



Caucasus and Central Asia Newsletter

The Caucasus and Central Asia Program

at the University of California, Berkeley

Issue 9 Spring 2006

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Notes from the Executive Director

Sanjyot Mehendale

We are coming to the end of a spring semester focused primarily on the activities of affiliated CCAsP students. This semester CCAsP once again co-sponsored a number of meetings organized by the Identity in Central Asia Working Group. Of particular note is a talk by Adeeb Khalid, Associate Professor of History, Carleton College, author of *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia*.¹ On March 13, Professor Khalid discussed "The Politics of Muslim Reform" as a preview of his upcoming book on Islam after communism, to be published by UC Press. In addition, on April 7, Professor Dru Gladney, Asian Studies and Anthropology, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, author of *Dislocating China: Muslims, Minorities, and Other Subaltern Subjects* (2003) spoke to the group about the changing identity of Uighur Muslims in western China. CCAsP hopes to continue its support for the Identity in Central Asia Working Group in the years to come.

In addition to visiting speakers, CCAsP funded a graduate seminar taught by Edward Walker (Executive Director of the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies and Adjunct Associate Professor, Department of Political Science) titled "Identities and Politics in Soviet and Post-Soviet Central Eurasia."

With regard to future events, CCAsP has entered its second collaboration with Cal Performances to organize events in conjunction with cellist Yo Yo Ma's scheduled concerts at Zellerbach Hall in March, 2007. As some of you may recall, CCAsP had a very fruitful working relationship with Cal Performances and Yo Yo Ma's Silk Road Project in 2002 on a program titled *Sound Travels: A Musical Journey Along the Silk Roads* and we very much look forward to working together on next year's program.

Another exciting project CCAsP is involved in is the development of an American overseas research center in the Caucasus. Spearheaded by Professor Adam T. Smith, Anthropology, University of Chicago, and Karen Rubinson, Research Associate, Anthropology, Barnard College, the mission of the American Research Institute

Early Soviet Film: From Tsarist to Soviet Vision of Central Asian Women

By Anaita Khudonazar

of the South Caucasus (ARISC) would be to encourage and support scholarly study of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. In particular, ARISC would promote and encourage intellectual inquiry across boundaries within the South Caucasus and between the South Caucasus and adjacent areas. Supported by many national institutions, ARISC would provide an ongoing American scholarly presence in each country in order to facilitate research, and would establish and nurture ties between institutions and individuals.²

This spring we are highlighting the research of our excellent graduate students, and this issue of the CCAsP newsletter includes the work of two of UC Berkeley's promising graduate student scholars. Anaita Khudonazar (Ph.D. Candidate, Near Eastern Studies) has an interest in visual propaganda as a means of shaping Central Asian identities. She is currently refining her dissertation research, tentatively titled *From Non-objectivity in Islamic Iconography to Socialist Realism in Soviet Visual Propaganda: The Case of Central Asia*. Her article "Early Soviet Film: From Tsarist to Soviet Vision of Central Asian Women" is a working hypothesis analyzing the origins and the formation of Soviet film propaganda in respect to the role and place of women in Soviet society. The second graduate student contribution is by Olga Gurevich (Ph.D. Candidate, Linguistics Department). Her paper "A Linguistic Analysis and Learner's Reference for Georgian Verbs" analyzes the properties of the Georgian language and the difficulty that it presents for language learners. In addition, she highlights an online verb conjugation reference for learners of Georgian, created under the auspices of the Berkeley Language Center. Although Olga's paper may be too technical for many of our readers, her research is a very important contribution to linguistic scholarship.

The final contribution to this newsletter is by Izaly Zemtsovsky (Visiting Scholar, Institute of Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies) who recently traveled to Seattle to partake in Icebreaker III, an event that brought composers and musicologists from the Caucasus, among other regions, to Seattle to partake in a festival and international symposium of contemporary music.

Footnotes

¹ Comparative Studies in Muslim Societies, 27. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998; South Asian edition, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

² ARISC is currently in the process of incorporation. For more information, please contact the organization at info@arisc.org

As part of the Soviet *hujum* (assault) campaign of 1927, wide range propaganda against patriarchal oppression, polygamy, early marriages and social seclusion of Central Asian women was developed while, at the same time, women's education, employment, healthcare, and other social benefits were promoted. In Soviet visual narrative, the heavy head-to-toe veils of horsehair and cotton became a collective symbol of women's oppression, while an uncovered face and European style clothes represented emancipation and gender equality.

This article is a working hypothesis analyzing the origins and the formation of Soviet film propaganda in respect to women's liberation. Visual and literary data demonstrate a clear cultural continuity between Tsarist and Soviet discourses on women's liberation and show how replacing the colonial sexual motif with motifs of hard labor and political loyalty, by dividing films into subcategories of gender, Soviet propaganda reached its goal of changing gender relations in Central Asia.

'Liberated' Women of the Tsarist Orient

Data on the empire's non-Slavic peripheries in the 1860s and 1870s produced numerous illustrated scholarly and popular publications, art exhibits, and presentations, which explored the region's natural and human resources.¹ Among other things, these productions reflected the empire's views on the social position of Central Asian women. Hence, a painting entitled "Uzbek Woman in Tashkent" (1873) became part of the famous *Turkestan* series of art works by Russian artist and army officer, Vasilii Vereshchagin. It shows a dark figure walking on a sunlit street with face and body completely covered with a black veil. Large shoes and side pockets hiding the figure's hands complete its visual seclusion, intensified by the bright wall behind her. Introducing the Russian and European public to the empire's Orient with such paintings as "Opium Addicts," "Bacha² and His Admirers," "After Victory," "Dervishes," among others, Vereshchagin stressed to the European eye the most savage elements of the Central Asian lifestyle. His representation of a veiled Uzbek woman

demonstrated yet another aspect of Central Asian ‘barbarian’ customs.

Another Russian army officer of this period, Nikolai Karazin, spent six years in Turkestan and subsequently became a well-known artist, as well as author of illustrated travel books, novels and short stories based on his experiences in this region. In one of his first person narrated short stories entitled “Ak-Tomak,” a Russian officer tells a story of a native girl whom he saves from the hands of three Kyrgyz men. Ak-Tomak’s description as an attractive yet somehow repulsive and dangerous female is analogous to similar colonial writings of the 19th century:

*She was almost as tall as a man and had an athletic body type. Strikingly beautiful, her eyes were big semicirculars looking at me from under thick eyelashes.... Her eyebrows almost touched over the bridge of her nose giving her face a strange, predatory expression... Her voice sounded low contralto and somehow strangely guttural, from far away, as if the speaker stood three steps behind her back.*³

*With a single gesture of her hand she pulled off her headscarf; black, shiny hair, braided into many plaits fell; colored beads and silver coins sparkled here and there... Ak-Tomak was very attractive at this moment, but it was an effective, decorative beauty. One was to avoid looking at her too closely; otherwise something unpleasant, masculine, and even repulsive could be noticed in these animated features.*⁴

The girl’s life story proves her sinister nature. After being sentenced to death by a Muslim court for cheating on her husband, Ak-Tomak is rescued by her lover and heads towards the Russian garrison town of Khozhent where “people were good” and “did not abuse poor women.”⁵ Before reaching the city, however, she kills her lover, refusing “to go from one lash to another.”⁶ A by-product of women’s oppression and social isolation guarded by veils and harem walls, Ak-Tomak’s sinister nature is, in the author’s view, understandable. Free from native male dominance and sheltered by Russians, Ak-Tomak becomes an owner of a salon, where she entertains young men. Unlike other Central Asian women, Ak-Tomak, a financially independent, ‘liberated’ woman is allowed to go out unveiled. “In a male robe with a

turban worn on top of her braids, a beauty can flaunt her features as much as she wants, getting hold of more and more admirers.”⁷ “These women,” the author narrates, avoiding calling them prostitutes, “lead for the most part a free, joyful life stirring up the agonizing envy of harem prisoners... Surrounded and influenced by freedom and a diverse society, an Asiatic woman who steps on this path is re-born: intimidation and ter-

ror of a prisoner gradually disappear; she gets accustomed to more free, fearless behavior around men...”⁸ A woman’s liberation in this context is not so much social, but sexual. Karazin’s “Asiatic woman,” who prefers to be a prostitute rather than a native man’s wife, reflected and influenced Russia’s public vision of Central Asia as a whole. A woman dressed in native male clothing who is paid for entertainment is on the one hand a parody on native men and on the other hand a confirmation of their subservient position. In both cases this image of the ‘liberated’ woman reinforced Russian colonial superiority over Central Asian men.

Having placed women in the role of prisoners of their oppressive men, Karazin and the Russian power he represents act as saviors. “Liberated” women such as Ak-Tomak confirm Russian male superiority, calling native men wolves and claiming that in comparison with these “cowards” Russians are “heroes with no fear.”⁹ “With the arrival of Russians”—Karazin summarizes in conclusion—“the bloody spirit of tortures and executions disappeared irretrievably... Gazing at the doors of harems, male lords realize with their anxious hearts their inability to guard these doors from the fresh, penetrative waves of the new wind. The wind, which must refresh the stuffy, heavy atmosphere of the hiding places of this deformed lifestyle.”¹⁰ Native men’s inability to guard the doors of their houses from the “penetrative waves of the new wind” once again confirms their political incapacity in relation to the colonial power.

According to Douglas Northrop’s historical study of the veil, until “roughly the 1970s, upper-class Muslim women in Tashkent and other cities of southern Central Asia had demonstrated their good character by wearing a *mustak*, a veil that covered most of their bodies but left the face uncovered. The far heavier ensemble of *paranji* and *chachvon*, covering the entire body from



Uzbek Woman in Tashkent,
Vasili Vereshchagin (1873)

head to toe, appeared only in the mid-nineteenth century and spread widely after the tsarist occupation of Central Asia in the 1860s and 1870s, first among younger women and then throughout Turkestanian society.”¹¹ With the rising number of non-Muslims and ‘liberated’ unveiled women, who often dressed as men and owned salons at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, an open-faced woman came to be associated with colonial control and sexual license. A heavier form of the veil on the other hand became a visual barrier, which distinguished and distanced the majority of native women from the ‘liberated’ ones.

‘Liberated Women of the Orient’ (*Osvobozhdennye zhenshchiny Vostoka*) as the Soviet Surrogate Proletariat

If the Tsarist visual and literary view of the Orient was directed towards European audiences only, the Soviet ambition of creating a new type of *homo sovieticus* implied a creation of an aggressive groundbreaking visual propaganda addressed to all nationalities of the Soviet Union. Innovative, extensive, and highly convincing, it had to secure Soviet policies against native resistance. In the beginning of the 20th century film was all of the above. Lenin and his followers stressed the importance of film especially in Central Asia, where it was a new and therefore effective form of propaganda.¹²

For artists and writers of the 19th century, the Orient often represented the body, the irrational, and the sexual. Harems, baths, and polygamy, among others, were often central themes of Orientalist art. The Soviets, on the other hand, beginning with Lenin, discouraged any type of “obscenity” (*pokhabshchina*) in film.¹³ As Tatiana Dashkova shows in her article “Love and *Byt* in the Films of the 1930s - Early 1950s,” love and romance in early Soviet films became closely attached to labor and for the most part lost its erotic element.¹⁴ Soviet filmmakers were required to create a new type of visual language, which in its narrative of ‘enslaved women of the Orient’ (*zakobalennye zhenshchiny Vostoka*) lacked eroticism. If women in the Tsarist narrative were helpless prisoners of their men waiting for Russian rescuers, Soviet women of Central Asia became a class category or, as they are often referred to in literature, the surrogate proletariat¹⁵ in need of liberation from male oppression.

Transition, however, did not happen overnight. One of the first Soviet films about the Soviet Orient, Viacheslav Viskovskii’s “Minaret of Death”¹⁶ begins

with a group of bandits capturing and enslaving the daughter of a rich Khivian khan Djamal and her foster sister Seleha. With the help of the head bandit’s jealous wife Gul-Sadyk, the girls escape their harem dressed as boys. In the steppe they meet a young man from Bukhara, Sadyk, who falls in love with Djamal and offers to accompany the young women back to Khiva. Soon after the heroines return home, the Bukharan emir attacks Khiva and subsequently takes the girls as a trophy. He promises Djamal as a prize to the winner of a *qoqburi*¹⁷ competition and Sadyk wins it. Despite his victory, the emir’s son, who has also fallen in love with Djamal, breaks his father’s promise and takes Djamal away to his harem. Trying to find a way out of the harem Seleha complains to the emir and, as a result of a confrontation between the emir and his son, the son kills his father. In the meantime Sadyk becomes a revolutionary, leading rebellious peasants against the emir, and, subsequently, rescuing Djamal and Saleha from captivity.

Clearly demonstrating the continuity between Tsarist and Soviet representations of the Orient, the majority of male characters in “Minaret of Death” reflect the Tsarist stereotype of Central Asian barbarian customs. Men attempt to win Djamal and Seleha in tournaments, kill their friends and family in order to imprison them in their harems, seduce or rape them. Exaggerated to the point of caricature, their clothing, beards, and mustaches are deliberately comical. And though the film lacks European men as saviors, the central male role of Sadyk is played by a well-known Sovzapkino actor, Oleg Frelikh. On the whole, “Minaret of Death” serves as an important link between the Tsarist and Soviet representation of the Orient. Portrayed as culturally backward (*kulturno otstalye*) and mistreated by the Tsarist regime and local elites, uneducated Central Asians were in dire need of Soviet political, social and cultural supervision.

“Minaret of Death,” alternatively titled “The Prisoner of Harem” and “Harem in Bukhara” in European distribution, parallels representations of Middle Eastern women in French and British colonial films of the same period. Barely colored by Soviet ideology, this film carries almost every conceptual stereotype of the oriental woman. Beautiful yet sly Djamal and Seleha playfully seduce and trick men, travel around dressed in male clothing, i.e. as ‘liberated’ women in the colonial sense, cause men to risk their lives and be killed. At the end, nevertheless, they are just prizes to be won in a battle of bandits, emirs, and revolutionaries. The socialist addition to this visual narrative stating that revolution only leads to the winning of that prize comes

at the end of the film.

The Soviet critique exceedingly attacked the producers of “Minaret of Death.” *Kino* magazine claimed that it “is imbued with traditions of cheap pre-Revolutionary cinematography” with its “sexual motives,” false sentimentalism,” “oriental sweets,” and “operetta-theatrical exoticism.”¹⁸ *Sovetskii ekran* argued that the film must not be shown to the real Orient.¹⁹ *Sovietskoe kino* magazine made the following argument: “Oriental viewer believes the screen. One should not break this faith... What should an Oriental film do? Explain the revolution; lead a battle with superstitions, but an intelligent, careful battle, designed in accordance with the psychological makeup of the Oriental people...”²⁰ Among other press publications of this period, this quote indicates a shift in policy with respect to film propaganda. While the Soviet view of the Orient had not changed dramatically from that of the Tsarist period, the language of visual propaganda from that point on was based on the “psychological makeup” of the local population.

What is peculiar about the films that were produced after “Minaret of Death,” between 1925 and 1929, is that propagandistic messages, especially in respect to emancipation differed depending on the genre of the film. As a form of outdoor entertainment, film gathered mainly male native audiences. Films that were shown to this audience were for the most part action films, which established Soviet European superiority over culturally backward Central Asians. Helping an individual native man in his search for justice, the Soviets in these films fight against his oppressors: mullahs, landlords and Russian colonialists. They also help him improve himself, stop stealing as in the film “The Covered Wagon,”²¹ work collectively as in “From Under the Mosque Arch”²² and hand in Soviet enemies as in “Jackals of Ravat.”²³ By protecting and admonishing native men in film, the Soviets aimed at gaining paternal patronage over the local male population in real life.

Women in these male films continue to play the role of a prize similar to “Minaret of Death” and gender relations remain traditionally patriarchal. In the early scenes of “The Covered Wagon,” “From Under the Mosque Arch” and “The Jackals of Ravat,”²⁴ social groups hostile to the Soviet system separate native heroes from their beloved ones. However, when these heroes transform themselves and join the Soviet Army in its struggle against class enemies, the Soviets reunite them with the women they love. Thus, if upper class Central Asians and Tsarist colonialists in films are oc-

cupied with seducing native women, the Soviet system returns these women to their male population for making the right political choices. Most of the female characters’ social interactions take place in houses, gardens and yards. The traditional clothing these characters wear signifies their main qualities: timidity and devotion to Central Asian customs. Changing traditional clothing into European styles indicates a betrayal of indigenous traditions and values and is therefore, implicitly, a betrayal of Central Asian men.

For instance, in the 1927 film “From Under the Mosque Arch,” a Tsarist colonial officer takes Gulasal, the bride of the main hero Umar as substitution for taxes her father fails to pay to the Tsarist army. Trying to seduce her, the officer forces Gulasal to change her traditional garb into European style clothing. Dressed as a Russian woman, the girl continues to reject the officer, but does not cover her face or hide in the corner of a room. In the meantime her fiancée Umar, who gets into the house in order to rescue his bride, sees her in European clothing with the officer. The change of clothing in this context signifies betrayal. Assuming that Gulasal has become the officer’s lover Umar rejects her in anger. Towards the end of the film when Umar joins Russian workers in their class struggle against the Tsar and wins the final battle, he confronts the officer and Gulasal again. This time Gulasal wears traditional clothing and when the officer tries to rape her, she protects her honor with a knife. Umar realizes that Gulasal has indeed remained faithful to him and to his way of life and hence kills the Tsarist officer. As soon as Umar murders the officer he tells Gulasal to cover herself with the veil, which she happily does.

In 1925, a film with a completely different ideological message called “Muslim Woman”²⁵ along with two other films that were produced in 1927 entitled “The Veil”²⁶ and “The Second Wife”²⁷ reached the women of Uzbekistan through so-called *Jenotdel* organizations. Formed to introduce Uzbek women to new health care, education, state employment, among others, *Jenotdel* organized special film presentations for women. In her book “Party’s Work among Workers of the Orient” Liubimova, the head of the Turkestan *Jenotdel*, captured the atmosphere of these showings:

After seeing the kind of effect the film “Muslim woman” has in Uzbek villages one truly understands the power of film. We had special film demonstrations for women. Usually [women] of the whole village came to see it. With Saodat, the heroine of the film, Uzbek women

experienced grief and happiness: they screamed, clapped, made clicking sounds with their tongues and cried, when Saodat was forced to marry an old man. They laughed at mullas, who came to marry Saodat but found out that she had already escaped.

–But women are often beaten in villages, why aren't you sorry for them? I ask them.

–We did not realize that our living is so hard. We got used to it, they answered.

I think that Saodat is really close to Uzbek women; she is more alive and powerful than all [our] talks and seminars on the same topic. In places where "Muslim Woman" was shown Saodat remained as a role model for many women.²⁸

Liubimova's observations demonstrates the tremendous effect these films had on women. Clear-cut divisions of characters into 'good' and 'evil' put Central Asian men into opposing camps.

Having little variation in terms of their plot, each of these films tells a story of two women: a success story of an emancipated Soviet woman as opposed to the miserable life of a traditional Central Asian woman. In Soviet 'heaven' women are educated, receive free health care, become financially independent by working for the state and spend their leisure time entertained by concerts, books and films. Unveiled, their appearance reflects both traditional elements—hats, undergarments and hairstyle—and their newly formed Soviet identity, i.e. stockings, white unisex shirts, jackets and even ties. The social environment of these new confident Central Asian women is diverse. They are placed in European types of houses, clubs, hospitals, streets and concerts halls.

In contrast, women of 'hell,' once married begin competing with other wives for their master's sympathy. Even though they work like slaves, these women are completely financially dependent on their husbands. When they need health care, charlatan shamans mistreat them. Their children are in constant danger of being killed or injured by other wives. Their body language is very restricted, and in contrast to Soviet women, they continuously suffer and cry. Like the women in male oriented films, these characters are dressed in traditional clothing and put on their veils when going outside. The ending of these films always depends on the choice the woman from the Uzbek 'hell' makes to end her miserable existence. "The Veil" and "Muslim Woman" have happy endings. In both films traditional women reach out for help to their more fortunate

Soviet comrades and are saved from their abusive husbands.

In "The Second Wife," however, the main character Adolat remains passive and although in the end, Soviet power intervenes, it is too late and Adolat dies. On her deathbed she accuses her husband Tadjibai for her fate saying: "You are guilty...". The Soviet propagandistic message of these films is clear: If you don't make the right choices, your own men, your husbands, your mullahs, your shamans, will kill you.

There is a clear analogy to Karazin's vision of Central Asian women as 'liberated' or still 'imprisoned.' Tsarist prostitutes as well as women of Soviet 'heaven' are unveiled and dressed in clothing that have male elements to them. Jackets, ties, and white shirts replace turbans and robes. Both escape their more traditional men and lead happy, financially independent lives. 'Imprisoned' women are abused by Central Asian men and if still alive remain 'in dirt' (*ostaiutsia v griazi*). What makes these two types of women different is a more abstract figure of the savior and an absence or downplay of the sexual component. If in the Tsarist case 'liberated' women received their financial freedom through prostitution, in the Soviet 'family' they become state employees. In other words, the father figure replaces the sexual partner.

In spite of the national brotherhood policy of the Soviet state, the films of this period imply a 'father/son' relationship rather than a brotherly one. Furthermore, empowered women in *Jenotdel* films marry progressive Central Asian men, but their relationship takes on the dynamics of a mother-son relationship. Women teach their backward men how to dress, how to eat, and overall how to be a good Soviet. In the film "The Veil" for instance, Qumri, a successful journalist at the *Hujum* newspaper, motherly rebukes her husband for eating with his hands rather than with a fork.

In early Soviet films the state is an abstract power that helps women escape their abusive Uzbek husbands, and either join their long lasting Uzbek beloved, or meet younger Uzbek Communists. In the 1930 film "The Daughter of a Saint,"²⁹ the heroine, like many other women, becomes an employee in a Soviet factory. In exchange for her loyalty and hard work, the state provides her with money, healthcare and childcare. When the girl's father finally finds her in a factory dormitory, he is ashamed of her knee-length skirt and stockings. Accusing her of losing her honor he tries to convince her to come back home. The conflict between the two generations underlines the gender conflict—an older traditional man versus a young progressive woman. In

this film the antagonist of a young woman is her father rather than an abusive husband. He is left behind as young daughters eventually leave their parents for their new, Soviet family. The final scene of the film attempts to resolve the conflict between generation and gender through a third power. This outside power takes the form of a rank of young pioneers with Soviet flags and drums in their hands. They pass the father at the same moment when he wants to take his daughter. The father is left realizing that she has gone with the pioneers. The girl's new abstract family thus is the Communist Party that takes her away from her past.

Conclusion

Based on the Tsarist view of Central Asian women imprisoned by savage males, early Soviet filmmakers formed their own language of visual propaganda in respect to issues of women's liberation. I believe that having eliminated any traces of colonial sexual motif, Soviet filmmakers of the 1920s and 1930s divided films into sub-categories of gender. Films directed towards a male audience reassured Central Asian women in their traditional roles, as long as the male population cooperated with the Soviet system. *Jenotdel* films, by contrast, underline female oppression. Women's survival depends on whether or not they become activists by taking their veils off and joining the ranks of financially and socially independent women of the Soviet Union.

Social antagonism between the majority of Central Asian men and their Soviet opponents became one of the crucial elements of the transitional period. The first few women who tried to take advantage of Soviet emancipation by taking their veils off became victims of this confrontation. Many of them were killed, raped and physically deformed. It was not only because women adopted 'male' attributes and thereby questioned basic, socially accepted understandings of gender, it was also because the idea of unveiling in the local mentality was associated with the 'liberated', i.e. female prostitute of the Tsarist period.

With the help of film, in the following decades, veils disappeared completely in the red flames of *Jenotdel* fires and women began taking advantage of Soviet benefits such as education, employment, healthcare and childcare. While many women of the Soviet period obtained a variety of professions, the majority of Central Asian women became the main labor force on the Soviet cotton fields.

¹ See I. L. Iavrovskii, *Puteshestvie Russkago Posolstva po Avganistanu i Bukharskomu Khanstvu v 1878-1879 gg.* (S.-Peterburg: Tipografiia d-ra M.A. Khana, 1882); Nikolai Karazin, *Ot Orenburga do Tashkenta. Putevoi Ocherk* (S.Peterburg: Knigoizdatelstvo German Goppe, 1886); ² *Bacha* means a child or a boy in Tajik. In 19th century the term also meant a male child prostitute.

³ Nikolai Karazin, *Pogonia za Najivoi* (Sankt-Peterburg: Lenizdat, 1993), p.533.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.536.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.546.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.553.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.558-559.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.558.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 534.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.559.

¹² Douglas Northrop, *Veiled Empire. Gender and Power in Stalinist Central Asia* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004), p.44.

¹³ Vladimir Lenin, *Samoe vazhnoe iz vsekh iskusstv. Lenin o kino. Sbornik dokumentov I materialov* (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1973), p.42.

¹⁴ Vladimir Lenin, *Samoe vazhnoe iz vsekh iskusstv. Lenin o kino. Sbornik dokumentov I materialov* (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1973), pp.42 and 163.

¹⁵ Tatiana Dashkova, "Liubov I byt v kinofilmakh 1930x – nachala 1950x gg." in *Istoriia Strany. Istoriia Kino*. (Mosvka: Znak, 2004), pp.218-235.

¹⁶ Gregory J. Massell, *The Surrogate Proletariat: Moslem Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia, 1919-1929*. (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1974).

¹⁷ *Minaret Smerti* (Sevzapkino, 1925) director: V. Viaskovskii; screenplay: A. Balagin and V.Viaskovskii; cast: O. Frelikh, Z. Zononi.

¹⁸ Also called *buzkashi* and *ulaktartysh*, *qoqburi* is a Central Asian version of polo game with the ball being a headless sheep or goat carcass.

¹⁹ *Kino*, 2, 1926, p. 31.

²⁰ *Sovetskii ekran*, 1, 1926, p.11.

²¹ *Sovetskoe Kino*, 1, 1925, p.24.

²² *Krytyi Furgon* (1928) director: O. Frelix; screenplay: V. Sobberei, K. Gertel', L. Saifulina; cast: Aisha Karasaeva, R. Tura-Khodzhaev.

²³ *Iz pod svodov mecheti* (Uzbekgoskino, 1927) director: V. Sobberei, K. Gertel'; cast: K. Iarmatov.

²⁴ *Shakaly Ravata* (1927) director: K. Gertel'; V. Sobberei, K. Gertel'; cast: R. Akhmedov, K. Pimenova, K. Iarmatov.

²⁵ *Musul'manka* (Proletarkino, 1925) director: D. Bassalygo; screenplay: A. Maier and D. Bassalygo; cast: O. Tretiakova, G. Levkoev, N. Beliaev.

²⁶ *Chadra* (1927) director: M. Averbakh, screenplay: M. Insarov, P. Korotkov, V. Bulakh, M. Averbakh; cast: E. Pavlova-Mardanova, G. Chechelashvili.

²⁷ *Vtoraia Jena* (1927) director: M. Doronin; screenplay: V. Sobberei; cast: R. Messerer, Nabi Ganiev.

²⁸ S. T. Lubimova, *Rabota Partii sredi truzhenits Vostoka* (Mosvka: Lenizdat, 1928), p.45.

²⁹ *Doch' Sviatogo* (1931) director: O. Frelikh; Cast: R. Tura-Khodzhaev, I. Mir-Iusupov, Z. Shakirova.

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A Linguistic Analysis and Learner's Reference for Georgian Verbs

Olga Gurevich

1. Introduction

Georgian is a less commonly studied language, currently offered at only a handful of American universities including UC Berkeley. It is the official language of the Republic of Georgia and has about 4 million native speakers. Georgian has a unique alphabet and a written literary tradition extending back to the 4th century A.D. Its grammar is complex and unusual and presents significant difficulties for the second-language learner. However, Georgian is very interesting from a linguistic point of view, and is becoming geo-politically important as well.

In my dissertation, "Constructional Morphology: The Georgian Version," I analyze several complex patterns in Georgian grammar. I focus on mismatches between form and function in Georgian morphosyntax—that is, cases where elements of form (such as morphemes) do not stand in one-to-one relations with elements of meaning. Such mismatches are extremely common in Georgian, and seem to be more the norm than the exception. The facts of Georgian contradict a guiding assumption in many linguistic theories, namely that the meaning of a complex word or phrase is equal to the sum of the meanings of its parts (known as the principle of *compositionality*). My theoretical analysis synthesizes results in cognitive linguistics and psychology and extends the theory of Construction Grammar (Fillmore 1988, Goldberg 1995) to accommodate a language like Georgian.

In addition to the descriptive and theoretical analysis, I explore the consequences of Georgian-type patterns for computational linguistics, which has traditionally assumed straight compositionality. Based on my linguistic analysis of Georgian, I have developed a computational model capable of parsing and generating a subset of Georgian verb forms.

In this article, I will briefly describe the properties of Georgian that make it challenging for language learners and for linguistic analysis. I will sketch out my analysis of the Georgian morphosyntax and focus on one practical application of this analysis: an online verb conjugation reference for learners of Georgian, created under the auspices of the Berkeley Language Center.

The material in this article is discussed in more detail in Gurevich (2006a) and Gurevich (2006b).

2. Overview of Georgian Verb Morphology

Perhaps the most complicated part of Georgian grammar is the verbs, in particular the number of somewhat regular and irregular patterns in verbal conjugations. Currently available dictionaries, grammar and textbooks often provide only partial information about verb formation, and finding verb-specific information in the textual sources can be challenging.

The morphosyntax of Georgian verbs is characterized by a variety of lexical (irregular), semi-regular, and completely regular patterns. The verb forms themselves are made up of several kinds of morphological elements that recur in different formations. These elements can be formally identified in a fairly straightforward fashion; however, their function and distribution defy a simple compositional analysis. Instead they are determined by the larger morphosyntactic and semantic contexts in which the verbs appear (usually tense, aspect, and mood) and by the lexical properties of the verbs themselves. The combination of morphosyntactic and lexical factors also determines the case marking on the verb's noun arguments.

The specific types of morphological elements and peculiarities in their function and distribution are described below. The main point of this section is that a language learner is faced with patterns in which formal elements (morphs) do not have identifiable, context-independent meanings that can be combined compositionally to form

whole words. Rather, they must contend with a variety of patterns at various degrees of regularity.

The linguistic analysis developed in my dissertation splits Georgian verbs into several lexical classes. The lexical classes are described on the basis of *example paradigms*, using frequent verbs belonging to each class. This is in contrast to a more rule-oriented description in which lexical classes may be identified by some morphological or syntactic feature. In the rest of this section, I will argue that an example-based description is the only one plausible for learners of Georgian, and provides a good basis for computational modeling as well.

2.1 Series and Screeves

Georgian verbs inflect in tense / mood / aspect (TAM) paradigms called *screeves* (from *mck' rivi* 'row'). There is a total of eleven screeves in Modern Georgian, although only ten are actively used. Screeves can be grouped into three *series* based on morphological and syntactic commonalities, as in Table 1:

Table 1 – Series and Screeves

Series I		Series II	Series III
Present sub-series	Future sub-series		
Present	Future	Aorist	Perfect
Imperfect	Conditional		Pluperfect
Present Subjunctive	Future subjunctive	Aorist Subjunctive	(Perfect Subjunctive) ¹

Knowing the series and screeves of a verb form is essential for being able to conjugate it. Screeve formation exhibits a number of lexical, semi-regular, and regular patterns, some of which are examined below.

Georgian verbs are often divided into four conjugation classes, based mostly on valency (cf. Harris 1981). For now, I will concentrate on transitive verbs; it will be necessary to mention the other classes (unergative, unaccusative, and indirect) in the discussion of case-marking below. The structure of a verb form can be described using the following (simplified) template:

$$(\text{Preverb}_1)-(\text{Pron1}_2)-(\text{PRV}_3)-\text{root}_4-(\text{TS}_5)-(\text{Scr}_6)-(\text{Pron2}_7)^2$$

The approximate function of each element is as follows:

1. Preverb – marks aspectual distinctions, lexically associated with each verb (similar to verbal prefixes in Slavic or German).
2. Pron1 – Prefixal pronominal agreement slot.
3. PRV – pre-radical vowel slot, serves a variety of functions in different contexts.
4. Root – the only required part of the verb form.
5. TS – Thematic Suffix. Participates in the formation of several tenses, predicts certain inflectional properties of the verb.
6. Scr – Screeve marker. This is a screeve (tense) ending which may depend on verb class and agreement properties.
7. Pron2 – suffixal agreement slot.

The preverb, root, and thematic suffix must be lexically specified in all cases, although their distribution follows a somewhat regular pattern described in the next section. Other elements in the template are distributed according to more or less regular principles, although some lexical exceptions do exist.

The templatic composition of the Georgian verb forms suggests, at first blush, an agglutinative structure. However, a closer examination of the morphological elements in the verbal template and their function provides evidence against such an analysis. In particular, the morphological elements do not have identifiable meanings independent of context, and their meanings do not compositionally comprise the meanings of the words in which they participate. As argued in Gurevich (2003), the morphological elements of Georgian cannot be thought of as *mor-*

phemes, or smallest meaningful elements of form. Rather, word-level constructions determine both the meaning of the whole word, and the collection of morphological elements that comprise the word.

As an illustration, let us examine the formation of the verb *xat'va*, to paint, in Table 2. The screeves (and, more generally, series) govern the distribution of the morphological elements.

Table 2 – Screeves of *Xat'va*

Series		Screeve	2SgSubj, 3Obj form
I	Pres. subseries	Present	<i>xat'-av</i> 'You paint'
		Imperfect	<i>xat'-av-di</i> 'You were painting'
		Pres. Subj.	<i>xat'-av-de</i> 'You should paint'
	Fut. subseries	Future	<i>da-xat'-av</i> 'You will paint'
		Conditional	<i>da-xat'-av-di</i> 'You would paint'
	Fut. Subj.	<i>da-xat'-av-de</i> 'If you could paint'	
II		Aorist	<i>da-xat'-e</i> 'You painted'
		Aor. Subj.	<i>da-xat'-o</i> 'You have to paint'
III		Perfect	<i>da-g-i-xat'-avs</i> 'You have painted'
		Pluperfect	<i>da-g-e-xat'-a</i> 'You should have painted'

In addition to the multitude of morphological elements in any given verb form, the distribution and lexical dependency of the elements make a learner's task difficult. Preverbs, thematic suffixes, and screeve endings present particular difficulties.

The preverbs form a closed class of about eight. A preverb (*da-* for the verb 'paint') appears on forms from the Future subgroup of series I, and on all forms of series II and III in transitive verbs. The preverbs are by origin spatial prefixes that now mark perfective aspect. However, the presence of a preverb on a verb form signals more than just a change in aspect. For example, the preverb differentiates the Conditional from the Imperfect, and the meaning of the two screeves differs in more than just aspect. An additional difficulty is in the lexical connection between prefixes and verb roots, similar to the verbal prefixes in Slavic or German. Table 3 demonstrates some of the lexically-dependent morphological elements, including several different preverbs (row 'Future').

Similarly, thematic suffixes (otherwise known as screeve suffixes or screeve formants) form a closed class and are lexically associated with verb roots. In general, thematic suffixes do not appear to have independent meaning. Rather, they serve to mark the inflectional class of the verb, because they determine certain patterns of inflectional behavior in different screeves.

On transitive verbs, thematic suffixes appear in all series I forms. Their behavior in other series differs by individual suffix: in series II, most suffixes disappear, though some seem to leave partial 'traces'. In series III, all suffixes except *-av/-am* disappear in the Perfect screeve; and in Pluperfect, all suffixes disappear, but the inflectional ending that takes their place does depend on the original suffix (rows 'Present' and 'Perfect' in Table 3).

The next source of semi-regular patterns comes from the inflectional endings in the individual screeves and the corresponding changes in some verb roots (row 'Aorist' in Table 3).

Finally, another verb form relevant for learners is the *masdar*, or verbal noun, which is the closest substitute of the infinitive in Georgian. The *masdar* may or may not include the preverb and/or some variation of the thematic suffix (last row in Table 3). The formation of the *masdar* is particularly important, as it is the reference form listed in most Georgian dictionaries, even though it might not even start with the same letter as an inflected verb form.

Table 3 – Lexical Variation

	'Bring'	'Paint'	'Eat'
Present	<i>igh-eb-s</i>	<i>xat'-av-s</i>	<i>ch'-am-s</i>
Future	<i>c'amo-ighebs</i>	<i>da-xat'avs</i>	<i>she-ch'ams</i>
Aorist, 3Sg Subject	<i>c'amoigh-o</i>	<i>daxat'-a</i>	<i>shech'am-a</i>
Perfect	<i>c'amough-ia</i>	<i>dauxat'-avs</i>	<i>sheuch'am-ia</i>
Masdar (verbal noun)	<i>c'amo-gh-eba</i>	<i>xat'-va</i>	<i>ch'-am-a</i>

In many cases, the inflectional endings and root changes can be determined if we know the thematic suffix of the verb (cf. the painstakingly detailed description of such patterns in Hewitt 1995). However, there are exceptions to most such connections, and learning the patterns based on explicit rules seems virtually impossible.

On the other hand, screeve formation in some instances presents amazing regularity. Thus, the Imperfect and First Subjunctive screeves are regularly formed from the Present. Similarly, the Conditional and Future Subjunctive are formed from the Future. And for most (though not all) transitive verbs, the Future is formed from the Present via the addition of a preverb.

Additionally, the number of possible combinations of inflectional endings, root changes and other irregularities is also finite, and some choices tend to predict other choices in the paradigm of a given verb (e.g., the selection of thematic suffix or Aorist 2Sg Subj ending often predicts the Aorist Subjunctive ending). Although the rule-based analysis is unproductive, Georgian verbs *can* be classified according to several example paradigms, or inflectional (lexical) classes. This is similar to the inflectional class distinctions made in Standard European languages; the major difference is that the number of classes is much greater in Georgian than in other languages. One such classification is presented in Melikishvili (2001), distinguishing seventeen inflectional classes for transitive verbs alone, and over sixty classes overall. While the exact number of inflectional classes is still in question, the general example-based approach seems the only one viable for Georgian.

2.2 Subject and Object Agreement

A Georgian verb can mark agreement with both its subject and its object via a combination of prefixal and suffixal agreement markers, as in Table 4:

Table 4 – Agreement in Present

Subj	OBJECT				
	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3
1SG	--	--	g-xat'av	g-xat'av-t	v-xat'av
1PL	--	--	g-xat'av-t	g-xat'av-t	v-xat'av-t
2SG	m-xat'av	gv-xat'av	--	--	xat'av
2PL	m-xat'av-t	gv-xat'av-t	--	--	xat'av-t
3SG	m-xat'av-s	gv-xat'av-s	g-xat'av-s	g-xat'av-t	xat'av-s
3PL	m-xat'av-en	gv-xat'av-en	g-xat'av-en	g-xat'av-en	xat'av-en

The distribution and order of attachment of agreement affixes has been the subject of much discussion in theoretical morphological literature (Anderson 1992; Halle & Marantz 1994; and Stump 2001). To simplify matters for the computational model, I assume here that the prefixal and suffixal markers attach to the verb stem at the same time, and indicate the combined subject and object properties of a paradigm cell.

While the prefixal markers and the suffix *-t* appear in all screeves, the suffixes in 3Sg and 3Pl Subject forms are screeve-dependent (cf. row 'Aorist' in Table 3). These suffixes therefore belong to the semi-regular patterns, while the rest of the agreement system is completely regular.

Another difficulty arises in series III for transitive verbs. Here, the subject and object agreement appears to be the inverse of that in series I and II (Table 5; notice the different designation of rows and columns). This phenomenon, called *inversion*, corresponds to a reverse case marking of the nominal arguments (see next section).

Table 5: Agreement in Perfect

Object	Subject				
	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3
1SG	--	--	g-xat'av	g-xat'av-t	v-xat'av
1PL	--	--	g-xat'av-t	g-xat'av-t	v-xat'av-t
2SG	m-xat'av	gv-xat'av	--	--	xat'av
2PL	m-xat'av-t	gv-xat'av-t	--	--	xat'av-t
3SG	m-xat'av-s	gv-xat'av-s	g-xat'av-s	g-xat'av-t	xat'av-s
3PL	m-xat'av-en	gv-xat'av-en	g-xat'av-en	g-xat'av-en	xat'av-en

2.3 Subject and Object Case Marking

Case marking of nominal arguments in Georgian is not constant, but depends on the conjugation (valency) class of the verb and the series / screeve of the verb forms. Transitive verbs can follow one of three patterns, depending on the series:

- (1) k'ac-i dzaγl-s xat'av-s
 man-NOM dog-DAT paint.Pres.3SgSubj
 "The man paints / is painting the dog." (Series I, Present – **Pattern A**)

- (2) k'ac-ma dzaγl-i daxat'a
 man-ERG dog-NOM paint.Aor.3SgSubj
 "The man painted the dog." (Series II, Aorist – **Pattern B**)

- (3) k'ac-s dzaγl-i t'urme dauxat'av-s
 man-DAT dog-NOM apparently paint.Perf.3SgSubj
 "The man has painted the dog." (Series III, Perfect – **Pattern C**)

Table 6 demonstrates the case-marking patterns by series for all four conjugation classes. Only transitive and unergative (active intransitive) verbs show variability by series. Unaccusative verbs always follow Pattern A (similar to the standard nominative/accusative pattern in European languages), and indirect verbs always follow Pattern C (the inverse pattern). In order to assign correct case marking, a learner of Georgian must recognize the conjugation class of each verb, as well as the series / screeve for some of the verb classes.

Table 6 – Case-Marking Patterns

Series	Transitive	Unaccusative	Unergative	Indirect
I	A	A	A	C
II	B	A	B	C
III	C	A	C	C

2.4 Summary

The formation of the screeves (tenses) in Georgian exhibits several irregular, semi-regular, and regular patterns. The morphological elements in the verb template are easy to identify, suggesting an agglutinative structure. However, closer inspection reveals that the morphological elements may not have easily identifiable meanings or functions (cf. preverbs, thematic suffixes, and screeve endings). Moreover, even if we manage to find meanings for these elements, the meanings will not predict the distribution of such elements across different verbs, verb types, and screeves. Such non-compositionality in meaning makes Georgian more similar to morphologically non-concatenative languages such as Arabic and Hebrew.

3. Practical Application: An Online Reference

3.1 Computational Model of the Georgian Verb

As argued above, Georgian verb morphology can be described as a series of patterns at various levels of regularity. Most of the patterns specify particular morphosyntactic or semantic properties of verb forms and the corresponding combinations of elements in the morphological templates. In the computational model developed in my dissertation, screeve formation is viewed as lexical or semi-regular, and pronominal agreement is viewed as completely regular.

Screeve formation for different conjugation classes (transitive, unergative, unaccusative, and inverse) is fairly different in Georgian, and so each conjugation class is implemented as a separate network. Nevertheless, the principles for composing each network are the same.

The model is implemented as a set of finite-state transducers (FST) using Beesley & Karttunen (2003). It is described in more detail in Gurevich (2006a).

The computational model serves as the basis for an online reference on Georgian verb conjugation. The goal of the online reference is to aid the learners of Georgian in a number of ways:

- It provides complete conjugation tables for two hundred frequently-used verbs.
- The verb database can be searched using any verb form or its English translation.
- For many verb forms, real-life examples from the Internet, as well as audio and video sources, are provided (along with translations).
- Several types of exercises are available on the website; answers are automatically checked for correctness.
- The online reference is meant as an addition to the classroom or self-study using a textbook, such as Kurtsikidze (forthcoming 2006).

3.2 Website Design

The website is divided into four sections: 'Verb Conjugation,' 'Examples,' 'Exercises,' and 'Resources.'

The section on verb conjugation is the core of the reference tool. It provides complete tables of verb conjugations, accessible through browsing by individual verb (in Georgian or in English), or by searching. The conjugated forms are produced using the FST model mentioned above; the forms are then automatically inputted into a MySQL database and displayed on the website using PHP. In addition to displaying verb forms, the site allows the user to search for a given verb form, using the recognition capabilities of the FST network. This search capacity demonstrates a major advantage of online resources over print.

Many of the verb forms are accompanied by handpicked examples of usage from print sources (mainly online newspapers and chat rooms), audio (from recorded naturalistic dialogues), and movie clips. The examples are provided as complete sentences and short paragraphs; translations are available for all examples. Audio and video examples are likewise accompanied by transcriptions and translations. I am very grateful to Vakhtang Chikovani for finding and translating the examples.

The 'Examples' section of the website provides a different way to access the print, audio, and video examples. This can be done through browsing by verb, or by searching (again, in Georgian or in English).

The 'Exercises' section contains several different types of exercises to provide additional practice for using and conjugating verbs. Many of the exercises are generated based on the conjugated forms or the handpicked examples, and so the correctness of the answers can be checked automatically.

Finally, the 'Resources' section contains links to various online and bibliographical resources about Georgian, as well as technical suggestions for using Georgian fonts.

The website will be operational in spring 2006 at <http://blc-fellows.berkeley.edu/georgian/>.

4. Conclusions and Further Work

The use of technologies in language learning can ease the process of finding grammatical information, particularly in a language with complex word-formation patterns. It can also provide more real-life examples than the classroom alone, serve as a study tool, and make learning more individualized.

Icebreaker Three: The Caucasus in the U.S.

Izaly Zemtsovsky

Contextualized learning is designed to simulate the linguistic input received by a native speaker, including information about relative frequencies of individual words, word forms, and constructions. This is currently missing from our online reference because frequency information is not yet available for Georgian. It is my hope, however, that an online collection of example texts can serve as the basis for the creation of a corpus of spoken and written Georgian, annotated and translated. Such a corpus can then be used for statistical calculations and for increasing the number of authentic texts in the teaching of Georgian.

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Footnotes

¹ The Perfect Subjunctive is almost never used in contemporary Georgian.

² Cf. Hewitt 1995.

In mid-February 2006, uncommonly sunny Seattle cheerfully greeted several rare guests — composers and musicologists from five countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Iran and Turkey. The indefatigable Elena Dubinets, Ph.D. in musicology from the Moscow State Tchaikovsky Conservatory, now Artistic Advisor for the Seattle Chamber Players and Music Research Specialist for the Seattle Symphony Orchestra, researched and organized another unique festival and international symposium of contemporary music. For the first time ever, musicians from the aforementioned countries came together on American soil to meet each other and the American audience. Most of the presented works received their US premieres at the festival. All three days the spacious Illsley Ball Nordstrom Recital Hall at the gorgeous Benaroya Hall was filled with numerous lovers of modern music who cheered their highly gifted guests, members of the Seattle Chamber Players and a few specially invited musicians. There were also representatives from Seattle's sizable Turkish, Iranian, Azerbaijani and Armenian communities and the smaller Georgian population there. As Dr. Dubinets admitted in her welcoming remarks in the informative 50-page brochure issued for the Festival, "we have received incredible support from the local Caucasian communities of Greater Seattle." Indeed, one could feel a special artistic excitement in the audience.

The event was excellently organized. Each guest composer (Josef Bardanashvili, Kamran Ince, Münir Beken, Franghiz Ali-Zadeh, Ramin Heydarbeygi, Reza Vali, Tigran Mansurian) conducted a truly memorable seminar on his/her music (with demonstrations of the unknown in the US works) and each musicologist (Rusudan Tsurtsunia, Deniz Ertan, Aida Huseynova, and Levon Hakobian) made important and deeply informative presentations on contemporary music of their native country. An hour before each concert, audiences were able to attend unique pre-concert presentations by Hossein Omoumi, internationally known Persian *ney* player; the Anadolu Turkish Folk Dancers; and

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Oleg Timofeyev, the world's premiere expert on the Russian guitar, with his exclusive Georgian music repertoire for both six- and seven-string instruments. On the first day an interesting discussion with the highly gifted Seattle-based Georgian artist Vaho Muskheli took place in front of the small but inspiring exhibition of his work in the lobby of the Nordstrom Recital Hall.

"It has been very hard to select the works we feature from so many. It has taken us more than a year," said Dubinets. As a result, they made the best of it. The well-known Azerbaijani composer and pianist Franghiz Ali-Zadeh headlined the festival with her impressive *Atesh* ("Fire") with flute, clarinet, violin, cello and percussion, a new work commissioned by the Seattle Chamber Players and premiered for the occasion. Another world premiere commissioned by the same ensemble was "A Turk in Seattle" by Münir Beken, Turkish composer and musicologist.

Among the composers-in-residence were the highly gifted Josef Bardanashvili who came from Israel and the venerable and admired Tigran Mansurian from Armenia. Their powerful music as well as so-called "imaginary folk songs" by the Iranian composer Reza Vali (now in the US) made the deepest impression on me.

Not all composers whose music was performed were present in Seattle. Among those let me mention at least two Georgians — the illustrious and honored Giya

Kancheli and the young and talented Eka Chabashvili.

All music heard at the festival and symposium deserves to be discussed at length. It opens new windows into the world music panorama and to a considerable extent broadens our musical horizons. It raises a few questions, crucial for today's art criticism, of how the modern and traditional have been interwoven and what kind of dialogue between such contrasting neighboring musical lands are possible in our actual

political situation. The musical "Icebreaker III" was truly remarkable, breaking the ice not only between continents, but also between folk and academic, ancient and recent, as well as between Muslim, Jewish and Christian, and as such it symbolizes and in a way celebrates the most significant trends of our time.

The next possible festival (Icebreaker IV, 2008) may involve the contemporary music of Kazakhstan and Central Asian republics. It's a long road to go. Let's hope the event-to-be will be as prepared and organized as seriously and excitingly as this unforgettable cultural encounter.



From left: Deniz Ertan, Izaly Zemtsovsky, Rusudan Tsurtsunia, Josef Bardanashvili, and Aida Huseynova



From Left: Izaly Zemtsovsky, Rusudan Tsurtsunia, Tigran Mansurian, Josef Bardanashvili and Deniz Ertan

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