, but his mother is ready to sacrifice him (OM). In PN (3.a.) Hasso's wife is shot, while in HR-2 Qeretajdîn's wife is run through with a sword. In three versions (ZK-3; HR-1; ZK-2) Qeretajdîn chases after his wife with their child strapped to her breast: in all three it is left unclear whether or not they are actually killed; in HM, Qeretajdîn's brother Arfo sacrifices his wife, who happens to be Beko Awan's sister in this version: hence this is a jab at Beko Awan as well.

Horses are sacrificed in four versions (4. : HR-1; ZK-2; LC-1; HM); in the first two they are burnt, while in LC-1 they are killed with a sword. In his movie "Yol," the late Yılmaz Güney makes an implied comparison between women and horses: Seyit's wife, who is kept prisoner in the horse stable because she was caught selling her body while Seyit was in prison, dies in the snow while walking with Seyit from her father's village to the local town. Earlier, on the way to see her from that same town, Seyit had to shoot the horse he had set out with, because it could not endure the severe cold and deep snow. Shortly before she succumbs, Seyit's wife passes beside the carcass of the horse, and it is implied that both she and the horse share a common fate – to be servants to men, to die in the snow, etc. This detail from outside the story of Mem Û Zîn may explain how a woman and a horse may be functional equivalents, occupying

the same motifeme slot in different versions of the same tale. In HM, the horse belongs to Mîr Sêvdîn; consequently, this is a blow to the Mîr, parallel to the blow to Beko Awan inherent in his sister's being killed.

D.V.C. Items rescued:

In eight versions (PN; HM; LC-1; OM; FK-2; EP-2; HR-2; ZK-2) no items are saved at all. In the remaining ten versions, the following items are rescued: a) books; b) horses; and c) a child or child's cradle. In four out of five cases (1.a. : PS; SHa-2; ZK-3; MC-1), the rescued book is the Koran (Qur'ān), the holy book of Islam; the fifth occurrence, by a Jacobite Christian Turoyo speaker, has simply 'book': it is not surprising that a Christian would not speak of the Koran. In four versions (2. : FK-1; ZK-3; SHa-2; SHa-1) horses are rescued: in FK-1 and ZK-3 (2.a.) a single horse; in SHa-2 (2.b.) Mem's horse Bor, and in SHa-1 (2.c.) three horses. In GNa, Qeretajdîn orders the rescue of six horses, but his wife leaves them to be burned.

The phenomenon of Qeretajdîn's ordering the rescue of someone, which is then overturned by his wife, occurs in five versions (3.b-c. : PS; SHa-1; GNa; EP-1; ZK-1) with regard to the rescue of their children. In three versions (3.b. : PS; SHa-1; GNa) Qeretajdîn orders the rescue of the child's cradle, but his wife leaves it to be burned; in EP-1 (3.b.) Qeretajdîn orders the rescue of four golden cradles[25], but his wife leaves them to be burned; and in ZK-1 (3.c.) Qeretajdîn orders his son's rescue, but his wife leaves him to be burned. In two more versions (SHa-2; ZK-3) a child's cradle is rescued.

D.V.D. Beko Awan interferes: tells Mîr Sêvdîn "it's nothing," thereby forcing Qeretajdîn to sacrifice yet another precious item, in hopes of getting Mîr Sêvdîn to leave the diwan and come see

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[25] if bormotk means "cradle."

In five versions (HM; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2) is it necessary for Qeretajdîn to resort to a second or even a third diversion *due to Beko Awan's interference*. In three cases (1. : HM; HR-2; ZK-3) Qeretajdîn has to cause a second diversion; in ZK-3 (1.b.), the same occurs, but Mîr Sêvdîn strikes Beko Awan as a result. In two versions (ZK-2; HR-1) Qeretajdîn feels forced to cause a second and third diversion; in HR-1 (2.b.) in addition Beko Awan is struck by the Mîr for saying that nothing is wrong.

D.V.E. Mem extinguishes flames of Qeretajdîn's manor

This motif occurs in three versions (GNa; EP-1; ZK-1). In GNa (1.a.) Mem extinguishes the flames with the hem of his garment and saves Qeretajdîn's infant son from burning to death. In EP-1 and ZK-1 (1.b-c.) Mem puts the fire out with a handkerchief; in EP-1 he sings to the fire, saying that if his and Zîn #1's love for each other is divinely inspired, it will put the fire out: this is a proof test similar to the one in ZK-2 [B.II.B.7.] in which the judge's and mufti's becoming blind and lame furnishes proof that Mem's encounter with Zîn #1 was not just a dream.

D.VI. Mem and Mîr Sêvdîn's game; Mem's imprisonment

D.VI.A. Game between Mem and Mîr

In thirteen versions, Mem and the Mîr play a board game: chess in ten versions (1.a-b. : PS; HM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-1; MC-1), checkers in two versions (1.c-d. : ZK-2; LC-1), and backgammon in one version (1.e. : OM). This provides a piece of Kurdish realia, for the Kurds are famous for their skill in chess. In two versions (2. : ZK-3; HR-2), Mem and the Mîr play cards. EP-2 (3.) is unique for its arrow shooting contest. The entire contest is absent in two versions (PN; HR-1).

D.VI.B. Terms of game

In eight versions (1. : HM; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; SHa-1; HR-2; ZK-1; FK-2), the terms of the game are focused on Mem, rather than equally balanced between Mem and the Mîr, as follows: in four versions (1.a. : HM; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1) if Mem wins, he may marry Zîn #1; if he loses, he will be thrown into prison. In one each, a) if Mem wins, he may marry Zîn #1; if he loses, he will lose his head (1.b. : SHa-1); b) If Mem wins, he may marry Zîn #1; if he loses, he will either lose his head or be thrown into prison (1.c. : HR-2); c) If Mem wins, he may ask for whatever he wants; if he loses, he will be thrown into prison (1.d. : ZK-1); d) If Mem loses, he will be thrown into prison (1.e. : FK-2). In one version (2.b. : EP-1), the terms are different for the Mîr than they are for Mem: if Mîr Sêvdîn wins, he may ask whatever he likes of Mem [şendibxwaz]; but if Mem wins, he may marry Zîn #1. The terms are equal for both players in four versions (2.a. : EP-2; ZK-3; ZK-2; MC-1): whoever wins may ask what he likes of the loser, a practice known as şendibxwaz in Kurdish. In PS (3.) whoever loses must tell the winner who his beloved is: although this does not seem to be in line with the other versions, a consideration of its occurrence as a separate motif in several versions [see D.VIII.B. below] reveals that the consequences of Mem's revealing that he is in love with Zîn #1 could produce the same consequences as losing the game: it could land him in jail. In LC-1 (4.) this is replaced by Mîr Sêvdîn's asking Mem how he can be overpowered; Mem replies: a) by chains, but Mem breaks them; b) by the hair of a horse's tail. The end result of this is similar to the others, as it leads to Mem's loss of freedom. In three versions (PN; OM; HR-1), no terms of the game are mentioned.

D.VI.C. Causal connection between Mem's losing game and his being thrown into prison

In eleven versions (1. : HM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-2; ZK-1) Mem is imprisoned as a direct result of losing the game with Mîr Sêvdîn: in one of them (1.b. : EP-1) Mîr Sêvdîn would have let it pass, but due to Beko Awan's insistence, Mem was imprisoned. In the seven other versions, there is no direct connection between the results of the game and Mem's imprisonment. In three versions (2.-4. : ZK-2; HR-1; LC-1) a different specific reason is given. In two of them (2.-3. : ZK-2; HR-1) Mem is in prison because he is caught alone with Zîn #1; moreover, in ZK-2, rather than Mem losing the game, Mem and Mîr Sêvdîn are tied at checkers. In the third (4. : LC-1) Mem is imprisoned as a result of being overpowered by the horsetail hair. In the four other versions (PN; PS; OM; MC-1), Mem is simply thrown into prison, without any special reason being given.

D.VI.D. Zîn #1's tunnel and its discovery

In nine versions (1. : SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-3; HR-1; ZK-1; MC-1) Zîn #1 has a tunnel dug between Mem's prison cell and her bedroom. In GNa (1.b.) there are two tunnel episodes: a) Zîn #1 has a tunnel dug between the kitchen where Mem is working and her bedroom [see D.I.F.1.]; b) Zîn #1 has a tunnel dug between Mem's prison cell and her bedroom. In another nine versions (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; FK-2; EP-2; HR-2; ZK-2) this motif is absent.

D.VI.E. After the tunnel is discovered, Mem is moved from first prison to second, worse prison [excluding D.VI.D.2]

Of the nine versions containing the tunnel motif, in six of them (1. : SHa-1; GNa; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1; MC-1) Mem is moved to a stone prison, in two of them (2. : SHa-2; ZK-3) he is moved to the bottom of a well, and in one (3. : HR-1) Mem remains in the original prison cell, and the tunnel is plugged up with pitch. In the first six

versions, before the tunnel is discovered Mem is in a wooden prison in two versions
(1.b. : EP-1; ZK-1), and earthen prison (1.c. : FK-1) in one version, and simply in prison
in three versions (1.a. : SHa-1; GNa; MC-1).

D.VII. Qeretajdîn's absence [often precedes D.VI.]

D.VII.A. Qeretajdîn and brothers leave town on mission

The two most common reasons that Qeretajdîn and his brothers leave Jezira
Bohtan are: a) to fight a battle with the enemy, in six versions (1. : SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-1;
EP-2; EP-1); and b) to collect taxes, in seven versions (2. : OM; GNa; ZK-3; HR-1; ZK-2;
ZK-1; MC-1). In three of the latter category (GNa; ZK-2; ZK-1) they are going to collect
taxes for the specific purpose of rebuilding Qeretajdîn's house that burned down. In
PS (3.) a third reason for their departure is given, namely to deliver Mîr Sêvdîn's gift
to Mecca. In PN and HM (4.) they do not go on a mission, but rather leave after
having quarreled with Mîr Sêvdîn, and go to Sham [=Syria or Damascus]. In three
versions (LC-1; FK-2; HR-2), Qeretajdîn and his brothers do not leave town.

**D.VII.B. Zîn #1 sends message to Qeretajdîn with a man who demands a
kiss from her as payment** [with II.P of Dramatis Personae chart & D.VII.A]

This episode is absent from eleven versions (PS; OM; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-2;
EP-1; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; MC-1). In five of the seven versions in which it does appear
(1.a. : HM; SHa-1; FK-1; ZK-3; ZK-2) Zîn #1 sends a letter to Qeretajdîn with a man
who demands a kiss from her as payment; she writes in the letter that Qeretajdîn
should kill the man after taking the letter from him. This is an example of Motif K978.
Uriah letter. Man carries written order for his own execution In the two
remaining versions (1.b-c. : PN; LC-1), the man is not killed.

D.VII.C. The messenger's payment [excluding D.VII.B.2]

Of the seven versions in which D.VII.B. occurs, the messenger demands a kiss in five versions (PN; SHa-1; FK-1; ZK-3; ZK-2); in the latter two he agrees to receive the kiss after he returns from delivering the letter. In HM (2.) he demands marriage rather than a kiss, and in LC-1 (3.) he neither demands anything, nor is he killed.

D.VIII. Floating motifs

D.VIII.A. Mem's unmanly behavior [nemerdî]

Listed are three different examples of Mem's unmanly behavior, each of which occurs in only one version (or two, in the case of 3.). What they have in common is that they all occur during the transitional stage, while Mem is journeying to Jezira Bohtan. In SHa-1 and GNa (3.), Mem finally stops and treats Bor's wound after ignoring the horse's complaint [C.I.B.2]. In ZK-2 (1.) a porter from Jezîra Bohtan gives Mem an undesired answer, by telling him that he still has a long way to go before reaching his destination; because of this Mem frightens him; in so doing, Mem falls from God's favor: this occurs at the point during Mem's journey when he asks someone he encounters how far it is to Jezira [C.II.A.4].

In FK-2 (2.) Mem commits an unmanly act when he strikes Qeretajdîn over the head with a stick; Mem later redeems himself by staying with Qeretajdîn until he recovers consciousness, rather than riding off and leaving him defenseless: this occurs when Mem catches Qeretajdîn's gazelle for him during hunting expedition #1 [C.II.B.1b].

D.VIII.B. Poetry contest (verbal duel)

According to Ayyûbiyān it is a centuries-old custom among the Kurds for young men and warriors to recite poetry in verbal disputes and on the battlefield, in

which they express their feelings in verse, creating epic poems: skill in this art is greatly valued.[26] This verbal duel in which Beko Awan taunts Mem, in an attempt to get him to admit publicly that he is in love with Zîn #1, is an example of such a poetry contest. The entire episode is absent from nine versions (PN; LC-1; GNa; FK-2; EP-2; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; MC-1). In the nine versions in which it does occur, there are three different places in the story in which it can take place: 1) just after Mem gets a token from Zîn #1 [D.II.] (1.a. : ZK-3) or after Çekan renounces his betrothal to Zîn #1 and they all go to visit the Mîr (1.b. : SHa-1); 2) just after the scene with Qeretajdîn's sacrifice [D.V.] (2.a. : HM; SHa-2; FK-1) or when Beko Awan interferes by commenting on Mem's failure to rise before the Mîr [D.IV.E.] (2.b. EP-1); and 3) just after the game between Mem and Mîr Sêvdîn [D.VI.A-B] (3.a. : OM; ZK-2) or as the terms of the game [D.VI.B.3] (3.b. : PS).

D.VIII.C.Result: Mîr Sêvdîn orders his men to kill Mem [excluding D.VIII.B.7.]

When Mem is tricked into admitting that he loves Zîn #1, the action of the Mîr is very violent. In seven of the nine versions containing this motif (1. : PS; HM; SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-1; ZK-3; ZK-2), Mîr Sêvdîn orders his men to kill Mem; daggers are drawn, and Mem is saved by Qeretajdîn and his brothers. The violent reaction is absent from OM (3.); in EP-1 (2.) there is a scene with violence and the unsheathing of swords, but it is unrelated to the poetry contest.

D.VIII.D. Qeretajdîn's handkerchief in shape of rabbit as diversion to save Mem & Zîn #1

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[26]'Ubayd Allāh Ayyūbiyān. Girikey Mem û Zîn : Kurdî - Farsî [نيزـ و مـ یكـیرـچا] (Tabrīz : Chāpkhānah-i Shafaq, [1962]), p. 211, note 1. See also: Alan Dundes, Jerry W. Leach and Bora Özkök. "The Strategy of Turkish Boys' Verbal Dueling Rhymes," Journal of American Folklore 83 (1970), 325-349, reprinted in: Alan Dundes. Parsing Through Customs: Essays by a Freudian Folklorist (Madison, Wisc. : University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), pp. 82-117.

I am acquainted with a Kurdish woman from Kirkûk, Iraqi Kurdistan (born c. 1961) who told me that as a child she remembers seeing 'rabbits' made out of handkerchiefs as a way of amusing children. This seems to be a traditional Kurdish amusement. While Zîn #1 is serving coffee in the dîwan, Beko says to Mîr Sêvdîn that if she smiles when she serves Mem his coffee, this is proof of their love; Qeretajdîn fashions a rabbit out of his handkerchief and shows it to the assembly just as Zîn #1 serves Mem his coffee: the handkerchief is adduced to explain Zîn #1's laughter and smiling, while concealing Mem and Zîn #1's love for each other. This motif occurs in only three versions (FK-1; EP-1; SHa-1): in the first two instances, it follows the episode of Qeretajdîn's sacrifice [D.V.], while in SHa-1 it follows Çekan's renouncing of his betrothal to Zîn #1 [D.II.D], and replaces the earlier visit to Mîr Sêvdîn which occurs in other versions [D.I.].

Handkerchiefs serve three different functions in various versions of M&Z. In seven versions (SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1) handkerchief is thrown on the Mîr's seat when he stands up at Mem's entrance, as proof that the Mîr did indeed stand up when Mem entered [D.I.H.]; in two versions (ZK-1; EP-1) Mem extinguishes the fire in Qeretajdîn's house with a handkerchief [D.V.E.1.b-c.]; and in three versions (FK-1; EP-1; SHa-1) Qeretajdîn uses a handkerchief tied in the shape of a rabbit as a means of creating a minor diversion to protect Mem and Zîn [D.VIII.D.]. While the first and second functions occur in ZK-1, and the first and third functions occur in FK-1, all three functions occur in EP-1. Moreover, although all of the attestations of all three functions involve northern versions only, in southern versions (PS; OM; MC-1) Mem and Zîn exchange both rings and handkerchiefs when they first meet in Mem's room [B.I.F.2].

E.   Final stage - Death of Mem and Zîn #1

E.I.   Mem's death

E.I.A. Zîn #1 takes Mem out of prison

In all but four versions, Zîn #1 releases Mem from prison. In two versions (4. : LC-1; 2.d. : HR-2) Qeretajdîn releases him, and in two versions (PN; FK-2) the whole motif is absent. In eight versions (1. : PS; HM; SHa-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-3; HR-1; ZK-1), Beko Awan tells Zîn #1 to release Mem; in four versions (2. : SHa-1; GNa; ZK-2; MC-1) it is the Mîr who tells her to. In one version (EP-2) both Beko Awan and the Mîr tell Zîn #1 to let Mem out of the dungeon. In OM (5.) the initiative comes from Zîn #1 when she requests permission to release Mem. In LC-1 (4.) Ḥasan čäkö release Mem from prison: permission is neither requested nor granted.

Of the thirteen versions with Zîn #1 as the one setting Mem free, eight (HM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; EP-1; ZK-3; HR-1; ZK-2) include the proviso that she should bring her maidservants along, while in two (HM; MC-1) she is told to bring musicians or musical accompaniment: HM calls for both maidens and musicians.

The significance of choosing Zîn #1 as the one to release Mem will be dealt with further in E.I.C. below.

E.I.B. Mem's death

In nine versions (1. : SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-3; HR-1; ZK-2; ZK-1; 3.a. : HR-2) Mem is pulled up from the dungeon pit by a rope; in three versions (2. : OM; GNa; EP-2) he is hangs onto the long braids of Zîn #1 or other women, and is pulled up. In three versions (1.d-f. : FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1) the color of the rope is specified: in one (1.d. : EP-1) it is white; in one (1.e. : ZK-1) it is yellow; in one (1.f. : FK-1) they try to pull him up first by a white rope, which is unsuccessful, then try with a yellow rope

wrapped around his waist. In four versions (1.b-c. : SHa-2; HR-1; ZK-2; 5. : HM), he shed drops of blood when he emerges from the pit, then expires. In two versions (3.a-b. : HR-2; MC-1), Beko Awan interferes by telling Mem that Zîn #1 is marrying someone else; the proof of this is Zîn #1's bridal gown; when he sees Zîn #1 in a bridal gown, which is actually meant for him, he dies. In LC-1 (4.) he dies as soon as he lays eyes on Zîn #1. In PS (6.) Mem asks Zîn #1 to bring him a bowl of cold water, and he dies after he drinks. In two versions (PN; FK-2) it is simply stated that Mem dies, without any further details: these two versions are known for their brevity.

This scene has the markings of a birth in reverse. Mem leaves a womb-like place, pulled out by a rope -- suggestive of an umbilical chord. The dungeon is the antithesis of a womb: rather than being warm and nurturing, it is cold and austere. As will be seen in E.I.C. below, it is stated that if Zîn #1 (or more generally, if a woman) lets him out – i.e. acts as midwife -- he will die, but if a man does, he will live. Here too we have the reverse of what normally occurs: it is women who both give birth and administer to the prospective mother, but here it is stated that the presence of a woman will ensure the death of the "child" coming out into the world.

E.I.C. Prediction regarding sex of person releasing Mem from prison

This motif is present in five versions only (SHa-2; GNa; EP-1; ZK-2; ZK-1). In three (1.a-b. : GNa; EP-1; ZK-2) of them it is stated that if a woman (specifically Zîn #1 in GNa and ZK-2) releases Mem, he will die; if a man releases him, he will live.[27] This is structurally similar to the condition in MC-1 [D.II.C.3] in which Zîn #1 throws a yellow bouquet and a red bouquet into the air, and tells Mem that if he catches the red

[27]Male envy of female procreativity may be inherent in the statement that if a man lets Mem out of the dungeon, he will live, but if a woman lets him out, he will die. See: Alan Dundes "The Flood as Male Myth of Creation," Journal of Psychoanalytic Anthropology, 9 (1986), 359-372; reprinted in his The Flood Myth (Berkeley et al. : University of California Press, 1988), pp. 167-82.

one, they will attain their desire in this life, but that if he catches the yellow one, they will have to wait until the next life.

In SHa-2 and ZK-1, the idea of shame is introduced: in SHa-2 (2.a.) Zîn #1 says it is disgraceful that Mem should be released by a woman; in ZK-1 (2.b.) she says it is shameful that prisoners are brought in by men, then released by women.

E.II. Zîn #1's death

E.II.A. When Zîn #1 dies vis-à-vis Mem's death

In seven versions (2.a. : SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1; ZK-2) Zîn #1 dies the same day as Mem; in EP-2 (2.b.) she dies the evening of the same day. In two Turoyo versions (1. : HR-1; HR-2) she stabs herself to death just after Mem dies. In GNa (3.) she dies at noon on the next day; in LC-1 (4.) she dies a week later; in PS and HM (5.) she dies eight days later; and in MC-1 (6.) she dies forty hours or forty days later. The time of her death is not specified in three versions (PN; OM; FK-2). PN and FK-2 also lack detail regarding Mem's death.

E.II.B. Burial of Mem and Zîn #1

There are three common ways that Mem and Zîn #1 are buried: a) in seven versions (2. : PS; FK-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2; 4.a. : HM) they are buried separately, but when the graves are opened, they are together [Motif E419.6. Lovers buried apart found in one grave each morning]; b) in five versions (1. : PN; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-1), they are buried back to back, but when the graves are opened, they are facing each other; and c) in four versions (3. : OM; SHa-1; ZK-1; MC-1) they are buried together [Motif T86. Lovers buried in same grave]. In two versions (4.a-b. : HM; LC-1) Mîr Sêvdîn and company play jireed and throw a lance, with the understanding that they

will open up whichever grave it lands on: in HM (4.a.) it lands on Mem's grave, and they open it to find Mem and Zîn #1 together, with a clay sword between them, which links this with type a) above; in LC-1 (4.b.) the result is not reported, but before she dies, Zîn #1 says "if they are lying back to back, her brother is innocent of any wrongdoing." The expectation is that they will be lying face to face, as in type b) above, and that her brother the Mîr is guilty. [Cf. Motif E442. *Ghost laid by piercing grave (corpse) with stake*] The game of jireed makes its appearance in SHa-2 and ZK-3 also, but at a different point in the story [D.III.A.2-3]. In types a) and b), Mem and Zîn are united in the grave by supernatural forces, an indication of divine support for their union.

E.III. Beko's death and thornbush on Mem and Zîn's grave from drop of Beko's blood. Motif E631.0.3. *Plant from blood of slain person*

E.III.A. Beko Awan is killed by

In twelve versions (PS; HM; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; MC-1) Qeretajdîn kills Beko Awan by slicing off his head with a sword at the side of Mem and Zîn's open grave. In PN (1.c.), a version in which Qeretajdîn is replaced by Hasso, Hasso kills Beko Awan. In two versions (1.b. : HM; ZK-3) Qeretajdîn does this, in spite of Mîr Sêvdîn's exhortation not to. In two versions (2.a. : SHa-1; ZK-2) Mîr Sêvdîn kills Beko Awan himself, and in another version (2.b. : OM) he orders Beko Awan's execution. In FK-2 (3.) Al-Pasha kills Beko Awan; in LC-1 (4.) Qumsî Beko, who is one of Qeretajdîn's brothers in this version, is not killed.

E.III.B. Word for thornbush:

In seven versions (PS; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-3; HR-1; ZK-1; MC-1), including one Turoyo version (HR-1), some form of the Kurdish word dirî [= 'thorn'] is employed.

Other Kurmanji words for thorn are stirî or istrî, and kelem : each appears once, the former in HM (2.), the latter in ZK-2 (3.). In OM the Sorani word zî [= 'Christ's thorn'] is used.[28] Two of the Turoyo versions use native words: sâlûno (PN) and ʕulṭo (HR-2); HR-1 borrows the Kurdish word dirî as dirrihe. Each of the Armenian versions uses a different native word for thornbush: meshi dzaṙ [մէշի ծառ] (SHa-1); ch'ich'khan p'ush [չիչխան փուշ] (SHa-2); and kṙni [կռնի] [= 'astragalus'] (GNa).

In EP-2 (10.) Beko Awan's blood falls on a bush growing over the graves and his blood becomes scarlet flowers rather than a thorn: this is Motif E631.0.3.1. *Red plant from blood of slain person*, whereas the others are Motif E631.0.3. *Plant from blood of slain person* The motif is lacking in two versions (LC-1; FK-1).

E.III.C. Legend about the thornbush

In nine versions (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; MC-1) nothing futher is said regarding the thornbush. In four versions (1. : SHa-2; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2) we are told that it is still there to this day. In another four versions (2.a. : SHa-1; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1) it is stated that every year it is cut down, but it always grows back, and in one version (2.b. : GNa) every day it is cut down, but it always grows back the next day. In all nine versions which have such an epilogue, evil as represented by Beko Awan is seen as being inextricable: even in death he continues to harass Mem and Zîn. In his doctoral dissertation, Amir Hassanpour-Aghdam states that in Ehmedê Xanî's literary poem Mem û Zîn, the villain Beko Awan "personifies the discord (şiqaq) and disunity (bêtifaqî) of the Kurdish princes which [Xanî] considered to be the main reason for the

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[28]The compound dirkezî also exists, consisting of dirke- (cognate to Kurmanji dirî), and zî.

failure of the Kurdish people to achieve sovereignty."[29] By imbuing the metaphor of the thornbush with this added meaning, Xanî found a very effective vehicle for his message.

F.   Conclusion

Five versions (HM; SHa-1; GNa; ZK-3; HR-2) end with E.III.C. above. Eleven versions end with some kind of concluding phrase: two concluding formulas and four sets of concluding verse. The concluding formulas are: 1) "May favor befall the parents of those listening" [rahmá l dei bābēd gohdāra] (1.a. : PS; EP-2; ZK-2; MC-1); and 2) "May you be well for me" [tu šmera sah] (PN; HR-1): both PN and HR-1 are Turoyo versions, but the concluding formula is in Kurdish. Both formulas are common ways to end folktales.

Concluding verse occurs in five versions, as follows: 1) "Mem and Zîn are in heaven, Beko Awan is in hell" (2.a. : SHa-2); 2) "Good are the three months of summer, / Very fine are the summer pastures of Fereshin, / Nowhere on earth can be found Memê Alan and Zîn" (2.b. FK-1; 3.d. ZK-1); 3) "One side of Jezîra flourishes and the other is in ruins" (3.c. : FK-2); and 4) a greeting to Oskar Mann, the collector of the version (3.a. : OM). In three cases (OM; FK-2; ZK-1) the concluding verse is in addition to either Bengîn or Bor's return to Mem's native land.

In three versions (3.b-d. : FK-2; EP-1; ZK-1) Mem's horse Bor returns to Mukhurzemîn at the end of the story. In OM (3.a.) Bengîneh returns to Yemen, brings Mem's father Brayim Pasha back to Jezira Bohtan, finally returning to Yemen with

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[29] Amir Hassanpour-Aghdam, The Language Factor in National Development: The Standardization of the Kurdish Language 1918-1985. Doctoral dissertation (Urbana, Illinois : University of Illinois, 1989), p. 84.

him. Here we have another example of Bor and Bengîn[eh] performing a similar function.

In LC-1 the dengbêj ends with the wish that Mem and Zîn #1 attain in the next world what they didn't attain in this, and provides biographical information about himself: his name, his father's name, and the place and date of collection.

The fact that some versions lack a particular motif to which I attach importance in my analysis, strongly suggests that other interpretations are possible, or that some of the *dengbêjes* had a different understanding of the the story than I do. Unfortunately, because their reactions were left unrecorded, we will never know. It can only be hoped that future collecting will incorporate aspects as the *dengbêj's* world view and his audience's as well as his own opinions about his material, so that we are not forced to do for this living Kurdish tradition what Melville Jacobs had no choice but to do for the folklore of the extinct Clackamas Chinook Indians: create his own ingenious, but unsubstantiated and unprovable, native audience reactions.

Mem û Zin Motif Chart

Dramatis Personae

	PN	PS	HM	LC-1	OM	SHa-1	SHa-2	GNa	FK-2	FK-1	EP-2	EP-1	ZK-3	HR-1	HR-2	ZK-1	ZK-2	MC-1
I.A.	2b	1a, 4a	2b	1a	4a	2a, 4b	4b	2a, 3b	1a, 3a	3a	4b	3a	1a, 2a	1b	2b	3a	1a, 3a	1a, 2a
I.B.	3	2c	2c	4	5	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	2b	2d	7	1	2a	1
I.C.	1d	2	2	3	1a	1a	1a	1b	2	1a	2	1c	1a	2	2	1a	4	2
I.D.	1	1	d	b	1c	1	1	;		1	1	1	2	1	1	1a	5	2
I.E.	2	2	a(4)	3	2	1a	1a	1b	1a	1a	1a	1a	2	2	1	1a	3	1a
I.F.	3b	2	3a	1e	2	3a	1a	1c	1b	1b	1a	1a	2	3a	4	1a	1a	1d
I.G.	1	1	1	3	4	1	5	5	1	1	1	6a	1	1	1	6b	2	2
II.A.	1a	1a, 1b	1b	1a, 2e	2d	2a	2b	1a	1a	1a, 2b	2a	1b, 3b	1b, 2c	2c, 3a	1a	1b, 2b	2c	2a, 2b
II.B.	1b	2a	1b	3a	3b	1b	1b	2a	1a	1a, 1c	1b	1a, 2c	2b	2a	1a	1a	2b	1a
II.C.	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	2	4a	2	4b	1	3	1	2	1	4
II.D.	2a	a(5)	a(5)	3	a(5)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	a(5)	2b	4	1	a(5)	4
II.E.	1b	1d	1b	1e	2c, 2d, 2f	1a, 2a	1b	2a	1a, 1c, 2b	1c, 2b	2a	2b	1a	1b	1b	1c	1a	2b, 2e
II.F.	1	a(3)	1	a(3)	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
II.G.			5b	2, 5c	2*		3	3	2	3		1		2		1	2	3
II.H.	4	4			2*	4	1*	1*, 5c	4	1*	4	5c	3	1*	5a	5a	1*, 3, 5c	2*
II.I.	7	2	2	4	1	3, 6	3, 6	3	1	c	5	1	1	2	2	1	1	1
II.J-1.	f	h	b	f	b	b	a	1*	a	c*	c	e	d	a(g)	a(g)	a	d	d
II.J-2.	b	b	d	b	b	b*	a*	a	a	a	c*	a*	b	a(e)	a(e)	a*	b	b*
II.J-3.	a	b	a	c	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
II.K.	3	1a	1a	1a	2	1b	1b	1c	1a	1b	1d	1b	1a	1e	1f	1b	1a	1b
II.L.	a(5)	4	a(5)	a(5)	1	1	2	2	4	2	1	2	1	3	4	1a	1a	1
II.M.	a(4)	1	a(4)	a(4)	1	2	3	1	2	3	3	3	1	3	1	2	1	1
II.N.	1	1	1	1	1	6	4, 6	5, 6	1	2, 3	6	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
II.O.	6	4, 5	1	2	5	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1, 6	6, 7	2	1	2
II.P.	2	1	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	4	1	1	1	5	1

<u>Mem û Zîn</u>
<u>Motifs Exhibiting Variation</u>

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

I. A. Mem.

    1.   a. Memê Alan (ZK-2; ZK-3; MC-1); [šîrin] mãmî ãlan(e) (LC-1)

        b. Memê Ala (FK-2); mamê alã (PS); Mãmme 'Ãlã (HR-1)

    2.   a. Memo (ZK-3; MC-1)

        b. Mammo (PN; HR-2); Mamo (SHa-1; GNa); mámu (HM)

    3.   a. Memê (FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1; ZK-2)

        b. Mame (GNa)

    4.   a. Kakeh Mem (OM); Mîr Mem (OM); mẹm (PS)

        b. Mam (SHa-1; SHa-2; EP-2)

I.B. Mem's father (Al pasha)

    1.   Al p'aṣa (FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; MC-1); Al-p'aṣa (ZK-1); Al pasha (SHa-1; GNa); Al'-pasha (EP-2)

    2.   a. Alan-p'aṣa (ZK-2)

        b. Alan-begê / Alaylbegê (ZK-3)

        c. mîrê alãna, pašae yemanea (PS); mîr alãn (HM)

        d. 'Ãlã (HR-1)

    3.   Yusif Agha (PN)

    4.   šîrin almã, šãhî moyribiãne (LC-1)

    5.   Brayim Pasha / Padishah (OM)

    6.   King Kachants (SHa-2)

    7.   unnamed (HR-2)

I.C. Mem's mother

    1.   a. unnamed (OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-1; ZK-3; ZK-1)

        b. unnamed: dead, later is alive (GNa)

      c. unnamed: virgin living at shrine (EP-1)

      d. unnamed: Yusif Agha's female cousin (PN)

2.   ø (PS; HM; FK-2; EP-2; HR-1; HR-2; MC-1)

3.   zä⁺ixâ xätun, kăčĭkā qorēišiāne (LC-1)

4.   T'êlî 'îşan (ZK-2)

I.D. Mem's servant Bengîn

1.   ø (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1)

2.   Bengîn (ZK-3; MC-1); Bengîneh (OM): accompanies Mem to Jezîra Bohtan.

3.   Bengîn (ZK-2): does not accompany Mem to Jezîra Bohtan

I.E. Mem's horse (Bor): See also B.III.A. and C.I.

1.   a. Bor (SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1; MC-1)

      b. Por[Ꝏᴏⴖ] (GNa)

      c. unnamed, but referred to as espî bor = 'gray horse' (OM)

2.   unnamed (PN; PS; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2)

3.   Bozê Rewal (ZK-2); seräk basän bōzî rawān (LC-1)

4.   ø (HM)

I.F. Mem's homeland (Mukhurzemin or Yemen)

1.   a. Muxurzemîn (ZK-2); Şeherê Muxurzemînê (ZK-1); Mukhurzemin (EP-2); şeherê Mixurzemînê (EP-1); Mukher Zamin (SHa-2)

      b. Muxur Zemîn (FK-1); Mux[u]r-Zemîn (FK-2)

      c. Mkhur-Zaman [Մխուր-Զաման] (GNa)

      d. Merxebzemîn (MC-1)

      e. bäžäre moyrîbiāne (LC-1)

2.   Yemen (PS; OM); Bajarê Yemenê (ZK-3)

3.   a. unnamed (HM; SHa-1; HR-1)

        b. unnamed place near the land of India (PN)

4.   Place of the Ala (HR-2)

I.G. Donor figure.

1.   ø (PN; PS; HM; SHa-1; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2)

2.   Xocê Xizir (Khizir) (ZK-2); Xidir nebî / Xidir Eylas (MC-1)

3.   Royal sheikh [šêxd ḥunkāre] (LC-1)

4.   Veysel Karanî of Mahidesht (OM)

5.   Doves (SHa-2; GNa)

6.   a. ?Three riders, guides of luck and fortune (EP-1)

        b. ?Kalê zemanê (ZK-1)

II.A. Zîn [#1]

1.   a. Zine (PN; GNa); Zîne (HR-2; PS); dîlbăr zîne (LC-1)

        b. Zînê (FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1); zînê sittiă bohtă (PS); Zînê (HM)

2.   a. Zîn (MC-1); Zin (SHa-1; EP-2)

        b. Zîn xatûn (FK-2; FK-1); Xatûn Zîn (ZK-1; MC-1); Khatun Zin (SHa-2)

        c. Stîya Zîn (ZK-3; ZK-2); Sityâ Zîn (HR-1)

        d. Yay Zîn (Yaya Zîn) (OM)

        e. zîna zêîdăne (LC-1)

3.   a. Sittîye (HR-1)

        b. T'êlî Xatûn (EP-1)

II.B. Mîr Sêvdîn, emir of Jezîra Bohtan

1.   a. Mîr Sêvdîn (FK-2; ZK-1; MC-1; FK-1 [brother]; EP-1 [uncle]); Mîr Sêvdîn (HR-2)

        b. Mir Sevdin (PN; SHa-1; SHa-2; EP-2); Mîr Săvdîn (HM)

        c. Mîr Zêvdîn (FK-1 [father])

2.   a. mîr zeîdîn (PS); Mîr ZeidIn (HR-1); Mîr Zeydin [Մﬖﬖ-ﬖﬖﬖﬖﬖﬖ] (GNa)

      b. Mîr Zêydîn (ZK-3; ZK-2)

      c. Mîr Seydîn (EP-1 [father])

3.   a. mîr zăndîn (LC-1)

      b. mîr Zêndîn (OM)

II.C. Mîr Sêvdîn's relationship to Zîn [#1]

1.   brother (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; ZK-3; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1)

2.   father (SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-2; EP-2; ZK-1)

3.   brother [at beginning of story] --> father (GNa; HR-1)

4.   a. Mîr Sêvdîn [brother] & Mîr Zêvdîn [father] (FK-1)

      b. Mîr Seydîn [father] & Mîr Sêvdîn [uncle] (EP-1)

II.D. Zîn #1's father

1.   "Mîr Sêvdîn" [=II.B. above] (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-1)

2.   a. Mir Zerav (PN)

      b. Mîr Şărăf (HR-1)

3.   mîrî 'Azîm (LC-1)

4.   Zîn #1 is fatherless (HR-2; MC-1)

5.   ø = Zîn #1's father is not mentioned (PS; HM; OM; ZK-3; ZK-2)

II.E. Beko Awan the villain

1.   a. Bek'o (ZK-3; ZK-2; FK-2); Mamê Bek'o (ZK-3); Bak'o [ﬖﬖﬖﬖ] (SHa-1)

      b. băkő awân (HM); Bako Avan (SHa-2); Bakko Awan (PN); Bakko Ƹăwân (HR-1); Bakko Ƹăwán (HR-2);

      c. Bek'oyê E'wan (ZK-1); Bek'oê E'wana (FK-1; FK-2)

      d. bakő ê na;lati (PS)

e. qumsî-bākū (LC-1)

2. a. Bak'ir-Avan (Paqr) [Բաքըր-Ավան] (GNa); Bekir Avan (SHa-1); Bekir-Awan (EP-2)

b. Bek'irê E'wana (FK-2); Bek'rê E'wana (FK-1); Bek'irê E'wan/E'wîn (EP-1); Bekirê E'wan (MC-1)

c. Ka Bekir (OM)

d. Bekir Agha (OM)

e. Bekirê Direwîn (MC-1)

f. Bekirî Mergewere (OM)

II.F. "Zîn #2": relationship to Beko Awan

1. daughter (PN; HM; OM; SHa-2; GNa; EP-1; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2; MC-1)

2. sister (SHa-1; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2)

3. ∅ = Zîn #2 absent (PS; LC-1)

II.G. "Zîn #2": her profession [excludes II.F.3.]

1. sorceress/fortuneteller [remildar or sihirbaz] (SHa-1; EP-2; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-1)

2. maidservant of Zîn #1: (HR-1; ZK-2; OM)

3. both 1. and 2. (SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; MC-1)

II.H. Maidservant of Zîn #1 (* = Beko Awan's daughter or sister)

1. Zîn #2: *Zîn (SHa-2); *Zîn (HR-1); *Zine (GNa); *Zînê (FK-1); *Zîna qîza Bek'o (ZK-2)

2. *Melîk Reyhan (OM); *Melek Rihan (MC-1); reihan(e) (LC-1)

3. Gule'yîşan (ZK-3); Gule'îş (ZK-3; ZK-2)

4. no maidservants (PN; PS; SHa-1; FK-2; EP-2)

5. a. maidservants unnamed (HR-2; ZK-1)

b. 2 maidservants, unnamed (HM)

c. 40 maidservants (LC-1; EP-1; ZK-2)

d. 40 maidservants, all named Zine (GNa)

II.I. Qeretajdîn

   1. Qeret'ajdîn (FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1; ZK-2; MC-1); Qeretajdîn (OM)

   2. qarataždîn/qaratăždîne dîn (PS); qáratăždîn(HM); Qará Tăjdîn (HR-1); Qara Tăjdîn (HR-2)

   3. Gharatazhdin (SHa-1; SHa-2); Ghara-Tazhdin [Ղարա-Թաժդին] (GNa)

   4. qaratašdîn(LC-1)

   5. Karatadjin (EP-2)

   6. Tazhdin (SHa-1; SHa-2)

   7. ø (PN)

II.J. Qeretajdîn's brothers [* = betrothed to Zîn [#1]]

II.J-1.   a. E'fan (FK-2; ZK-1); Afan (SHa-2)

   b. arfó (HM); Arfo[n] (SHa-1); 'Irfo/'Ărfo (OM)

   c. E'rfîn (FK-1); Arfin (EP-2)

   d. E'rif (ZK-3; MC-1); E'reb (ZK-2)

   e. E'rfan (EP-1)

   f. [Hasso] (PN); hásan [-čăkō] (LC-1)

   g. ø (HR-1; HR-2)

   h. makō (PS)

   i. Kakan [Կական] (*GNa)

II.J-2.   a. Ç'ekan (FK-2; *EP-1; *ZK-1); Jakan [ʒական] (*SHa-2; GNa)

   b. Ç'eko (ZK-3; ZK-2; *MC-1); [Chakko] (PN); Cheko (OM); cakō(PS); [hásan-] čăkō (LC-1); Jako[n] (*SHa-1)

   c. Ç'ekîn (*FK-1); Chekin (*EP-2)

   d. unnamed (HM)

   e. ø (HR-1; HR-2)

II.J-3.   a. ø (PN; HM; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2; MC-1)

b. mîr maḥmûd (PS)

c. qumsî-bâkû (LC-1)

II.K.   1.   a. J-1, J-2 (& J-3) are Qeretajdîn's brothers (PS; HM; LC-1; FK-2; ZK-3; ZK-2)

b. J-1 & J-2 are Qeretajdîn's brothers; J-2 is betrothed to Zîn #1 (SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1; MC-1)

c. J-1 & J-2 are Qeretajdîn's brothers; J-1 is betrothed to Zîn #1 (GNa)

d. J-1 is Zîn #1's brother; J-2 is Qeretajdîn's brother, mentioned once as being betrothed to Zîn #1, after which this is forgotten (EP-2)

e. Qeretajdîn has no brothers; his son is betrothed to Zîn #1 (HR-1)

f. Qeretajdîn has no brothers (HR-2)

2.   J-1 & J-2 are princes who are suitors for Zîn #1's hand, potential rivals to Mem (OM)

3.   J-1 & J-2 are the brothers of Mîr Sêvdîn & Zîn #1; Qeretajdîn absent (PN)

II.L. Qeretajdîn's wife (Sitî or Perî)

1.   Sitî (MC-1); Stîyê (ZK-3); Setiya (EP-2); Xatûn Estî [Lady Astî] (OM); Sutin (SHa-1); Stîya E'reb [Lady Ereb] (ZK-2)

2.   Perî (xanim) (FK-1); Khanum Peri (GNa); Perî-xatûn (ZK-1); Xatûn Perî (EP-1); Gul Peri (SHa-2)

3.   Bêgi xânim (HR-1)

4.   unnamed (PS; FK-2; HR-2)

5.   ø (PN; HM; LC-1)

II.M. Her relationship to Zîn #1

1.   sister of Zîn #1 and Mîr Sêvdîn (PS; OM; GNa; ZK-3; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1)

2.   sister of Zîn #1 (SHa-1; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-1)

3.   not stated (SHa-2; FK-1; EP-2; HR-1)

4.   ø (PN; HM; LC-1)

II.N. Qeretajdîn's servants. See also D.I.C.

1.   ø (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; FK-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1)

2.   Çawîş Mêrdîn (FK-1; ZK-1)

3.   Badîn (FK-1); Badîn Çawîş (EP-1)

4.   Chavush (SHa-2)

5.   Qeretajdîn's oldest son: Ghavaz Chavush [Ղաւազ Չաւուշ] (GNa)

6.   unnamed (EP-2; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa)

II.O. Zîn #1's homeland (Jezîra Bohtan)

1.   Cizîra Bota (FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1; ZK-2); Jezîra Bota (EP-2); Czîra Bōtá (HR-1); walâtē jezîrē bōtâ (HM)

2.   Cizîra Botan (MC-1); ǧāzîrā bōtān(e) (LC-1); Jzîr [(u) Bot'an] [Ջզիր ու Բոթան] (SHa-1); Chzir u Bodan [Չզիր ու Բոդան] (SHa-2)

3.   Jezira-Boht'an [Ջզիրա Բոչթան] (GNa)

4.   Jezîra Bohta (PS)

5.   Jezîre (PS); Şarî Cizîrê [City of Jizîr] (OM)

6.   g(e)zîro (PN); Czîro (HR-1; HR-2)

7.   Bota (HR-2)

II.P. Man sent by Zîn #1 to bring Qeretajdîn back (kisses Zîn; carries message). See also D.VII.B. & D.VII.C.

1.   ø (PS; LC-1; OM; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-2; EP-1; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; MC-1)

2.   Dervish (PN; SHa-1; FK-1)

3.   Passerby / Man[peya<pajâ>] (HM)

4.   Zîn #1's baldheaded servant boy [xulameki k'eç'elok] (ZK-3)

5.   Poor boy who exchanges gold pieces for silver ones, to pay taxes to Qeretajdîn (ZK-2)

Mem û Zîn Motif Chart
Scenes and Motifs

	PN	PS	HM	LC.1	OM	SH a-1	SH a-2	GN a	FK-2	FK-1	EP-2	EP-1	ZK-3	HR-1	HR-2	ZK-1	ZK-2	MC-1
A.	3	1	1	2a	2c	1a	1	1	1	1	1	4		1	1	1	2b	1
B.I.A	4	3a	σ(5)	1f	1d	1a	1a	1e	1a	1a	1c	1b	2a	2b	2b	1b	2c	3b
B.I.B	.	.	.	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	.	.	.	2	.	.
B.I.C	σ(3)	1	σ(3)	1	1	5	1	1	2	1	4	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
B.I.D	σ(6)	2	σ(6)	3a	3b	5	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	2
B.I.E	1b	2	σ(4)	3	3	3	1	3	1a	2	1	2	3	1	3	2	3	3
B.I.F	1	2	σ(3)	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
B.I.G	2	σ(6)	σ(6)	σ(6)	σ(6)	σ(6)	4	3	1	1	σ(6)	σ(6)	σ(6)	5	σ(6)	σ(6)	σ(6)	σ(6)
B.II.A	σ(5)	1	σ(5)	2	σ(6)	σ(5)	1	2	1	1	σ(8)	1	4	σ(8)	4	1	σ(5)	4
B.II.B	σ(8)	σ(8)	σ(8)	σ(8)	3	5	1	3	2	2	1	2	6	3b	1	1	7	4
B.II.C	σ(5)	4	σ(5)	σ(5)	3	2a	1	1	2b	2c	1	1	3a	3b	σ(5)	1	1	2d
B.III.A	σ(5)	2	σ(5)	3	1b	1a	σ(5)	1a	1a	1a	4	1	2	σ(5)	σ(5)	1a	5	2
B.III.B	σ(6)	4	σ(6)	σ(6)	σ(6)	σ(6)	σ(6)	1d	1a	1a	2	2	σ(6)	σ(6)	3	2	2	σ(6)
B.III.C	σ(6)	σ(6)	2a	σ(6)	4	σ(6)	5	1b	1a	1a	σ(6)	1b	2b	σ(6)	3	1a	2c	σ(6)
B.III.D	4	1b	σ(7)	3	2a	6	1a	1c	σ(7)	1a	σ(7)	1d	2b	2c	3	σ(7)	1c	5
C.I.A	2	σ(4)	σ(4)	σ(4)	σ(4)	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	σ(4)	σ(4)	σ(4)	1	1	1
C.I.B	3	σ(4)	3	σ(4)	σ(4)	2	1b	2	1a	1a	σ(4)	1a	σ(4)	σ(4)	σ(4)	1c	σ(4)	1a
C.I.C	σ(4)	σ(4)	σ(4)	σ(4)	σ(4)	1d	2a	2b	1b	2c	1b	1b	σ(4)	σ(4)	σ(4)	2a	4	3
C.II.A	σ(5)	1d	σ(5)	σ(5)	1c	1a	1a	1b	1b	1a	1a	2b	3	1a	σ(5)	2a	4	1a
C.II.B	σ(4)	3	σ(4)	σ(4)	2a	1a	1a	1d	1b	1a	1c	1c	2b	1a	1a	1a	1a	2a
C.II.C	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	3	2	1	2	2	.	.	.	1	1	.
C.III.A	1	σ(6)	.	5	4	1a	1	1	1	1a	1	1a	2	2	1	1	1	1
C.III.B	2	.	σ(6)	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	4	3	σ(6)	1	1	3	2	2
C.III.C	2a	.	.	5	2b	1a	5	1a	1b	1a	4	3	2b	2a	4	1b	4	2a
C.III.D	σ(5)	σ(5)	σ(5)	σ(5)	σ(5)	σ(5)	2	1d 3	σ(5)	1a	σ(5)	1b	σ(5)	σ(5)	σ(5)	1c	4	4
C.III.E	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(5)	1d	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	2	σ(5)	1a	σ(3)	1c	1b	σ(3)	σ(3)	1c	σ(3)	σ(3)
D.I.A	2b	1a	3	1c	1d	1a	1a	1a	2a	1a	1a	1a	1b	1c	5	1a	1b	4
D.I.B	σ(4)	1b	σ(4)	3a	1a	3b	1a	1a	σ(4)	1b	1a	1a	1a	σ(4)	σ(5)	1a	4	1c
D.I.C	σ(5)	.	σ(5)	σ(5)	3	3	1a	1c	σ(5)	2	1	1	σ(5)	σ(5)	σ(5)	1	4	σ(5)
	PN	PS	HM	LC.1	OM	SH a-1	SH a-2	GN a	FK-2	FK-1	EP-2	EP-1	ZK-3	HR-1	HR-2	ZK-1	ZK-2	MC-1

Mem û Zin Motif Chart
Scenes and Motifs

	FN	PS	HM	LC-1	OM	SH a-1	SH a-2	GN a	FK-2	FK-1	EP-2	EP-1	ZK-3	HR-1	HR-2	ZK-1	ZK-2	ZK- MC-1
D.I.D	1	1	σ(4)	σ(4)	1	3	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	σ(4)	1	1	σ(4)	1
D.I.E	σ(6)	5	σ(6)	σ(6)	3	2a	2c		2	2a	1	1	4	σ(6)		σ(6)	4	σ(6)
D.I.F		4			2	1eᵃ	1b	1a		1d	3ᵃ	1c						
D.I.G	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	1a	1a	1a	1b	σ(2)	1a	1a	σ(2)	σ(2)	1a	σ(2)	σ(2)
D.I.H	σ(5)	σ(5)	σ(5)	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	1a	1a	1a	1b	σ(2)	1a	1a	σ(2)	σ(2)	1a	σ(2)	σ(2)
D.II.A	σ(7)	1	σ(7)	2b		1a	1a	1a	1	1b	σ(5)	1	4	σ(5)	σ(7)	1a	3	σ(5)
D.II.B	σ(7)	1a	σ(4)	σ(7)	1	2a	1	3	2b	2b	1	1	5	σ(7)	σ(4)	1a	4	6
D.II.C	σ(4)	σ(6)	σ(4)	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1c	1b	1a	σ(4)	σ(4)	4	1a	2	3
D.II.D	σ(6)	1a	σ(6)	1b	1e	1a	1c	1a	4	1b	σ(6)	1a	σ(6)	2	σ(6)	1c	5	σ(6)
D.III.A	1a	1a	1a	1b	1b	1b	3	1a	1a	1c	1a	1a	2	1a	1a	1a	3	1a
D.III.B	1f	1e	1d	2b		1aj 3b	1aj 3b	1a	1f	1a	1b	1b	3a	2c	1f	1c	2a	1a
D.III.C	σ(4)	σ(4)	σ(4)	σ(4)	1a	1a	σ(4)	3	σ(4)	1b	σ(4)	σ(4)	σ(4)	1c	2	σ(4)	σ(4)	σ(4)
D.III.D	1a	1a	1b	1a	2a	2a	2a	2a	2a	2b	2a	2a	1a	1c	1d	2a	1a	1a
D.III.E	4	1a	4	4	4	1a	1b	2d	2d	1b	2b	1c	2e	2c	1a	2e	2e	1a
D.IV.A	2	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	1a	1	3	1	2	1a	4	4	3
D.IV.B	1	4	1a	1b	4	5	3b	1c	1	1b	2b	3b	1a	2a	3a	1a	1a	2a
D.IV.C	1	1	2	σ(6)	σ(6)	1a	5	2	1	1	1	3	3	1	3a	1a	1a	2a
D.IV.D	1c	2	1b	2	2	1a	1a	1	1c	1a	3	2	1a	1a	1a	1c	1a	2
D.IV.E	1	1	σ(5)	σ(5)	σ(5)	3a	1	1	2a	2a	4	3b	σ(5)	σ(5)	σ(5)	2b/ 3a	1	2a
D.V.A	5	2a	6	1b	3	2a		1a	4	1a	1a	1c	2a	2b	1a	1a	2a	2a
D.V.B	1j 3a	1j 2a	3dj 4c	1j 4b	1j 2c	1j 2b	1		σ(5)	1j 2a	1	1j 2b	1j 3c	1j 3cj 4a	3b	1j 2a	1j 3cj 4a	1j 2b
D.V.C	σ(4)	σ(4)	σ(4)	σ(4)	σ(4)	2cj 3b	1aj 2bj 3a	2dj 3b	σ(4)	2a	3b	1c	1aj 2aj 3a	1b	σ(4)	2a	σ(4)	1a
D.V.D	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	1b	2b	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)
D.V.E	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(3)	1a	1b	σ(2)	σ(2)	1c	σ(2)	1a	σ(3)	1b	σ(2)	σ(2)
D.VI.A	σ(4)	1a	1d	1e	1a	1a	1a	1a	1b	1a	3	1a	1a	σ(4)	1b	1a	1c	1a
D.VI.B	σ(5)	3	4	4	σ(6)	1b	1a	1a	1e	1a	2a	1a	2a	σ(5)	1c	1d	2a	2a

| | FN | PS | HM | LC- 1 | OM | SH a-1 | SH a-2 | GN a | FK- 2 | FK- 1 | EP- 2 | EP-1 ZK- 3 | HR- 1 | HR- 2 | ZK- 1 | ZK- 2 | ZK- MC-1 |

Mem ù Zin Motif Chart
Scenes and Motifs

	FN	PS	HM	LC·1	OM	SH a-1	SH a-2	GN a	FK·2	FK·1	EP·2	EP·1	ZK·3	HR·1	HR·2	ZK·1	ZK·2	MC·1
D.VI.C	5a	5a	1a	4	5a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1b	1a	3	1a	1a	2	5b
D.VI.D	σ(2)	.	σ(2)	σ(2)	1a	1a	1a	1b	σ(2)	1a	σ(2)	1a	1a	1a	σ(2)	1a	σ(2)	1a
D.VI.E	.	3	.	.	1a	2a	2a	1a	.	1c	.	1b	2b	3	.	1b	.	1a
D.VII.A	4a	3	4b	5	2a	1a	1a	2c	5	1b	1a	1a	2c	2a	5	2c	2c	2b
D.VII.B	1b	σ(2)	1a	1c	σ(2)	1a	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	1a	σ(7)	1a	1a	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	1a	σ(2)
D.VII.C	1a	.	2	σ(3)	1a	1a	.	.	.	1a	.	.	1b	.	1a	1b	1b	.
D.VIII.A	σ(7)	3b	2a	.	3	1b	2a	3	2	2a	σ(7)	σ(7)	1a	σ(7)	σ(7)	σ(7)	3a	σ(7)
D.VIII.B	.	1	1	.	1	1	1	.	σ(7)	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	1	.
D.VIII.C	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	1b	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	1a	σ(2)	1a	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)	σ(2)
E.I.A	σ(6)	1a	1d	4	2b	2b	1c	2b	σ(6)	1a	3	1b	1c	1c	2d	1a	2a	2c
E.I.B	σ(7)	6	5	4	1g	1b	1e	2c	σ(7)	1	2b	1d	1a	1b	3a	1e	1c	3b
E.I.C	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	2a	2a	1b	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	1a	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	2b	1b	σ(3)
E.II.A	7	5	5	4	7	2a	2a	3	7	2a	2b	2a	2a	1	1	2a	2a	6
E.II.B	1a	2a	4a	4b	3d	3c	1a	1b	2c	1c	σ(5)	1d	2c	2b	2c	3b	2d	3a
E.III.A	1c	1a	1b	6	2b	2a	1a	9	3	1a	1a	1b	1b	1a	1a	1a	2a	1a
E.III.B	5	1a	2	(11)	4	7	8	9	1a	(11)	10	1b	1b	1a	6	1b	3	1a
E.III.C	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	1	1	2b	σ(3)	σ(3)	σ(3)	2a	2a	1	1	2a	1	σ(3)
F.	1b	1a	5	4	3a	2a	2a	5	3c	2b	1a	3b	5	1b	5	3d	1a	1a

	FN	PS	HM	LC·1	OM	SH a-1	SH a-2	GN a	FK·2	FK·1	EP·2	EP·1	ZK·3	HR·1	HR·2	ZK·1	ZK·2	MC·1

Mem û Zîn
Motifs Exhibiting Variation

SCENES & MOTIFS

A. Initial stage : Introductory tale elements extraneous to structure of the story

1. ø (PS; HM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; MC-1)

2. a. Mem's future father [šîrin alma], youngest of three childless brothers, rulers of the land; royal sheikh instructs him to go to the Qoreishis, and ask for the hand of zālixâ xâtun; he begets a son by her (LC-1)

   b. Mem's future father [Alan-Pasha], oldest of three childless brothers, rulers of the land; pray to God; Khizir comes and instructs them to take gold and go to Egypt, to ask for the hand of t'êlî 'îşan; she will bear them a son whom they are to name Memê Alan; Mem is born, grows quickly; Mem is kept in dark room, where one day he is frightened by a ray of sunlight (ZK-2)

   c. Mem's future father [Brayim Pasha] and his vizier are childless; pray to God; Veysel Karanî comes and gives them apple; they share apples with their wives, and sons are born to them; sons kept in dark room; accidentally break window with bone from soup and see sunlight for first time (OM)

3. Folktale-like: Yusuf Agha impregnates his first cousin; causes disgrace; she bears a boy [Mammo] and a girl [Aminah]; fight between Mammo and Yusuf Agha; Mammo is made the local ruler; Kills lion (PN)

4. Mem's heroic birth: a virgin is impregnated by seawater and gives birth through her mouth to a boy; she abandons him at the seashore, where he is found by Al Pasha, who raises him as his only child (EP-1)

B. Preparatory stage — Mukhurzemîn

B.I. Mem and Zîn #1 discover one another

B.I.A. Discovery of Mem and Zîn:

1. a. 3 doves invoke God to send down dove's skin for Zîn: drop slumber pearls in Zîn's ear (SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-2; FK-1)

   b. 3 doves invoke God to send down dove's skin for Zîn [no slumber pearls] (EP-1; ZK-1)

   c. 2 doves invoke God to send down dove's skin for Zîn (EP-2)

    d. 3 falcons invoke God to send down dove's skin for Zîn (OM)

    e. 3 houris/fairies from heaven, mother and 2 daughters invoke God to send down dove's skin for Zîn : drop slumber pearls in Zîn's ear (GNa)

    f. 3 daughters of fairy king become turtledoves [qumrî]: youngest sister hides clothes of 2 older sisters while they bathe, and won't return them until they tell her what she wants to know (LC-1)

  2. a. King of the Jinn [şahê e'rîîta] + jinn [e'rîîtê cinal]; the king asks if anyone knows of two who should be united; Mem & Zîn, with slumber pearls in their ears, are brought by jinn (ZK-3)

    b. King of the Jinn + jinn; argument: one jinn says that Zîn is more beautiful, another says that Mem is more beautiful; Mem & Zîn, with slumber pearls in their ears, are brought by jinn (HR-1; HR-2)

    c. King of the Jinn + jinn; one jinn claims that Zîn is the most beautiful girl, and Mem the most beautiful boy; Mem & Zîn, with slumber pearls in their ears, are brought by jinn (ZK-2)

  3. a. 2 angels bet against each other: 1 says Zîn is more beautiful; 1 says Mem is (PS)

    b. 2 angels bring Mem and Zîn together (MC-1)

  4. Merchant from Mosul acts as intermediary between Mem & Zîn (PN)

  5. ø (HM)

B.I.B. Doves notice Mem or Zîn first. (With B.I.A.1. only)

  1. Notice Mem first (LC-1; OM; SHa-1; FK-1; EP-2)

  2. Notice Zîn #1 first (SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-1)

B.I.C. Mem & Zîn argue: Who has come to whom?

  1. Argument (PS; LC-1; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2; MC-1)

  2. Polite debate (FK-2)

  3. ø (PN; HM)

B.I.D. Argument resolved by a proof

  1. Count number of minarets in city [366 in his city, 66 in hers]: they count 366 (SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1)

2. Each calls servant: his answers, hers doesn't (PS; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1)

3. a. They walk about the palace, and Zîn #1 realizes she is not at home; She calls Qeretajdîn and brothers, but they don't answer (LC-1)

   b. Mem calls his servant Bengîneh first, and Bengîneh answers; they walk about the palace and look out the windows (OM)

4. What side of the bed the hearth is on? — if it is on the left side, they are in Zîn #1's bed: if it is on the right side, they are in Mem's bed: it's on the right side (EP-2)

5. Mem tells Zîn #1 to extinguish light, but she doesn't know where it is (SHa-1)

6. ø (PN; HM)

B.I.E. Exchange of rings and vows; exchange initiated by

1. a. Mem (FK-2)

   b. Mem gives ring to merchant from Mosul to give to Zîn #1 (PN)

2. Zîn #1 (PS; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; HR-1; ZK-1)

3. Mutual exchange (LC-1; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; ZK-3; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1)

4. ø (HM)

B.I.F. Items exchanged

1. Rings (PN; LC-1; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2)

2. Rings and handkerchiefs (PS; OM; MC-1)

3. ø (HM)

B.I.G. Zîn #1 tells Mem to come after her

1. Zîn #1 tells Mem that he must come in 40 days to marry her, or else she will be married to someone else (FK-2; FK-1)

2. Zîn #1 hires messenger and sends Mem letter saying, "If you're coming, come now, otherwise I will marry [someone else]." (PN)

3. Zîn #1 insists that if Mem is a real man, he will undergo any ordeal to find her (GNa)

4. Zîn #1 says, "You will have to come find me" (SHa-2)

5. Zîn #1 gives Mem directions to Jezîra Bohtan, in case he wants to come after her (HR-1)

6. ø (PS; HM; LC-1; OM; SHa-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-3; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2; MC-1)

B.II.   It was not just a dream

B.II.A. Proof that Mem and Zîn's visit was not just a dream

1. Mem discovers Zîn's ring on his finger (PS; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-1)

2. Mem discovers Zîn #1's ring on his finger, and Zîn #1 discovers Mem's ring on her finger (LC-1; OM; GNa)

3. Zîn #1 discovers Mem's ring on her finger (MC-1)

4. Mem remembers Zîn #1's ring (ZK-3; HR-2)

5. ø (PN; HM; SHa-1; SHa-2; HR-1; ZK-2)

B.II.B. As a result

1. Mem falls [love]sick (SHa-2; HR-2; ZK-1)

2. Mem faints (FK-2; FK-1; EP-1)

3. Both Mem and Zîn #1 fall [love]sick (OM; GNa)

4. Zîn #1 is morose (MC-1)

5. Mem falls in love when he awakens to find Zîn #1 gone (SHa-1)

6. Mem orders Bengîn to find Zîn #1 or else! (ZK-3)

7. Mem goes to his father's diwan and tells what happened during the night; he says that if he is lying, he will go blind and lame, but if he is telling the truth, the judge and mufti will be so afflicted: judge & mufti go blind and lame (ZK-2)

8. ø (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; EP-2; HR-1)

B.II.C. Party in Al-Pasha's garden for Mem to choose bride

1. Party in Al-Pasha's garden for Mem to choose bride; Parade of unmarried girls and married women of kingdom (OM; SHa-2 [footnote #5]; GNa; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-1; ZK-2)

2. a. Party in Al-Pasha's garden for Mem to choose bride; Parade of unmarried girls and married women of kingdom; Mem is to throw apple at the girl he wants: he doesn't throw it at anyone (SHa-1)

   b. Party in Al-Pasha's garden for Mem to choose bride; Parade of unmarried girls and married women of kingdom; Mem is to throw apple at the girl he wants: he throws it in anger and it bursts into a million pieces (FK-2; SHa-1)

   c. Party in Al-Pasha's garden for Mem to choose bride; Parade of unmarried girls of kingdom; Mem is to throw apple at the girl he wants: he doesn't throw it at anyone (FK-1)

   d. Party in Al-Pasha's garden for Mem to choose bride; Parade of unmarried girls and married women of kingdom; Mem is to throw apple at the girl he wants: he doesn't throw it at anyone ; Al Pasha goes out in search of Zîn #1 for Mem (MC-1)

3. a. Mem gives his father 7 days to find out about Jezîra Bohtan, but his father fails to find anything out (ZK-3)

   b. After Mem threatens to disown his father, his father goes out looking for Jezîra Bohtan; in an inn he meets a merchant who has just come from there (HR-1)

4. Al Pasha tells Mem, "Whoever you want, I'll request for you" (PS)

5. ø (PN; HM; LC-1; HR-2)

B.III.   Mem prepares for trip

B.III.A. Mem chooses a horse

1. a. Scrawny horse chosen from royal stables (SHa-1; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1)

   b. Gray horse [espî bor] chosen from royal stables (OM)

2. Mem already has a horse, which is mentioned for the first time at this point (PS; ZK-3; MC-1)

3. Fine horse caught by fishermen in the sea [precedes B.I.A] (LC-1; ZK-2)

4. Mare tells Mem to go to a ravine in the mountains and to choose one of her sons (EP-2)

5. ø (PN; HM; SHa-2; HR-1; HR-2)

B.III.B. Mem acquires items for trip [in order of acquisition]

1. Suit, saddle, sword (GNa); [horse], suit, saddle, sword (FK-1)

2. Saddle, suit (ZK-1); Suit, [horse], saddle (FK-2); Saddle, suit, [horse] (EP-1)

3. Sword, harness, [horse] (EP-2)

4. Mem takes out items which he already owns: saddle; gold; dagger, sword, and golden lance (PS)

5. Mem's mother has Bengîn and his 88 servant boys fetch box of Mem's clothes, Erzurum saddle & 7 straps, and shiny sword (ZK-2)

6. ø (PN; HM; LC-1; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; MC-1)

B.III.C. Mem's parents' reaction to his trip

1. a. Al Pasha tries to prevent trip by having city gates bolted and Bor the horse's legs chained (FK-2; FK-1; ZK-1)

   b. Al Pasha tries to prevent trip by having city gates bolted and Bor the horse's legs chained; Al Pasha wonders aloud what the evil eye has in store for Mem (GNa; EP-1)

2. a. Al Pasha's curse on Mem and his trip (HM)

   b. Al Pasha and Mem's mother's curse on Mem and his trip (ZK-3)

   c. Al Pasha's curse on Mem and his trip; Mem's mother encourages his to go (ZK-2)

3. Al Pasha asks Mem not to go, but gives him money when he goes (HR-2)

4. Mem and Bengîneh's mothers beg them not to go, but bless their trip; Brayim Pasha's cries of despair (OM)

5. Mem has his parents' blessing [halal] (SHa-2)

6. ø (PN; PS; LC-1; SHa-1; EP-2; HR-1; MC-1)

B.III.D. Mem's temporary escorts on the trip: they turn back

1. a. Al Pasha sends men to accompany Mem: Mem sends them home: they ask him to write letters as proof that he sent them back (SHa-2)

   b. Al Pasha sends 100 men to accompany Mem: Mem sends them home (PS)

   c. Al Pasha sends 40 men to accompany Mem: Mem sends them

home (GNa); Al Pasha sends 40 men to accompany Mem — 20 on the left, 20 on the right: Mem sends them home (ZK-2)

    d. Some of Al Pasha's men decide to accompany Mem: Mem sends them home (EP-1)

2. a. Al Pasha sends 12,000 men to accompany Mem: Everyday 1,000 of them leave and return home (OM)

    b. Al Pasha sends 1,000 soldiers to accompany Mem: Every hour 100 of them leave and return home (ZK-3)

    c. Al Pasha sends 40 men to accompany Mem: Everyday one of them leaves and returns home (HR-1)

3. The Sheikh of the Qoreishis [šêx qorêišia] sends 80 men to accompany Mem: they go with him as far as the road to Jezîra Bohtan and return (LC-1)

4. Mem takes 24 villagers with him: they turn around and leave him (PN)

5. While Al Pasha is gone in search of Zîn #1 for Mem, Mem sets out with soldiers: they turn back (MC-1)

6. Al Pasha sends men to frighten Mem: he avoids them by taking a different route (SHa-1)

7. ø (HM; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; HR-2; ZK-1)

C.   _Transitional stage — between Mukhurzemîn and Jezîra Bohtan_

C.I.   Mem and Bor

C.I.A. Horse talks; Wounds from chains

1. Bor tells Mem about his wounds from the chains (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1; ZK-2; MC-1)

2. Horse is hungry; tells Mem to go home (PN)

3. Chains fall off before they leave Mukhurzemîn (EP-2)

4. ø (PS; HM; LC-1; OM; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2)

C.I.B. Mem stops and treats Bor's wounds

1. a. Mem stops; treats horse's wounds (FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1; MC-1)

    b. Mem stops; treats horse's wounds; Mem is truly sorry he ignored

Bor's pain (SHa-2)

2. After ignoring Bor's complaint, Mem finally stops (SHa-1; GNa)

3. Mem stops twice: first time, horse talks; second time, a snake climbs up Mem's leg (PN)

4. ø (PS; HM; LC-1; OM; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2)

C.I.C. Bor's wounds heal

1. a. Mem washes Bor's wound with handkerchief; lets Bor graze in meadow (FK-2; FK-1)

   b. Mem wraps Bor's wound with handkerchief; lets Bor graze in meadow (EP-1)

   c. Mem washes Bor's feet with water, wraps them with handkerchief; lets Bor graze in meadow (ZK-1)

   d. Mem tends to Bor's feet; lets Bor graze in meadow (SHa-1)

2. a. Dove's feather: when dipped in water, heals Bor's wound (SHa-2)

   b. 3 dove's feathers: when dipped in water, heal Bor's wound (GNa)

3. Xidir nebî (donor figure) helps (MC-1)

4. ø (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2)

C.II. People encountered along the way

C.II.A. Mem asks farmer how far it is to Jezîra Bohtan

1. a. Mem asks farmer/plowman how far it is to Jezîra Bohtan (SHa-1; SHa-2; EP-2; HR-1; MC-1)

   b. Mem asks farmer/plowman how far it is to Jezîra Bohtan [follows C.II.D](GNa; FK-2)

   c. Mem asks plowman and his son how far it is to Jezîra Bohtan: the plowmen were sent their by Lady Astî: prearranged, not coincidence (OM)

   d. Mem asks gentleman [juâmêreg] how far it is to Jezîra Bohtan (PS)

2. a. Mem asks farmer/plowman how far it is to Jezîra Bohtan: Mem comes back to ask another question (ZK-1)

   b. Mem asks farmer/plowman how far it is to Jezîra Bohtan: when Mem comes back to ask another question, farmer thinks Mem

wants to kill him, so farmer tries to flee (EP-1)

    c. Mem asks farmer/plowman how far it is to Jezîra Bohtan: Mem almost comes back to ask another question, but changes his mind (FK-1)

3. Mem encounters 2 different people and asks each one how far it is to Jezîra Bohtan: a) an old man; b) farmer/plowman: when Mem comes back to ask another question, farmer thinks Mem wants to kill him, so farmer tries to flee (ZK-3)

4. Mem encounters 3 different people and asks each one how far it is to Jezîra Bohtan: a) old man (Xizir in disguise): they ride to Diyarbekir; Xizir turns into youth; they part company; b) porter from Jezîra Bohtan: gives Mem undesired answer; Mem frightens him; Mem falls from God's favor; c) miller: gives Mem desired answer; Mem rewards him with gold (ZK-2)

5. ø (PN; HM; LC-1; HR-2)

C.II.B. Determining where Mem should stay in Jezîra Bohtan

1. a. Hunting expedition (#1) on the way to Jezîra Bohtan; Mem catches gazelle that Qeretajdîn is unable to catch; Qeretajdîn is angry; they do battle; Mem wins; they become friends; Qeretajdîn continues hunting, invites Mem to be his guest in Jezîra Bohtan (FK-1; ZK-1)

    b. Hunting expedition (#1); Mem catches gazelle that Qeretajdîn is unable to catch; Qeretajdîn is angry; they do battle; Mem wins; they become friends (FK-2)

    c. Hunting expedition (#1); Mem catches gazelle that Qeretajdîn is unable to catch; Qeretajdîn is angry; argument resolved by Qeretajdîn's brothers (EP-1)

    d. Hunting expedition (#1); Mem catches gazelle that Qeretajdîn is unable to catch; Qeretajdîn & brothers praise Mem, they become blood brothers; Bor instinctively leads Mem to Qeretajdîn's house (GNa)

    e. Mem meets Qeretajdîn, Mîr Sêvdîn, and Beko on hunting expedition (#1); The 3 of them debate whose guest Mem should be; Mem chooses to be guest of Qeretajdîn (ZK-2)

2. a. Mem asks Zîn #2 where he should stay in Jezîra Bohtan (OM; MC-1)

    b. Mem asks [Zîn #2] where he should stay in Jezîra Bohtan; she tells him to wait in garden; Beko comes and Mem asks him where to stay [follows C.III.] (ZK-3)

3. Mem asks gentleman where he should stay in Jezîra Bohtan (PS)

4. ø (PN; HM; LC-1; SHa-1; SHa-2; EP-2; HR-1; HR-2)

C.II.C. Qeretajdîn's identity is or is not revealed at time of first meeting [with C.II.B.1]

1. Qeretajdîn's identity is revealed to Mem (FK-1; ZK-1; ZK-2)

2. Qeretajdîn's identity is revealed to audience (FK-2; EP-1)

3. Qeretajdîn's identity is not revealed (GNa)

C.III. Encounter with Beko Awan's Zîn (Zîn #2)

C.III.A. Zîn #2 tries to trick Mem at entrance to Jizîra Bota [* = first mentioned earlier]

1. Zîn #2 tries to trick Mem into believing that she is Zîn #1 (PN; *SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; *FK-1; EP-2; *EP-1; HR-2; ZK-1; MC-1)

2. Zîn #2 tries to trick Mem into believing that she is Zîn #1: she spreads her laundry on the road, blocking Mem's path, to test his gallantry (ZK-3; HR-1)

3. Zîn #1 intends to play trick on Mem; Mem mistakes Zîn #2 for Zîn #1 (ZK-2)

4. Mem tricks himself: [Melik Reyhan] says that she is not Zîn #1, but Mem insists that she is (OM)

5. Unnamed girl at river claims to be Zîn #1; Mem does not believe her, and guesses that she is Zîn #1's maidservant (LC-1)

6. ø (PS; HM)

C.III.B. Mem encounters Zîn #2

1. at well [fountain; spring] (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2)

2. at river (PN; LC-1; OM; FK-2; MC-1)

3. on bridge of Zembeli (EP-1)

C.III.C. Zîn #2 is engaged in

1. a. spinning wool (SHa-1; GNa; FK-1)

b. washing wool (FK-2; ZK-1)

    2. a. washing clothes (PN; HR-1; MC-1)

       b. bleaching linens (OM; ZK-3)

    3. embroidery (EP-1)

    4. drawing water (EP-2; HR-2; ZK-2)

    5. not stated (LC-1; SHa-2)

C.III.D. Mem asks Zîn #2 where his ring is

    1. a. Mem asks about the ring; Zîn #2 says it fell into the river (FK-2; FK-1)

       b. Mem asks about the ring; Zîn #2 says it fell onto bridge and got lost (EP-1)

       c. Mem asks about the ring; Zîn #2 says it fell off her finger and got lost (ZK-1)

       d. Mem asks about the ring; Zîn #2 says she was keeping it in her mouth, while washing at fountain it fell into water and was lost (GNa [footnote])

    2. Zîn #2 mentions ring, saying it accidentally fell into stream (SHa-2)

    3. Mem asks about the ring; Zîn #2 says she waited so long without eating that she forgot his ring at home (GNa)

    4. Zîn #2 reproaches Mem for not remembering her, or their vow to each other (MC-1)

    5. ø (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; SHa-1; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2)

C.III.E. Final words

    1. a. Zîn #2 wants Mem to take her as Zîn #1's servant (FK-2; FK-1; ZK-1)

       b. Zîn #2 wants Mem to take her with him when he leaves; he decides to marry her off to Bengîn when they leave (ZK-3)

       c. Mem promises to take Zîn #2 as Zîn #1's maidservant (EP-1)

       d. Mem promises to take unnamed girl with him to city of Mughrib if she tells him where to cross the river (LC-1)

    2. Mem knocks Zîn #2 down when she tries to prevent him from passing; she swears vengeance (GNa)

3. ø (PN; PS; HM; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; EP-2; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1)

D. <u>Main stage - Jezîra Bohtan</u>

D.I. Mem arrives in Jezîra Bohtan

D.I.A. Mem's host in Jezîra Bohtan

    1. a. Qeretajdîn (PS; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-1)

       b. Qeretajdîn; he tests Mem's honor by sending his own wife to Mem's room; Mem sends her away (ZK-3; ZK-2)

       c. Hásan čäkō [Qeretajdîn's brother(s)] (LC-1)

       d. Mem originally heads for Beko Awan's house, but finding no one at home, he goes to Qeretajdîn's house (OM)

       e. Mem goes to mosque; Zîn #2 follows him there; she takes him to Beko Awan's home, telling him it is Qeretajdîn's home; when the lie is discovered, he goes to Qeretajdîn's house (HR-1)

    2. a. Mîr Sêvdîn (FK-2)

       b. Mîr Sêvdîn [there is no Qeretajdîn in this version] (PN)

    3. Beko Awan (HM)

    4. Qeretajdîn for seven days; Mîr Sêvdîn for seven days (MC-1)

    5. Beko Awan at first; then Mîr Sêvdîn (HR-2)

D.I.B. Jealousy of Mîr

    1. a. Jealousy of Mîr because of Qeretajdîn's prolonged absence (OM; SHa-2; GNa; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1)

       b. Jealousy of Mîr because of Qeretajdîn's prolonged absence [follows D.II.] (PS; FK-1)

       c. Jealousy of Mîr because of Qeretajdîn's prolonged absence [follows D.II.C](MC-1)

    2. Jealousy of Mîr because Mem is Qeretajdîn's guest rather than his own (ZK-2)

    3. a. No jealousy: the Mîr invites Memê Alan, Hásan čäkō and Qeretajdîn to his house [follows D.II.A] (LC-1)

       b. No jealousy: Qeretajdîn suggests that they go to the Mîr's diwan [follows D.II.] (SHa-1)

4. ø (PN; HM; FK-2; HR-1; HR-2)

D.I.C. Servant hit on head by Qeretajdîn's wife with ladle

1. Servant sent by the Mîr to summon Mem to his dîwan (SHa-2; GNa; EP-1; ZK-1)

2. Servant sent by Qeretajdîn's wife to bring Qeretajdîn home from Mîr's dîwan to meet Mem; servant is hit upon returning without Qeretajdîn (FK-1)

3. both 1. and 2. (SHa-1)

4. Qeretajdîn hit on head by his wife with shoe for not trusting Mem (ZK-2)

5. ø (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; FK-2; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; MC-1)

D.I.D. Mîr Sêvdîn is very fond of Mem

1. Explicitly stated (PN; PS; OM; SHa-2; GNa; EP-2; EP-1; HR-2; ZK-1; MC-1)

2. Implicit (FK-2; FK-1; ZK-3)

3. Mîr is undecided (SHa-1)

4. ø (HM; LC-1; HR-1; ZK-2)

D.I.E. Mîr Sêvdîn offers Mem a gift

1. Mîr Sêvdîn asks Mem to choose a gift (GNa; EP-2; EP-1)

2. a. Mîr Sêvdîn offers Mem the office of emir [mîrtî] (FK-1)

   b. Mîr Sêvdîn offers Mem a principality (SHa-1)

   c. Mîr Sêvdîn offers Mem Istanbul (SHa-2)

3. Mîr Sêvdîn offers Zîn #1 to Mem; Beko Awan spreads rumor that she has leprosy, so Mem politely refuses the offer; Mem gives Bengîn to Mîr Sêvdîn (OM)

4. Zîn #2 is offered to Mem; Mem thinks Zîn #1 is intended, and accepts; the error is discovered later (ZK-3; ZK-2)

5. Mîr Sêvdîn wants Mem to be his tobacco and pipe bearer; Qeretajdîn informs him that Mem is his equal in rank (PS)

6. ø (PN; HM; LC-1; FK-2; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; MC-1)

D.I.F.   Mem takes as gift a position [that enables him to be near Zîn #1] (* = as advised by Zîn #1)

    1. a. Cook (GNa)

      b. Supervisor of kitchen (SHa-2)

      c. Cook [k'urkê aspêjîê = cloak of cooking], serving coffee in the diwan (EP-1)

      d. Chief of servants, in charge of serving coffee in the diwan (FK-1)

      e. Servant or doorman [chavush] (*SHa-1)

    2. Leader of the hunt (OM)

    3. Felt cloak (*EP-2)

    4. Seat in the diwan across from Mîr Sêvdîn (PS)

D.I.G.   Mîr Sêvdîn stands up when Mem enters

    1. a. Mîr Sêvdîn stands up when Mem enters (SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1)

      b. Mîr Sêvdîn stands up when Mem enters [follows D.II.] (FK-1)

    2. ø (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; SHa-1; EP-2; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1)

D.I.H.   Handkerchief as proof

    1. a. Handkerchief as proof that Mîr Sêvdîn stood up when Mem entered (SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1)

      b. Same as a. [follows D.II.] (FK-1)

    2. ø (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; SHa-1; EP-2; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1)

D.II.   Mem gets token from Zîn #1 and wins Qeretajdîn's approval

D.II.A. Mem and Qeretajdîn + brothers sit on balcony; Zîn's caravan passes by

    1. a. Mem and Qeretajdîn + brothers sit on balcony; Zîn's caravan passes by on way to wash pots at well; Mem says he wants to collect a toll from this caravan; Brothers get angry at Mem (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-1)

      b. same as a. [follows D.I.A] (FK-1)

    2. a. Mem and Qeretajdîn + brothers sit on balcony; Zîn's caravan passes by on way to wash pots at well; Mem says he wants to collect a

toll from this caravan; 'Irfo and Cheko not angry (OM)

    b. Zîn #1 passes by Ḥasan čākö's house on way to fetch water from well, as excuse to see Mem; Ḥasan čākö encourage Mem to take his horse to be watered as excuse to see her [follows D.I.A] (LC-1)

    3. [see C.III.] Zîn passes by Qeretajdîn's gate on her way to fill jugs; Mem mistakes Zîn #2 for Zîn #1; repeated a second time, this time Mem takes Zîn #1 (ZK-2)

    4. Mem agrees to marry Zîn #2, thinking she is Zîn #1; Zîn #1 tells him of this in a letter; as proof he is to come see her and her servant in the royal garden; Mem convinces Qeretajdîn to go with him to the garden on Friday, where they see both Zîn #1 and #2, and the error is discovered (ZK-3)

    5. ø (PN; PS; HM; EP-2; HR-1; HR-2; MC-1)

D.II.B. Task: Mem must get a token (piece of jewelry) from Zîn #1

    1. Mem must get a piece of jewelry from Zîn #1 as proof that she loves him (PS; OM; SHa-2; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-1)

    2. a. Mem suggests that he get a piece of jewelry from Zîn #1 as proof that she loves him (SHa-1)

       b. same as a. [follows D.I.A] (FK-1)

    3. 2 proof tasks: a) Mem must bring stored grain from town of Sakhlan; he is ambushed on the way, and successfully defeats his assailants; b) Mem must get a gold piece from Zîn #1 (GNa)

    4. Qeretajdîn gives Bako Awan 2 gold pieces as token of Mem's betrothal to Zîn #2 (ZK-2)

    5. In a letter, Zîn #1 tells Mem that by mistake he has agreed to marry her servant Zîn #2; as proof he is to come see her and her servant in the royal garden (ZK-3)

    6. Mem gets bouquet from Zîn #1 (MC-1)

    7. ø (PN; HM; LC-1; EP-2; HR-1; HR-2)

D.II.C. Zîn #1 gives Mem jewels she was wearing

    1. a. Zîn #1 gives Mem jewels she was wearing; token of her desire to marry him (PS; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-1)

       b. same as a. [follows C.III.] (EP-2)

       c. same as a. [follows D.I.A] (FK-1)

2. Qeretajdîn gives Bako Awan 2 gold pieces as token of Mem's betrothal to Zîn #2 (ZK-2)

3. Zîn #1 throws 2 bouquets in the air, one red and one yellow: if Mem catches the red one, they will achieve their goal in this world; if he catches the yellow one, they will achieve their goal in the next world; he catches the yellow bouquet (MC-1)

4. ø (PN; HM; LC-1; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2)

D.II.D. Çekan renounces his betrothal to Zîn #1, gives her to Mem (with II.J & II.K of Dramatis Personae)

1. a. Çekan renounces his betrothal to Zîn, gives her to Mem (SHa-1; GNa; EP-1)

b. same as a. [follows D.I.A] (FK-1)

c. Çekan first objects, then renounces his betrothal to Zîn, and gives her to Mem (SHa-2; ZK-1)

2. Qeretajdîn nullifies his son's betrothal to Zîn #1, so that Mem can marry her (HR-1)

3. 'Irfo and Cheko both renounce their desire to court Zîn #1, so that Mem alone may have her (OM)

4. Mem wins the approval of Qeretajdîn and his brothers (FK-2)

5. Mem renounces his betrothal to Zîn #2 (ZK-2)

6. ø (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-2; MC-1)

D.III. Hunting expedition (#2); Mem's feigned illness

D.III.A. Hunting expedition (#2)

1. a. Hunting expedition (PN; PS; HM; SHa-1; GNa; FK-2; EP-2; EP-1; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; MC-1)

b. same as a. [follows D.I.B-C] (LC-1)

c. same as a. [follows D.I.] (FK-1)

d. same as a. [follows D.VI.] (ZK-2)

e. same as a. [order: D.VI.; D.VIII.B-C; D.III.A] (OM)

2. Jireed match (ZK-3)

3. Jireed match and hunting expedition (SHa-2)

D.III.B. Mem's feigned illness

    1. a. Mem feigns illness (SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; MC-1)

      b. Mem feigns illness, at suggestion of Zîn #1 (OM; SHa-1; EP-2; EP-1)

      c. Mem feigns illness, suggested to Zîn #1 by Beko Awan (ZK-1)

      d. Mem feigns illness, at suggestion of Qeretajdîn (HM)

      e. Mem does not wish to go, Qeretajdîn tells Mîr Sêvdîn that Mem is ill (PS)

      f. no feigned illness (PN; FK-2; HR-2)

    2. a. Mem goes out with the hunters, then gets permission to return because of headache (ZK-2)

      b. Mem goes out with the hunters, Hasan čäkö send Mem home (LC-1)

      c. Mem goes out with the hunters, then goes against Qeretajdîn's wishes and turns back (HR-1)

    3. a. Jireed match: Mem falls from horse at Qeretajdîn's suggestion (ZK-3)

      b. Jireed match: Mem hides under horse at horse's suggestion (SHa-2)

D.III.C. Purpose of hunting expedition (#2)

    1. a. Purpose: to test Mem's manliness (SHa-1)

      b. Purpose: to test Mem's manliness: if he hunts well, they will give him Zîn #1, otherwise they won't (FK-1)

      c. Purpose: to test how skillful a rider Mem is (HR-1)

    2. Zîn #1 asks Qeretajdîn to let her see Mem; Qeretajdîn suggests hunting trip to enable Zîn #1 and Mem to have a meeting (HR-2)

    3. Beko Awan plans to 'accidentally' do away with Mem (GNa)

    4. ø = not stated (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; SHa-2; FK-2; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1; ZK-2; MC-1)

D.III.D. Site of Mem and Zîn #1's rendez-vous

    1. a. diwan (PN; PS; HM; OM; ZK-3; ZK-2; MC-1)

    b. diwan of Ḥasan čäkô (LC-1)

    c. diwan of Sittîye Zîn (HR-1)

    d. palace (HR-2)

  2. a. garden (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-1)

    b. Mem gets lost on way, goes to nightingale's garden by mistake; Zîn #1 finds him there and brings him to her garden (FK-1)

D.III.E. Hunting expedition (#2) cut short because of:

  1. a. rainstorm (PS; SHa-1; ZK-1)

    b. hailstorm (SHa-2; FK-1)

    c. suggestion by Beko Awan that it will rain soon (EP-1)

  2. a. Beko Awan's suggestion (HR-2)

    b. Beko Awan slanders Mem (EP-2)

    c. Beko Awan claims that the hounds cannot follow the scent (HR-1)

    d. Beko Awan tells Mîr Sêvdîn that the deer to be hunted are in the garden (GNa; FK-2)

    e. Beko Awan's bet: he has his men pursue him to Mîr Sêvdîn's diwan, with instructions that if they overtake him (=Beko Awan), they must kill him: this forces Beko Awan to ride quickly — for his life — to reach the diwan (ZK-3; ZK-2)

  3. Mîr Sêvdîn does not want to go hunting without Mem (MC-1)

  4. Hunt not cut short: they finish and return home (PN; HM; LC-1; OM)

D.IV.   Mem and Zîn #1 are in trouble

D.IV.A. Mem and Zîn #1 almost discovered; Zîn hides under Mem's coat

  1. Hiding initiated by Mem (PS; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; EP-2; ZK-3; MC-1)

  2. Hiding initiated by Zîn #1 (PN; FK-2; FK-1; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1)

  3. Zîn #1 asks Mem to find her an escape; then she hides under his coat (EP-1)

  4. Not stated (HM; LC-1; ZK-2)

D.IV.B. Word for coat, cloak, or mantle:

   1. a. k'urk = 'fur' (PN; HM; LC-1; FK-2; ZK-3; ZK-2)

      b. k'urk û libas = 'fur and garment' (FK-1); k'urk û livas (EP-1)

      c. [Armenian] mushtak մուշտակ = 'fur' (GNa)

   2. a. e'ba = 'cloaklike wrap' (MC-1); ʕabä (HR-1)

      b. [Russian] voîlochnaia aba войлочная   aбa = 'felt cloak' (EP-2)

   3. a. Qap'ût = 'overcoat' (ZK-1); qāput (HR-2)

      b. [Armenian] verark վերարկ = 'overcoat' (SHa-2)

   4. kavi:l = 'animal hide' (PS); káuɫ (OM)

   5. [Armenian] farach ֆարաչ = 'cloak?' (SHa-1)

D.IV.C. Mem fails to stand up when Mîr Sêvdîn enters

   1. Mem fails to stand up when Mîr Sêvdîn enters (PN; PS; SHa-1; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2)

   2. Mem fails to greet Mîr Sêvdîn when enters (HM)

   3. Mem fails to stand up and vacate Mîr Sêvdîn's seat when enters (ZK-3)

   4. Mem is about to stand up, but Zîn #1 tells him not to, or he will disgrace her (MC-1)

   5. Mem stands up, but bows sluggishly (SHa-2)

   6. ø [not mentioned] (LC-1; OM)

D.IV.D. Mîr Sêvdîn's reaction

   1. a. Mîr Sêvdîn is angered by this (SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-1; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2)

      b. Mîr Sêvdîn is shocked or surprised [ajebbû] by this (HM)

      c. Mîr Sêvdîn's anger is delayed (PN; FK-2)

   2. Mîr Sêvdîn's reaction is not mentioned (PS; LC-1; OM; GNa; EP-1; MC-1)

   3. Mîr Sêvdîn is not angered by this (EP-2)

D.IV.E. Beko Awan's interference

1. Beko Awan comments on Mem's failure to get up (PN; PS; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; ZK-2)

2. a. Beko Awan lights fire beside Mem [and Zîn #1] (FK-1; MC-1)

   b. Beko Awan lights fire beside Mem and comments on Mem's f ailure to get up (ZK-1)

3. a. Beko Awan suggests that they all stand up and pray to God (SHa-1; ZK-1)

   b. Beko Awan comments on Mem's failure to get up and suggests that he stand up and pray to God (EP-1)

4. Mîr Sêvdîn says that it is Beko Awan who has tricked him (EP-2)

5. ø (HM; LC-1; OM; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2)

D.V.   Qeretajdîn's sacrifice

D.V.A. Qeretajdîn sees Zîn #1's hair sticking out from under Mem's coat, and understands

1. a. Qeretajdîn notices Zîn #1's braids (SHa-2 [footnote #26]; GNa; FK-1; EP-2; HR-2; ZK-1)

   b. Hasan čākō & Qeretajdîn notice a woman's skirt sticking out from under Mem's coat, and don't know if it belongs to Mîr Sêvdîn's sister or wife, or to Hasan's wife (LC-1)

   c. Mem rearranges Zîn #1's braids, and Qeretajdîn notices (EP-1)

2. a. Mem shows Zîn #1's braids to Qeretajdîn (PS; SHa-1; SHa-2 [footnote #26]; ZK-3; ZK-2; MC-1)

   b. Mem signals Qeretajdîn with his eyes [narrative interrupted at this point] (HR-1)

3. Zîn #1 shows Qeretajdîn her braids (OM)

4. Beko Awan shows Zîn #1's braids to Mîr Sêvdîn (FK-2)

5. Hasso and Chakko instinctively know that Zîn #1 is hiding behind Mem (PN)

6. It was Qeretajdîn who suggested that Mem feign illness, so he knew of Mem and Zîn #1's rendez-vous ahead of time; he tries unsuccessfully to warn them that Mîr Sêvdîn was coming by making noise outside the diwan (HM)

D.V.B. Qeretajdîn causes diversion; heroic rescue by Qeretajdîn; Items sacrificed:

    1. house (burnt) (PN; PS; LC-1; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2; MC-1)

    2. a. Qeretajdîn's child (burnt) (PS; FK-1; ZK-1)

        b. child's cradle (SHa-1; MC-1); 4 golden cradles [herçar bormotka zêñn] (EP-1)

        c. Qeretajdîn's child: unclear if he is actually sacrificed, but his mother is ready to sacrifice him (OM)

    3. a. Hasso's wife (shot) (PN)

        b. Qeretajdîn's wife (killed with sword) (HR-2)

        c. Qeretajdîn's wife with child strapped to her breast: unclear if they are actually killed (ZK-3; HR-1; ZK-2)

        d. Arfo's wife and child (HM)

    4. a. horse (burnt) (HR-1; ZK-2)

        b. horses in stable (killed with sword) (LC-1)

        c. horse and tent of Mîr Sêvdîn (HM)

    5. ø (FK-2)

D.V.C. Items rescued:

    1. a. Koran (PS; SHa-2; ZK-3; MC-1)

        b. books (HR-1)

    2. a. horse (FK-1; ZK-3)

        b. Mem's horse Bor (SHa-2)

        c. 3 horses (SHa-1)

        d. 6 horses: Qeretajdîn orders their rescue, his wife leaves them to be burned (GNa)

    3. a. child's cradle (SHa-2; ZK-3)

        b. child's cradle: Qeretajdîn orders its rescue, his wife leaves it to be burned (PS; SHa-1; GNa); 4 golden cradles [herçar bormotka zêñn]: Qeretajdîn orders their rescue, his wife

leaves them to be burned (EP-1)

c. child: Qeretajdîn orders his rescue, his wife leaves him to
be burned (ZK-1)

4. ø (PN; HM; LC-1; OM; FK-2; EP-2; HR-2; ZK-2)

D.V.D. Beko Awan interferes: tells Mîr Sêvdîn "it's nothing", thereby forcing
Qeretaj-dîn to sacrifice yet another precious item, in hopes of getting
Mîr Sêvdîn to leave the diwan and come see

1. a. Qeretajdîn has to cause a second diversion (HM; HR-2)

b. same as a., but Mîr Sêvdîn strikes Beko Awan (ZK-3)

2. a. Qeretajdîn has to cause a second and third diversion (ZK-2)

b. same as a., but Mîr Sêvdîn strikes Beko Awan (HR-1)

3. ø (PN; PS; LC-1; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1;
ZK-1; MC-1)

D.V.E. Mem extinguishes flames of Qeretajdîn's manor

1. a. Mem extinguishes flames of Qeretajdîn's manor with the hem
of his garment: the infant is saved (GNa)

b. Mem extinguishes flames of Qeretajdîn's manor with a
handkerchief (ZK-1)

c. Mem sings to the fire, stating that if his and Zîn #1's love is
divinely inspired, it will put the fire out, otherwise their
love is a lie; he extinguishes flames of Qeretajdîn's
manor with a handkerchief (EP-1)

2. ø (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1;
HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1)

D.VI. Mem and Mîr Sêvdîn's game; Mem's imprisonment

D.VI.A. Game between Mem and Mîr:

1. boardgame

a. chess (PS; HM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1; MC-1)

b. same as a. [follows D.V.A] (FK-2)

c. checkers (ZK-2)

d. same as c. [follows D.VII.A] (LC-1)

    e. backgammon [follows D.II.D] (OM)

2. cards (ZK-3; HR-2)

3. arrow shooting contest (EP-2)

4. ø (PN; HR-1)

D.VI.B. Terms of game:

    1. a. If Mem wins, he may marry Zîn #1: if he loses, he will be thrown into prison (HM; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1)

    b. If Mem wins, he may marry Zîn #1: if he loses, he will lose his head (SHa-1)

    c. If Mem wins, he may marry Zîn #1: if he loses, he will either lose his head or be thrown into prison (HR-2)

    d. If Mem wins, he may ask for whatever he wants: if he loses, he will be thrown into prison (ZK-1)

    e. If Mem loses, he will be thrown into prison (FK-2)

    2. a. Whoever wins may ask what he likes of the loser [şendîxwaz] (EP-2; ZK-3; ZK-2; MC-1)

    b. If Mîr Sêvdîn wins, he may ask whatever he likes of Mem [şendîxwaz]; if Mem wins, he may marry Zîn #1 (EP-1)

    3. Whoever loses must tell the winner who his beloved is (PS)

    4. Mîr Sêvdîn asks Mem how he can be overpowered; Mem replies: a. by chains: Mem breaks them; b. by the hair of horse's tail (LC-1)

    5. ø (PN; OM; HR-1)

D.VI.C. Causal connection between Mem's losing game and his being thrown into prison

    1. a. Mem in prison as direct result of losing game with Mîr Sêvdîn (HM; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-2; ZK-1)

    b. Mîr Sêvdîn was willing to let it pass, but Beko Awan insisted: Mem in prison after losing game (EP-1)

    2. Mem and Mîr Sêvdîn are tied at checkers; Mem in prison because he is caught alone with Zîn #1 [follows D.VII.A] (ZK-2)

    3. Mem in prison because he is caught alone with Zîn #1 (HR-1)

4. Mem in prison as result of being overpowered by horsetail hair (LC-1)

5. a. no causal connection between Mem's losing game and his being thrown in prison (PN; PS; OM)

   b. same as a. [follows D.VII.A] (MC-1)

D.VI.D. Zîn #1's tunnel and its discovery

1. a. Zîn #1 has a tunnel dug between Mem's prison cell and her bedroom (SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-3; HR-1; ZK-1; MC-1)

   b. 2 tunnel episodes: a. Zîn #1 has a tunnel dug between the kitchen where Mem is working and her bedroom; b. Zîn #1 has a tunnel dug between Mem's prison cell and her bedroom (GNa)

2. ø = no tunnel (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; FK-2; EP-2; HR-2; ZK-2)

D.VI.E. After the tunnel is discovered, Mem is moved from first prison to second, worse prison   [excluding D.VI.D.2]

1. a. Mem is moved from [non-specific] prison to stone prison (SHa-1; GNa; MC-1)

   b. Mem is moved from wooden prison to stone prison (EP-1; ZK-1)

   c. Mem is moved from earthen prison to stone prison (FK-1)

2. a. Mem is moved from [non-specific] prison to deep, dark well (SHa-2)

   b. Mem is moved from pit to well 40 fathoms deep (ZK-3)

3. Mem remains in original prison cell, and tunnel is plugged up with pitch (HR-1)

D.VII. Qeretajdîn's absence [often precedes VI.]

D.VII.A. Qeretajdîn and brothers leave town on mission

1. a. to fight battle (SHa-1; SHa-2; EP-2; EP-1)

   b. same as a. [follows D.VI.] (FK-1)

2. a. to collect taxes (OM; ZK-3; HR-1)

   b. same as a. [follows D.VI.] (MC-1)

    c. to collect taxes to rebuild Qeretajdîn's house (GNa; ZK-2; ZK-1)

  3. to deliver Mîr Sêvdîn's gift to Mecca (PS)

  4. a. no mission: Qeretajdîn and brothers leave after having quarreled with Mîr Sêvdîn; they go to Sham [=Syria or Damascus] (PN)

    b. same as a. [follows D.VI.] (HM)

  5. Qeretajdîn and brothers do not leave town (LC-1; FK-2; HR-2)

D.VII.B. Zîn #1 sends message to Qeretajdîn with a man who demands a kiss from her as payment [with II.P of Dramatis Personae chart & D.VII.A]

    1. a. Zîn #1 sends letter to Qeretajdîn with a man who demands a kiss from her as payment; she writes in the letter that Qeretajdîn should kill the man after taking the letter from him. Motif K978. Uriah letter. Man carries written order for his own execution. (HM; SHa-1; FK-1; ZK-3; ZK-2)

      b. Zîn #1 sends letter to Qeretajdîn with a man who demands a kiss from her as payment; the man is not killed (PN)

      c. Zîn #1 sends letter to Ḥasan čākō and Qeretajdîn [messenger not specified] (LC-1)

    2. ø = this episode is absent (PS; OM; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-2; EP-1; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; MC-1)

D.VII.C. The man demands: [excluding D.VII.B.2]

    1. a. a kiss (PN; SHa-1; FK-1)

      b. a kiss when he returns from delivering the letter (ZK-3; ZK-2)

    2. marriage (HM)

    3. ø (LC-1)

D.VIII. Floating motifs

D.VIII.A. Mem's unmanly behavior [nemerdî]

    1. Porter from Jezîra Bohtan gives Mem undesired answer; Mem frightens him; Mem fails from God's favor [C.II.A.4] (ZK-2)

    2. Mem commits unmanly act by hitting Qeretajdîn over the head with a stick; later redeems himself by staying with Qeretajdîn until he regains consciousness, rather than riding off and leaving him defenseless [C.II.B.1b] (FK-2)

3. After ignoring Bor's complaint, Mem finally stops and treats the horse's wounds [C.I.B.2] (SHa-1; GNa)

D.VIII.B. Poetry contest (verbal duel)

1. a. [follows D.II.] (ZK-3)

b. [order: D.II.D; D.I.; D.VIII.B] (SHa-1)

2. a. [follows D.V.] (HM; SHa-2; FK-1)

b. [follows D.IV.E] (EP-1)

3. a. [follows D.VI.A-B] (OM; ZK-2)

b. coterminous with D.VI.B.3. (PS)

4. ø (PN; LC-1; GNa; FK-2; EP-2; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; MC-1)

D.VIII.C. Result: Mîr Sêvdîn orders his men to kill Mem [excluding D.VIII.B.7.]

1. Mîr Sêvdîn orders his men to kill Mem; daggers are drawn, and Mem is saved by Qeretajdîn and his brothers (PS; HM; SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-1; ZK-3; ZK-2)

2. same as 1., but unrelated to the poetry contest/verbal duel (EP-1)

3. ø (OM)

D.VIII.D. Qeretajdîn's handkerchief in shape of rabbit as diversion to save Mem & Zîn #1

1. a. While Zîn #1 is serving coffee in the diwan, Beko says to Mîr Sêvdîn that if she smiles when she serves Mem his coffee, this is proof of their love; Qeretajdîn fashions a rabbit out of his handkerchief and shows it to the assembly just as Zîn #1 serves Mem his coffee: his handkerchief is meant to account for Zîn #1's laughter and smiling [follows D.V.] (FK-1; EP-1)

b. same as a. [follows D.II.D; replaces D.I.] (SHa-1)

2. ø (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2; MC-1)

E. Final stage - Death of Mem and Zîn #1

E.I. Mem's death

E.I.A. Zîn #1 takes Mem out of prison:

1. a. Beko Awan tells Zîn #1 to release Mem (PS; FK-1; ZK-1)

   b. Beko Awan tells Zîn #1 to take maidservants and release Mem (EP-1)

   c. Beko Awan tells Zîn #1 to take 40 maidens and release Mem (SHa-2; ZK-3; HR-1)

   d. Beko Awan tells Zîn #1 to take 40 maidens and musicians and release Mem (HM)

2. a. Mîr Sêvdîn tells Zîn #1 to take maidservants and release Mem (ZK-2)

   b. Mîr Sêvdîn tells Zîn #1 to take 40 maidens and release Mem (SHa-1; GNa)

   c. Mîr Sêvdîn tells Zîn #1 to bring drums and fifes [zurnas] and release Mem (MC-1)

   d. Mîr Sêvdîn tells Qeretajdîn to release Mem (HR-2)

3. Mîr Sêvdîn and Beko Awan tell Zîn #1 to release Mem (EP-2)

4. Ḥasan ĉäkö release Mem from prison (LC-1)

5. Zîn asks for permission to release Mem (OM)

6. ø (PN; FK-2)

E.I.B. Mem's death

1. a. Mem is pulled up from dungeon pit by rope; is dead when pulled up (ZK-3)

   b. Mem is pulled up from dungeon pit by rope; at entrance to pit sheds drop of blood and dies (SHa-2; HR-1)

   c. Mem is pulled up from dungeon pit by rope tied around his waist; at entrance to pit sheds 2 drops of blood and dies (ZK-2)

   d. Mem is pulled up from dungeon pit by white rope tied around his waist; he is pulled up and dies (EP-1)

   e. Mem is pulled up from dungeon pit by yellow rope; he falls dead at the entrance to the dungeon (ZK-1)

   f. Mem is pulled up from dungeon pit first by white rope; then by yellow rope wrapped around his waist; he is pulled up and dies (FK-1)

g. Mem is pulled up from dungeon pit by passion flower vine [charkhifalak]; he dies once he is above ground (SHa-1)

2. a. Mem is pulled up from dungeon pit by Zîn #1's braids; he dies once he is above ground (OM)

b. Mem is pulled up from dungeon pit by Zîn #1's braids; he is pulled half way up, then lets go and falls back down and dies (EP-2)

c. Zîn #1 descends into dungeon; Mem dies; he is pulled up from dungeon pit by braids of 40 maidens tied to rope (GNa)

3. a. Beko Awan interferes: he tells Mem that Zîn #1 is marrying someone else; proof of this is Zîn #1's bridal gown; Mem is pulled up from dungeon pit by rope; when he sees Zîn #1 in bridal gown [which is meant for him], he dies (HR-2)

b. Beko Awan interferes: he tells Mem that Zîn #1 is marrying someone else; Mem dies when reaches mouth of pit (MC-1)

4. As soon as Mem emerges from dungeon and sees Zîn #1, he dies (LC-1)

5. As soon as Mem emerges from dungeon, 3 drops of blood drip from his nose, and he dies (HM)

6. Mem asks Zîn #1 to bring him a bowl of cold water; after he drinks it, he dies (PS)

7. Mem's death is stated, without any description (PN; FK-2)

E.I.C. Prediction regarding sex of person releasing Mem from prison

1. a. If a woman releases Mem, he will die; if a man releases him, he will live (EP-1)

b. If a Zîn #1 releases Mem, he will die; if a man releases him, he will live (GNa; ZK-2)

2. a. Zîn #1 says it is disgraceful that Mem should be released by a woman (SHa-2)

b. Zîn #1 says it is a shame that prisoners are brought in by men, then released by women (ZK-1)

3. ø (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; SHa-1; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; MC-1)

E.II. Zîn #1's death:

E.II.A. When Zîn #1 dies vis-à-vis Mem's death

1. She stabs herself to death just after Mem dies (HR-1; HR-2)

2. a. She dies the same day as Mem (SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1; ZK-2)

   b. She dies the evening of the same day as Mem (EP-2)

3. She dies at noon of the next day (GNa)

4. She dies a week later (LC-1)

5. She dies 8 days later (PS; HM)

6. She dies 40 hours or 40 days later (MC-1)

7. Time of her death is not specified (PN; OM; FK-2)

E.II.B. Burial of Mem and Zîn #1

1. a. Although they are buried back to back, they have turned to face each other when graves are opened (PN; SHa-2)

   b. same as a.; this is a sign that their love was divine (GNa)

   c. Although they are buried back to back, they have turned to face each other and are sweating when graves are opened (FK-1)

   d. Zîn #1 instructs Mîr Sêvdîn to bury them back to back; they are found facing each other and sweating; this is a sign that they are divine lovers [aşoqê sûrê] (EP-1)

2. a. Although they are buried separately, Zîn #1 is in Mem's grave when it is opened (PS)

   b. Although they are buried separately, Zîn #1 is in Mem's grave when it is opened; they are found with a curtain between them from the waist down, and embracing above the waist and their mouths touching (HR-1)

   c. Although they are buried separately, they are found embracing when the graves are opened, because Beko Awan had gone at night and placed their arms around each other (ZK-3; HR-2)

   d. Although they are buried separately, they are found embracing when the graves are opened, because Beko Awan had gone at night and placed their arms around each other; Zîn #1 comes back to life just long enough to ask Mîr Sêvdîn to kill Beko Awan (ZK-2)

   e. Although they are buried separately; after their graves are opened, they are buried together in one pit (FK-2)

3. a. Zîn #1 and Mem are buried together (MC-1)

   b. Zîn #1 is buried in Mem's arms; when the grave is opened, it looks as if they have risen from the dead (ZK-1)

   c. Zîn #1 is buried beside Mem; Beko Awan finds them embracing when he digs up their graves (SHa-1)

   d. When Zîn #1 was to be buried, the earth would not yield to the pickaxe except beside Mem; after she was buried, a rumble came from their graves; Beko Awan said that they were embracing in the grave (OM)

4. a. At Mîr Sêvdîn's suggestion they play jireed and throw lance, with understanding that they will open up whichever grave it lands on: it lands on Mem's grave; they open it to find Mem and Zîn #1 together, with a clay sword between them (HM)

   b. Before her death, Zîn #1 instructs them to play jireed and open both Mem's and her graves with a javelin: if they are lying back to back, her brother is innocent of any wrongdoing (LC-1)

5. ø (EP-2)

E.III. Beko's death and thornbush on Mem and Zîn's grave from drop of Beko's blood.

E.III.A. Beko Awan is killed by:

1. a. Qeretajdîn (PS; SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; MC-1)

   b. Qeretajdîn, in spite of Mîr Sêvdîn's exhortation not to (HM; ZK-3)

   c. Hasso (PN)

2. a. Mîr Sêvdîn (SHa-1); Mîr Zêydîn (ZK-2)

   b. Mîr Sêvdîn orders Beko Awan's death (OM)

3. Al Pasha (FK-2)

4. ø (LC-1)

E.III.B. Word for thornbush:

1. a. de:rîyak (PS); dirîyan (FK-2); [Turoyo] dîrnhe (HR-1); derî(yek) (MC-1)

   b. dirîke uncûz (EP-1); dirîyeke rêş (ZK-3); dirîke xirab (ZK-1)

2. istrî (HM)

3. kelemeke mezin (ZK-2)

4. [Sorani] zî = christ's thorn (OM)

5 [Turoyo] sālûno (PN)

6. [Turoyo] ƶulṭo (HR-2)

7. [Armenian] meshi dzaṙ [մէշի ծառ] (SHa-1)

8. [Armenian] ch'ich'khan p'ush [չիչխան փուշ] (SHa-2)

9. [Armenian] kṙnî [կոնի] = astragalus (GNa)

10. Beko Awan's blood falls on a bush growing over the graves; his blood becomes scarlet flowers [] (EP-2)

11. ø (LC-1; FK-1)

E.III.C. Legend about the thornbush

1. It is still there to this day (SHa-2; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2)

2. a. Every year it is cut down, but it always grows back (SHa-1; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1)

   b. Every day it is cut down, but it always grows back the next day (GNa)

3. ø (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; OM; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; MC-1)

F.   Conclusion

1. a. Concluding formula: May favor befall the parents of those listening [raḥmá l dei bābēd gohdāra] (PS; EP-2; ZK-2; MC-1)

   b. Concluding formula: May you be well for me [tu šmera saḥ] (PN; HR-1)

2. a. Concluding verse: Mem and Zîn are in heaven, Beko Awan is in hell (SHa-2)

   b. Concluding verse (FK-1)

3. a. Bengîn returns to Yemen; Brahim Pasha comes to Jezîra Bohtan and kills Mîr Sêvdîn; he entrusts Qeretajdîn with Jezîra Bohtan; returns to Yemen and makes Bengîn his son + greeting to Oskar Mann [collector] (OM)

b. Bor returns to Mukhurzemîn; Al Pasha comes to Jezîra Bohtan and kills off Mîr Sêvdîn's tribe; survivors are the Milî tribe (EP-1)

c. Bor returns to Mukhurzemîn; Al Pasha comes to Jezîra Bohtan and kills Beko Awan + concluding line: one side of Jezîra flourishes and the other is in ruins (FK-2)

d. Bor returns to Mukhurzemîn; Al Pasha comes to Jezîra Bohtan; he opens the graves and sees that Zîn #1 was worthy of his son; he returns home + concluding verse (ZK-1)

4. Wish that Mem and Zîn #1 attain in the next world what they didn't attain in this + biographical information about the teller [name, father's name, place, and date] (LC-1)

5. Ends with E.III. (HM; SHa-1; GNa; ZK-3; HR-2)

NOTES ON THE DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF M&Z USED IN THE STUDY

The following discussion is devoted to a consideration of the idiosyncracies of the individual versions of M&Z. In preparing this study, the principles of modification laid down by Stith Thompson in his seminal work The Folktale[1] have been kept in mind. These principles, which are basically a reiteration of what Antti Aarne[2] and Kaarle Krohn[3] devised, are as follows:

1. Forgetting a detail.

2. Adding a detail not originally present.

3. Stringing two or more tales together.

4. The multiplication of details -- usually by three.

5. Repetition of an incident which occurs but once in the original tale.

6. Specialization of a general trait or the generalizing of a special.

7. Material from another tale may be substituted, particularly at the end of the story.

8. Exchange of roles, often of opposing characters.

9. Animal tales may have human characters replace the animals.

10. Human tales may have animal characters replace men and women.

11. Likewise animals and ogres or demons may be shifted.

12. A tale may be told in the first person as if the teller were one of the characters.

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[1] The Folktale (New York : Holt, Rinehart & Winston, c1946; repr. Berkeley et al. : University of California Press, c1977) pp. 435-7.

[2] "II. Die Veränderungen in den Märchen." In: Leitfaden der vergleichenden Märchenforschung, FF Communications no. 13 (Hamina : Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Kustantama, 1913), pp. 23-39.

[3] Die Folkloristische Arbeitsmethode (Oslo et al. : Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, 1926), pp. 59-100; English translation: Folklore Methodology : Formulated by Julius Krohn and Expanded by Nordic Researchers, translated by Roger L. Welsch (Austin : University of Austin Press, 1971), xviii, 192 p.

13. One change in a tale will force others to be made to maintain consistency.

14. As a tale wanders it adapts itself to its new environment.

15. Likewise obsolete traits may be replaced by modern.[4]

Specific examples will be given as we go through each version included in the study. Some general comments about changes that appear in more than one version are forthcoming, however.   Thompson's #10, in which animal characters replace human beings, can be seen in the substitution of Mem's horse Bor by his companion Bengîn in a few versions (OM; ZK-3; MC-1). Evidence for considering Bor and Bengîn to be functional equivalents includes the following:

a) The Turkish tale type EB Type 247 Schah Ismail, which also has Kurdish versions [5], includes the motifs: 1. "Through an apple, which a dervish gives to a childless king, a son is born to him, and a foal is born to his horse," and 3. "The horse warns the son [of all three of the stepmother's attempts to kill him]. " In OM the king and his vizier successfully engender Mem and Bengîn[eh] respectively, instead of the king and his horse engendering Mem and a foal.

b) Regarding motif 3. above, with the warning horse, in OM, it is Bengîn rather than Bor who explains to Mem that Zîn's servant is not the girl he has come in search of.[C.III.]

Thompson's #11, in which animals or ogres may fill the same slot, describes the situation in B.I.A. *Discovery of Mem and Zîn* in the motif chart. In B.I.A.1. birds, usually three doves, decide to bring Mem and Zîn together, while in B.I.A.2. it is the jinn that perform this function, and in B.I.A.3. Mem and Zîn are introduced by angels.

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[4]Thompson. ibid. p. 436.

[5]For instance: "Shah Ismail and Qamberta" in: D.N. MacKenzie Kurdish Dialect Studies-II (London et al. : Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 4-33.

There is another type of variation which Thompson's list does not directly mention. This type of variation, of which nearly every version of M&Z offers at least one example, consists of the preservation of a particular idea or motif, while situating it in a place in the story which differs from its place in other versions. I call this type of variation *Displaced elements.* In Thompson's #1, by "forgetting a detail" he means its omission; in #2, by "adding a detail" he means the introduction of something from outside the story. By *displaced elements* I mean that a detail has been forgotten in its expected place, and has been added somewhere else in the story: hence, it has neither been omitted nor introduced from outside the story, but rather transposed within the story. For example, in several versions (SHa-2; GNa; EP-1; ZK-1; FK-1), Qeretajdîn's wife hits a messenger over the head with a ladle for having brought an undesired message [D.I.C.], while in ZK-2, Qeretajdîn's wife (Lady Ereb) takes her shoe and hits Qeretajdîn over the head with it, for sending her to test Mem's honor; she is angry with Qeretajdîn for not trusting Mem from the beginning. The idea which this scene shares with other versions, i.e., what I call the *Element of intersection,* is: Qeretajdîn's wife hits a man on the head with an object.[6]

The most salient *displaced elements* in the various versions of M&Z are shown in Figure 4a.

The following section focuses on how each version differs from the general chain of motifs of M&Z. Numbers in brackets refer the reader to the appropriate part of the motif chart included in Chapter Four.

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[6]Regarding Qeretajdîn's wife hitting a servant over the head with a wooden ladle [Motif D.I.C. in the motif chart], compare the following Persian proverb:

مثل کنیز کفگیر خورده قر میزند   mesl-e kanīz-e kafgīr khordeh qor mīzanad

= [He] complains like a slave-girl who's hit over the head with a spatula. This is discussed more fully in Chapter One.

PN (1869)

This is the first oral version to be collected by a Western scholar. Unusual because it begins with an unrelated (and unidentified) folktale, later switching over to what is unmistakably the story of Mem and Zîn, Hugo Makas[7] calls this version lückenhaft (= 'defective, incomplete'), and Socin[8] himself calls it verkürzt (= 'shortened, abridged') and entstellt (= 'deformed, garbled'). This may be considered either #3 *Stringing two tales together* in Thompson's list, or #7 *Substitution of material from another tale* In the latter case, the substitution is at the beginning of the tale rather than at the end. Prym characterizes the informant for this version, Jano [Dschano], a Jacobite Christian from Kurdistan of Turkey who came to Damascus to escape famine, as being uniquely suited to the task of being a native informant, calling him "der berufene Erzäler seines Heimatortes" (= the appointed taleteller of his native place). There seems to be a contradiction between the low quality of this version and the highly rated skill of its source. Can a fine taleteller ruin a story? Perhaps Jano's telling should be seen as an unusual combination of two stories rather than as a garbling of one of them.

HR-1 and HR-2 were collected from the same region and in the same language (Turoyo) 109 years later. Both PN and HR-1 end with the same Kurdish concluding formula.

The way Mem and Zîn meet in this version is unique: [B.I.A.4.] Merchant from Mosul acts as intermediary between Mem and Zîn, carrying letters between him in India and her in Jezira Bohtan (PN). This bears resemblance to a Turkish tale type: EB

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[7]HM, p. 4.

[8]PS, vol. 1a, p. xix.

Type 188 Hüsnü Yusuf. Motifs. 1. A girl who lives cut off (isolated) falls in love with a foreign, distant prince through a description of him. 2. In a letter, she asks him to marry her; the prince sends some things, which symbolize his refusal ... III. Variants. 1. The man's name is ... Şah Ismail ... He is prince of India, Morocco, Egypt. ... An important difference between this Turkish tale and PN is that in the latter, the letter sent in Motif 2. signifies acceptance rather than rejection. Cf. Motif T11.2. Love through sight of picture.

On the way to Jezira Bohtan, Mem stops twice: the first time he feeds his horse, and the second time a snake climbs up his leg. This is an example of Thompson's #5 *repetition of an incident which occurs only once in the original tale*

Displacedelements: In most versions, Qeretajdîn has two brothers, named Arfo (or some variant thereof) and Chako (or some variant thereof) [II.J.]. In PN, Hasso and Chako are the brothers of Mîr Sêvdîn and Zîn #1. There is no Qeretajdîn in this version, and his function is fulfilled by Hasso (and Chako).

Element of intersection: Two brothers of someone + exemplary behavior.

PS (1870)

Al-pasha helps Mem leave, unlike most other versions (ZK-1, EP-1, HM, etc.), where he tries to prevent Mem from leaving. This may be considered an example of Thompson's #8 *exchange of roles*

When Mem goes to the bank of the river to get a token from Zîn, he is not quite forced to go; it is couched in milder terms than in ZK-1 or EP-1: there is no "or else" threat involved in PS. Perhaps this is Thompson's #1, *forgetting a detail*

There is a passage containing a shift from third person to first person, an indication that the informant is identifying with the characters he is telling of. The

passage, which comes at what is perhaps the most suspenseful point in the story, when Mem has hidden Zîn behind his cloak, is as follows:

> [?Mem] said, "Bako, early this morning,
> Mem had a bad headache,
> For this reason I can't speak to Mir Zeidin, Lord of
> Bohtan." (PS, p. 78, + note #55)

This is Thompson's #12 *tale told in the first person as if the teller were one of the characters* This topic will be dealt with more fully in Chapter Six, where context, digression, and the tale teller as performer is discussed.

In the Chess scene [D.VI.], whoever loses must tell the winner who his beloved is. This establishes a connection between the motif of the chess game, common to most versions, and the motif in which everyone in the diwan must tell who his beloved is (cf. also the Turkish romance Tahir ile Zühre[9]). However, revealing the identity of one's beloved occurs as a separate episode in many versions; it seems to have no fixed place in the story, and as such appears in the motif chart under D.VIII.

Floating motifs

Displaced elements: Whereas in most versions which include a verbal duel or a contest in which each male present must disclose the identity of his beloved, Beko Awan recites improvised verse, announcing in it that Mem's beloved is a swarthy Arab girl who sells yoghurt in the marketplace. This is meant to taunt Mem into revealing the truth, which he generally does, thereby causing a fight which Qeretajdîn must end through a show of force [D.VIII.B.]. In PS, the roles of Mem and Beko Awan are reversed: Mem sarcastically claims that his beloved is a swarthy girl ('as black as

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[9]Fikret Türkmen. Tahir ile Zühre (Ankara : Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1983), p. 81. -

ink') who sells yoghurt in the marketplace, and Beko Awan replies: "Why don't you say your beloved is Zîn?"

Element of intersection: Verbal duel in which Mem's beloved is revealed due to Beko Awan's treachery.

HM (1896)

This is a brief version in which the beginning is more or less skipped: neither the three dove motif nor its functional equivalent, the king of the jinn, is there at all; almost nothing is said about Mukhurzemîn or Mem's origins; neither Bor the horse nor Bengîneh the servant is mentioned. The narration begins at B.III.C. *Mem's parents' reaction to his trip* in the motif chart. Hugo Makas has provided us with enough data about his informant that we may draw the conclusion that the latter was a passive bearer of tradition, to use von Sydow's most useful concept, rather than an active bearer.[10] An active bearer of tradition is recognized in his community as a gifted storyteller, singer, joketeller, dancer, etc., while the audience is composed of passive bearers. Thus, if a member of the audience is asked to perform, his rendition will generally be inferior to that of a recognized performer. This might explain the brevity of this version, and the almost total disappearance of the beginning of the story.

Qeretajdîn is submissive to Mîr Sevdîn, until the final scene, when Qeretajdîn argues with the mîr. This contrasts with ZK-1 and GNa, in which the mîr is afraid of Qeretajdîn. Qeretajdîn, has two brothers as usual, however only one of them, Arfo, is mentioned by name.

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[10] C. W. von Sydow. "On the Spread of Tradition," in: Selected Papers on Folklore, ed. Laurits Bødker (Copenhagen. Rosenkilde og Baggers Forlag 1948), pp. 11-18.

Whereas in other versions Qeretajdîn is married to Mîr Sêvdîn's sister, in HM Arfo's wife is Beko Awan's sister (see Displaced elements below). In this version, it is she whom Qeretajdîn sacrifices, rather than his own wife. This has the added effect of getting back at Beko Awan in a unique way. This has a parallel in the other items sacrificed in this version, Mîr Sêvdîn's horse and tent: by doing away with Beko Awan's sister and the Mîr's horse and tent, Beko Awan and the Mîr have a stake in the sacrifice which is unique to this version. Also unusual is that Qeretajdîn's house is not among the items sacrificed.

According to Hugo Makas' notes, pp. 2-3, Beko's treachery is explained by Mem's refusal to marry his daughter.

Displaced elements:

1. In many versions, there are two Zîns, one good and one bad. The bad Zîn (Zîn #2) is the villain Beko Awan's daughter (or sister) [II.F.-H.]. In HM, Mîr Sêvdîn is unsure whether Mem wants his sister Zîn or his (unnamed) wife.

Element of intersection: Two Zîns

2. In many versions Qeretajdîn is married to the sister of Mîr Sêvdîn and Zîn #1 (PS; OM; GNa; ZK-3; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1) [II.L.]. In HM, Qeretajdîn's brother Arfo is married to Beko Awan's sister.

Element of intersection: One of the "three brothers" married to the sister of a high-ranking official.

LC-1 (1901)

Although the beginning of this version is longer and more detailed than most, it is in many ways a truncated version. Many details essential to understanding the story line are not explained, presumably because they are taken for granted by the informant. Alternatively, perhaps this version was collected under unnatural

circumstances, i.e., without an audience, and was therefore incompletely rendered; or perhaps the informant was not an active bearer of tradition.

Names in this version are often accompanied by unusually full descriptive epithets, e.g., šîrîn almā, šāhî moyrîblāne [= 'Shirin Alma (Sweet Apple), king of the Mughribis' (=Al Pasha)]; zālîxâ xātun, kāčîkā qorêišiāne [= 'Lady Zelikha, daughter of the Qureishis' (=Mem's mother)]; and serāk basān bôzî rawān [= 'Wide stepping Bozê Rewan (Gray one of going?)' (=Mem's horse)].

In the scene where Mem meets up with Zîn #2 at the entrance to Jezira Bohtan and she tries to trick him into believing that she is Zîn #1, LC-1 is unusual. Although the girl he meets is not identified as Zîn #1's maidservant, he identifies her as such when she tries to pass herself off as Zîn #1: in most versions she tells him that she is Zîn #1 and he believes it until his horse tells him that she is trying to deceive him. In this version, then, Mem is not as easy to fool as in others.

This version lacks the motif of Mem's failing to stand up out of respect when Mîr Zendîn enters the diwan. This would come under Thompson's #1 *forgetting a detail*. However, contrary to his assertion that this occurs most frequently with unimportant details, in the present instance the omission is important: only one other version (OM) lacks this motif.

In the sacrifice scene, horses are sacrificed, rather than children or wives. This could be seen as an example of Thompson's #10 *animal character replaces human being*.

Displaced elements:

1. In most versions, Beko Awan (Bekirê E'wan) is the villain; he is a distinct entity from Qeretajdîn and his brothers [III.E.]. In LC-1, Qumsi-bāku is one of Qeretajdîn's brothers. Many of his actions coincide with those of Beko Awan in other

versions, but he is not explicitly called the villain of the story, although **qumsî** means 'talebearer, gossip-monger, trouble-maker.'

Element of intersection: Character named Beko who does some unpleasant things.

2. In many versions, Mem and Zîn #1 count the number of minarets in the city as proof that they are in his city: his city has 366 minarets, her city has 66 minarets [B.I.D.1.]. In LC-1, Mem tells Zîn #1 that his city has 366 minarets. In this version, Zîn #1 realizes that she has come to Mem's city by another method (B.I.D.3a)

Element of intersection: Mem's city has 366 minarets.

OM (1903)

This is by far the fullest, most embellished version ever collected. At the end, the teller claims that it took him four nights to tell it; if this is so, it would have been nice to know where he stopped each night, and where he resumed the following night, but unfortunately this is not indicated. Although tedious to read, as an orally recited telling, this version must be viewed as a masterpiece. Motifs which are summed up in a sentence or two in most versions are expounded in great detail in OM, amounting to several printed pages of sung poetry.[11] Formulas à la Parry and Lord abound in it, as well as other features that tell us something about Kurdish folk poetics. Mann's informant, Raḧman-î Bekir, is the epitome of what von Sydow meant by an active bearer of tradition.[12]

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[11]See for example the narration of Mem and Bengineh's mothers' begging them not to go [B.III.C.4.], pp. 41-3 in Mann's original; pp. 71-5 in Mann's German translation; pp. 96-109 in Ayyubiyan's edition [including Persian translation].

[12]von Sydow. ibid.

This is the only Kurdish language oral version that I know of in a dialect other than Kurmanji. Although it is in a variety of Soranî ("Central Kurdish") spoken in Iran, known as Mukri, it is the exception which proves the rule that Mem û Zîn is basically limited to the Kurmanji-speaking regions, from where Armenian and Neo-Aramaic versions have also been collected.[13] Mukri is transitional to Kurmanji, being spoken in a region just south of the Kurmanji area: there are both grammatical features (preservation of gender and case distinctions in nouns) and lexical items (e.g., runiştin for 'to sit' [cf. Kurmanji rûniştin], alongside Soranî daneştin) which it shares with Kurmanji. The fact that this otherwise Kurmanji folklore item is part of the Mukri repertoire suggests that the Kurmanji influence on this Mukrî dialect extends beyond the linguistic realm, into the realm of folklore as well.

Displaced elements: In many versions, Zîn #2 (Beko Awan's evil daughter or sister) tries to trick Mem into believing that she is Zîn #1; in some versions she evens upbraids him for not remembering her [C.III.]. In OM, When Mem and Bengîneh reach the outskirts of the city of Jezîra Bohtan, they encounter Malik Rehan, Zîn's maidservant, bleaching laundry. Mem stubbornly insists that this is Zîn, and is upset that she is snubbing him. Bengîneh tells him that this is not Zîn, performing the function fulfilled by Bor the horse in other versions. Malik Rehan is not deceiving Mem: she is not trying to pass herself off as Zîn; it is Mem who mistakes her for Zîn.

Element of intersection: mistaking of Zîn #2 for Zîn #1.

SHa-1 (1904)

13Ehmedê Xanî's literary version of Mem û Zîn, also originally written in Kurmanji, has been translated into Sorani and is well known by educated Sorani-speaking Kurds. However, I know of no other oral versions that have been collected in Sorani.

This is one of two versions collected by S. Haykuni, published only in Armenian translation, although originally collected in Kurdish. The sung poetry portions appear in Kurdish in the Armenian alphabet, side by side with an Armenian translation.

Chess (kshig) is played three times: 1) Mem and Qeretajdîn + brothers sit on balcony [D.II.A.]; 2) Qeretajdîn brings Mem to the emir's dîwan [D.I.B.3.]; 3) Game between Mem and emir [D.VI.A.]. Furthermore, in this version the servant is hit on the head with a stick two times. [D.I.C.]

Both the repetition of the chess game motif and the beaten servant motif are examples of Thompson's #4. *The multiplication of details -- usually by three*, and/or #5. *Repetition of an incident which occurs but once in the original tale* In this instance it is not readily apparent how these two items differ from one another. I would argue that they should be collapsed into one if not for the clear applicability of #4 as distinct from #5 in HR-1 below.

SHa-2 (1904)

This version, like SHa-1, has been published only in Armenian translation. Therefore, the texture of the original Kurdish is lost. Apparently it was in sung verse, which is unusual for the region which it comes from.

Mem writes a letter to his father, to prove that he has sent the horsemen back; otherwise, Al-Pasha might think that they have deserted Mem, and punish them for doing so [B.III.D.]. This motif may be borrowed from another tale (Thompson's #7).

The doves that brought Mem and Zîn together reappear when Mem stops to tend to Bor's wounds [C.I.C.]. One of their feathers cures Bor. This motif also occurs in GNa.

Jakan [=Chekan], Qeretajdîn's brother who is betrothed to Zîn, is more resistant to the idea of renouncing his betrothal to her than in other versions [D.II.D.]

In this version, social standing plays a larger role than elsewhere: a) Mem tells a man his problem, i.e., that he is lovesick, and the man replies by asking if Mem knows whether Zîn's father is from the same class as his father; b) later, the Mîr asks Tazhdîn [=Qeretajdîn] if Mem is really a king's son, and Tazhdîn assures him that he is; c) Beko Awan complains to the Mîr that Mem is an ordinary man who wanders around the palace.   This may reflect the tale teller's world view and life experience. Unfortunately, although we know his name and where he lived, we have no data on this aspect of his personality,[14] so nothing can be said with certainty on this matter.

Unlike other versions, Mem stands up when the Mîr enters, albeit sleepily and sluggishly [D.IV.C.]. This typifies a type of variation not adequately reflected in Thompson's listing. I would call this variation *action different from, sometimes even antithetical to, what normally happens at a particular point in the story*. It is interesting to note that whereas in other versions Beko Awan complains because Mem fails to rise, in this one he complains because Mem rose sluggishly. This is an example of Thompson's #13 *one change in a tale forces others to be made to maintain consistency*.

GNa (1904)

Collected in Kurdish and translated into Armenian by the Armenian priest G. Nzhdehian, what is unusual about this version is its moral tone. It is likely that because Nzhdehian was a priest, he touched up a few points at the end, to bring the story into line with his religious world view.   Hence, when Qeretajdîn [Tazhdîn] learns of the death of Mem and Zîn, he is about to "wreak terrible slaughter in the town. ... But a young child, an old man, a woman, a mullah, and a sheikh came

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[14]This is an example of how limiting oneself to the collection of minimal information about the identity of the informant falls short of what is required to adequately discuss context.

weeping and fell at the brothers' feet, and dropped a wrapped up Koran. The sheikh and mullah told Tazhdîn to go and open the grave of Mame and Zine and to ask Mîr-Zeydîn about their will. 'Don't shed the blood of innocent people.' They should find out the cause of the mischief done and punish only that one." (pp. 238-9). Although this is not the only version in which someone intercedes to prevent Qeretajdîn from slaughtering people indiscriminately when he learns of Mem and Zîn's untimely death, there are versions in which he does shed innocent blood[15].

Hunting expedition (#1) [C.II.B.]: Mem catches a gazelle that Qeretajdîn is unable to catch; Qeretajdîn & brothers praise Mem, and they become blood brothers, whereas in several versions Qeretajdîn is angry at Mem for having intercepted his quarry. The closest Thompson's list comes to accounting for this is perhaps #8 *exchange of roles* however this is not really satisfactory, because Mem and Qeretajdîn do not exchange roles (i.e., Mem does not become angry instead of Qeretajdîn). I am hesitant to use his #1 and #2 as catchall phrases for every omission and accretion, respectively.

In this version there are two tunnel episodes: a) Zîn #1 has a tunnel dug between the kitchen where Mem is working and her bedroom: this is unique to GNa; and b) Zîn #1 has a tunnel dug between Mem's prison cell and her bedroom [D.VI.D.]. This is an example of Thompson's #5 *repetition of an incident which occurs but once in the original tale*

Displaced elements: In many versions, while Mem, Qeretajdîn, and his brothers sit on Qeretajdîn's balcony, Zîn #1 comes by with a caravan of pots and pans, on her way to the fountain to wash them. Mem jokingly says that he wants to collect a tax from the caravan: in other words, he wants to ambush the caravan, a common practice, reminiscent of the eşkiya (brigand) tradition. He ends up bringing back a

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[15]In OM, it is Mem's grieving father, Brahim Paļdiļshaļhļ, who kills whoever crosses his path.

piece of jewelry from Zîn #1, as proof that she wants to marry him [D.II.A.]. In GNa, while Mem, Qeretajdîn and his brothers sit on the balcony, Mem must perform two proof tasks: a) he must go get the stored grain from the town of Sakhlan (cf. Turkish saklanmak = 'to hide'); and b) he must bring a gold piece from Zîn #1 as proof that she wants to marry him. Mem performs task a) first, and is ambushed on the way by men hiding (Turkish saklanıyorlar --> town of Sakhlan), and kills off all his assailants but three, who turn out to be Qeretajdîn and his brothers. The two proof tasks is a further example of Thompson's #5.

Element of intersection: ambush + Mem (in the normal scenario Mem is the ambusher, but in GNa, he is the ambushee).

FK-2 (1926)

When Mem and Zîn first meet in Mem's bedroom, they are polite to each other, rather than angry, as is the case in other versions. Mem says, "Fine girl [Qîza qenc] ...", and Zîn asks, "Fine young man, what is your name in goodness [Xortê qenc, navê te bi xêr]?", both of which bespeak polite modes of address.

After Mem succeeds in catching a young gazelle which Qeretajdîn is chasing but unable to catch, Mem gives it to Qeretajdîn, who rebukes him for stealing his quarry and they fight until Mem knocks Qeretajdîn unconscious. This is reminiscent of the unmanly deed that Mem commits on his way to Jezîra Bohtan in ZK-2, because of which he falls out of favor with God. However, Mem redeems himself in this version by staying by Qeretajdîn's side until he recovers consciousness.

When Mem reaches Jezîra Bohtan, he stays at the house of Mîr Sêvdîn, rather than with Qeretajdîn. Both this motif and the first one outlined above are examples of a new category I am proposing to add to Thompson's listing, namely *action*

different from, sometimes even antithetical to, what normally happens at a particular point in the story; first mentioned above in SHa-2. This would cover both Mem and Zîn's unusual politeness at their first meeting, as contrary to the quarrel they have in most versions, and Mem's staying somewhere other than at Qeretajdîn's house while in Jezîra Bohtan.

This version begins with full detail and sung verse insertions at key points, but is cut short about half way through, i.e., once Mem reaches Jezîra Bohtan[16], and the style becomes telegraphic, as if the teller has run out of time. One conspicuous difference in this truncated section is the complete lack of sung verse.

Displaced elements: In most versions, either Mem shows Qeretajdîn Zîn #1's braids from behind his cloak, or Qeretajdîn notices them himself [D.V.A]. In FK-2, while Mem is hiding Zîn #1 behind his coat, Beko Awan shows her braids, which are sticking out from behind Mem, to Mîr Sêvdîn.

Element of intersection: X shows Zîn #1's braids to Y.

FK-1 (-1936)

Several of the words used by the informant, , such as **jarîn** = 'to cry or grieve' and **zenan[eke]** = 'woman,' are designated by the lexicographer Kurdoev as **ю.к.** [южно-курдское слово = southern Kurdish word], a vague designation that sometimes means Sorani (MacKenzie's "Central Kurdish") and sometimes means Badînanî or Southern Kurmanji (the dialects of Zakho, Akre, Amadiya, and Dehok in Kurdistan of Iraq; of Siirt, Başkale [Van], and Hakkârı in Kurdistan of Turkey; of Qamishli in Kurdistan of Syria; and of Urmia and environs in Kurdistan of Iran). In most respects, however, the language of this version is not Southern Kurmanji. If

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[16]From the bottom of page 300 of the original to the bottom of page 301, covering in one page what in other versions takes 6-8 pages.

Kurdoev's designation is to be taken into account, then perhaps the informant, like that of ZK-2, was an Armenian who fled from Turkey to Syria or Iraq, later immigrating to Soviet Armenia. If this were so, the fact that the informant spent time in an area where Southern Kurmanji was spoken (i.e., Syria or Northern Iraq) could explain such loan words in an otherwise more northerly dialect. Unfortunately, no information is provided about the informant for this text, which is unusual for a Soviet folkloristic publication.

Displaced elements: In many versions, Mem pretends to be ill when Mîr Sêvdîn calls all able-bodied men to go out hunting [D.III.B.]. In FK-1, Mem's horse (Bor) is ill, so Mem cannot go on hunt. In addition, on the morning of the hunt, Mem too says that he is ill.

Element of intersection: Illness, real or feigned, prevents someone from going hunting.

EP-2 (c. 1938)

The test that Mem and Zîn use to determine who is whose guest near the beginning of the story [B.I.D.] is unique. Mem asks what side of the bed the hearth is on. If it is on the left side, they are in Zîn #1's bed; if it is on the right side, they are in Mem's bed. It is on the right side, so they are in Mem's bed. In an essay about Kabyle society in Algeria, Pierre Bourdieu shows that the direction left is associated with femininity, whereas the direction right is associated with virility.[17] The symbolism in this version of M&Z demonstrates the same values.[18] Regarding Thompson's listing,

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[17]"The Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society," in: Jean G. Peristiany (ed.). Honour and Shame: the Values of Mediterranean Society (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, c1966), pp. 193-241, esp. 221 ff.

[18]As has been discussed earlier in this chapter, feminine symbolism is often connected with Mem. Not so in this case.

there is once again no adequate heading. This is not #2 *adding a detail* because most versions include the motif of a test as proof of whose room Mem and Zîn are in at this point in the story: rather, this is an alternative realization of a well-entrenched motif. If material from another tale has been substituted (Thompson's #7), it is not clear where else this motif occurs[19].

Al-Pasha, Mem's father, is portrayed as a jolly king, "seated on cushions in the middle, drinking coffee, smoking a pipe, in short enjoying himself." In most versions, Al-Pasha is portrayed as old and worried. In many versions it does not occur to Al-Pasha that Mem might be in love. In EP-2, however, he says to Mem, "You haven't fallen in love, have you?" This is in keeping with his jolly character in this version. My addition to Thompson's listing, first mentioned above in FK-2, namely *action different from, sometimes even antithetical to, what normally happens at a particular point in the story,* is applicable here.

The method of finding a horse occurring in this version is unique [B.III.A.]. A mare tell Mem to go to a ravine in the mountains and to choose one of her sons. In most versions, Mem chooses a scrawny horse from the royal stables (SHa-1; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1). In LT, LC-1 and ZK-2, Mem's horse is caught by fishermen in the sea. Once again, if the motif appearing in EP-2 is borrowed from another tale (Thompson's #7), at this point in time it is not known from which other tale.[20] Moreover, because the identity of the informant for this version is not known, it is not possible to look at other stories in his repertoire for clues.

In this version, Mîr Zêydîn [=Sêvdîn] does not blindly follow the advice of Beko Awan says: "Mîr Zêydîn believed Qeretajdîn, not Bekir-Awan."

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[19] It does not occur in Stith Thompson's Motif-Index of Folk-Literature (Bloomington & Indianapolis : Indiana University Press, [c1955]), 6 vols.

[20] It is hoped that when I finish the Kurdish tale-type index, such questions as these will be answered.

Zîn advises Mem that whatever gift Mîr Zêydîn offers him, he should request for a felt cloak instead [D.I.F.].[21] In most other versions Mem requests the office of cook: one way of referring to an office which has been bestowed as a gift is to liken it to a cloak. The Arabic word khil'ah خلعة = 'robe of honor' was often given by a ruler as a gift to a deserving person. One way to say 'gift' in Kurdish is **xelat**, from Arabic khil'ah .[22] Requesting a felt cloak is a literalizing of the expression **anîn k'urkê aspêjîê** (lit. 'to bring the cloak of cooking'), an expression occurring in EP-1 with the meaning 'to confer on s.o. the office of cook'.

The contest between Mem and Mîr Zêydîn [=Sêvdîn] consists of arrow shooting, which is unique to EP-2 [D.VI.A.]. This is the only version in which the contest takes place outside: it is usually a board game such as chess or checkers, or a card game.

Zîn's long braided hair has two opposing functions: a) it almost gets Mem into deep trouble by nearly giving away the fact that Mem is hiding her behind his cloak [D.V.A.]; and b) it almost rescues Mem from the dungeon when Zîn comes to release him [E.I.B.2.].

It is truly a shame that the identity of the informant for this version, as well as the Kurdish original, are lost, because it is a version uncommonly rich in individual variation.

EP-1 (1955)

This version is similar to ZK-1, FK-1 in many ways, which is not surprising considering that all three were collected in same general geographical area. On many

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[21] Cf. AT 560 The Snake King and Motif L220. Modest request best.

[22] Moreover, the German verb **bekleiden**, from **Kleid** = 'dress', cognate to English cloth, clothe(s), and clothing, has the extended meaning of 'to occupy a post or position, to hold an office' in addition to the basic meaning of 'to clothe or dress'. So also English **vest** and **to invest**

points the three versions agree, e.g.: a) When Mem chooses a horse, he instructs the stable hands to water it profusely; 2) Two Zîns, and the scene on the bridge at the entrance to Jezîra Bohtan; 3) Handkerchief which extinguishes fire (EP-1; ZK-1; GNa). Much of the poetry is so similar as to suggest a common source.

However, EP-1 begins with the heroic birth of Mem à la Lord Raglan. Mem's mother conceives from the foam of the sea and gives birth through her mouth. She abandons Mem on the seashore, where he is found and adopted by Al-Pasha. This is an example of Thompson's #7 *substitution of material from outside the tale*

One item, the handkerchief [destmal], has several different functions which may be traced throughout the story: a) Used in extinguishing the fire in Qeretajdîn's house; b) Used by Qeretajdîn to prove to the mîr that he [=mîr] stood up when Mem entered the room; c) Used as a toy "rabbit" to save Zîn: by explaining Zîn's laughter as being due to the toy, the secret of her love for Mem is not divulged. Thompson's #4 *multiplication of details* does not cover this, nor does #5 *repetition of an incident which occurs only once* in other versions. What we have here is a concrete item, a handkerchief, occurring in three distinct contexts in one and the same version. If #4 is applicable, the wording of it is too vague to make it unquestionably so.

Displaced elements: In most versions, Mem must reach Zîn #1 in 40 days, or else she will be married off to someone else [B.I.G.1.]. In EP-1, Mem gives the saddlemaker 40 days respite to make a saddle for Mem's trip.

Element of intersection: 40 days respite.

ZK-3 (1959)

Bengîn's attitude changes: at first he had wanted to go home, but Alan-beg [Mem's father] would not let him. Later Mem tells him to go home but he refuses, insisting on staying with Mem instead, as in OM. This could be described as *an*

exchange of roles, as in Thompson's #8, but the exchange is a change in the behavior of one character rather than two characters' switching roles. This is the only version in which Bengîn kills himself after Mem's death; three graves are dug in the cemetery, one for Mem, one for Zîn, and one for Bengîn.

At first, Qeretajdîn and Beko are equally suspicious of Mem. Later on, however, Qeretajdîn's suspicion is replaced by trust.

The girl who Mem encounters at the entrance to Jezîra Bohtan is Zîn's maidservant Gulishan, rather than Beko's daughter Zîn, who also appears in this version. Although in some versions, Beko's daughter/sister is Zîn's maidservant, in this version they are two separate individuals. If this is an exchange of roles, it is unusual because whereas in many versions one character fulfills both roles, in this version each role has its own character.

No special horse companion in this version. The functions of Bor the horse are filled [Bor is replaced] by Bengîn, as in OM. This is reminiscent of Thompson's #9, in which *human characters replace animals*. However, M&Z is not an 'animal tale.'

Regarding the hunting trip from which Mem is sent home: a) In this version, the hunting trip is replaced by a **cerd** (Cerîd = 'manly game of jousting played on horseback'); b) Rather than Mem's asking to be sent home, it is decided that he will go home because he gets off his horse in such a way that it looks as if he has fallen off (cf. SHa-2). This replacement of one motif with another is distinct from Thompson's #6 *Specialization of a general trait* or vice versa: in this case we have one specific motif substituting for another, both of which would both fit under the general heading of *Recreation* or *Manly pursuits*.

The mîr is depicted as incapable of making any decisions, depending on Beko to do so for him, especially when Qeretajdîn returns from his campaign to find Mem in prison (p. 116).

Beko specifically promises to prevent Mem and Zîn from attaining their desire because his own daughter has fallen in love with Mem.

This version features parallelism between Zîn and Mem. For example, when they first lay eyes on one another, they both fall instantly in love, and the same expression is used to describe this for each of them: "[X] falls for [Y] not with one heart, but with 1,000 hearts." This is reminiscent of Thompson's #5, *repetition of an incident occurring only once in the original tale* His descriptions goes on to say: "Sometimes this may not be an actual repetition but merely an analogy to something in the same or some other story."

HR-1 (1960)

Beko Awan is portrayed as more honorable (sentences 195-214) than in other versions. It is his daughter who is the schemer here. This is arguably Thompson's #8 *exchange of roles*

Parallelism: Beko's daughter Zîn treats Sittîye Zîn at the stream the same way that Beko treats Mîr Zeidîn on the hunt. What was said above in ZK-3 regarding Thompson's #5 is also applicable here.

To save Mem, Qeretajdîn sacrifices: a) his horse; b) his seven-story mansion (after salvaging the books); c) -- almost -- his wife and children. This is an example of Thompson's #4 *multiplication of details by three*

When Qeretajdîn goes off on a mission, instead of making the mîr promise not to harm Memê Alan, he has Memê Alan promise not to leave the house until Qeretajdîn's return, a promise which Memê Alan breaks as soon as Qeretajdîn leaves.

This is an example of the Proppian functions of II. **Interdiction is addressed to the hero** and III. **Interdiction is violated**.[23]

Displaced elements:

1. In most versions, Mem must reach Zîn #1 in 40 days, or else she will be married off to someone else [B.I.G.1.]. In HR-1, before Qeretajdîn leaves on a mission, he promises to marry Mem to Zîn #1 upon his return 40 days hence, and asks that Mem not leave the house in the meantime.

Element of intersection: 40 days of respite.

2. In many versions, as soon as Qeretajdîn sees Zîn #1's braids sticking out from under Mem's cloak, he understands what has happened, and what he must do to protect Mem and Zîn #1 [D.V.A.]. In HR-1, Bakko catches Sittîye Zîn as she leaves a tryst with Mâmme Ala. As she runs up the stairs, he catches her, takes out a scissors and cuts off a piece of one of her braids, and later shows the hair to Mîr Sêvdîn as proof of her relationship with Mâmme Ala. Here the braids have a similar function, but this motif does not make sense without reference to the "normal" version.

Element of intersection: Braids of Zîn #1's hair symbolize her relationship with Mem.

HR-2 (1960)

Beko's daughter Zîne [=Zîn #2] is neither evil nor a sorceress. She is as beautiful as Zîne [=Zîn #1] (sentences 51 ff.). This is similar to Thompson's #8 *exchange of roles* in that Zîn #2 is different, but unlike #8, she does not switch roles with Zîn #1.

The game which Mem and the emir play is a card game. It is implied that whoever looks at Zîn is destined to lose, as if she were a jinx. Beko Awan does not put

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[23]Vladimir Propp Morphology of the Folktale tr. by Laurence Scott, 2nd edition, (Austin : University of Texas Press, 1968), pp. 26-7.

Zîn up to watching the game, but he does cause the two players to change places. The game has a specific function in this version: Mem has asked for Zîn's hand (through Qeretajdîn), and the emir accepts, on condition that Mem successfully beats him at cards. The substitution of a card game for a chess game is another example of one specific motif substituting for another, which I discuss above in ZK-3.

In this version, Qeretajdîn is not absent when Mem is thrown in prison: in fact, he tries to intercede to have Mem released. The prison or dungeon that Mem is thrown into is called gûbo = 'cistern' or bîro = 'well': this is reminiscent of what happens to Joseph in Yusuf and Zulaikha, a story which is very popular among the Kurds. Hence, we have a plausible referent for Thompson's #7 *substitution of material from another tale*

After Mem's death, Zîn kills herself à la Romeo and Juliet. The informant did not know English, so Shakespeare's play would not furnish a direct referent: rather, the motif that Shakespeare used was and is current in oral tradition.

Once buried, Mem and Zîn are turned to face each other by Beko Awan, rather than magically turning to face each other through the power of love. What is most interesting about this is that a real-life explanation is substituted for a supernatural one.

ZK-1 (1963)

[This version, the first one I read, constitutes the criteria on which I have based this comparative study.]

ZK-2 (1970)

Mem falls out of favor with God by unnecessarily frightening a man near Diyarbekir, while Mem is on his way to Jezîra Bohtan.

As a parallel, Qeretajdîn offends Mîr Zêydîn by hosting Mem, thereby making the mîr jealous.

Game of checkers: Mem and Mîr Zêydîn win six games apiece, i.e., they are tied, which is unique to this version. Mem loses the last six games because he can't take his eyes off Zîn, as in other versions. This is followed by a singing contest: in this version it is here that Mem gets himself thrown into prison. Moreover, this sequence occurs *before* the scene in which Zîn hides behind Mem's back, which is peculiar to this version.

<u>Displaced elements:</u>

1. In several versions, Qeretajdîn's wife hits a messenger over the head with a ladle for having brought an undesired message [D.I.C.]. In ZK-2, Qeretajdîn's wife (Lady Ereb) takes her shoe and hits Qeretajdîn over the head with it, for sending her to test Mem's honor; she is angry with Qeretajdîn for not trusting Mem from the beginning.

<u>Element of intersection:</u> Qeretajdîn's wife hits a man on the head with an object.

2. In several versions (PS; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-1), the night after Mem and Zîn first meet, Mem thinks it is a dream until he sees her ring on his finger, at which point he realizes it really happened, and faints dead away; in three versions (LC-1; OM; GNa), both Mem and Zîn discover one another's rings [B.II.A.]. In ZK-2, at a much later point in the story, after Mem has already arrived in Jezira Bohtan, he sees his own ring on Zîn's hand and remembers the "dream", i.e., their first meeting.

<u>Element of intersection:</u> Mem remembers meeting Zîn when he sees a ring on someone's finger.

MC-1 (c. 1989)

This version is the only one included in the study which was not already published in written form: I have transcribed it and translated it to the best of my ability. One of the most striking things about this version is that it is uncommonly rich in digressions: the tale teller constantly refers to the "dear listeners" [guhdarê e'zîz], and often interpolates the phrase "as is known" [malûm ya]. Moreover, MC-1 contains some motifs which do not occur in other versions.

The angels who bring Mem and Zîn together are called away to rescue a ship in the Black Sea, and leave the two alone for a while.

Once Mem gets to Jezira Bohtan, he meets with Zîn in a garden, and she tells him that she has two bouquets of flowers, a yellow in her left hand, and a red one in her right. She throws them into the air, telling Mem that if he catches the red one, they will attain their desire in this life, but if he catches the yellow one, they will not attain their desire until the next life. Mem catches the yellow bouquet: hence, their fate is sealed. This is the only version in which their fate is predicted so clearly, although in some versions Mem's father hopes they don't succeed. The color symbolism is similar to that of the Iranian Nowruz celebration Chārshambe Sūrī, the last Tuesday night in the Iranian year, at the end of the month of Isfand, just before March 21. During this celebration, a bonfire is lit, and people jump over it while saying "zardī-ye man az to, sorkhī-ye to az man" (=My yellowness from you, your redness from me). Yellow symbolizes death, while red symbolizes life.[24] Furthermore, the symbolism of right hand vs. left parallels the color symbolism: as

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[24]The color yellow appears in connection with death in ZK-1 and FK-1, when Mem is pulled up from the dungeon with a yellow rope, after which he expires [E.I.B.]

explained by Bourdieu in "The Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society"[25], the left hand represents woman, the possessor of harmful and impure powers, whereas the right hand represents man, the possessor of beneficent, fertilizing and protecting powers. Hence, we have two sets of symbols working together to reinforce one another: both right and red stand for life, while both left and yellow stand for death.

Near the end of the story, after Mem and Zîn have already died, Qeretajdîn, who is carrying Mem's corpse on his head in the hopes that he will wake up, encounters a woman who is washing a black cloth, trying to make it white. When he tells her that no amount of washing will make a black cloth white, she replies that no amount of grieving over Mem will bring him back. Once again, color symbolism is used: this seems to be a feature of this storyteller's style.

These motifs, unique to this version, could very well be examples of Thompson's #7 *material from another tale.* In contrast with his description, however, none of them occurs at the end of the tale.

Displaced elements: In many versions, there are two Zîns, one good and one bad. The bad Zîn (Zîn #2) is the villain Beko Awan's daughter (or sister) [II.F.-H.]. In MC-1, both Mîr Sêvdîn's sister and wife are named Zîn.

Element of intersection: Two Zîns.

In this section, I have laid out the sorts of variation encountered in comparing the various oral versions of M&Z used in this study. Although Thompson's listing was used as a starting point, I have endeavored to show that it needs a great deal of elaboration before it is applicable to a work like M&Z. Thompson is largely quoting Aarne and Krohl, so the shortcomings in his statements are ultimately attributable to

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[25]in: Jean G. Peristiany (ed.). Honour and Shame the Values of Mediterranean Society (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, c1966), p. 222.

them as well. It is important to note that almost any sort of variation could be described as #1 *forgetting a detail* or #2 *adding a detail*, but this is too vague to be of much use.

As a part of my elaboration of Thompson's listing, I have proposed a new category called *displaced elements*, consisting of motifs which occur in one particular version in a context different from that in which they appear in the other versions. In the *displaced element* a character often performs an action which is normally carried out by (or on) a different character in other versions. There is an *element of intersection* between the more common scenario and the idiosyncratic mutation of it which I have designated as the *displaced element*. Figure 4a. delineates the most salient *displaced elements* I have come across.

Another emendation I have made is the addition of a category for *action different from, sometimes even antithetical to, what normally happens at a particular point in the story*. Thompson's category #8 hints at this, but it is not an exact fit. The phenomenon presents itself often enough in the versions of M&Z to merit a separate category.

I would venture to suggest that both Thompson's listing of types of variation encountered in comparative studies of folk narrative and my proposed emendations reflect on the processes by which human beings remember things, and how the human mind can transpose a detail. Perhaps the tale teller has remembered a particular detail only after having passed the point in the story where it originally occurred, but, not wanting to omit it altogether, he finds a way to incorporate it in the narrative in a new way. Such a notion is well beyond the scope of the present work, but hopefully will be investigated later.

Motif Chart #	Normal attestation	Element of Intersection	Displaced Element	Version
II.E.	Beko Awan is the villain; he is a distinct entity from Qeretajdin and his brothers	Character named Beko who does some unpleasant things	Qumsibaku is one of Qeretajdin's brothers. Many of his actions coincide with those of Beko Awan in other versions, but he is not explicitly called the villain of the story.	LC-1
II.F.-H.	2 Zins, one good and one bad. The bad Zin (Zin #2) is the villain Beko Awan's daughter (or sister).	2 Zins	Mir Sevdin's sister and wife are both named Zin	MC-1
"			Mir Sevdin is unsure whether Mem wants his sister Zin or his (unnamed) wife.	HM
II.J.	Qeretajdin has 2 brothers, named Arfo (or some variant thereof) and Chako (or some variant thereof).	2 brothers of someone + exemplary behavior	Ilasso and Chako are the brothers of Mir Sevdin and Zin #1. There is no Qeretajdin in this version, and his function is fulfilled by Ilasso (and Chako).	PN
"			Qeretajdin is called Hesen.	LT
II.L.	Qeretajdin is married to the sister of Mir Sevdin and Zin #1	One of the '3 brothers' married to the sister of a high-ranking official	Qeretajdin's brother Arfo is married to beko Awan's sister.	HM
B.I.D.	Mem and Zin #1 count the number of minarets in the city as proof that they are in his city; his city has 366 minarets. city has 66 minarets	Mem's city has 366 minarets	Mem tells Zin #1 that his city has 366 minarets. In this version, Zin #1 realizes that she has come to Mem's city by another method (B I D 3a)	LC-1
B.I.G.1.	Mem must reach Zin #1 in 40 days, or else she will be married off to someone else.	40 days respite	Mem gives the saddlemaker 40 days respite to make a saddle for his trip.	EP-1
"			Before Qeretajdin leaves on a mission, he promises to marry Mem to Zin #1 upon his return 40 days hence; and asks that Mem not leave the house in the meantime.	HR-1
B.II.A.	The night after Mem and Zin first meet, Mem thinks it is a dream until he sees her ring on his finger, at which point he realizes it really happened, and faints.	Mem remembers meeting Zin when he sees a ring on someone's finger.	After Mem has already arrived in Jezira fukhtan, he sees his own ring on Zin's hand and remembers the 'dream'.	ZK-2

Figure 6a. Displaced Elements.

352

Motif Chart #	Normal attestation	Element of Intersection	Displaced Element	Version
C.III.	Zin #2 tries to trick Mem into believing that she is Zin #1; in some versions she evens upbraids him for not remembering her.	Mistaking Zin #2 for Zin #1.	Mem insists that Melek Reyhan (=Zin #2), whom he meets at the river at the entrance to Jezira Bohtan, is Zin #1, although she denies it. He is upset that she does not remember him.	OM
D.I.C.	Qeretajdin's wife hits a messenger over the head with a ladle for having brought an undesired message.	Qeretajdin's wife hits a man on the head with an object.	Qeretajdin's wife (Lady Ereb) takes her shoe and hits Qeretajdin over the head with it, for sending her to test Mem's honor; she is angry with Qeretajdin for not trusting Mem from the beginning.	ZK-2
D.II.A.	While Mem, Qeretajdin, and his brothers sit on the balcony, Zin #1 comes by with a caravan of pots and pans, on her way to the fountain to wash them. Mem says that he wants to ambush the caravan, i.e., he wants to collect a tax from the caravan: i.e., a common practice, reminiscent of the eşkiya (brigand) tradition.	ambush + Mem in the normal scenario Mem is the ambusher, but in GNa, he is the ambushed	Mem, Qeretajdin and his brothers sit on the balcony; Mem must perform two proof tasks a) he must go get the stored grain from the town of Sakhlan; and b) he must bring a gold piece from Zin #1 as proof that she wants to marry him. Mem performs task a) first, and is ambushed on the way by men hiding, and kills off all his assailants but three, who turn out to be Qeretajdin and his brothers	GNa
D.III.B.	Mem pretends to be ill when Mir Sevdin calls all able-bodied men to go out hunting.	Illness, real or feigned, prevents Mem from going hunting.	Mem's horse (Bor) is ill, so Mem cannot go on hunt. In addition, on the morning of the hunt, Mem too says that he is ill.	FK-1
D.V.A.	As soon as Qeretajdin sees Zin #1's braids sticking out from under Mem's cloak, he understands what has happened, and what he must do to protect Mem and Zin #1.	Braids of Zin #1's hair symbolize her relationship with Mem.	Bakko catches Sitiye Zin as she leaves a tryst with Mamme Ala. As she runs up the stairs, he catches her, takes out a scissors and cuts off a piece of one of her braids, and later shows the hair to Mir Sevdin as proof of her relationship with Mamme Ala.	HR-1
	Either Mem shows Qeretajdin Zin #1's braids from behind his cloak, or Qeretajdin notices them himself.	X shows Zin #1's braids to Y.	While Mem is hiding Zin #1 behind his coat, Beko Awan shows her braids, which are sticking out from behind Mem, to Mir Sevdin.	FK-2

Figure 6a. Displaced Elements.

Motif Chart #	Normal attestation	Element of Intersection	Displaced Element	Version
D.VIII. B.	A verbal duel or a contest in which each male must disclose the identity of his beloved. Beko Awan recites improvised verse, announcing in it that Mem's beloved is a swarthy Arab girl who sells yoghurt in the marketplace.	Verbal duel in which Mem's beloved is revealed due to Beko Awan's treachery.	Mem [sarcastically] claims that his beloved is a swarthy girl ('as black as ink') who sells yoghurt in the marketplace, and Beko Awan replies "Why don't you say your beloved is Zin?"	PS

Figure 6a. Displaced Elements.

353

Analysis: Is Mem a Hero?

It is generally thought that Mem is the hero of the story. In fact, a closer look

suggests that in fact much of Mem's behavior is unheroic, if not cowardly[1]. Mem is

physically very beautiful. It is stated on numerous occasions throughout the various

versions on which this study is based that whoever gazed on Mem was bedazzled by

his looks Here are but a few examples:

> From Memê Ala's face red roses rained.
> On one day among the days.
> Two angels made a bet in heaven,
> One said Zin is more beautiful, the other said Mem is.
>   (PS, p. 71)

> May the universe be damned, Memê Ala is very handsome
>   (PS, p. 74)

[Mir Zeidin] said, "I want you to give me your friend, (=Mem)
I have been smitten with love for him,
I want him to bear my tobacco pouch and pipe,
To always stay by me."
                                  (PS, p. 76)

The sheikhs and wisemen without exception gladly came to the
     diwan for Memê,
Due to Memê's beauty, nobody could tell [him apart from] the sun
     and the moon.
The people of Jezira Botan exclaimed, "This is the son of the king of
     the Mughribis!"
                                  (LC-1, p. 42 l. 272)

The eldest sister says to the youngest one:
"By God, Sister, are Kakeh Mem's cheeks more radiant, or are
     lamps and lighthouses?"

The eldest sister asks her sisters.
The middle sister speaks thus:
"From [God's] throne to the chairs [of men],
From bulls down to fish
I have searched the whole world

---

[1] I would like to thank my colleague Shayee Khanaka for planting the seeds of this idea. I later discovered that Roger Lescot had come to a similar conclusion many years earlier, moreover, according to him, a major difference between the oral versions of the romance and Ehmedê Xanî's literary version is that in the latter, Mem has "a very lofty soul, and his behavior is not stained by base acts." See his "Introduction" in Textes Kurdes Vol 2. Memê Alan (Beyrouth : Institut Français de Damas, 1942), p. xx.

I have not seen anyone with beauty like Kakeh Meml's]."
<div align="right">(OM, p. 26b)</div>

Near the window Mem, son of Al-pasha, was sleeping. Mem was handsome, Mem was a hero. Mem was the son of the master of the land of Mukhurzemin. ... The doves sit on a tree and look in the window, admiring Mem. The younger dove says to the older one, "Sister, there isn't another Adonis like Mem in the world, nor a youth more beautiful than Mem.
<div align="right">(EP-2, p. 98)</div>

Although Mem's looks are beautiful, his actions are a different matter. In most versions the father, Al-pasha, begs and pleads with Mem, his only son, not to leave the kingdom without an heir to the throne, but Mem disregards his father's wishes and rides off in search of Zîn and her city, Jezîra Bohtan. In some versions, Mem goes so far as to say some downright disrespectful things to his old father:

"Mem, my son, don't be disrespectful.
Don't leave the city of Mikhurzemin, O hope of my old age,
I'll give you five hundred ladies and maidservants."

Mem said:

"Father, what would I do with this house, this land,
I won't sit with you now and deliberate,
I won't drink a cup of coffee or sherbet,
Our relationship is over till the Day of Judgment."
<div align="right">(EP-1, ¶18, p. 189)</div>

"Now my relationship [lit. "sonhood"] to you is null and void."
<div align="right">(ZK-1, p. 20)</div>

In ZK-3, Mem speaks very unkindly to his paternal aunt:

Mem says, "Auntie, it cannot be so,
I have wandered the four corners of the globe, its countries
and towns, a slut more slutty than you is not to be found."
<div align="right">(ZK-3, p.96)</div>

According to Middle Eastern values, Mem's behavior is unacceptable. One's elders are to be respected and obeyed, not abandoned and disowned. To quote Alan Dundes,

> one finds that in past-oriented societies individuals are measured in terms of age and how much *past* experience they have. The older they are, the wiser they are thought to be and the more respect they deserve. Children take pride in their parents' achievements and boast of their ancestors.[2]

E. W. Lane reports that

> ...children... in general ... feel and manifest a most profound and praiseworthy respect for their parents. Disobedience to parents is considered by the Muslims as one of the greatest of sins, and classed, in point of heinousness, with six other sins, which are idolatry, murder, falsely accusing modest women of adultery, wasting the property of orphans, taking usury, and desertion in an expedition against infidels. An undutiful child is very seldom heard of. [3]

According to this logic, Mem's turning his back on his parents and upon his past is an unthinkable action, even a sin. In the case of his aunt in ZK-3, Mem even commits an additional offense, by falsely accusing her of adultery, calling her a slut [qalt'ax]. And yet, in spite of all this, Mem is considered a hero. Or is he?

Mem's horse, Bor, speaks to Mem, telling him that the chains that Al-pasha had placed on his [=Bor's] feet in order to prevent Mem from riding off, are still there. Although only a fabulous horse could jump over a city wall with its legs in

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[2] "Thinking Ahead: A Folkloristic Reflection of the Future Orientation in American Worldview," in: Interpreting Folklore (Bloomington, Ind. : Indiana University Press, c1980), p. 81.

[3] Edward William Lane. An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians : Written in Egypt during the Years 1833-1835 (The Hague & London : East-West Publications ; Cairo, Egypt : Livres de France, c1895, 1978), 62.

chains, Mem's failure to notice the discomfort of his horse is not in keeping with the
actions of a hero:

> "Come my Mem, you crazy dandy,
> For three nights, three days you
> Have been urging me on, like a bird.
> It never occurred to you that the chains were eating into
>   Bor's legs."
>
>   (EP-1, ¶23, p. 190)

> Bor said, "Hey, my beloved Mem, my boy,
> You poor thing, there is no sense in your head,
> For several days now you have been jabbing me with spur after spur,
> Did you ever think 'The chains and shackles have cut my Bor's legs'?"
>
>   (ZK-1, p. 51)

> Bor speaks to Mem, he says, "My dandy Mem, you keep
> lashing me with your whip, you never think how your Bor is
> doing."
>
>   (FK-2, p. 297)

> Bor said, "Mem, you've been riding me for three days
>   now,
> Tomorrow it will be four full days.
> Don't you ever think that Bor's legs are in chains and
>   shackles,
> The shackles and chains have eaten into his legs?
> Enough riding me with spurs on thighs!
> Anyone else would undo Bor's saddle
> Three or four times a day.
> ....
> My Mem, you're a fine lad,
> [But] you're treating me like an Arab or Persian,
> Cut the chains and shackles from my legs already!
> ....
> Mem, you're a light-headed boy,
> You don't stay in one place,
> The chains and shackles have cut through your Bor's
> legs to the bone."
>
>   (FK-1, p.267-8)

Apparently Mem has a tendency to be thoughtless when it comes to others:
disparaging side comments to that effect are made to him consistently: "You crazy

dandy" (EP-1); "You poor thing, there is no sense in your head" (ZK-1); "Anyone else would undo Bor's saddle / Three or four times a day", "You're treating me like an Arab or Persian", "You're a light-headed boy" (FK-1). These are not the sorts of comments one generally makes about someone whom one admires. Moreover, the formulaic expression "Don't you ever think that Bor's legs are in chains and shackles" and its paraphrases are ubiquitous. In ZK-1, not only Bor, but Al-pasha also speaks in the same vein:

> Al-pasha said, "Hey, my beloved Mem, my son,
> Is there no sense in your head at all,
> Don't you [ever] think 'My mother is elderly, my father is old?'
> To whom can I hope to leave my throne and crown of gold?"
>   (ZK-1, p. 50)

In one version (FK-1), albeit at a later point in the story, even Zîn rebukes Mem in this fashion:

> "My dandy Mem what a crazy boy you are,
> Have you no sense in your head?
> Why have you stayed [behind] today from the mir's hunt?"
>   (FK-1, p. 278b)

Because of Mem's irreverent behavior, in many versions Al-pasha curses him, and predicts that his journey will be ill-fated (HM; ZK-2; ZK-3). In OM, it is even stated that Mem's trip failed because of this:

> "...because of my parents' cries of despair, my goal remains
>   unachieved."
>   (OM, p. 77)

Similarly, in ZK-2, because Mem frightens a man on his way to Jezira Bohtan, he falls out of favor with God:

"Porter, is Jizîra Bota near or far, how do you see it?"
The porter said to him, "Young man, Jizîra Bota is very far."
When he said that, Memê was very disappointed,
And said, "How, if I'm a year's distance away, did I come here in
    one hour?"
Memê drew his sword from its sheath,
Held the sword to the porter's neck,
The porter turned pale with fear,
Then Memê fell out of favor with God.[4] (ZK-2, p. 75)

Once Mem has arrived in Jezîra Bohtan, there are more examples of Mem's

less than heroic behavior. The emir of Jezîra announces a hunting expedition, to

which he invites all the able-bodied men of the kingdom, together with Mem, the

guest of honor. In some versions, Mem malingers so that he can stay behind (or

come back early) and be alone with Zîn (SHa-2; GNa; FK-1; MC-1; HM); in others, the

plot is hatched by Zîn, and he agrees to play along (OM; SHa-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-1). In

any case, the implications of this in a Middle Eastern context are clear: hunting is a

manly activity, and any male who does not engage in it is considered less than a

man. In several versions it is stated that the emir, usually at the suggestion of the

villain Beko Awan, wants to test out Mem's manliness:

> (249) He [=Beko Awan] said, "It has been several days since
> Mämme Ala came to Qara Tajdin; let's go tell them that Qara Tajdin
> and Mämme Ala should mount their horses, and your and I also
> will go riding for a while, [we'll go] hunting. (250) We'll see if he is
> good at riding or not!" [Mîr Zeidîn] said, "Go tell them!"
> (HR-1, p. 280)

> Beko says, "No, Qeretajdîn, we were just testing Mem's
> manliness."
> (ZK-3, p. 109)

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4. lit. "Then God took good luck and good fortune away from Memê." This is as a punishment for
Memê's unnecessarily frightening the porter.

In FK-1, Mem's skill as a hunter has a special significance:

> The mîr thought a little, then said, "... [T]omorrow I will sound the alarm, so that the *jindîs* [5] of Jizîra come and gather. I will send them all out hunting. Let Mem come also: if Mem can hunt with the men, we will give Zîn to him, otherwise it is too bad."
>
> (FK-1, p. 277)

Whereas in epics the exploits of the hero in battle, hunting, and riding are a major part of the narrative, in this story -- which belongs to a different genre, the romance -- the main character no sooner sets out on a hunting expedition, than he turns back because of a headache[6]. When seen in these terms, Mem's behavior is almost comical.

After Mem gets out of going hunting with the other men, he comes back and has a tryst with Zîn in the emir's diwan (PN; PS; HM; OM; ZK-3; ZK-2; MC-1; LC-1; HR-1; HR-2) or in his garden (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-1). The hunting expedition is cut short unexpectedly, and without any warning, the emir and his entourage return, and are about to catch Mem and Zîn in flagrante delicto. To risk getting caught would mean total disgrace, in view of Middle-Eastern values regarding extramarital sex. Consequently Mem, hardly a master of discretion, hides Zîn behind his back, and drapes his cloak over her. When the emir enters, it is common practice for everyone to stand up out of respect for him. However, if Mem

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[5]According to Kurdoev, *cindî* means 'well-built,' 'of fine physique,' 'stately,' 'well-proportioned,' in speaking of young men; in speaking of a young woman, it can also mean 'beautiful,' 'shapely'. Rather than translate it as 'fine fellows' or some such tiresome cliché, I have left it untranslated.

[6]It should be noted that many versions have an additional hunting scene when Mem is first approaching Jezîra of Bohtan (C.II.B.1.a-c: FK-1; ZK-1; FK-2; EP-1). In that hunt Mem outdoes Qeretajdîn, which makes the latter angry at first. In any case, Mem does prove himself at hunting in those versions.

were to stand up, everyone would be able to see that Zîn was hiding behind him, so he remains seated, once again using the excuse that he doesn't feel well. Mem's failure to act respectfully incurs the wrath of the emir (SHa-1; SHa-2; FK-1; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1; ZK-2), who up to then has been well disposed towards him.

This episode is ironic because when the emir first laid eyes on Mem, earlier in the story, Mem's appearance was so imposing that the emir involuntarily stood up when Mem entered his presence. This is a departure from the normal procedure, and it implies that Mem is not the emir's inferior.[7] The emir himself denies that he stood up before Mem, unable to believe that he could have done such a thing. The following is a typical telling of this episode:

> Qeretajdîn says to the mîr, "Your guest is such a guest that when he comes in you will stand up before [him], believe it or not."
> The mîr says, "No." he says, "Yes." They bet on it [then and] there.
> The mîr sends for his guest. ... Mem sticks his hand in his pocket and scatters gold coins [about], dismounting before the mîr's diwan, entering into the diwan. The mîr stands up, [and] Qeretajdîn throws a handkerchief under the mîr; everyone is seated, including the mîr.
> A minute later they have a meal.
> After the meal Qeretajdîn says, "Mîr, I have won the bet." The mîr does not believe [him]:
>
> Qeretajdîn lifts up the mîr's knee,
> Laughingly picks up the handkerchief,
> The mîr is struck speechless.
>   (FK-2, p. 299-300)

At a later point in the story, Qeretajdîn and his brothers are sent on a mission, either to do battle for the emir, or to collect taxes from a rebellious tribe. The driving force behind this is the villainous Beko Awan, who wants Qeretajdîn

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[7]Another interpretation of this episode will be presented later on.

out of the way so that Mem can be disposed of. Mem's accompanying Qeretajdîn on

his campaign is rarely even entertained as a possibility[8]. Therefore, once again Mem

is excluded from a manly pursuit. In Qeretajdîn's absence, Mem and the emir play a

game: usually chess, although other versions have archery (EP-2) or cards (ZK-3; HR-

2) instead. Until Mem lays eyes on Zîn, he is the winner. However, once he catches

sight of Zîn, who is watching from above, all sense leaves him, and he is beaten by

the emir, as a result of which he is thrown into the dungeon, where he eventually

perishes. For a limited time, in the lesser sphere of board games and the like (chess

is, after all, a battle in miniature), Mem is victorious. He is, at best, a lesser hero.

Although Mem's external appearance makes others treat him royally, he does

not return the favor. Even after he is dead, Qeretajdîn and his brothers, who are not

yet aware of what has happened, are annoyed that Mem has not come out to greet

them upon their return. One of them rebukes him, while another stands up for

him, as follows:

> Qeretajdîn was nearing the city with his troops.
> He said, "Brothers, see how ill-mannered Mem is, he has not
> come out to greet us." Efîn said, "Brother, I fear that all is not well
> with Mem, otherwise he would have come."
>
> (FK-1, p. 291)

> When Qeretajdîn and his brothers neared the city, Chekan
> said, "O brothers, see how ignoble our brother Mem has turned
> out to be, he has heard that we are coming, but he can't tear
> himself away from Zîn's side to come out to greet us." Qeretajdîn
> said, "O brothers, something has happened to Mem, my heart fears
> that Mem may not be well, I don't believe that he could be so
> ignoble."
>
> (ZK-1, p. 64)

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[8]In OM, Zîn is led to believe that Mem has marched off to battle as one of Qeretajdîn's commanders,
when in fact he has been thrown into a dungeon.

The wording of the last line of the latter quote, if read carefully, implies that he is ignoble, but not that ignoble![9] Even those who most love Mem – be it his father, his horse, his beloved Zîn, or his blood brother Qeretajdîn – recognize that he lacks certain good (read: manly) qualities. In spite of his faults, Mem is considered the hero of the story. How can someone act as irreverently as Mem does and still come out smelling like a rose?

If we were to take a literalist approach to folklore, seeing M&Z as an accurate reflection of the Kurdish way of life,[10] Mem's behavior would stick out like a sore thumb. However, in a very important article on the functions of folklore, the late folklorist William R. Bascom states that

> the basic paradox of folklore, [is] that while it plays a vital role in transmitting and maintaining the institutions of a culture and in forcing the individual to conform to them, at the same time it provides socially approved outlets for the repressions which these same institutions impose upon him.[11]

In other words, through folklore, the frustrations of the folk are addressed: things that they can never do in reality, they can derive vicarious enjoyment from

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[9]The original Kurdish also bears this out. For "I don't believe that he could be so ignoble," the Kurdish is "bawar nakim, wekî aqas bême'rîfet be."

[10]B. Nikitine's analysis of version OM takes this approach. See his "Essai de classification de folklore à l'aide d'un inventaire social-économique," in: XVIe Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique : VIe assemblée générale de l'Institut international d'anthropologie. Bruxelles, 1-8 septembre 1935 (Bruxelles : [Imprimerie médicale et scientifique], 1936), v. 2, pp. 1000-1012.

[11]"Four Functions of Folklore," Journal of American Folklore 67 (1954), p. 349; reprinted in: Alan Dundes (ed.), The Study of Folklore (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. : Prentice-Hall, c1965), p. 298.

hearing about in a folktale or a ballad. At the same time, the same folktale or ballad offers tacit recognition of the rituals and institutions of the culture[12].

If we apply this logic to M&Z, we can see Mem's disrespectful behavior as providing an outlet on many levels for the Kurdish peasants who constituted the traditional audience for the story. Although such peasants were rarely free to talk back to their feudal lord (axa) or give him a swift kick in the pants when he really deserved it, by hearing about the adventures of a character like Mem, who could cause a judge and a mufti to go blind and lame (in ZK-2), or who could fail to rise when the emir entered the room without being punished for doing so (in all versions), the audience could vicariously enjoy hearing about what they themselves could not risk doing in real life, namely to act disrespectfully towards authority figures.

At the same time, Mem's failure to rise before the emir when the latter entered the room would not have been a memorable event if it did not contain an action which was in flagrant violation of societal norms. While hearing of this provided an outlet through which the common folk could vent their frustrations at being on the low end of an oppressive authoritarian hierarchy, it also reinforced the idea that the emir was an authority figure, and that as such one was normally obligated to rise out of respect for him when he entered the room.

On another level, the story may be seen as the revolt of a young man against the authority of his father.[13] In this case, the ability of Mem to choose his own wife without being subject to the approval of his father and other authority figures, and

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[12]from which very culture there is a need to escape into fantasy!

[13]This has been discussed in Chapter Three, as an idea suggested by İlhan Başgöz in his structural typology of the Turkish halk hikâyesi.

to be sexually active with her,[14] as well as his ability to go off and live in a place far from his father's residence, would make him an appealing figure in the eyes of those young Kurdish men[15] who did not share his freedom of movement. Mem's impertinent comment to his paternal aunt – his father's sister – can also be explained in this way. On the other hand, Mem's initial success in rebelling against his father's wishes underlined the fact that normally one's father's wishes had to be obeyed without question.[16]

Seen in this light, whether the authority being flouted was that of the ruler or that of the father[17], the more the rebellious young protagonist could get away with, the more he was considered a hero. This would reconcile the apparent paradox of Mem's irreverent behavior with his status as a hero.

Whereas in spite of Mem's unheroic behavior he is still hailed as a hero, there is another character in the story whose behavior is exemplary in every way. I would like to suggest that whereas Mem is unquestionably the protagonist, it is Qeretajdîn who is the true hero of the story of Mem û Zîn. In the sources consulted[18], neither a definition nor a complete inventory of ideal heroic qualities

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[14]Although there are no graphic descriptions of sexual activity between Mem and Zîn, enough things that are unheard of in everyday life appear, such as their waking up in each other's arms when they first meet, that the rest is left to the imagination.

[15]or older Kurdish men remembering when they were young.

[16]Perhaps the fact that Mem's undertaking eventually fails may be explained by this this is certainly the case in OM, where Mem says "... because of my parents' cries of despair, my goal remains unachieved."

[17]Al-Pasha is both at once.

[18]Lila Abu-Lughod. Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society (Berkeley et al. : University of California Press, c1986), p. 86 ff., 103; the various essays in Jean G. Peristiany. Honour and Shame: the Values of Mediterranean Society (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, c1966), 265 p.

was forthcoming.[19] However, Yohanan Friedman presents the following concise listing of the ideal moral qualities of Bedouin society embodied in the Arabic term murū'ah (or murūwah): bravery in battle, self-restraint in times of crisis, generosity and hospitality, protecting the weak, avenging murder, being loyal, and sticking by one's word.[20] In Hans Wehr's Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, murū'ah is defined as:

> the ideal of manhood, comprising all knightly virtues, esp., manliness, valor, chivalry, generosity, sense of honor.[21]

These two inventories dealing with Bedouin Arab society closely parallel the manly traits embodied in Qeretajdîn, namely: enjoying good reputation, and being a hunter, warrior, protector, hospitable, ready to make sacrifices, zealous of women's honor, and peacemaker.[22]

Whereas many people call Mem irresponsible or light-headed, Qeretajdîn is a well-respected member of his community, both admired and feared by the emir of Jezira Bohtan. The following passages indicate how Qeretajdîn [and his brothers] are depicted in M&Z:

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[19]Abu-Lughod has the following to say on the matter: "The honor code is, despite (or perhaps because of) the tremendous amount of anthropological attention devoted to it in studies of both Christian and Muslim circum-Mediterranean cultures, strangely difficult to define." See ibid., p. 86.

[20]Yohanan Friedmann. "ha-Tekufah ha-terom-Islamit" [הטרום-אסלאמית התקופה =Pre-Islamic Times] in: Hava Lazarus Yafeh. Perakim be-toldot ha-'Arvim veha-Islam [פרקים בתולדות הערבים והאסלאם = Studies in the History of the Arabs and Islam] (Tel-Aviv : Reshafim, 1972), p. 20.

[21](Ithaca, N.Y. : Spoken Language Services, c1976), p. 902.

[22]If Mem's behavior is typical for a folk romance, perhaps Qeretajdîn's should be seen as harking back to the values typified in the epic.

(181) If you're looking for a man who keeps his word, who is a perfect gentleman in his own house, who would sooner sacrifice his head than break his word, go to the house of Qara Tajdin! (HR-1, p. 274)

Since the might of the three brothers was great in the land of Jizir, mîr Sêvdîn had given his eldest daughter Perî khatûn to Qeretajdîn, in recognition of their prestige and bravery. Since their reputations preceded them, mîr Sêvdîn promised Zîn to Chekan. (ZK-1, p. 46)

Beko said to Memê, "Memê, if you are looking for bravery and justice, go to Qeretajdîn's house ..." (ZK-2, p. 76)

"...if you are looking for honor and valor, go to Qeretajdîn's house."
    (ZK-3, p. 101)

In many versions (GNa; FK-1; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-1; ZK-2), Qeretajdîn is seen hunting twice: once when Mem first arrives in Jezira Bohtan [C.II.B. in motif chart], and the second time when the emir invites all the able-bodied men in the kingdom, including Mem (who declines the offer), to go out hunting with him [D.III. in motif chart]. Although in the first instance Mem generally manages to intercept and successfully kill the gazelle that Qeretajdîn is unsuccessfully pursuing, Mem's behavior is seen as inappropriate rather than manly. In any case, Qeretajdîn actively pursues hunting as a pastime, whereas Mem tries to avoid it.[23]

Qeretajdîn's hospitality is a major theme in M&Z. In all but four versions (FK-2; PN; HM; HR-2), Mem is his guest[24]. Qeretajdîn and his wife are depicted as the ideal hosts, taking Mem's horse to the stable, insisting that Mem be given the red carpet treatment by the emir, refraining from asking Mem the purpose of his visit

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[23]In all fairness to Mem, he goes hunting for recreation in the first part of OM (immediately prior to B.II.C. in the motif chart).

[24]In MC-1, Mem stays with Qeretajdîn for seven days, then with Mîr Sêvdîn for seven days; in HR-2, he stays with Beko Awan first, then goes to stay with Mîr Sêvdîn.

until three days had passed, spending time entertaining Mem to the exclusion of their other duties, and so forth.

In several versions (FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; ZK-1), Qeretajdîn is so taken with Mem that he forgets to offer him food for three days: although this is generally unthinkable, it is excused in this case because Qeretajdîn was so fascinated by what Mem had to say that he lost track of time, thinking that only minutes had passed, when in fact several days had gone by. This might be seen as a black mark on Qeretajdîn's perfect record, but I prefer to see it as another example of the effect that Mem's beautiful appearance had on people.[25]

Qeretajdîn is honor-bound as Mem's host to protect him from harm, which includes both covering up his faults, as when Mem and Zîn are almost caught redhanded in the emir's court (or garden) [D.IV. in motif chart], and providing for Mem's protection in his (=Qeretajdîn's) absence [D.VII.].

As Mem's host and protector, Qeretajdîn prevents his own brothers from fighting with Mem over the issue of Zîn's betrothal [D.II.]. Here Qeretajdîn appears both as a peacemaker and as someone willing to make selfless sacrifices. In an essay appearing in Peristiany's Honour and Shame, J.K. Campbell states that among the Sarakatsani, Greek shepherds in Epirus, "a father must always put the interests of his own family of marriage before the needs even of a brother.[26]" This is basically the same value we see being played out at this point in the story of M&Z. If we adjust the term *family of marriage* to include Mem, because he and Qeretajdîn have sworn allegiance to each other by becoming **destbira** or blood-brothers, or if we see Zîn as belonging to Qeretajdîn's *family of marriage* because she is the sister of his

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[25] Cf. the beginning of this chapter.

[26] "Honour and the Devil," in: Jean G. Peristiany. Honour and Shame the Values of Mediterranean Society (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, c1966), p. 142.

wife, in either case it is clear that Qeretajdîn puts Mem's desire to marry Zîn before his own brother's betrothal to her.[27] This is considered honorable, manly behavior, exemplifying another quality of manliness cited by Campbell, namely "the ability to do something efficient and effective about the problems and dangers which surround him.[28]"

Later on in the story, Qeretajdîn makes an even greater sacrifice, when he instructs his servant to set his own house on fire, in order to create a diversion which will shift everyone's attention from Mem's failure to stand up before the emir to the burning house. In other versions (PS; FK-1; ZK-1; SHa-1; MC-1; EP-1; [OM]), Qeretajdîn or his wife knowingly sacrifices their infant son by failing to rescue him from the flames; and in yet other versions (PN; HR-2), he sacrifices his wife instead of his child. In three versions (ZK-3; HR-1; ZK-2), he pursues his wife with their child strapped to her breast, with intent to kill, although it is not made clear whether or not he actually kills them.

There are many Middle Eastern parallels for such readiness to sacrifice a loved one. In the Old Testament, Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his beloved son Isaac (or Ishmael according to Islamic tradition) -- although he is saved from actually going through with it at the last minute -- is held up as an example of how great Abraham's faith was. In Arabic literary tradition, the pre-Islamic poet al-Samaw'al sacrifices his son to enemies surrounding his castle, rather than hand over to them the armor of another poet, Imru' al-Qays, which has been entrusted to him for safekeeping. In this case, al-Samaw'al's decision to preserve his honor at the expense of his son's life is held up as commendable. There is even a proverb which

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[27]In HR-1, Qeretajdîn nullifies his son's betrothal to Zîn, so that Mem can marry her.

[28]Campbell. ibid., p. 145.

commemorates such loyalty: awfá min al-Samaw'al [الوفى   من   الصموأل] = more

faithful than al-Samaw'al.[29]

In the folktale known as "The Slandered Maiden" (AT 883A)[30] and in the

Turkish tale from Dede Korkut's collection "Boğaç Han son of Dirse Han," the

father is willing to sacrifice his child without asking any questions, when the child is

in fact innocent and has been slandered. Whereas the examples with Abraham and

al-Samaw'al exemplify honorable behavior, these tales show that sacrificing children

may have a negative side as well.[31]

Nevertheless, in the context of M&Z, Qeretajdîn's sacrifice is another

indication that it is his behavior that we are to see as exemplary. We have the fullest

description of this aspect of Qeretajdîn's personality in ZK-2, where his proclamation

is instrumental in coaxing Mem down off his horse:

> Qeretajdîn said, "O guest, our fate is with God,
> Come, dismount from your horse."
> Memê the stranger neither spoke nor dismounted.
> Qeretajdîn said, "Memê, my heart is heavy,
> You are most welcome in my house,
> From today on you and I are brothers of one mother and father,

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[29]see Reynold A. Nicholson. A Literary History of the Arabs (Cambridge, England, et al. : Cambridge University Press, c1907, 1969), pp. 84-85.

[30]Summarized as follows: "A man and woman left their daughter with a priest while they made a pilgrimage. The priest attempted to seduce the girl, but she refused him. Angered, he wrote to the father, accusing the girl of grievous acts. The father hence commanded that she be put to death, but she escaped into the forest, where a prince found her and married her. With time the entire story came to light, and the priest was put to death. (Villa)." See: D.L. Ashliman. A Guide to Folktales in the English Language Based on the Aarne-Thompson Classification System (New York et al. : Greenwood Press, 1987), p. 178. Kurdish versions of this tale include: D.N. MacKenzie. "Kičā Ḥākimī = The Prince's daughter," in: Kurdish Dialect Studies-II (London et al. : Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 308-317; M.B. Rudenko. Kurdskie Narodnye Skazki (Moskva : Glavnaia Redaktsiia Vostochnoi Literatury, 1970), #32, pp. 77-80; Vardah Shiloh. "ha-Ne'arah veha-moreh," in: Sipure Zakho : mivhar sipure Kurdistan [Stories of Zakho : a selection of stories from Kurdistan (in Hebrew)] (Yerushalayim : Nirim, 1986), pp. 46-56.

[31]Considering the difference in the way that Middle Eastern folklore values the sacrifice of loved ones, how would a Middle Eastern audience react to Western values regarding sacrifice of children as typified in the movie [and book] "Sophie's Choice"?

I am ready to sacrifice [my] two brothers, Cheko and Ereb, for you,
I am ready to sacrifice my whole household for you,
I am ready to sacrifice Lady Ereb -- my honor in this place -- for you."
Memê dismounted at these words and they walked together towards
the hall. (ZK-2, p. 77)

Clearly, Mem perceives Qeretajdîn's words as an inducement to stay.
According to Ayyubiyan,

This [act of] bravery and selflessness on the part of Qeretajdîn has
become proverbial[32] among the Kurds. The subject of sacrifice for
the sake of one's guest and hospitality in the "cherîkeh" of Mem and
Zîn is one of the basic and most noteworthy points of the story
[dastan].[33]

In several versions (HM; HR-1; HR-2) Qeretajdîn is called *crazy* at this point
in the story. In PS, he is even given the epithet *crazy*(dîn), yielding the noun-plus-
epithet formula **Qeretajdînê dîn**. In spite of his seemingly crazy behavior,
Qeretajdîn is still held in high regard. Just as Mem is labeled a hero regardless of his
anti-heroic behavior, by the same token Qeretajdîn's behavior is heroic despite his
unflattering label.

Another manly trait of Qeretajdîn's is his reputation as a warrior. In ZK-1, it
is stated that

Mîr Sêvdîn's diwan was served by Qeretajdîn, Chekan, and Efan. The
three of them were brothers, and all three of them were like the lions of God.
The fate of the land of Jezîr [46] was in their hands: whatever battles they
participated in they would return from victorious and revered. (ZK-1, pp. 45-
6)

32=lit. "a saying [masal-i sā'ir مثل سائر and an idiom [zabān zad زد زبان]"

33'Ubayd Allāh Ayyūbiyān. Çirikey Mem û Zîn : Kurdî - Farsî م و زین چڕیکهی (Tabrīz :
Chāpkhānah-i Shafaq, [1962]), p. 233, note 2.

After his house burns down, Qeretajdîn leaves Jezira Bohtan on a military venture. In some versions (OM; ZK-2; HR-1; MC-1), mîr Sêvdîn sends him and his brothers to collect taxes from a rebellious tribe; in GNa, ZK-2, and ZK-1, they go to collect taxes for the specific purpose of rebuilding Qeretajdîn's house. In other versions (SHa-1; SHa-2; EP-2; EP-1; FK-1), the three brothers go off to fight a battle with the enemy. In no case does Mem accompany them, although in OM Zîn is led to believe that he has. Nevertheless, before departing, Qeretajdîn makes provisions for Mem's protection in his absence: this is yet another example of his role as host and protector. In his absence Mem gets into trouble, which eventually leads to his death. This is not to be blamed on Qeretajdîn, whose honorable intentions are thwarted unbeknownst to him. When he returns, he avenges the death of Mem and Zîn by slicing off the villain Beko Awan's head, thus ending the story with a final act of manliness on the part of Qeretajdîn.

One last manly trait exhibited by Qeretajdîn is his zeal in protecting the honor of women. In ZK-2 and ZK-3, he has his wife adorn herself, then sends her to test Mem's fidelity, by having her attempt to seduce him. Only when Qeretajdîn learns that Mem has acted honorably is he convinced that Mem is trustworthy. In ZK-3, his wife merely reports to him how Mem acted:

> When his Lady said this to Qeretajdîn, he said, "May Mem be praised. I know that you are a true brother." From then on Qeretajdîn was very well-disposed toward Mem. (ZK-3, p. 104)

However, in ZK-2 she upbraids her husband for not trusting Mem:

> Saying to him, "What sort of crazy man are you?
> Your guest has not yet tasted bread in your house, and you are testing his
>   honor?

Your guest is not a rogue, he's the son of kings."
Then Qeretajdîn said, "Woman, testing has its uses in this world,
I wanted to test my guest,
And now he and I have become brothers from one mother and father,
My house, my children are a pledge to Memê Alan." (ZK-2, p. 78)

Qeretajdîn, then, defines honorable behavior on the part of men by restraint in

dealing with other men's women.[34] Another example of this is when Zîn sends a

letter to Qeretajdîn with a boy who demands a kiss from her as payment [D.VII.B.]

(HM; SHa-1; FK-1; ZK-3; ZK-2). Having no alternative, she submits to his demand,

but writes in the letter what the boy's price was for delivering it. Qeretajdîn restores

her honor by doing away with the boy on the way back.[35] Although this may seem

devious by Western standards, judging from the last quote above and the following

excerpts from ZK-2 and ZK-3, it is not perceived as such by those familiar with the

culture:

She handed the letter to the boy and said, "I beg you and the Lord supreme,
Deliver this letter to Qeretajdîn."
The young man said, "Girl, how lovely you are in my eyes,
Give me a kiss, as payment for delivering the letter."
Lady Zîn opened the letter and wrote in it some more,
Instructing Qeretajdîn as follows:
"When you come, bring this boy with you,
And on the way sever his head from his body,
[88] I have promised him, that when he returns here safely, he can have a
        kiss from me before your eyes,
Which would wipe Memê Alan's honor off the face of the earth."
She handed the young man the letter and said, "Go and come back, then you
        will have earned a kiss."
The boy, delighted, hurried off,
Reached the tent of the chief,
And delivered the letter to Qeretajdîn.

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[34]Notice that this is not the case with regard to Mem and Zîn. I can adduce two reasons to explain
this: 1) Hospitality demands that the host (Qeretajdîn) not question the doings of his guest (Mem) --
provided that his own wife is not the object the guest's attention; 2) Since God and fate have
decreed that Mem and Zîn are meant for each other, Qeretajdîn is aligned with the supernatural in
supporting their union.

[35]Cf. Motif K978. Uriah letter. Man carries written order for his own execution.

Qeretajdîn read the letter,
Quickly mounted his horse, left off collecting money,
Unaware of anything else.
Qeretajdîn said, "Young man, you come with me, hurry up!"
The boy, delighted, led the way, and off they sped.
When they were far from the tent, Qeretajdîn stopped the boy in a deep
    ravine,
Drew his sword from its sheath,
And struck the boy with it, severing his head from his body. (ZK-2, pp. 87-8)

At the bottom of the letter she wrote, "For Mem's sake I was forced to promise the baldhead that he could kiss me once upon delivering the letter. Otherwise, he would not have delivered it. I trust that you won't let the baldhead return alive." She handed the letter over to the baldhead, and said, to him, [115] "Take the letter quickly; when you come back, I'll let you kiss me once." When the baldhead picked up the letter, he was so happy, he didn't know what to do. He said, "I'll go and come back, then I'll get to kiss Zîn once." Out of joy, he put it now here, now there.

The baldhead made the three to four day trip to the Beraz tribe in a little more than a day, stood before Qeretajdîn, handed him the letter and saluted him, standing in a respectful position. When Qeretajdîn read the letter [and learned] that Mem was in dire straits, and that if they reached him [perhaps they could save him], he summoned Cheko, E'rif, and Bengîn and said, "Tell the boys to pull up the tent stakes, to forget about monetary considerations; let's go try to reach Mem."

Cheko and E'rif pull up the tent stakes together with their servant boys, and they set out. They reach a depression [in the earth]; the baldhead, elated, accompanies them on foot. When Qeretajdîn remembers the situation of the baldhead and Zîn, he draws his sword and swings it at the baldhead's neck: his head falls to one side, his body to the other; and they ride on. (ZK-3, pp. 114-5)

Although one of the functions of folklore is to flout the morals of society, the story of M&Z does not lack moral standards, as Qeretajdîn's manly qualities clearly demonstrate. Whereas Mem represents deviation from societal norms, Qeretajdîn upholds them, by representing the respectable side of the moral standards of society.

Likewise, the villain Beko Awan stands for the fanatical side of morality,

guarding honor like a watchdog. He is the self-appointed guardian of **xîret**[36] and

namûs [37]. Consider the following passages:

> Mîr Zêydîn and Beko were speaking together,
> Beko said to Mîr Zêydîn, "My mîr,
> Your sister is our honor [namûs],
> Qeretajdîn's guest is not one of us,
> I can't accept this way, it is of no use." (ZK-2, p. 80)

> (71) Bekir said, "My mîr, I am master of my virtue [xîret]. What I say is true. As long as Zîn is in your house, she is your honor [namûs]. Once she has gone to [live in] Qeretajdîn's house, what they do is their business. (EP-1, p. 202)

> ...Bekir-Awan, brother of Zîn the sorceress, understood Mem's intention. While they were hunting, Bekir-Awan went to the mir and said, "My mir, may we ourselves and our names be erased!"
> Mir-Sevdin said, "What are you saying, what sort of talk is this?"
> Bekir-Awan replied, "My mir, Mem has tricked you, he has gone with Zin to the Turkish garden. Both your name and ours have fallen. Who knows who this Mem is? Where is this land (107) Mukhurzemin? Neither you nor I know. For all we know, Mem could be the son of a calfherd or the son of a lambherd. What do we know?" (EP-2, pp. 106-7)

In all three examples, Beko Awan uses the protection of the family honor as

an excuse to turn the emir against Mem. In real life, such arguments about **namûs**

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36 = lit. "Zeal, Fervor; Striving, Aspiration." This is from Arabic ghayrah غَيْرَة , borrowed into

Persian as ghayrat غيرت . It can also mean "jealousy", and is used for "sense of honor" or "virtue",

particularly vis-à-vis the behavior of the women of one's family, who in a shame society are

perceived as representing the family's honor.

37This is connected with the concept of a woman's honor, known as 'irḍ عرض in Arabic, and nāmūs

ناموس in Persian, Turkish and Kurdish (although the word nāmūs, ultimately derived from

Greek nomos, occurs in Arabic also). Cf. Jean G. Peristiany. Honour and Shame: the Values of

Mediterranean Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1966); John Gulick. The Middle East:

An Anthropological Perspective (Pacific Palisades, Calif.: Goodyear Publishing Co., c1976), pp. 209-

211.

undoubtedly prevented many a Kurdish young man from marrying the girl he loved. Beko Awan represents the moral code that Mem is violating, yet the values are turned upside down. Beko is qumst[38] or e'wan[39], and Mem is the hero. Beko Awan styles himself an underdog, when in fact he is a bully, as illustrated in the following:

> ...Her father, Beko, is sitting at the window. When he sees his daughter coming home crying, he gets up and goes to meet her. He says, "My child, tell me what has happened to you!" His daughter replies, "What do you think happened, Father? That guest of Qeretajdîn's whom you have betrothed me to took mîr Zêydîn's sister Zîn from me by force in the Mîr's Garden today." When Beko's daughter says this, he says, "My child, no harm done, it's not the first time the powerful have mistreated the poor; it's all right, I swear by God that I won't let them have what they want." (ZK-3, p. 106)

Mem in not really powerful, nor is Beko Awan really poor. However, in seeing himself as the victim, he can justify being the tormentor. He threatens people, using the "buzz word" honor [namûs] to justify his claims:

> (84) Before Mem knew what happened, the mîr won this set too, and the chess board was taken away. They continued talking together as before the game.
> Bekir said, "My mîr, why have you fallen silent about the bet you made? What are you going to do? You're not children! You played for a bet!"
> The mîr said, "Bekir, we didn't mean only today, we will play again many times. Sometimes Mem will beat me, and sometimes I will beat Mem. Bets aren't necessary between us."
> Bekir said, "But if Mem beat you at chess, he would be playing with your honor [namûs]. Would that be all right? In that case you would be without honor."
> The mîr listened to Bekir, and threw Mem into a wooden dungeon.
> (85) And Zîn, what did she do? She had a tunnel put in between the dungeon and her house. ...

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[38]Gossip, informer; Sneak, scandalmonger

[39]Troublemaker, scheming

(86) Bekir went and saw it with his own eyes, then went to the mîr in his diwan and said, "My mîr, I said before that your sister had completely disregarded her honor [namûs], but you said that Bekir is a slanderer. Well this is what has happened!"

The mîr said, "Throw Mem into a stone dungeon!" (EP-1, p. 206)

In EP-1, the emir would not have gone through with the conditions that had been set before he and Mem started playing chess, namely that if Mem lost he would be thrown in prison, if not for Beko Awan's zealous threat about the loss of honor. Such behavior on Beko Awan's part is reminiscent of the fervor of religious fanatics. This may account for his role as villain, because Kurds tend to dislike religious zealots, seeing them as hypocrites. Several of the tales in Alexandre Jaba's <u>Recueil de Notices et de Récits Kourdes</u> [40] deal with such personages. Here are two examples:

First Story

They say that once a mullah and two unlettered men were travelling companions. As the three of them were going down the road, they came to the bank of a river, and undressed in order to cross the water. The mullah was in front, and the two unlettered men were behind him. No sooner had they entered the water when the mullah espied four goatskins full of butter, floating on the water headed in their direction. The mullah was the first to get to one of the goatskins and, holding it with his teeth, reached out with his right hand and caught hold of a second goatskin, and with his left hand reached for a third. The mullah's teeth and both hands were full: right in front of his companions he had snatched up three goatskins. There was one goatskin left, which the two companions took hold of. Even though the mullah was holding three goatskins,

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[40] (St.-Pétersbourg: Eggers et Cie, 1860; repr. Amsterdam: APA - Philo Press, 1979).

he still wasn't satisfied, and he called to them, saying: "Hey, I have a share in that goatskin too!" Because of this, learned people and mullahs have a reputation among the Kurds for being greedy. [They always remember that] he took three goatskins and that still wasn't enough for him, he had to have the fourth one too.[41]

Second Story

Among the Kurds, the following exemplary tale is told: When the Prophet [Muhammad], peace be upon him (=PBUH), ascended to heaven, together with the angel Gabriel he went to see the marvels and wonders of the heavens. The Prophet, PBUH, encountered a large angel standing in an expectant position, who held suspended from his neck [by a strap] a huge drum, with a large stick in his hand. The Prophet, PBUH, asked, "What are those, and what job are you responsible for doing?" The angel answered, "O messenger of Allah, whenever one of the learned men gives charity or food to a poor man, it is my duty to hit this drum with this stick, so that all the angels in heaven may know of this act of charity." Then the Prophet, PBUH, asked the angel, "Since you have been appointed this task, how many times have you beat the drum?" The angel answered, "I am still waiting, but so far I have not beaten the drum even once." God knows it is still that way, i.e., the learned (mullahs) of all nations give little

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[41]ibid., p. 20. My translation.

charity or help: they ask people to give generously to them, but they themselves give nothing to the needy.[42]

Moreover, the aforementioned folktale AT 883A *The Innocent Slandered Maiden*, of which I have found three Kurdish versions so far[43], features a lecherous mullah who slanders an innocent maiden to her father, because she refuses to have sex with him.

Although Beko Awan is not himself a mullah, he feeds on false religiosity. When Mem, who is hiding Zîn behind his cloak, fails to stand up before Mîr Sêvdîn [D.IV.], in several versions Beko Awan interferes, making a big deal out of Mem's lack of respect. In SHa-1, he suggests that they all stand up and pray to God; in EP-1 and ZK-1, he suggests that Mem stand up and pray. It is noteworthy also that in ZK-1, when Qeretajdîn returns to Jezira Bohtan after Mem's death, "Beko went to the mosque, and he took all the copies of the Koran that there were in the mosque and piled them up before the door, so that Qeretajdin could not get in to do him harm." (ZK-1, p. 64)

Consequently, although the concepts of **namûs** and **xîret** are very well-entrenched in the Kurdish way of life, Beko Awan is the villain of M&Z largely because he is perceived as the guardian of these concepts. As a corollary to this, Mem is seen as the hero of the story largely because he violates these very tenets. As demonstrated above, Bascom's notion of the paradox inherent in folklore is very helpful in explaining why this is so.[44]

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[42]ibid., p. 21. My translation.

[43]See note #(29) above

[44]See note #(10) above.

At this point I would like to introduce an alternative interpretation of Mem's behavior. Thus far we have shown that Mem is a hero precisely because of his unheroic or anti-heroic actions. In what follows, I will attempt to show that there is a feminine aspect to much of Mem's persona, which in a male-oriented society is considered unbecoming in a male. I would like to make it clear at the outset that I am attempting here to analyze this material according to the values of traditional Middle-Eastern societies: my personal opinion is irrelevant to -- and therefore absent from -- the ensuing discussion.

This feminine quality serves two seemingly contradictory ends, both diminishing Mem's heroic aspects and increasing his attractiveness. At the beginning of this chapter, it was asserted that Mem is very beautiful. Let us take another look at some of the passages describing his appearance:

From Memê Ala's face red roses rained.
On one day among the days,
Two angels made a bet in heaven,
One said Zin is more beautiful, the other said Mem is. (PS, p. 71)

Due to Memê's beauty, nobody could tell [him apart from] the sun and the moon. (LC-1, p. 42 l. 272)

The eldest sister says to the youngest one:
"By God, Sister, are Kakeh Mem's cheeks more radiant, or are lamps and lighthouses?"(OM, p. 26b)

The first line of PS above includes a traditional way of describing the beauty of a girl. Other examples from versions of a Turkish folktale from Erzurum include: **Gülende yüzünde güller açılsın** = "When she laughs, may roses open on her

face"[45] ; **Ben o gızıma bir hediye verirem ki gülende güller açılsın, ayağının basdığı yerlerde çimenler bitsin** - "I will give this girl of mine a gift such that when she laughs roses will open up, wherever her foot steps meadows will grow"[46]. The reference to roses is presumably a symbol of rosy cheeks, a sign of beauty.

The comparison of Mem's brightness to the sun, moon, and lamps in the second and third passages above, from LC-1 and OM respectively, brings to mind other expressions common in the languages of the Middle East for describing a woman's beauty. One expression compares the beauty of a woman to the radiance of the moon on the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the moon is full. In Kurmanji, the expression is **Heyva çardehê**[47], literally "the moon of the fourteenth"; it is used as follows: **Riwê te ji heyva çardehê rewşentir e** = "Your face is brighter than the moon of the fourteenth". In Turkish, the equivalent expression is **ayın ondördü kadar güzel bir kız**, literally "a girl as beautiful as the moon's fourteen". In Colloquial Palestinian Arabic, according to Muhawi and Kanaana,

> two important components ..., brightness (fairness of skin) and roundness (of face), convey the popular conception of beauty in Palestinian and Arab culture. In popular expression it might be said that the roundness of a beautiful girl's face resembles that of the moon ('alēhā dōrit hal-wijeh miṭl il-qamar), or that her face shines like the moon (wijeh-hā biẓwî miṭl il-qamar)[48]

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[45] Bilge Seyidoğlu. _Erzurum Halk Masalları üzerinde Araştırmalar: metinler ve açıklama_ (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi, 1975), p. 277.

[46] _ibid._, p. 285.

[47] or **Hîva çardehê**

[48] Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana. _Speak Bird, Speak Again : Palestinian Arab Folktales_ (Berkeley et al. : University of California Press, 1989), p. 60, note 1.

Other expressions which formulate a woman's beauty in terms of brightness include the following from HR-1, a Turoyo version of M&Z:

(7) She is so beautiful that you could call her a firefly (HR-1, p. 256)

and, from the Tale of Kamar al-Zaman in the Arabian Nights:

> Hereat marvelled he with great marvel and he sat up and looked at what lay beside him; when he saw it to be a young lady like an union pearl, or a shining sun, or a dome seen from afar on a well-built wall; for she was five feet tall, bosomed high and rosy-cheeked...[49]

Mem belongs to a category of beautiful males commonly found in folk literature, who are often described in terms of feminine characteristics. Other examples include Joseph (Yūsuf in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, Ûsib in Kurdish) in oral versions of the story Yusuf and Zulaikha, based on the story of Joseph in the Old Testament and sūrat Yūsuf in the Qur'ān; Narcissus; Ferhad of the Turkish and Persian romance Ferhad and Shirin; and Churilo Plenkovich, a character in the Russian byliny.

Joseph is pampered by his father, and is passive in situations where manliness would demand an active posture. When Joseph's brothers take him hunting, he does not participate in the hunting, but is rather thrown into a deep pit, a victim of his brothers' jealousy. When he is sold to a caravan heading for Egypt, he is bought and actively pursued by Zulaikha, a woman who is in love with him, whereas one would normally expect the man to pursue the woman. Joseph is

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[49]Richard F. Burton (tr.). The Arabian Nights : A Complete and Unabridged Selection, arranged by Bennett A. Cerf (Garden City, N.Y. : Blue Ribbon Books, 1941), p. 255.

uncommonly beautiful, the light emanating from him making it unnecessary to burn lights during the night. The women of Egypt cut their hands while peeling oranges, bedazzled by Joseph's beauty.

Narcissus, a well-known character in Greek mythology, is described as follows by Bulfinch:

> He stooped down to drink, and saw his own image in the water; he thought it was some beautiful water-spirit living in the fountain. He stood gazing with admiration at those bright eyes, those locks curled like the locks of Bacchus or Apollo, the rounded cheeks, the ivory neck, the parted lips, and the glow of health and exercise over all. ... He pined away and died ... The nymphs ... prepared a funeral pile and would have burned the body, but it was nowhere to be found; but in its place a flower, purple within, and surrounded with white leaves, which bears the name and preserves the memory of Narcissus.[50]

In colloquial English, the term *flower* refers to an effeminate man,[51] as does also the word *pansy.*

In a Turkish chapbook edition of Ferhad and Shirin, Ferhad is described as follows:

> Ferhad's beauty was not less than that of girls. Just as girls are as beautiful as the moon on the fourteenth [of the lunar month], so was Ferhad a full moon on the fifteenth of the month.
> His cheek, redder than roses,
> His lip, more golden than honey,
> His eyes, half in a swoon,
> His body, even more languid.[52]

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[50]Thomas Bulfinch. Bulfinch's Mythology (New York : Avenel Books, c1978), p. 102-3.

[51]In one episode of the television series "All in the Family," Edith and Archie Bunker are discussing whether or not a particular friend of their daughter's is a *flower.*

[52]"Ferhad'ın güzelliği kızlardan aşağı değildi. Kızlar nasıl ayın ondördü kadar güzelse, Ferhad da ayın onbeşi kadar dolgun bir ay parçasıydı.

Yanağı, güllerden al, / Dudağı, ballardan bal, / Gözleri, yan baygın, / Vücudu, henüz aygın."

One might expect a depiction such as this to pertain to a girl rather than to a young man.

The character Churilo Plenkovich appears in Russian byliny. He is so beautiful with his yellow curls that a princess cuts her hand while slicing meat, bedazzled by Churilo's beauty -- similar to the motif mentioned in Joseph and Zulaikha --, and

> As they gazed on Churilo's beauty
> The nuns in their cells tore off their habits;
> As they gazed on Churilo's beauty
> The young girls uncovered themselves.
> As they gazed on Churilo's beauty
> The pretty lasses tore off their head-dresses.[53]

As is the case in Joseph and Zulaikha, the young man's beauty drives women to become the active pursuers, assuming what is traditionally the male role. In Ferhad and Shirin, it is recounted that Shirin is descended from the Amazons, female warriors who used to go on raids in Anatolia and abduct young men, give them a temporary love potion, mate with them, and only let the female infants live, throwing the male ones off a steep cliff. When the female infants reached a certain age, they were taught to ride horses and use a sword; they cut off their breasts, to prevent them from getting in the way while wielding their weapons.[54]

There are examples of the switching of stereotypical sexual roles in M&Z also. Mem is feminized when Zîn says, "Mem, I don't think I have come to you, for it is

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in: Faruk Gürtunca Ferhad ile Şirin (Istanbul : Sağlam Kitabevi, 1982), p. 8.

[53]N.R Chadwick Russian Heroic Poetry (NY : Russell & Russell, c1932, 1964), pp. 99-100, verses 270-5

[54]Gürtunca ibid., pp 10-1.

men who always covet women" (FK-2, p. 293) [and cognate phrases]. The fact that Zîn comes to Mem's place first, rather than the other way around, and that Mem goes to live with her people, rather than the other way around, are actions which would be considered beneath a man in real life. Although we have seen above that these motifs may be seen as a combination of rebellion against one's father's authority and adolescent sexual fantasy, they also involve an unmasculine –and therefore shameful – stigma according to traditional Middle-Eastern values.

The Turks have a special term for a man who lives with his wife's family: **iç güvey[i]si** [= inside groom]. The fact that this is not a respected condition is reflected in the expression **iç güveysinden hallice** [=lit. "in the condition of an *iç güveysi* "] which means 'so-so,' 'comme ci comme ça,' 'not so great'; and in the saying **iç güveyisi iç ağrısı** =lit. "an inside groom is an inside pain".

It could be argued that Mem's name has feminine overtones, since **memik** means 'breast'[55]. Other feminine overtones can be gleaned from a comparative study of some of the motifs appearing in M&Z.

In OM and ZK-2, Mem is born to childless parents; they keep him in a dark room; one day he accidentally breaks the window with a bone from soup and sees sunlight for first time [A.2.b-c.][56]. There are three tale types in the Turkish tale-type index[57] which resemble this initial situation. They are EB Types 186, 187, and 188. The pertinent information is as follows:

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[55]The name Zîn could likewise be seen to have masculine overtones, since there are words meaning 'penis' beginning with z in Arabic (zubb) and Hebrew (zayin), although there is no Kurdish evidence to support this premise.

[56]ZK-2 lacks the bone.

[57]Wolfram Eberhard and Pertev Naili Boratav. Typen türkischer Volksmärchen (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1953), pp. 213-8.

EB Type 186 Das Perlenzelt (Inci çadırı) = The Pearl Tent. III. Variants. ... a) childless parents beget a daughter from (by/through) an apple given to them by a dervish; they raise her in isolation from the world in a crystal palace. Once there is a bone in her food. The girl accidentally breaks a glass window with the bone, and sees the sun (daylight) for the first time; she flees, and falls in love with the prince of the pearl tent, through the descriptions of him she hears from other. Attestations: k) Ankara 48, 6 (Viranşehir); v) Altın Işık 41-48 (Diyarbakır?) - by Ziya Gökalp (1st ed. 1922, 2nd ed. 1942); w) Kars 2, 179 (Adana); x) Malatya 36-37 (Malatya);

EB Type 187 Der Kristallpalast (Billûr köşk) = The Crystal Palace. Motifs. 1. A king raises his only child, a daughter, isolated from the world in a crystal palace. 2. She realizes one day that there is a world outside, and builds herself a fabulous palace out of glass. 3. The prince of Yemen sees her in the distance; she falls in love [with him];

EB Type 188 Hüsnü Yusuf. III. Variants. 1. ... The girl ... was engendered by a dervish's apple. She breaks (cracks) a window of her crystal palace with a bone. ...

All three of these are identical with the cognate passage in OM, except that a daughter is born -- another piece of evidence for a feminine underpinning to the actions of Mem!

In FK-1, FK-2, and MC-1, Mem is supposed to throw an apple at the girl he wants to marry, during the party thrown for his benefit in his father's garden [B.II.C.]. The only motif in the Motif Index that resembles this is Motif H315. *Suitor test: apple thrown indicates princess's choice*. Once again the motif has feminine overtones, since no corresponding motif indicating a prince's choice is attested.[58]

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[58]Obviously the fact that this motif featuring a male protagonist is missing from the Motif Index, while occurring in three versions of M&Z, strongly suggests that the Motif Index is in need of some updating. According to Alan Dundes, throwing the apple is a standard motif for both sexes (personal communication).

At the end of OM, after Mem is dead, his father comes to Jezira Bohtan and replaces him with a woman, Lady Astî:

Lady Astî dressed in black cloth [and] went [and] stood before Brahim Padishah,
[And] said, "Padishah, Mem and Zîn are gone, all traces of my father's house have been erased."

Brahim Padishah embraced Lady Astî [and] said, "You are my daughter, I hereby put you in Kakeh Mem's place." (OM, p. 80)

Although a little further on Mem's father adopts Bengîneh as his son, replacing Mem with a woman is significant in light of the other evidence. It appears that many of the actions in which Mem is involved are associated with female characters when they occur in other contexts.

Let us now examine Mem's explicit behavior in the light of this evidence. The following is a list of Mem's main failings:

1) deserts parents [B.III.]

2) steals Zîn #1 from her fiancé Çekan [D.II.]

3) malingers, so can stay home from hunting expedition and have tryst with Zîn [D.III.B.]

4) violates norms by a rendez-vous with Zîn [D.III.D.]

5) does not pay mîr Sêvdîn his due respect by failing to rise, giving excuse
that   he is ill [D.IV.C.]

Of these failings, #3 and #5 are particularly suited to further the argument advanced above. Both in #3 and in #5, Mem claims to be sick as an excuse for not doing what is expected of him. While not specifically feminine, such actions are

certainly not gallant, nor do they constitute exemplary behavior to be followed by others. Such behavior conjurs up images of a spoiled child.

Mem's failure to rise in Mîr Sêvdîn's presence may be considered symbolic impotence[59]; likewise, at an earlier point in the story [D.I.G.], the mîr's unconscious rising when Mem comes in may be considered symbolic sexual attraction (erection). For those who are skeptical, consider the following quote from PS:

> [Mir Zeidin] said, "I want you to give me your friend, (=Mem)
> I have been smitten with love for him,
> I want him to bear my tobacco pouch and pipe,
> To always stay by me." (PS, p. 76)

In many versions it is explicitly stated that when the mîr first lays eyes on Mem, he is instantly smitten with him (PN; PS; OM; SHa-2; GNa; EP-2; EP-1; HR-2; ZK-1; MC-1); in a few more (FK-2; FK-1; ZK-3) it is implicit. The mîr offers him a valuable gift (GNa; EP-2; EP-1; FK-1; SHa-1; SHa-2): as we have seen above, in PS he wants Mem to be his personal tobacco and pipe bearer; in FK-1 he even offers Mem his own position as mîr. The mîr stands up before him in several versions (SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1; FK-1), and Qeretajdîn later adduces a handkerchief from under where the mîr is sitting as proof that he did indeed stand up (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-3; ZK-1; FK-1). Hence, the gifts which the emir offers Mem point to the emir's undo attraction for him, replete with sexual overtones.

The gift that Mem accepts in most versions is a job as: cook (GNa), supervisor of the kitchen (SHa-2), cook in charge of serving coffee in the diwan (EP-1), chief of servants in charge of serving coffee in the diwan (FK-1), or servant or doorman

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[59]This idea was suggested to me by Professor Norman Mirsky, sociologist at the Hebrew Union College Los Angeles CA. At least in Western cultures, women do not rise when a man enters the room: if this is true for Kurdish culture as well, then this would be yet another example of Mem's feminization

(*SHa-1). Other gifts are: a felt cloak (*EP-2), perhaps a literalizing of the expression *to confer on s.o. the* k'urkê aspêjîê (EP-1) = 'cloak of cooking', as a way of saying 'office of cook'; seat of honor in diwan, across from Mîr Sêvdîn (PS), tantamount to equal status with the mîr; position as leader of the hunt (OM). This latter gift is unusually masculine in character; in PS, Mem accepts the cushy seat of honor beside the emir, without having done anything to earn it. All the others contribute to the idea of Mem as belonging to the traditionally female realm of the kitchen, and the accompanying subservient role. According to traditional Mediterranean values, the home is the domain of women, while the outdoors is the domain of men. The Spanish have a proverb which accurately describes this attitude for the Middle East as well: El hombre en la plaza, la mujer en la casa = The man in the townsquare, the woman at home. Stanley Brandes discusses this dichotomy at length in his book Metaphors of Masculinity, dealing with a Spanish context, where he states that:

> In Monteros, of course, a woman's place is in the home. ... Monteros men, in contrast, consider domesticity of whatever type to be inherently unmasculine. As men state regularly to me, the home is for sleeping or eating; otherwise, a man should be out working or spending time with his friends. No wonder, then, that overly persistent churchgoing men are accorded an aura of effeminacy, as if they were taking upon themselves more than the appropriate share of domestic responsibilites.[60]

Seen in this light, Mem is willing both to settle for a position beneath his social standing, and to compromise his masculinity, by working as a cook in the kitchen and by staying home from the hunting expedition, so that he can be near Zin. To be a homebody is to be equated with women: in the Spanish example quoted above, the church is an extension of the home, as it is the house of God.

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[60](Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), p. 185.

Mem is more intent on being with Zîn than he is on doing what society expects of him. While this is certainly the feeling of many a young man in love, it carries with it several consequences. The young man so inclined runs the risk of bringing disgrace upon himself, his family, and the family of his beloved: this is what almost happens when Mem hides Zîn behind his cloak [D.IV.] and Qeretajdîn creates a diversion by burning down his own house [D.V.]. Mem's behavior is unmanly to the point that he seems to be a spoiled child used to having his own way, or even worse in a Middle Eastern context, a woman. If I understand the Kurdish correctly, in ZK-2, the emir explicitly calls Mem a woman:

> Memê said, "Beko, the one I want is Zîn, it's Zîn and it's Zîn,
> A newborn dove, she's gazing down at me through the window screen,
> Unlike you and your father, she's the sister of your prince Mîr Zêydîn."
>
> When Memê said this, Mîr Zêydîn got good and mad,
> He said, "Memê, the one I want wears a shawl,
> [82] The sister of the flaxen shirt,
> The sister of the golden necklace,
> Sister Memê Alan.[61]" (ZK-2, pp. 81-2)

This passage both feminizes Mem and asserts the emir's attraction for him, this time in heterosexual rather than homosexual terms, as the description of Mem is couched in overtly feminine terms. Mem's reaction is to reach for his dagger, which restores some masculinity to him[62], although in most versions he is rescued by Qeretajdîn and his brothers, unable to successfully defend himself.

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[61]or perhaps, "Memê Alan herself," or "The sister of Memê Alan." Whatever these last four lines mean, they obviously succeed in insulting and angering Memê to the point of reaching for his dagger.

[62]Even more so if this is viewed in psychosexual terms, in which a dagger or sword is a symbolic penis. If the vagina is a symbolic sheath, and the very word comes from the Latin word for 'sheath,' paralleled by German Scheide with the same two meanings, then what fits into it must be a symbolic sword (or dagger).

The two impulses, to rebel against parental authority on the one hand, yet not to be thought of as unmanly, come up again and again in the story of M&Z. The fact that the story ends tragically, with the death of the two lovers, is also ambiguous. One could argue that because Mem and Zîn meet their death at an early age, they are punished in this life for their actions. As mentioned above, in OM, Mem specifically says that his father's curse has caught up with him. According to this logic, the moral of the story would be that if you go against what your parents and society demand from you, your reward will be an untimely death.

However, the value of laying down one's life for a just cause is highly prized in Middle Eastern culture in general, as Qeretajdîn's sacrifice and the stories of Abraham and of Samaw'al clearly show. Moreover, there is a Kurdish proverb which states:

Rê	rîya	mirinê	be jî,	tu her	li pêş	be
road	road of	dying	be even,	you always	in front	be

= Even if the road leads to death, you must always be first.

From this perspective, Mem and Zîn may be seen as brave for being willing to die for what they believe in, which in this case is the right to love one another despite the opposition of moral society as symbolized by Beko Awan, and of family as symbolized by mîr Sêvdîn, or by the combination of the two. Although Qeretajdîn's heroism lies within the traditional framework, Mem is heroic for the way he transcends that very structure.
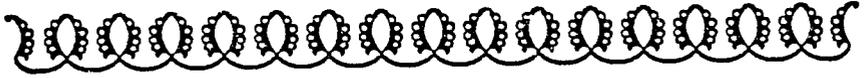
CHAPTER SEVEN:
Conclusion
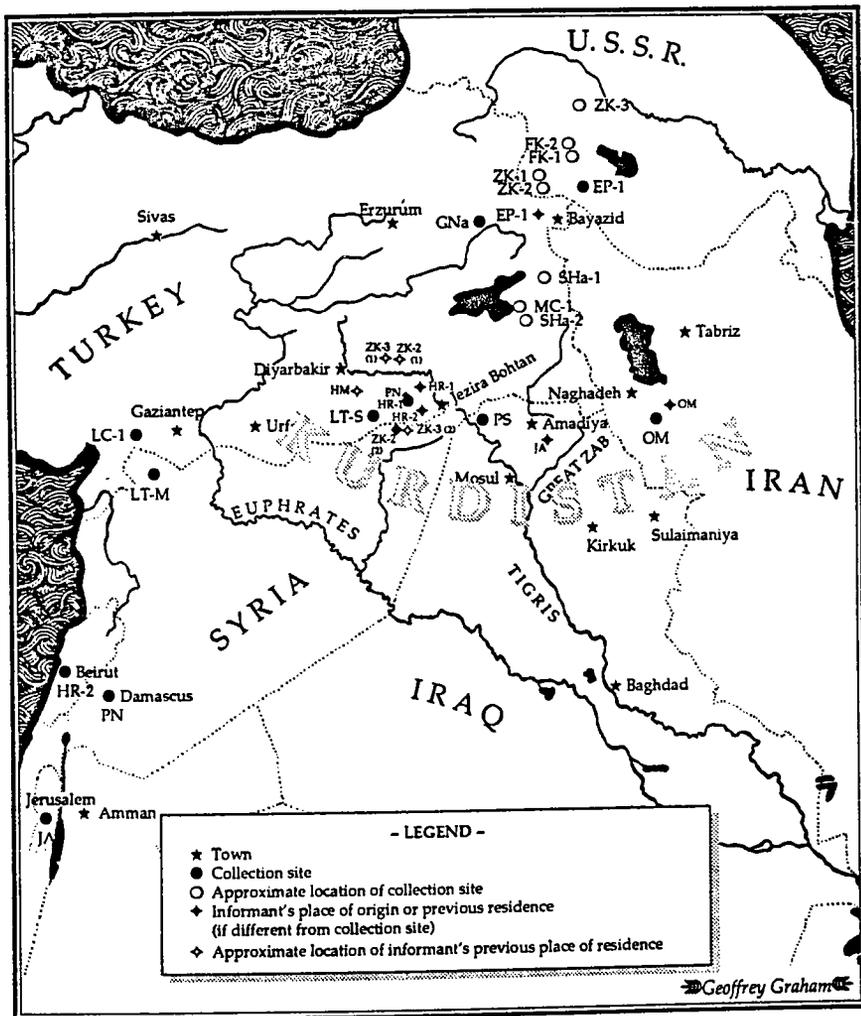
Figure 7a
The Geography of M&Z*

*NOT ON MAP: EP-2; HM's collection site: Brno, Moravia; LT-"Stranvan"; LC-2; FK-3

Geography and Oicotypes: Mapping the Versions of M&Z

We are approaching the end of the present study, which has been based upon a corpus of eighteen versions of M&Z, with occasional references to additional versions (JA; LC-2; LT). Although no two versions are identical, each one is recognizable as a telling of the story. Regarding such differences, I like to use the analogy of clouds in the sky: when one looks at the sky on a day when there are clouds in the sky, no two clouds are exactly alike, and yet we can tell that they are all clouds. Moreover, meteorologists have classified clouds into different types, based on their shape, color, and whether or not they will produced rain, snow, hail, sleet, or the like.

Returning now to M&Z, we can attempt to classify the various versions of it into sub-categories based on criteria which exhibit variation. The accompanying map (Figure 7a.), will be of use in putting the following analysis into a geographical perspective[1].

One of the most obvious differences is the name of Mem's kingdom: in most versions it is called **Muxurzemîn** or a variant thereof, but in a few it is called **Yemen** instead (PS; OM; ZK-3; JA). If we look at the geographical distribution of these four versions, it is apparent that PS and JA were told in Southern Kurmanji by informants from Iraqi Kurdistan, from areas about 60-80 miles northwest of the Great Zab River, the dialect frontier between Kurmanji and Sorani in Iraq. OM was collected in Kurdistan of Iran, in the area south of Lake Urmia, and about 20 miles southeast of Naghadeh, the town which forms the dividing line between Kurmanji and Sorani in Iran. Hence, all three versions are from an area lying to the south of the "Muxurzemîn" versions.

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[1] I would like to take this opportunity to thank my friend Geoffrey Graham again for designing the map.

Although ZK-3 was collected in Soviet Armenia, the informant (Hovhannisyan Karapêt) spent his childhood in a village near Batman, about halfway between the cities of Diyarbakır and Siirt in Kurdistan of Turkey: this still does not explain why ZK-3 is a "Yemen" version rather than a "Muxurzemîn" version, for ZK-2, a "Muxurzemîn" version, was collected from an informant (Ohanyan Israêl) who grew up in a village in the same area. It should be noted, however, that between his childhood in Turkey and his adult years in Soviet Armenia, the informant for ZK-3 spent six years, from ages 15 to 21, in a village near Qamişlî, in Kurdistan of Syria, a region adjacent to the part of Iraqi Kurdistan where PS and JA originated. Consequently, the fact that the informant for ZK-3 spent some time in a Southern Kurmanji-speaking area accounts for his use of Yemen rather than Muxurzemîn. It seems that the appearance of Yemen rather than Muxurzemîn is characteristic of southern versions.

At this point I should explain the concept of *oicotype* This term has been borrowed from the biological term *ecotype* denoting a subspecies adapted to a particular set of environmental conditions. For example, the desert rose is a rose adapted to the desert environment. If we apply this to folklore, it will be seen that the versions of M&Z in which Mem is from Yemen, all of which come from a specific geographic area (the southern zone), constitute an oicotype which is distinct from the versions in which Mem is from Muxurzemîn. Yemen constitutes a southern oicotype for this particular trait [I.F. in the Motif Chart].

The next question is whether or not this is part of a larger southern oicotype which can be identified by a cluster of traits peculiar to the southern versions. In order to test this out, let us take another trait that occurs only in a

limited number of versions: the appearance of the character Bengîn (also Bengîneh, Begî). The only versions in which Bengîn occurs are OM, LT, ZK-3, ZK-2, JA, and MC-1. There is an overlap of three versions between our Yemen oicotype and this, the "Bengîn" oicotype: OM, ZK-3, and JA. The "Bengîn" oicotype is inexplicably absent from PS.   We have yet to account for LT, ZK-2, and MC-1. The informant for ZK-2, Ohanyan Israêl, had an itinerary somewhat similar to that of Hovhannîsyan Karapêt: until age 17, he lived in his native village of Hiznemîre, near Batman; from then until 1966, when he was about 56 years old, he lived in Qamîşlî, in Syrian Kurdistan; in 1966 he moved with his family to Soviet Armenia. Hence, he spent 39 years of his life in Qamîşlî, where Southern Kurmanji is spoken. This being the case, his inclusion of the "Bengîn" oicotype is not so surprising: indeed, it is his omission of the "Yemen" oicotype which seems strange.

As for MC-1, this version was collected in the province of Van, as were SHa-1 and SHa-2. The latter two do not exhibit either the "Yemen" or the "Bengîn" oicotype. They were collected c. 1904, before the great population shifts connected with the Armenian massacres. When I visited Van in 1988, I was struck by the fact that most everyone seemed to have moved there from somewhere else in Kurdistan of Turkey. In keeping with this, the dialect of the informant for MC-1 has definite features suggesting a more southerly provenance[2], perhaps from Hakkâri or Siirt. Once again the southerly character of a trait can be connected to other Southern Kurmanji features.

LT is problematic, as was mentioned in Chapter One.   Of the three

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[2] e.g., the ending for the third person singular of the present tense of verbs is often -itin, a Southern Kurmanji feature See D.N. MacKenzie. Kurdish Dialect Studies (London et al. : Oxford University Press, 1961), vol. 1, pp. 181-2, §283. (a).

versions upon which this composite text is based, only the first two need concern us here[3]: Mîşo is from Meqtel in Kurdistan of Syria, not too far from where LC-1 (and LC-2) were collected, and Sebrî is from Mardin in Kurdistan of Turkey, not far north of Qamîşlî. Meqtel is too far west to be considered Southern Kurmanji, although it is south of the province of Gaziantep in Turkey. The Kurdish of Mardin is considered Northern Kurmanji, although it is near the area where Southern Kurmanji is spoken: nevertheless, other versions collected from informants originally from the province of Mardin (HM; PN; HR-1; HR-2) lack both the "Yemen" and the "Bengîn" oicotypes. Fortunately, Lescot provides enough information on these informants to solve the problem for us when he writes that

> Mîşo learned the text from his father, who himself learned it from a Kurd from Behdînan.[4]

Behdînan is the part of Iraqi Kurdistan in which Southern Kurmanji is spoken. As in the cases outlined above, a Southern Kurmanji origin is once again correlated with this trait. It is still unclear whether the versions of both of Lescot's informants, Mîşo and Sebrî, included Bengîn (or Begî, as he is called there), or whether he only appeared in one and was edited into the other. Because he claims that Mîşo's version was taken as 'texte de base,' I am going to assume that Begî appeared at least in Mîşo's version. Even if Bengîn did appear in Sebrî's version also, I consider it extremely unlikely that he was called 'Begî' in both Mîşo and Sebrî's renditions: some editing must have occurred.

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[3]Bengîn does not appear in the Chess Scene, which the third version supplied.

[4]Textes Kurdes (Beyrouth, 1942), vol. 2, p v.

In any case, at this point both the "Yemen" oicotype and the "Bengîn" oicotype can be considered southern features. In what follows, I will outline other traits that make up the Southern oicotype of M&Z.

The nature of the creatures who conspire to bring Mem and Zîn together [B.I.A. in the Motif Chart] is anomalous, because OM agrees with the northern versions in having three birds serving as the matchmakers, although it differs in making them falcons rather than doves. PS, MC-1 and JA all three have angels rather than birds, and in both PS and MC-1 there are two of them, whereas in JA there are forty of them. The four versions in which the birds or angels are replaced by jinn and their king (ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2) also seem to form a third distinct oicotype: their geographic distribution forms one clearly discernible area -- if we consider the versions ZK-3 and ZK-2 as having gotten this motif from the villages near Batman in which the informants spent their childhood. We will call this the Ṭūr 'Abdîn-Batman (or central) zone.

The methods by which Mem and Zîn learn that they are indeed in his place rather than hers [B.I.D.] divide into two main oicotypes: in most northern versions (SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1), they count the number of minarets in the city: in his city there are 366, while in hers there are 66; they count 366. The southern oicotype for this motifeme slot is more extensive than the Southern Kurmanji zone outlined above. It consists of each one of them calling his respective servant; his answers, hers doesn't. The area that this oicotype encompasses includes both the Southern Kurmanji zone and the Ṭūr 'Abdîn-Batman zone (PS; OM; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2; MC-1). OM combines this oicotype with Mem and Zîn's walking about the palace, in the course of which Zîn realizes that she is not familiar with her surroundings: this is shared with LC-1, at the western extreme of the Kurmanji speech area.

Whereas in northern versions (including the Ṭûr 'Abdîn-Batman zone) Mem and Zîn exchange only rings [B.I.F.], in the southern versions (PS; OM; JA; MC-1) they exchange both rings and handkerchiefs.

In most versions Mem's horse is called Bor [I.E.]. However, in an oicotype composed of three versions (LC-1; LT; ZK-2), the horse is called Bozê Rewan[5]. In these same three versions, the horse is a magical creature caught in the sea by fishermen [B.III.A.]. Because Mîşo, from Meqtel, Syria, is the source of this motif in LT, it seems to be a regional feature shared with LC-1. We will call this the Western zone. It is harder to account for it in ZK-2: it is not possible to know whether Ohanyan Israêl learned this detail while in Qamîşlî, or whether he brought it with him from his native Hiznemîre. When Oskar Mann's two unpublished versions from Suruç, southwest of Urfa, finally appear, they may shed light on this issue, because Suruç is located about midway between where LC-1 and LT-Mîşo were collected on the one hand, and Qamîşlî (and Mardin) on the other. Hence, if Bozê Rewan were to appear in them, it would make it more likely that the "Bozê Rewan" oicotype was native to the area stretching from Islahiye in the western part of the province of [Gazi]Antep to Qamîşlî on the border of Turkey (south of Mardin) and Syria, and therefore Ohanyan Israêl would probably have picked this up in Qamîşlî rather than in his native village.

Regarding Beko Awan's female relative, whom Mem encounters at the entrance to Jezira Bohtan [C.III.], she is Beko Awan's daughter in all but four of the sixteen versions in which she appears: in those four (SHa-1; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2) she is his sister. This character is absent in two versions (PS; LC-1)[6], but the

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[5]Bozê Rewal in ZK-2, and (serâk basân) bôzî rawân in LC-1.

[6]In LC-1 Zîn has a maidservant named reîhan, but it is not stated that she is related to Bako Awan.

twelve versions in which she appears as Beko Awan's daughter include four of the seven versions from the northern zone (SHa-2; GNa; EP-1; ZK-1), two from the southern zone (OM; MC-1), and all six (PN; HM; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2) from the Ṭūr 'Abdîn-Batman-Mardin (= the central) zone. Although in versions from the northern (SHa-2; GNa; FK-1) and central zones (HR-1; ZK-2) she too is named **Zîn**, in three versions from the southern zone (OM; MC-1; JA), she is called **Melîk Reyฟan** or some variant thereof[7]. Moreover, in the western zone, she is called **Reiฟan** (e) (LC-1) or **Rihan** (LT-Mîşo) [II.H.] The southern and western zones seem to share the oicotype of calling Beko Awan's daughter (alias Zîn's servant) by a name which includes the word Reyฟan in it, although the southern zone this is preceded by the word Melîk.

  The motif of Mîr Sêvdîn's standing up when Mem enters the diwan [D.I.G.] seems to be a northern oicotype, totally absent from the southern zone, and the Ṭūr 'Abdîn-Batman zone, with the exception of ZK-3.

  The site of Mem and Zîn's rendez-vous [D.III.D.] also seems to divide along geographic lines: in northern versions (and in Eฟmedê Xanî's literary poem) they meet in the garden, while in the southern and Ṭūr 'Abdîn-Batman zones, as well as in LC-1 and LT-Mîşo, they meet in the diwan. Within this latter oicotype there is some variation as to whose diwan they meet in: in LT-Mîşo and HR-1, they are in Zîn's diwan; in LC-1 they are in the diwan of Qeretajdîn's brothers Ḥasan čako; in the rest they are in Mîr Sêvdîn's diwan or palace.

  Part of the climax of the story includes Qeretajdîn's sacrifice [D.V.B.]. In all versions but one (FK-2) he sets fire to his own house. There is some regional

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[7]Melek Rîhan in MC-1.

variation regarding the other items he sacrifices: in the southern and northern

zones, he sacrifices his child; in the Ṭūr 'Abdîn-Batman zone (PN; ZK-3; HR-1;

HR-2; ZK-2), to which we may add HM, he sacrifices his wife, or is at least ready

to, with her child strapped to her breast in three of the versions (ZK-3; HR-1;

ZK-2); in four versions -- two from Ṭūr 'Abdîn-Batman zone (HR-1; ZK-2), one

more from Mardin (HM), and one from the western zone (LC-1) -- Qeretajdîn

sacrifices his horses.   It is noteworthy that none of the northern or southern

versions include the sacrifice of Qeretajdîn's wife or horse, and likewise that the

sacrifice of his wife is limited to the central (Mardin-Ṭūr 'Abdîn-Batman) zone.

In the three main versions from the southern zone (PS; OM; MC-1),

there is no causal connection between the results of Mem and Mîr Sêvdîn's

chess game and Mem's imprisonment [D.VI.C.].

Zîn's secret tunnel from her room to Mem's dungeon [D.VI.D.] occurs in

MC-1, although it is absent from PS and OM. Although it seems to be common

in the northern zone, it only occurs in two versions from the Ṭūr 'Abdîn-

Batman zone (ZK-3; HR-1).

The scene in which Zîn sends word to Qeretajdîn with a man who

demands a kiss from her as payment [D.VII.B.] is totally absent from the

southern zone. Both versions from the Batman zone (ZK-3; ZK-2) have it, but

of the Ṭūr 'Abdîn-Mardin zone, it only appears in PN and HM. In the western

zone, it is attested in LC-1. The northern zone is split: it appears in two versions

(SHa-1; FK-1), and is absent from five (SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; EP-1; ZK-1).

At the end of the story, the legend about the thornbush still being there,

or growing back whenever it is cut down [E.III.C.], is totally absent from the

southern zone. In the Ṭūr 'Abdîn-Batman-Mardin zone, the only versions that

lack it are PN and HM. Once again, the northern zone is split, this time with

the opposite bias: five versions have such a legend (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; EP-1; ZK-1), while two (FK-2; FK-1) do not. The western zone (LC-1; LT-Mîşo) seems to lack it also.

In preparing the preceding geographical analysis, it was discovered that the versions of M&Z used in the study, plus JA and LT, fit into four geographical zones as follows[8]:

Northern zone (SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-1; ZK-1)

Southern zone (PS; OM; MC-1; JA)

Western zone (LC-1; LT-Mîşo)

Tûr 'Abdîn-Batman-Mardin (=Central) zone (PN; HM; LT-Sebrî; ZK-3; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-2)

The central zone consists of several sub-zones, including the Tûr 'Abdîn versions (PN; HR-1; HR-2), collected in Turoyo, a variety of Neo-Aramaic spoken by Jacobite Christians; the Mardin versions (HM; LT-Sebrî); and the so-called 'Batman' versions (ZK-3; ZK-2).

Although the latter two are designated as belonging to the central zone, because the informants for these two versions, the Armenians Ohanyan Israêl and Hovhannîsyan Karapêt, moved from their native region to Qamîşlî in Syria, where each spent several years before finally settling in Soviet Armenia, they are more difficult to classify. In certain respects they are very similar: they share motifs which do not appear in any other version. Two such examples are: 1) [D.I.A.1.b.], in which Mem's host Qeretajdîn tests Mem's honor by sending his

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[8]It was necessary to exclude EP-2, because the identity of the informant, as well as his provenance, are unknown.

own wife to Mem's room to see if Mem will behave honorably; Mem sends her away; and 2) [D.III.E.2.e.] Beko Awan's bet: when returning from the hunting expedition, he has his men pursue him to Mîr Sêvdîn's diwan, with instructions that if they overtake him (=Beko Awan), they must kill him; this forces Beko Awan to ride quickly – for his life – to reach the diwan. In spite of these similarities between the two versions, each has been influenced by the informant's stay in Qamişlî, in what is presumably the southern zone, to varying degrees. Consequently, the motifs in them straddle several oicotype zones.

In Conclusion: the Future of the Tradition

In the course of the scholastic year 1990-91, while this study was being written, many important developments were taking place in Kurdistan. "Operation Desert Storm" has affected the Kurdish people in a number of ways. The deadly twins of Saddam Hussein's sins of commission and the American government's sins of omission have combined to create a situation in which once again, in the twentieth century, a people is threatened with extermination through the misuse of modern technology. Although the Kurdish people has finally been given the attention they deserve by the news media, it took what resembles all too closely another holocaust to bring this about. The three to four million Kurds of Iraqi Kurdistan will never be the same again: even if those who survive are eventually able to return to their homes, their experiences will have changed every aspect of their lives, including their language and folklore.

I think it is safe to say that the linguistic situation which D.N. Mackenzie described in his 1961-62 publication Kurdish Dialect Studies will be most valued for its accurate recording of the linguistic situation prior to the cataclysm. When the Kurds had to flee their homes and their villages, they undoubtedly met up with speakers of other dialects, people with whom they would not normally have come into contact. Such contact could have a lasting effect on the language: it would not surprise me if the upheaval of the early months of 1991 will become a terminus post quem for dating radical changes in the development of the Kurdish language.

As a result of the Armenian massacres at the beginning of the Twentieth Century, many Armenian dialects have died out. The holocaust of the Jewish people during World War II has rendered the Yiddish language an endangered species, surviving only as the spoken language of the Hassidic Jews of Crown Heights and

Williamsburg in New York, Me'ah She'arim in Jerusalem, and a few other places. The Neo-Aramaic dialects of the Assyrians, Jacobites, and the Kurdish Jews are also threatened with extinction, both by massacres in the Assyrian case, and by emigration and the ensuing assimilation in all three cases. Fortunately, the world's twenty three million Kurds are too numerous to be as easily annihilated as a people, but their continued existence is nevertheless threatened by the persecutions of the governments that control their fates.

The Kurds of Turkey have also been affected by the war, although in different, more indirect, ways. At the beginning of the war, the Turkish president Turgut Özal announced that the ban on the speaking of the Kurdish language was to be lifted. Many Kurds in Turkey were very skeptical of this gesture on the part of the government, seeing it as little more than an attempt to placate its increasingly angry Kurdish citizens, so that in the event that the war in Iraq spilled over into Turkey, the Kurds of that country would not cause "trouble." Contrary to Özal's expectations, the proposal did not sail through the Turkish parliament. After all, its implications are very ominous in the eyes of Turkish nationalists: if the speaking of Kurdish is permitted, first of all this is tantamount to officially recognizing that such a language exists, which would contradict statements made as recently as 1987 by so-called Turkish scholars. Secondly, once the language is permitted to be spoken, it is only a matter of time before further gains will be attempted, such as the teaching of Kurdish in schools, as well as publishing and broadcasting in Kurdish. This could eventually lead to the possibility of openly conducting linguistic and folkloristic research among the Kurds of Turkey.

Ironically, the state of illiteracy in which the Kurds have been kept, particularly in Turkey, has preserved late into the 20th century the sort of linguistic situation that characterized all languages in the pre-modern period:

a) The language is not standardized, displaying instead pronounced regional variation;

b) The language is not heard on the radio or television (except for broadcasts from the Soviet Union, Iraq and Iran, which the Turkish government has done its best to jam), which contributes to the situation in a) above;

c) Even people who are literate in Turkish are kept illiterate in Kurdish, and have no schooling about what is 'correct' or 'incorrect' grammatical usage in the latter language, which is leading, in my opinion, to such grammatical changes as the gradual demise of the ergative nature of the verb system (evidenced in the past tense of transitive verbs), as well as the encroachment of Turkish words on the Kurdish vocabulary, sometimes displacing even the most basic Kurdish words.

It is paradoxical that this state of illiteracy vis-à-vis Kurdish also preserves the conditions necessary for the flourishing of a strong oral tradition. The introduction of literacy, and the lifting of the ban on the Kurdish language to the point where education in Kurdish were allowed, would slowly begin to erode the tradition that has spawned oral romance traditions such as that of M&Z.

If one wanted to refute the assertion that literacy directly affects oral "epic" traditions, one could adduce the counterargument that the Kurds of the Soviet Union are largely literate in Kurdish, and that several versions of Mem û Zîn have been collected from Kurds and Kurdish-speaking Armenians in Soviet Armenia. If we examine the data at our disposal, we come up with the following chart:

Version	Collection date	Informant	± Literacy	Date of birth	Ethnicity
EP-1	1955	E'tarê Şero	literate	1901	Yezidi
EP-2	-1938	?	?	?	?

FK-1	-1936	Xudoê Qaşo	?	?	?
FK-2	1926	Fekoê Mraz	?	?	?
FK-3	-1936	Tono Cetoyan	?	c. 1870	?
ZK-1	1963	E'gitê T'êcir	literate	1922	?
ZK-2	1970	Ohanyan Israêl	illiterate	1910	Armenian
ZK-3	1959	Hovhannîsyan Karapêt	semi-literate	1926	Armenian

The data are so uneven that it is not possible to draw many conclusions from them. For the eight versions from the Soviet Union, seven of which have been used in this study, we do not know the religious affiliation of five of the informants, the age of three of them, the degree of literacy of four of them, and the identity of one of them. With regard to literacy, of the four informants for whom it is reported, two are literate, one is semi-literate (whatever that means), and one is illiterate.

What can be said with certainty is that no Soviet versions have been collected from people born after the 1920's. At the back of Volume Two of Ordikhane and Dzhalil Dzhalilov's massive collection of Kurdish folklore entitled Zargotina K'urda[1], there is a section in which biographical information on the informants is provided. Some of the informants were born in the 1930's, including E'tarê Şero's daughter Gulîzer, born in 1937, who knows many girls' songs. However, no versions of M&Z have been collected from such informants. Does the lack of collected versions from informants born more recently than the 1930's point to a gap in collection activity, or

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[1] (Moskva : Nauka, 1978), 2 vols.

are the younger generations -- who have been lucky enough to be literate in Kurdish -- no longer able to continue the oral tradition of their forebears? In The Singer of Tales, Albert Lord states that oral traditions such as that of the Yugoslav epic singers depend on illiteracy to survive, and that with the growth of literacy, they are doomed to die out[2].

To my knowledge, only three versions have been collected in Turkey in this century: Lescot's version from Sebrî (LT-Sebrî), a Turoyo version (HR-1) and the taped version I acquired in 1988 (MC-1). The Turoyo version was collected in 1960 from a 60 year-old villager (born c. 1900); moreover, Hellmut Ritter's second Turoyo version (HR-2) was collected in Beirut in 1961 from a carpenter born in 1913 or 1914. The version from the region of Van (MC-1) was supposedly told by a man who was in his forties in the late 1980's: hence we can assume that he was born sometime in the 1940's. Judging from the latter case, the tradition may be slightly less moribund in Turkey, still having *dengbêjes* born a decade later than is the case in Soviet Armenia.

Although Lescot tells us who some of his informants were (Mîşo and Sebrî), he does not tell us how old they were, or exactly when the texts were collected. The book in which they appear was published in 1942, and his earlier book on the Yezidis[3] came out in 1938, therefore it is safe to assume that his versions date from sometime between 1936, when Lescot visited the Yezidis of Syria, and 1942, when Volume Two

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[2] Albert Bates Lord. The Singer of Tales, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 24 (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1960; reprint New York : Atheneum, 1968 et seq.; reprint Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 20.

[3] Roger Lescot Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjâr, Mémoires de l'Institut français de Damas, tome 5 (Beyrouth, 1938), 277 p.

of his Textes kurdes appeared[4]. This still does not help us guess how old Mîşo and Sebrî were at the time. However, if they were at least 25 years old, they would have been born prior to 1920, in keeping with my earlier assertion.

As for Iraq, the only versions dating from this century that I know of are the two versions I acquired on cassette tape during a visit to Israel in May and June of 1990. One had been brought from somewhere around Zakho or Dehok in the last year, but the man who sold me that tape knew nothing else about it: he could not provide either the name of the *dengbéj* or information about where he was from, much less his age or degree of literacy. The second version was collected in Jerusalem in 1979 by Jacqueline Alon from Daniel Moshe, an elderly Kurdish Jew from the village of Suwarê, Kurdistan of Iraq. Daniel Moshe, who was in his seventies at the time, has since passed away. He must have been born sometime around the turn of the century, thus belonging to the same generation as E'tarê Şero.

Roger Lescot has the following to say about the *dengbéj* tradition:

> The art of the *dengbéj* is in a state of advanced decay. Those who boast of this title nowadays are amateurs with a fragmentary repertoire, no longer, as they were until recently, professional singers attached to the personage of a prince or a tribal chieftain, and possessing a thorough knowledge of most epics, and capable moreover of improvising when necessary to make up for lapses in their memory. At least twenty informants recited for me what they knew of Memê Alan. Most of them knew only the most salient episodes; some of them summarized in prose secondary passages, but not one of them could provide me with an irreproachable whole.[5]

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[4] In a report of a talk given by the Kurdish emir Sureya Bedr Khan, it is stated that his brother, the emir Djeladet [Celadet] Bedr Khan collected a version of M&Z in 1928 from a 54 year-old Kurd named Micho [Mîşo], a member of the Pijan tribe of the Berazi clan. See: Louis Marin. "Séance du 6 Juin 1931" [Mem-o-Zine, poème kurde] L'Ethnographie. N.S 24 (1931), p. 6. It is not clear if this Mîşo is the same man who was later Roger Lescot's informant for the "texte de base" of LT.

[5] Textes Kurdes Vol. 2: Memê Alan (Beyrouth : Institut Français de Damas, 1942), p. iv. My translation.

The informant for MC-1 was, as Lescot describes, someone for whom reciting Mem û Zîn was a hobby, as he had another profession from which he made his livelihood.   Besides Lescot's comment about amateur vs. professional singers, however, I am unable to agree wholeheartedly with his statement.   While I too believe that the art of the *dengbéj* is decaying, I do not think that my reasons for believing so coincide with those of Lescot.   My argument is that the advent of literacy -- even if limited to the official language Turkish --, together with the introduction of the television and moving picture, have joined forces to threaten the integrity of the tradition of orally recited narratives.   Whereas the increase in literacy reduces the number of potential *dengbéjes* the television and its world has seriously decreased the audience for such oral recitations.   Even if dramatized versions of Mem û Zîn were to be shown on television[6], the oral character of the tradition would not be resuscitated.

Lescot apparently subscribed to a devolutionary theory of evolution, in vogue during the Nineteenth Century.   According to one such theory, the Unilinear Theory of Evolution, all cultures pass through the same three evolutionary phases, beginning with savagery, going on into barbarianism, and finally reaching a state of cultivation, i.e., culture.   Peasant societies, such as that of the Kurds, would be put into the intermediate category of barbarianism.   According to another theory prevalent at the time, the Broken-down Myth Theory[7], all folklore originally existed in a pristine state, and from then on a process of decay set in, which accounted for the degeneration of myths into folktales.   Both of these outdated theories have long since been

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[6] According to some Syrian Kurds I have met in Los Angeles, there was a television series in Jordan which did just that, but in which the names of the characters were changed to hide the Kurdish provenance of the story.

[7] Stith Thompson The Folktale (Berkeley et al. : University of California Press, c1946,1977), p. 370.

disproven, but Lescot steadfastly clung to the second of them. He was looking for his idea of the 'full' version of Mem û Zîn (or Memê Alan, as he designated the oral versions, to distinguish them from Eħmedê Xanî's literary work), and when he did not find it in the course of his fieldwork, he attributed the lack of what he had expected to find to the decay of the art of the *dengbêj* As has been discussed at length in Chapter One, in order to come up with what he considered a 'full' version of the story, his literary bias misled him into committing what is perhaps the most basic fallacy of the field of folkloristics: he made a composite (or conflated) text, combining three different versions. From a scientific point of view, this is untenable, because each version is unique, and each *dengbêj*has his own style. Moreover, each region has its own traditional sub-type, which is a composite of the styles of the local *dengbêjes* Not only does Lescot's composite text combine styles, it also combines dialects -- Mişo resided in Meqtel, Kurdistan of Syria, whereas Sebrî was a native of Mardin, Kurdistan of Turkey. In addition, in no two versions are the characters called by exactly the same names, as the first part of the motif chart in Chapter Four indicates: so, for example, Bengîn is called Bengîneh in OM, and Begî by either Sebrî or Mişo in LT; to be consistent, Lescot had to touch up one or the other of the versions so that Begî did not suddenly become Bengîn. There are, of course, many versions in which Bengîn does not appear at all (PN; PS; HM; LC-1; SHa-1; SHa-2; GNa; FK-2; FK-1; EP-2; EP-1; HR-1; HR-2; ZK-1). How do we really know that 'Begî' was not artificially inserted into Sebrî or Mişo's version, where it did not originally exist?

I find Lescot's attitude all the more objectionable because at the time he was collecting, scholarship had already advanced to the point where the methods he employed were considered outdated and had been discarded, as the following quote from the chapter on collecting folktales in Stith Thompson's The Folktale, which first appeared in 1946, clearly indicates:

...For more than a century scholars have recognized the ideal of accurate recording of tales from as many sources as possible, and in the more and more systematic researches of the past generation there has been increasing interest in promoting field work and insistence that it be skillfully and faithfully carried out. Collecting, classifying, cataloguing, studying by a comparative method, and synthesizing all the results -- such is now the goal of all folklorists, whether or not they have come under the direct influence of Kaarle Krohn. But all these activities depend on the first; for no valid studies can be based upon meager or untrustworthy collections.

Though this attitude toward faithful recording of tradition is now so generally accepted by all scholars as to be almost axiomatic, it is not very old, but has gradually developed since the early nineteenth century. Not until there arose an interest in a serious investigation of stories as an important part of human culture could such a feeling exist. For in all the earlier presentations of traditional material the principal motive was to give the reader what would entertain him. The story heard at first hand or more remotely from the unlettered teller was only a frame within which the author employed his own narrative skill. Thus, many of our well-known tales appear in the most diverse literary treatments.

... Throughout the eighteenth century in Europe, after the Galland translation in 1704 made the Arabian Nights popular, folktales were given an Oriental or pseudo-Oriental flavor. And the story collections direct from Arabia and India were conscious and sophisticated literary works. Until the nineteenth century we have only the slightest indication as to what the traditional oral folktale actually sounded like. We know that even the Grimms, who took down their stories as they heard them, had no scruples against reworking them from edition to edition. But by 1840 or thereabouts a number of scholars were making serious attempts to publish authentic oral texts, and since that time there has been an increasing effort to furnish records that are faithful not only to all details of the action but to the narrative style as well. [8]

Lescot is to be commended for being honest enough to indicate that he took liberties with the texts: this is also my comment regarding Prym and Socin, whose version PS dates from 1870. Would it have been too much to expect that in the time that elapsed between 1870 and 1942 some progress would have been made among kurdologists regarding techniques of gathering and evaluating orally collected linguistic materials?

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[8] ibid. p 406-7.

Within the period between 1985 and 1991, I have had occasion to record two different Kurds' summaries of the story of M&Z. Ahmet, a young man from Kurdistan of Turkey, gave me an extremely brief version in Turkish and Kurdish which showed that he only knew the plot in very general terms: a young man falls in love with a beautiful girl, he cannot have her, and therefore falls ill, and dies.

In the English summary I got from Jafer, a man in his early thirties from Kurdistan of Syria, it was clear that he had a grasp of the basic story, but he transposed certain details, saying that Zîn was from the West country (=Muxurzemîn), and Mem was from Kurdistan. I think it is more than a coincidence that Ahmet, who is very much assimilated into Turkish culture, having lived in Adana and Istanbul most of his life, could not provide more than a shadow of the plot, whereas Jafer, who knows Kurdish quite well and has a good feeling for language and regional differences, has a much stronger connection with the folk tradition.

Although neither Ahmet nor Jafer could recite a full version of the story of M&Z, this does not necessarily reflect the demise of the tradition. MC-1 and MC-2 were both recorded in the late '80's -- more or less contemporary with Ahmet and Jafer's brief narrations. If we apply von Sydow's theory of the active and passive bearers of tradition to this situation[9], we can see that both Ahmet and Jafer are passive bearers, and their modest narrations may be attributable to this, rather than to the death of the tradition. By contrast, the informants for MC-1 and MC-2 are active bearers of the tradition.

The question of the future of the tradition of M&Z and other traditional romances does not depend on the ability of passive bearers of tradition to reproduce such stories: rather does it depend on whether or not there are still young people

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[9] C W von Sydow "On the Spread of Tradition," in: Selected Papers on Folklore, ed. Laurits Bødker (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Baggers Forlag, 1948), pp. 11-18.

continuing to be trained in the *dengbéj* tradition, and whether the younger generation is still interested in being the audience before which such *dengbéjes* can perform. Although I consider it unlikely that the younger generation is continuing this tradition, I know of no data on the subject. Paradoxical as it may seem, as long as the Kurdish language and Kurdish culture continue to be banned from television and radio, the oral tradition has a chance of persisting in an age where comparable traditions in other cultures are being supplanted by technologically advanced media.

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