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Contents

FROM THE EDITORS	5
SERGIO BALDI Body parts in Hausa proverbs	7
ADALLA UBA ADAMU Al-Hausawi, Al-Hindawi: Media Contraflow, Urban Communication and Translinguistic Onomatopoeia among Hausa of Northern Nigeria	23
BEATA WÓJTOWICZ, PIOTR BAŃSKI Swahili lexicography in Poland: its history and immediate future	59
BARTOSZ KURZYCA Shaping the word structure by iambic foot in Migama	73
ZUZANNA AUGUSTYNIAK The Genesis of the Contemporary Ethiopian Legal System	101
REVIEWS	
Roger Blench and Stuart McGill (eds.), <i>Advances in Minority Language Research in Nigeria</i> , vol. 1, African Languages Mono- graphs, Kay Williamson Educational Foundation, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2012, 372 pp. (Nina Pawlak)	117
Herrmann Jungrathmayr, <i>Studia Chadica. Ausgewählte Bei- träge zur tschadischen Sprachwissenschaft. Selected by Julia Becker, Anna Haffner and Rainer Voßen</i> , Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2011, 247 pp. (Stanisław Piłaszewicz)	123

- Karl-Gottfried Prasse, *Tuareg Elementary Course (Tahagart)*, "Berber Studies", 33, Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2010, 220 pp.
(Marta Jackowska Uwadizu) 128
- Doris Löhr & Ari Awagana (eds.), *Topics in Chadic Linguistics VI*, "Chadic Linguistics / Linguistique Tchadique / Tschadistik" 7, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2011, 202 pp.
(Stanisław Piłaszewicz) 130
- Joseph McIntyre, Mechthild Reh (eds), *From Oral Literature to Video. The Case of Hausa*. (Study Books of African Languages, vol. 21, edited by Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig and Bernd Heine), Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2011, 116 pp.
(Izabela Will) 132
- Matthias Brenzinger, Anne-Maria Fehn (eds.), *Proceedings of the 6th World Congress of African Linguistics, Cologne, 17-21 August 2009*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2012, 658 pp.
(Stanisław Piłaszewicz) 138

FROM THE EDITORS

The journal is a forum for the presentation of the latest research carried out by the faculty members of the Department of African Languages and Cultures, University of Warsaw. All other scholars working in various fields of African Studies (linguistics, literature, history, education and others) are also cordially invited to submit the results of their original work. The journal's contents cover articles and monographs, as well as bibliographies, lexicographic studies and other source materials. Some issues are devoted to specialized topics or events.

The journal is available through subscription on the basis of exchange with academic centres. Some issues are also posted on the Department's website. For submission guidelines and proposals, offers of journal exchange or other comments and questions please contact:

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Body parts in Hausa proverbs

Abstract

The word “proverb” from Latin “pro-verbium” (“pro” meaning “in front of” and “verbium” meaning “word”), suggests that a proverb takes the place of ordinary words. Proverbs have had a great influence on the lifestyles of many people, mainly through means of religion and culture. They are very common and employed in African societies, particularly in Hausa, a language very rich in this field. In this paper 28 Hausa proverbs, related to 14 human body parts, are quoted and some metaphorical usages of them, found in works listed in References, are given.

In traditional societies proverbs have a relevant position in culture, but have begun attracting interest in modern society. In Africa, this phenomenon is more accentuated nowadays with the disappearance of the old institutions, such as initiation, the role of old men and women, etc. Modern society, everywhere, is based on quick communication and has no room anymore for proverbs that represent the fathers’ culture and even a good use of the language. Hausa is not noticed as an exception, even if it has a very rich and long tradition of proverbs usage.

Pre-Islamic Hausa women were largely dedicated to storytelling activities. It was their domain. Every night, within the confines of their homes, or under the dark sky, they retold age-old stories. Proverbs held a very important place. They encapsulated the people’s history and philosophy of life. This was more so because the people could not read and write. Their history and beliefs were stored and coded in some special mental capacities, and then transmitted orally through various literary genres, including proverbs.

The cultural heritage, ethics, mores, beliefs, traditions and wisdom of the Hausa are all embedded in their proverbs. The acceptance of Islam as a state religion did not in any significant way diminish the status of proverbs in Hausaland. Islam only changed the general animistic belief system found in proverbs by shifting the focus to Allah. The laws governing inter-personal relationships as found in proverbs remained the same. Islam confirmed, to a large extent, the virtues of equity and fairness needed in one's dealings with others, as taught in Hausa proverbs. Islam broadened the horizons of Hausa proverbs by making use of them as titles of books, newspaper headings and articles, and in works of fiction. The highly moralistic works of fiction by Muslim authors, writers, and poets relied heavily on the adoption of proverbs for easier transmission (Anthonia Yakubu, 2011).

This enormous linguistic heritage has been proved in Hausa by so many bulky collections of proverbs (Kirk-Greene 1966; Merrick 1905; Whitting 1940; Yunusa 1977). Working on this material I have chosen two of them for each body part, which are related to emotion.

Among all the lexical items making up the Hausa anatomical vocabulary (more or less 70), for 35 of them it has been noted to have a metaphorical employment. I have to say that there are a few of them, I found, related strictly to anatomical lexicon. I concentrated my interest, then, on giving some proverbs and some metaphorical usages.

Below are the items selected:

- Internal : *cikì* 'stomach', *hanjì* 'intestines', *harshè* 'tongue', *zūcìyā* 'heart'.

- External : *bākì* 'mouth', *bāyā* 'back', *fuskā* 'face', *gāshì* 'hair', *hannū* 'hand', *idò* 'eye', *jinì* 'blood', *kūnnē* 'ear', *kafā* 'foot, leg', *wuyā* 'neck'.

1) **cikî** ‘stomach’:

Dūniyā məcè dà cikî cē [RO :54; KG :142]¹ “The world is a pregnant woman (No one knows what will come of the pregnancy [i.e. a boy, a girl, alive, dead, *etc.*]”.

Kōwàcè Jumma’ā ta farin cikî dà àl’amāřintà [WH :2; KG :331] “Every Friday’s rejoicing has its sign (*Coming events cast their shadow before*)”.

The word **cikî** is also used in some metaphorical expressions like:

‘woman spending the last month of pregnancy at home with her parents’ *gōyon cikî* (lit. taking care of stomach) [AH :41]; ‘to make space’ *yì cikî* (lit. to make stomach) [AB :143a]; ‘to share the loss’ *rabà cikî* (lit. to share stomach) [AB :143a]; to pump someone’ *bùgi cikî* (lit. to beat stomach) e.g. *yā bùgi cikìnā* ‘he “pumped” me’ [AB :143a]; ‘to crawl along’ in *jā cikî* (lit. to pull stomach) [AB :142b]; ‘to eat’ *gyārà cikî* (lit. to repair stomach) [AH :42]; ‘advanced pregnancy’ *cikî tsōfō* (lit. stomach of old) e.g. *tanà dà cikî tsōfō* (lit. she is with old stomach) [AB :142b]; ‘glutton’ *bāwàn cikî* (lit. slave of stomach) [AB :142b]; ‘inscrutableness’ *zurfin cikî* (lit. depth of stomach) [AB :142b]; ‘energy’ *wutař cikî* (lit. fire of stomach) [AB :142b]; ‘happiness’ *farin cikî* (lit. of white stomach) [AB :254a]; ‘unhappiness’ *bakin cikî* (lit. black of stomach) [AB :254a]; ‘protection’ *rufan cikî* (lit. cover of stomach) [AB :517a]; ‘she is recently pregnant’ *sāmi cikî* (lit. to get stomach) [AB :142b].

2) **hanjī** ‘intestines’:

Ànnūřin huskà kaurin hanjī [KM :5; KG :47] “A shining face goes with a full stomach”.

¹ The meaning of the abbreviations is given in References at the end of each work listed in square brackets.

Kadà kàzā tā yi muřnā dōmin tā ga anā jan hanjin
'yaruwā tātà [KG 253] “The hen should not rejoice because
it sees the entrails of its companion being drawn out (*There,*
but for the Grace of God, go I!)”.

The word **hanjī** is also used in some metaphorical expressions like:

‘lamp wick’ *hanjin fītilā* (lit. intestines of lamp) [AB :370b]; ‘beans inters own with corn’ *hanjin gōnā* (lit. intestines of farm) [AB :370b]; ‘rags lining sword-sling’ *hanjin hāmīlā* (lit. intestines of sword-sling) [AB :370b]; ‘bobbin-nipple’ *hanjin kōshiyā* (lit. intestines of wooden ladle) [AB : 370b]; ‘child born late in mother’s life’ *kālan hanjī* (lit. gleaning of intestines) [AB :370b]; ‘to be miserly’ *nadē hanjī* (lit. to wrap around intestines) [AB :370a] .

3) **harshē** ‘tongue’:

Bà à rabā harshē dà hakōrī [KM :11; KG :56] “You cannot separate the tongue from the teeth”.

Harshēn mùtūm zākīnsà [RO :124] “A man’s tongue is his lion [if he lets it get loose it will kill him]”.

The word **harshē** is also used in some metaphorical expressions like:

‘language’ [AB :379a]; ‘fluent speaking’ *kaiḥin harshē* (lit. sharpness of tongue) e.g. *kaiḥin harshē gārē shì* ‘he speaks fluently’ [AB :379a]; ‘to speak correctly’ *harshē yā fīta sōsai* e.g. *harshānsà bā yā fīta sōsai* (lit. his tongue doesn’t exit well) [AB :379a]; ‘to rave’ e.g. *harshānsà yā karai* ‘he is in the delirium which precedes the death’ [AB :479b]; ‘to protract’ *yi harshē* (lit. to make tongue) e.g. *dāmūnā tā yi harshē* ‘rain season protracted’ [AB :379a]; ‘to speak loudly’ *daukā harshē* (lit. to carry tongue) [AB :379a];

4) **zūciyā** ‘heart’:

Lābāřin zūciyā à tàmbàyi fuskà [K&KG :33] “[For] the news of the heart one should ask the face (*One’s face shows what is in one’s heart*)”. Proverb stating facts of life.

Zūciyař mùtùm biřninsà [KG :497] “The heart of a man is his citadel (*A man’s home is his castle*)”.

The word **zūciyā** is also used in some metaphorical expressions like:

‘diarrhoea’ **gòbařař zūciyā** (lit. conflagration of heart) [D&M :40]; ‘sighing’ **àjiyāř zūciyā** (lit. storing of heart) [AB :977b]; ‘to hold a grudge’ **rikè à zūciyā** (lit. to hold in heart) [N&M :100b]; ‘to sigh’ **ajiyē zūciyā** (lit. to store heart) [AB :977b];

5) **bākī** ‘mouth’:

Kō bà à gwadā ba linzāmī yā fi bākin kākā [RO :22; K&KG :53] “Even though no measurement is taken [one can see that] a bridle is too big for the mouth of a chicken (*Such-and-such is completely obvious*)”.

Kōwā ya ci àlbasà bākīnsà zāy yi wāri [KG :308] “Whoever eats an onion, his mouth will smell (*You can’t touch pitch without being defiled*)”.

The word **bākī** is also used in some metaphorical expression like:

‘mouth’ **bākin wutā** (lit. mouth of fire) [B&B :16]; ‘opening of mortar’ **bākin turmī** (lit. mouth of mortar) [B&B :15]; ‘beginning of a seam of a mended calabash’ **bākin tsāgā** (lit. mouth of incision) [B&B :15]; ‘bank (of river or ocean)’ [N&M :9] e.g. **yā jē bākin tēku** ‘he went to the ocean’s bank’ [SU :22]; ‘lobbying’ **ban-bākī** (lit. giving of mouth)

[AH :146]; ‘sweet talk’ *dāđin-bākī* (lit. sweetness of mouth) [AH :148]; ‘sweet talk’ *zākin bākī* (lit. sweetness of mouth) [AH :152]; ‘false appetite’ *jīn bākī* (lit. feeling of mouth) [AH :149]; ‘to interfere’ *sā bākī* (lit. to put mouth) [AB :63]; ‘to interfere’ *tsōmà bākī* (lit. to dip mouth) [TS :13]; ‘to curse someone’ *yi bākī* (lit. to make mouth) [N&M :9]; ‘to show surprise’ *rikè bākī* (lit. to keep mouth) [AB :735b; cf. Dan Goggo and Kano 1969:29]; ‘to conspire’ *hadà bākī* (lit. to join mouth) [MA :50b; cf. Daura, 1990:28]; ‘to conspire’ *gamà bākī* (lit. to combine mouth) [MA :50b]; ‘to pick a quarrel’ *jā bākī* (lit. to pull mouth) [AB :410b]; ‘to abstain from eating in deference to a fast’ *kāmà bākī* (lit. to catch mouth) [N&M :61b]; ‘to speak wheedlingly’ *gyārà bākī* (lit. to repair mouth) [AB :356a];

6) ***bāyā*** ‘back’:

Đà nā sanì kyēyà cē, à bāya a kàn baĩ tà [KG :112]
“If only I had known is like the back of the head, you leave it behind (It’s no use crying over spilt milk)”.

Jā dà bāya gà rāgō bà gudù ba nè [KG :242] *“For a ram to draw back is not running away”.*

The word ***bāyā*** is also used in some metaphorical expressions like:

‘excrement’ *bāyan gidā* (lit. back of house) [D&M :9]; ‘toilet’ *bāyan gidā* (lit. back of house) [D&M :9]; ‘latrine’ *bāyan dākī* (lit. back of room) [D&M :9]; ‘afterwards’ *dàgà bāyā* e.g. *dàgà bāyā sai sukà ki* ‘later on they refused’ [AB :93a]; ‘after’ *dàgà bāyā* e.g. *dàgà bāyān nān* ‘after that’ [AB :93a]; ‘earlier’ e.g. *shèkarùn bāyā* ‘some years ago’ [AB :92b];

7) ***fuskà*** ‘face’:

Ànnūřin huskà kaurin hanjī [KM :5; KG :47] *“A shining face goes with a full stomach”.*

Lābāfīn zūciyā à tàmbàyi fuskà [K&KG :33] “[For] the news of the heart one should ask the face (*One’s face shows what is in one’s heart*)”. Proverb stating facts of life.

The word **fuskà** is also used in some metaphorical expressions like:

‘insult’ *cīn fuskà* (lit. eating of face) [AH :146]; ‘welcoming expression’ *ban-fuskà* (lit. giving of face) [AH :146]; ‘to shave’ *gyāran fuskà* (lit. to repair face) [AH :42]; ‘to solve a problem’ *gyāran fuskà* [AH :42]; ‘to humiliate’ *ci fuskà* (lit. to eat face) [AB :275]; ‘to frown’ *hadà fuskà* (lit. to join face) [Dan Goggo and Kano 1969:9]; ‘to frown’ *gamà fuskà* (lit. to join face) [AB :291]; ‘to look impressive’ *cikà fuskà* (lit. to fill face) [AB :141]; ‘to scowl’ *batà fuskà* (lit. to lose face) [AB :88]; ‘to scowl’ *muřtùkè fuskà* (lit. to stir up dust of the face) [MA :236]; ‘to scowl’ *durbùnà fuskà* (lit. to grimace face) [MA :236]; ‘to show anger’ *daurè fuskà* (lit. to imprison face) [D&M :30]; ‘to face’ *fùskantà* [N&M :38];

8) **gāshī** ‘hair’:

À bař kàzā cikin gāshintà [KG :3; K&KG :1]
“Leave the chicken in its feathers (*Let sleeping dogs lie*)”.
Proverb exhorting to proper conduct.

The word **gāshī** is also used in some metaphorical expressions like:

‘eyelash’ in *gāshìn idō* (lit. hair of eye) [AB :309a]; ‘moustache’ in *gāshìn bākī* (lit. hair of mouth) [N&M :42]; ‘upper layer of cow hide for making the decoration on hide receptacles’ [B&B :63]; ‘red thread

at the edge of deleb-palm (*Hyphaene Thebaica*)’ (dial. of Katsina)² [B&B :17];

9) *hannū* ‘hand’:

Birī à hannun mālāmī ya kàn yi gūdā, à hannun bāmāgujè sai kūkā [KM :7; KG :94] “A monkey in the hands of a Muslim teacher shrieks with joy, in the hands of a Bamaguje he cries with a fear”.

Don hannunkà yā yi dōyī, bā kà yankèwā kà yas [RO :78; K&KG :28] “Because your hand has become foul smelling, you wouldn’t cut it off and discard it (*One cannot but pardon the faults of one’s dependants*)”.

The word *hannū* is also used in some metaphorical expressions like:

‘handle of flail’ in *hannun bugù* ‘hand of a flail’ (dial. of Zaria) [B&B :218]; ‘stump of maimed arm’ *mugùn hannū* (lit. bad hand) [AB :681a]; ‘channel’ e.g. *hannun tēku* (lit. hand of sea) [AB :371b]; ‘relatives’ e.g. *hannū gārē shī* (lit. he has hand); ‘applying charm to child to cure it of pilfering’ *daurìn hannū* (lit. imprisonment of hand) [D&M :30]; ‘to help’ *bā dà hannū* (lit. to give hand) [MA :117a]; ‘to help’ *sā hannū* (lit. to put the hand) e.g. *zò kà sā manà hannū* ‘came and help us’ [AB :751a]; ‘to pay attention’ *sā hannū* (lit. to put hand), e.g. *sarkī yā sā masà hannū* ‘the Emir has turned his attention to him’ [AB :751a]; ‘to interfere’ *tsōmà hannū* (lit. to dip hand) [MA : 117a]; ‘to interfere’ *sā hannū* (lit. to put the hand) e.g. *kadà kà sā hannū cikin àl’amārīnsà* ‘don’t interfere in his affairs’ [AB :751a]; ‘to take part’ *sā hannū* (lit. to put hand) e.g. *yā sā masà hannū* ‘he took part in it’ [AB :751a]; ‘to sign’ *sā hannū* (lit. to put hand) e.g. *yā sā hannū à takārdā* ‘he signed the letter’ [AB :751a]; ‘to take a hand in x’ *sā hannū* (lit. to put hand) e.g.

² *bālīsè* in Standard Hausa.

sun sâ hannū gā rikon kasař ‘they’ve begun to administer the country’ [AB :751a]; ‘to consume marriage (with virgin-wife) *kāmà hannū* (lit. to catch hand) [AB :371b]; ‘to begin to menstruate’ *ga hannū* (lit. ‘to see hand’), e.g. *tā ga hannuntà* ‘she began to menstruate for first time’ [AB :371b];

10) *idò* ‘eye’:

Idò wà ka rēnà? Wandà na kè ganī yāu dà gòbe [KG :193] “Eye, whom do you despise? The person I see today and tomorrow (*Familiarity breeds contempt*)”.

Idòn dà ya ga Sarkī bā yà tsòron Gàlàdīmà [KG :194] “The eye that has seen the Chief will not fear the Galadima”.

The word *idò* is also used in some metaphorical expressions like:

‘ankle’ *idòn kafà* (lit. eye of leg); ‘ankle’ *idòn sàu* (lit. eye of sole) [N&M :54a]; ‘distal end of the ulna’ *idòn hannū* (lit. eye of hand) [AB :397a]; ‘hollow’ e.g. *idòn itācē* (lit. eye of tree) [BA :473]; ‘water spring’ *idòn ruwā* (lit. eye of water) [BA :473]; ‘special dish prepared in Kano (*ba yarime*)’ *idòn mùzūrū* [BA :473]; ‘feminine ornament’ *idòn hazbiyā* [BA :473]; ‘silver coin used as ornament by women’ *idòn mōtā* (lit. eye of car) [BA :473]; ‘to learn fast at school’ *yi idò* (lit. to make eye) [N&M :54a]; ‘the rising or forming of something little’ *yi idò* (lit. to make eye) e.g. *dāwā ta yi idò* ‘grains have formed in head of bulrush-millet’ [AB :396]; ‘to look attentively’ *zubà idò* (lit. to pour into eye) e.g. *sai mukà zubà idò kawàì* ‘then we looked serenely’ [N&M :54a]; ‘to wait expectantly’ *sâ idò* (lit. to put eye) [N&M :54a]; ‘to wink’ *kashè idò* (lit. to kill eye) [N&M :54a]; ‘to dazzle’ *dàuki idò* (lit. to overcome eye) [AB :201b]; ‘I don’t sleep, I hear’ *idònā... biyu* (lit. my eye... two) [D&M :49]; ‘guide’ *idòn dājī* (lit. eye of bush) [BA :473]; ‘soldier brave until his army is advancing, but ready to escape when the other part will reply to

attack' *idòn yākî* (lit. eye of war) [BA :474] ; 'ability of itinerant trader' *idòn safarā* (lit. eye of itinerant trader) [BA :474] ; 'slack' e.g. *idò gārē shì* or *yanā dà idò* (lit. he has eye) [AB :395] ; 'sense of propriety' e.g. *bā shi dà idò* (lit. he doesn't have eye) [AB :396] ; 'parsimony' e.g. *yanā idò* (lit. he is eye) [AB :396] ; 'insolence' *tsaurin idò* (lit. hardness of eye) [AB :396b] ; 'power to see things invisible to other people' *wankìn idò* (lit. washing of eye) [BA :396] ;

11) *jinī* 'blood':

Â nēmi jinī gā fārā [RO :105; K&KG :58]? "Would one seek blood from a locust? (*You can't get blood from a stone*)". A locust is supposed by the Hausas to be bloodless.

Jinī bā yà māgànin kīshìn ruwā [RO :10; KM :26; KG :245] "Blood is no cure for thirst (*Blood does not quench thirst*)".

The word *jinī* is also used in some metaphorical expressions like:

'popularity' *farin jinī* (lit. white of blood) [N&M :58b] ; 'unpopularity' *bakin jinī* (lit. black of blood) [N&M :58b] ; 'to be on guard' *shā jinin jikī* (lit. to drink body blood) [AB :430a] ; 'to become afraid' *shā jinin jikī* (lit. to drink body blood) [AB :430a] ;

12) *kūnnē* 'ear':

Àkwiyā tā yi wāyō dà yānkakken kūnnē [KG :27] "The goat learns wisdom from a cropped ear (*A burnt child fears the fire*)".

Jikī yā fi kūnnē jī [RO :51; K&KG :51] "The body surpasses the ear in hearing (*If one refuses to listen to advice he will be taught by hard knocks*)".

The word *kûnnē* is also used in some metaphorical expressions like:

‘auricular appendices of the heart’ *kûnnan shait̄san* (lit. ear of Satan) [AB :556b]; ‘handle’ e.g. *kûnnan samfō* ‘handle of bag’ [AB :556b]; ‘each of the prongs of a forked or not forked object’ e.g. *kûnnan kibiyā* (lit. ear of arrow) [AB :556b]; ‘strap to whip’ *kûnnan bûlālā* (lit. ear of whip) [AB :556b]; ‘to cheat someone’ *rūdā kûnnē* (lit. to perplex ear) e.g. *yā rūdā kunnuwànsù* ‘he cheated them’ [AB :556b]; ‘to pay attention’ *kasà kûnnē* (lit. to arrange ear) e.g. *yā kasà kûnnē* ‘he paid attention’ [AB :556b];

13) *kafā* ‘foot, leg’:

Kafā bā t̄ zama indā bābù kasā [KG :257] “The foot does not stay where there is no ground (*There’s no smoke without fire*)”.

Zùmuntā à kafā ta kē [RO :52; K&KG :19] “Good relationships [depend upon] feet, [i.e.] (The maintenance of good relationships between people requires frequent visiting). *Blood is thicker than water*)”.

The word *kafā* is also used in some metaphorical expressions like:

‘handle of a mortar placed close to the bottom’ [B&B :119]; ‘handle of the frame to build tubes’ [B&B :119]; ‘edges of a plaited mat’ [B&B :130]; ‘type of a roof beam’ (dial. of Daura) [B&B :205]; ‘completed frame of a roof which has to be thatched’ (dial. of Zaria) [B&B :22]; ‘steps of staircase’ [B&B :156]; ‘first and last plaited row of fencing mat’ (dial. of Bauchi) [B&B :138]; ‘to misrepresent’ *daukař kafā* (lit. to take up foot) [AB :201b]; ‘bad luck’ *farař-kafā* (lit. white of foot) [AH :152];

14) *wuyà* ‘neck’:

In kùnnē yā ji mūgùwaĩ màganà wuyà yā tsērè [KM :21; KG :217] “If the ear hears bad news, the neck will escape (*Forewarned is forearmed*)”.

Kōmē tsawon wuyà kái nē bisà [KG :301] “However long the neck, the head is always on top”.

The word *wuyà* is also used in some metaphorical expressions like:

‘wrist’ *wuyàn hannū* (lit. neck of hand) [AB :937]; ‘upper edge or neck of earthenware receptacles’ (dial. of Zaria, Kano, Bauchi) [B&B :15]; ‘apex of a round-hut’ e.g. *wuyàn dākī* (lit. neck of hut) [AB :937b]; ‘the stitching called *cīn wuyà*’ (lit. eating of neck) [AB :146b]; ‘to exceed (a little)’ *yi wuyà* (lit. to make neck), e.g. *yā yi musù wuyà* ‘he exceeds them a little’ [AB :937b]; ‘dependence’ *à wuyà* (lit. on neck), e.g. *yanà dà mùtùm gōmà à wuyànsà* ‘he has ten persons dependent on him’ [AB :938a];

The metaphorical expressions related to other parts of human body are very frequent in Hausa³ and, going through the large corpus of proverbs collected in the years by scholars working on this language, I find them extremely relevant. Unfortunately no one up to now, except Dr Batic, as I know, has drawn the attention to study systematically the usage of the metaphor in Hausa.

³ Dr Batic has given a very good proof on this topics in his Ph.D. dissertation and in one of his article, recently published.

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Al-Hausawi, Al-Hindawi: Media Contraflow, Urban Communication and Translinguistic Onomatopoeia among Hausa of Northern Nigeria

Introduction

In general, the *purpose* of translation - searching for cultural and semantic equivalents - is to reproduce various kinds of texts - including religious, literary, scientific, and philosophical texts - in another language and thus making them available to wider circle of readers. However, the term translation is confined to the *written*, and the term interpretation to the *spoken* (Newmark 1991: 35). Within this in mind, comparing text in different languages inevitably involves a theory of *equivalence*.

Equivalence can be said to be the central issue in translation although its definition, relevance, and applicability within the field of translation theory have caused heated controversy, especially as the target text can never be equivalent to the source text at all levels. Thus many different theories of the concept of equivalence have emerged, the most notable of which were by Jakobson (1959), Catford (1965), Nida and Taber (1969), House (2002), Baker (1992) and Vinay and Darbelnet (1995).

Catford (1965), for instance, argues for extralinguistic domain of objects, emotions, memories, objects, etc., features which achieve expression in a given language. He suggests that translation-equivalence occurs, when source texts (STs) and target texts (TTs) are relatable to at least some of the same features of this extralinguistic reality. However, according to Jakobson (1959), interlingual translation involves substituting messages in one language for entire messages in some other language. Thus “the translator recodes and

transmits a message received from another source. Thus translation involves two equivalent messages in two different codes” (Jakobson 1959: 114).

For Nida (1964) there are two different types of equivalence, *formal equivalence* - which in the second edition by Nida and Taber (1982) is referred to as *formal correspondence* - and *dynamic equivalence*. Formal correspondence “focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content”, unlike dynamic equivalence which is based upon “the principle of equivalent effect” (1964:159). Formal correspondence consists of a target language (TL) item which represents the closest equivalent of a source language (SL) word or phrase. Dynamic equivalence is defined as a translation principle according to which a translator seeks to translate the meaning of the original in such a way that the TL wording will trigger the same impact on the target correspondence (TC) audience as the original wording did upon the source text (ST audience). Nida and Taber (1982: 200) further pointed that “frequently, the form of the original text is changed; but as long as the change follows the rules of back transformation in the source language, of contextual consistency in the transfer, and of transformation in the receptor language, the message is preserved and the translation is faithful.”

Baker (1992) provides a more detailed list of conditions upon which the concept of equivalence can be defined. These conditions include: equivalence occurring at word level and above word level, when translating from one language into another; grammatical equivalence, when referring to the diversity of grammatical categories across languages; textual equivalence, when referring to the equivalence between a source language text and a target language text in terms of information and cohesion; and pragmatic equivalence, when referring to implication and strategies of avoidance during the translation process.

Finally, Vinay and Darbelnet (1995) view equivalence-oriented translation as a procedure which replicates the same situation as in the original, whilst using completely different wording. This, in a way, is a transmutation of the original into target audience cultural realities. Thus equivalence is therefore the ideal method when the translator has to deal with proverbs, idioms, clichés, nominal or adjectival phrases and the onomatopoeia of animal sounds.

Vinay and Darbelnet's categorization of translation procedures is very detailed. They name two "methods" covering seven procedures: direct translation (which covers borrowing, calque and literal translation) and oblique translation (which is transposition, modulation, equivalence and adaptation).

There are three main reasons why an exact equivalence or effect is difficult to achieve. First, as Hervey, Higgins and Haywood (1995) noted, textual interpretation is dynamic, and thus it is difficult for even the same person to have the same interpretation of the same text. Secondly, translation is often a subjective process - if the objectivity of the text is non-contentious, then the subjectivity of the translator is not. Third, time gap between the original source text and the equivalent translation leaves the translators uncertain about the impact of the original source text on its audience at the time of primary contact.

Religious Text, Hausa Shamanism and British Translation Bureaus

The meaning of a given word or set of words is best understood as the contribution that word or phrase can make to the meaning or function of the whole sentence or linguistic utterance where that word or phrase occurs. The meaning of a given word is governed not only by the external object or idea that particular word is supposed to refer to, but also by the use of that particular word or phrase in a particular way, in a particular context, and to a particular effect – even if not conveying the same meaning as the source text. This is where onomatopoeia comes in as a handy conceptual framework. According to Hugh Bredin (555ff.),

The strict or narrow kind of onomatopoeia is alleged to occur whenever the sound of a word resembles (or "imitates") a sound that the word refers to. The words "strict" and "narrow" suggest that the sense in question is a kind of original usage or practice, in respect of which other senses of onomatopoeia are metaphorical or perhaps extensional enlargements.

In his analysis of onomatopoeia, Hugh Bredin (1996) created three categories of the translation device: *direct onomatopoeia* (the

denotation of a word as a class of sounds, and the sound of the word resembling a member of the class), *associative onomatopoeia* (conventional association between something and a sound and conventional relationship of naming between a word and the thing named by it), and *exemplary onomatopoeia* (amount and character of the physical work used by a speaker in uttering a word).

In my use of the word "onomatopoeia", I would want the word to refer to a relation between the sound of a word and something else, and not connoting the meaning of the base word, or *associative onomatopoeia*. This same understanding is used by Hausa shamans who started using selected verses of the Qur'an as vocal amulets in ritual healing in Hausa communities of northern Nigeria. In his work on Hausa shamanism, Bello Sa'id refers to the use of onomatopoeia in religious contexts among the Hausa as "kwatanci-faɗi" (similar utterance). I refer to these religious-sounding utterances as *vocal amulets*. The following are few examples (after Sa'id 1997).

Example 1

Vocal amulet for winning a legal case – Qur'an (Shura) 42:13.

Original Qur'anic transliteration: Shara'a lakum mina-d-diini maa wassa

Onomatopoeic Hausa version: Shara'a lakum mina-d-diini maa wassee...".

Original's translation: "The same religion has He established for you as that which He enjoined on Noah."

In this vocal amulet, the shaman focuses on two words - Shara'a, and wassee. The first, *shara'a*, is familiar to Muslim Hausa as referring to Shari'a, the Islamic law; while the second word, *wassee*, sounds similar to the Hausa words, *wasa* (playfulness) and *wasar* (ignore, make redundant). Thus this vocal amulet is meant to scatter any dispute involving the law in which the defendant is not sure of winning the case. The shamans advocate using only part of the original verses to fit in with their perceived properties as amulets. It is clear that the verse refers to a more historical incident; and yet the shamans use the vocal similarities of the shortened verse as an amulet.

Example 2

Vocal amulet for locating a lost goat – Qur'an 80 (Abasa) 1, 2

Original Qur'anic transliteration: 'Abasa wa-tawalla. An jaahu al-a'ma

Onomatopoeic Hausa version: Abasa wa tawallee, an jaa'ahu la 'amee.

Original's translation: “ (The Prophet) frowned and turned away, because there came to him the blind man (interrupting).”

The key word in this vocal amulet is amee – which vocalized in a high-pitched voice sounded like a goat bleating. The amulet is therefore used to locate a lost goat by being recited over and over again. The word *amee* is expected to be the main expression that will bring the goat back to its owner by using the sound resonance of the bleat embedded in the word.

Example 3

Vocal amulet for winning a wrestling match – Qur'an 105 (Fil) 1

Original Qur'anic transliteration: A lam tara kayfa fa'ala rabbuka bi-as-habi-l-fiili

Onomatopoeic Hausa version: A lam tara kai...kayar shi

Original's translation: “Seest thou not how thy Lord dealt with the Companions of the Elephant?”

In this amulet the beginning of the expression is taken up to a point where a word appears with a Hausa equivalent, kai (you); the word is shortened only to the point where it bears similarity with the Hausa word, then the shaman adds completely new words to create a meaning, kayar shi (throw him down; defeat him) – even though the new words were not part of the original Qur'anic text (one of the many reasons the shamans are shunned by Hausa Islamic orthodoxy). The amulet is used to empower wrestlers – any wrestler reciting this over and over during an encounter is likely to win the match by putting a hex on the opponent. A draw will probably result if both opponents recite the *same* vocal amulet!

It is significant to note that the Hausanized versions of the Arabic words - or associative onomatopoeia (Bredin 1996:560) - used by the shamans are not translations of the original Qur'anic words, but serve “as the nexus of acoustic properties which constitutes them

as objects of consciousness for a normal speaker of the language.” (Bredin 1996:557). This is more so as such onomatopoeia is governed by convention, not just the natural resemblance of the two words. This is illustrated, for instance, by a vocal amulet that serves as a warning to Qur’anic school pupils not to cheat:

Example 4

Vocal amulet to warn against grade skipping in Qur’anic education
– Qur’an 78 (An-Nabaa) 30

Original Qur’anic transliteration: Fa *dhuuqun* fa-lan nazziidukum
illaa ‘adhaabaa

Onomatopoeic Hausa version: Fa *zuku* falam nazida kumu *illa* *aza-*
ba

Original’s translation: "So taste ye (the fruits of your deeds); for no increase shall We grant you, except in punishment”

The keys to this amulet are *zuku* (skip, cheat), *illa* (except) and *azaba* (harsh punishment). The Hausa onomatopoeic use of this verse is to discourage Qur’anic school pupils from skipping a portion of their Qur’anic studies (a cheating process referred to as *zuku*), and if they do cheat that way, they will face punishment (*azaba*). In this amulet two words are actually translated, into the Hausa words – *illa* (except, but) and *azaba* (punishment) which share the same meaning in both Arabic and Hausa. The Hausa shamans thus shift the focus of translation from source text (ST) to target sound (TS) - for the shamanic rituals are not written but vocalized.

Consequently, common sense dictates that any medicinal value attached to the original expression (if indeed it had any in the context it was quoted by the shaman) would be lost in the re-working of the expression into Hausa shamanistic language since the same meaning is not conveyed in the translation. Thus the Hausa shamans – considered little more than charlatans working on spiritual gullibility of ignorant Muslims, and thus occupying a narrow space in Hausa public discourse – resort to vocal interpretations of selected expressions in the Qur’an to create a new meaning not intended by the original source. As Walter Benjamin (1969: 71) argues

Translatability is an essential quality of certain works, which is not to say that it is essential that they be translated; it means rather that a specific significance inherent in the original manifests itself in its translatability.

The translatability of the shamans' interpretation of the selected words and expressions in the Qur'an for medicinal purposes in this case appeals to less discerning members of the Muslim Hausa public sphere who accept the shaman's medicine as curative – essentially because it is derived from the Qur'an.

The Colonial Translation Bureau in Northern Nigeria

A second stage that was set for whole scale translations of popular culture in northern Nigeria was the antecedent set up by the British colonial administration. When the British colonized what later became northern Nigeria in 1903, they inherited a vast population of literate citizenry, with thousands of Qur'anic schools and equally thousands of Muslim intellectual scholars. A modern Western-oriented schooling system was created in 1909. However, it lacked indigenous reading materials. To address this problem the British set up a Translation Bureau initially in Kano in 1929, but later moved to Zaria in 1931. The objectives of the Bureau were, amongst others, to translate books and materials from Arabic to English, and later to Hausa. Arabic was chosen because of the antecedent scriptural familiarity of the Hausa with Islamic texts. This saw Hausanized (Roman script) versions of local histories in Arabic texts, notably *Tarikh Arbab Hadha al-Balad al-Musamma Kano*, or *Kano Chronicles* as translated by H. R. Palmer (1908). The Hausa translation was *Hausawa da Makwabtansu*. This was followed by a translation of Arabic *Alf Laylah Wa Laylah*, a collection of Oriental stories of uncertain date and authorship whose tales of Aladdin, Ali Baba, and Sinbad the Sailor have almost become part of Western folklore, and translated into Hausa by Mamman Kano and Frank Edgar.

Similar strategies were adopted by the British in India. Chaturvedi (1998) points out that as part of the British East India Company's attempts to propagate western thought and education in the country, three universities were established on western models - in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Through these universities, British

drama began to be introduced with an emphasis on the study of Shakespeare whose plays - in English - began to be seen in various parts of India and attracted new audiences. This phenomenon also began to attract the attention of some Parsi businessmen who believed that local adaptations of Shakespeare and even of popular stories could be a source of potential profit. The result was the establishment of several theatre companies - known simply as Parsi theatres because of the Parsi ownership - on a commercial basis. They were modeled after many Victorian commercial theatres in operation in England. The first two of these new Indian groups were the Victoria Theatre and the Alfred Theatre, both established in 1871 and both of which ultimately toured widely. Other groups grew from these two including the New Alfred Theatre and the Original Theatre. As audiences increased, Victorian-style theatre buildings soon went up in many of India's larger cities, most of them copies of the Covent Garden and Drury Lane in London. In this regards, "perhaps the most famous of those writing for the Parsi Theatre was Agha Hashra Kashmiri (1879–1935) who did several Shakespearian adaptations including *Safed Khoon* (White Blood, 1906) based on *King Lear*, and *Saide Hawas* (1907) based on *King John*." (Chaturvedi 1998:179).

Thus in India, as in Nigeria, there was a studied attempt to encourage the popular culture of the Other especially through translations, which provided a template for creative writers. In Nigeria, the most exhaustive of the translators in Hausa prose fiction was Abubakar Imam, who translated over 80 pieces, poems and short stories from Middle Eastern, Asian and European tales into Hausa language in 1936. The result was *Magana Jari Ce* (Talk is an Asset), which became an unalloyed classic of Hausa literature. Malumfashi (2009) provides a close look at how each story was painstakingly transmuted into Hausa to convey not only the realities of Hausa society, but also its cultural parameters in stories that were never probably intended for other cultures.

The original sources of the narratives in both *Ruwan Bagaja* (a frame novel stitched from 19 different story sources by Abubakar Imam in 1933) and *Magana Jari Ce* were identified as *Alif Laila*, or *Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night* (the 1839 edition translated by Sir William Hay MacNaghten, although other editions were

also consulted by Imam), *Panchatantra* (a book of Indian fables and folktales), which came to Imam through the Arabic *Kalilah wa Dimnah* as translated by Thomas Ballantine Irving (1980), *Bahrul Adab*, *Hans Andersen Fairy Tales*, *Aesop Fables*, *The Brothers Grimm Fairy Tales*, *Tales from Shakespeare*, and *Raudhul Jinan*.

The northern Nigerian translation activities therefore provided a further legitimate bases for translations – whether direct, or in equivalence mode – of works of popular culture. Subsequent translations included *Iliya Dan Mai Karfi* (translated from *Ilya Muromets*, a Russian folk poem), *Sihirtaccen Gari* (from a collection *Ikra* by Sayid Kutub), *Abdulbaki Tanimuddari* (A story of a hero called Abdulbaki Tanimuddari) – translated from Arabic, *Saiful Muluk*, *Hajj Baba of Isfahan* and the odd English book or so, such as *Littafi Na Bakwai Na Leo Africanus* (The Seventh Book of Leo Africanus), *Robin Hood*, *Twelfth Night*, *Animal Farm* and *Baron Münchhausen*. Thus translation, whether onomapoetic, equivalent, or regular, is a fully established mechanism in Hausa popular religious, literary, and as we shall now see, popular culture.

Cinematic Antecedents in Northern Nigeria

Having established a translating antecedents in Hausa religious and popular literature, I now turn my focus to global media flows. In his essay on the current epoch of globalization, *Modernity at Large*, Arjun Appadurai (1996) argues that globalization is characterized by the twin forces of mass migration and electronic mediation, which provides alternative ways of looking at popular consumption patterns. Appadurai posits five dimensions of global cultural flows, referring to them as ethnoscaples, mediascapes, technoscapes, finanscapes, and ideoscapes to connote that these dimensions take the form of roughly fashioned landscapes. It is in and through the disjunctures of each of these dimensions that global flows occur. Mediascape, for instance, points to the circulation and distribution of music media (tapes, CDs, MP3 files), networks of transmission (satellite TV channels for music videos), and the flow of content itself. Consequently, the effect of such transnational sharing is a greater diversity of music cultures, especially in traditional societies.

Appadurai therefore considers the way images - of lifestyles, popular culture, and self-representation - circulate internationally

through the media and are often borrowed in surprising and inventive fashions. This is reflected in the popularity of Hindi songs from films shown in cinemas and television stations in northern Nigeria.

Cinema houses in northern Nigeria were established by resident Lebanese merchants who, during the British colonial rule of Nigeria (from 1903 to 1960) screened predominantly American and British films, essentially for colonial officers. Despite being screened in a language few of the local audiences understood, nevertheless cinema going became established as a social activity, an experience that was always much more than the viewing of the film itself. This is reflected, for instance, in a letter to the Secretary, Northern Provinces, Kaduna, by the then Colonial Resident of Kano, E.K. Featherstone who noted, while commenting on Film Censorship in Kano:

“Frequently when I see films in Kano which I know are going to be shown on subsequent nights to African audiences I realise how little suited they are to an African public. Among a large youthful class of Kano City, Fagge and Sabon Gari which has money to spare in its pockets it has become the thing to do to go to the cinema quite regardless of whether they understand what they see and hear or not. For example the other night I saw a large African audience sitting attentively through an exhibition of “Night Boat to Dublin”. The next day an educated Hausa admitted to me that he had been unable to understand what he had heard and seen in this film but that he went regularly to the cinema to be seen and to see his friends.” E.K. Featherstone, Resident, Kano Province, 13th January 1948 (Kano No G.85/94).

Thus whether they understand the plot of the films or not, the mere process of going to cinema provided urban Hausa youth with a focal point of social convergence that was to make the spectacle of the cinema a central catalyst in the transformation of the popular culture of the Muslim Hausa.

All cinemas in Kano before Nigeria’s independence in 1960 screened American and European films exclusively. No films from either the Middle East or Asia were screened - principally because the initial concept of the cinemas was targeted at Europeans and settlers from other parts of West Africa, who were not interested in

non-European films. Thus the standard fare was either war, Roman history, cowboys or historical films.

When Nigeria became independent from British colonial rule in 1960, the Lebanese cinema owners took the unilateral decision to reduce the number of European films and show films from Asia, particularly India. It was not clear what motivated this decision; however it was likely that this was forced on them by reduced European clientele and more interest from newly independent local residents – thus forcing a rethink on the film screening policy.

There was an Indian community of sorts in Kano. However, this remained aloof from the local community, very much unlike the Lebanese who became heavily involved in local commerce and industry and learnt the Hausa language. The Indian community was predominantly made up of professionals – teachers, engineers, doctors – imported during the economic prosperity of Nigeria in the 1970s. They were not cultural merchants, and had little interest in the spread of their culture – via an independent route – to the local community. A few, however, did eventually get involved in retail trading of media products, principally Hindi films on video tapes which they imported from Dubai.

The Lebanese who owned the cinemas in Kano at the time, and who decided what was screened, were Christians, and the few Muslims amongst them were Shi'ite Muslims in contrast to the dominant Sunni Islam of northern Nigeria. The Lebanese thus had little reason to promote Islamic films from the north Africa (especially Egypt). Since the main purpose of setting up the cinemas for the local population was entertainment, Hindi films with their spectacular sets, storylines that echo Hausa traditional societies (e.g. forced marriage, love triangles of two men after the same girl, or two co-wives married to the same man), mode of dressing of the actors and actresses (hijab and body covering for women, long dresses and caps for men), as well as the lavish song and dances would seem to fill the niche. Rex cinema (established in 1937) led the way to screening Hindi cinema in 1961 with *Cenghiz Khan* (dir. Kenda Kapoor, 1957). Thousands of others that followed in all the other cinemas included *Raaste Ka Patthar* (dir. Mukul Dutt, 1972), *Waqt* (dir. Yash Chopra, 1965), *Rani Rupmati* (dir. S.N. Tripathi, 1957), *Dost* (dir. Dulal Guha, 1974) *Nagin* (dir. Rajkumar Kohli, 1976), *Hercules* (dir.

Shriram, 1964), *Jaal* (dir. Guru Dutt, 1952), *Sangeeta* (dir. Ramanlal Desai, 1950), *Charas* (dir. Ramanand Sagar, 1976), *Kranti* (dir. Manoj Kumar, 1981), *Al-Hilal* (dir. Ram Kumar. 1935), *Dharmatama* (dir. Feroz Khan, 1975), *Loafer* (dir. David Dhawan, 1996), *Amar Deep* (dir. T. Prakash Rao, 1958), *Dharam Karam* (dir. Randhir Kapoor, 1975) amongst others. From the 1960s all the way to the 1990s Hindi cinema enjoyed significant exposure and patronage among Hausa youth.

And although predominantly based on Hindu culture, mythology and traditions, there were very few Hindi films with an Islamic content which glosses over the Hindu matrix, and which the Muslim Hausa readily identify with. These faintly Muslim films (most adapted from Arabian stories) included *Faulad* (dir. Mohd. Hussien Jr., 1963), *Alif Laila* (dir. K. Amarnath 1953), *Saat Sawal* (dir. Babubhai Mistry, 1971), *Abe Hayat* (dir. Ramanlal Desai, 1955), and *Zabak* (dir. Homi Wadia, 1961) among others. Interestingly, despite the strong influence of Pakistani Muslim scholars on Hausa Muslim youth in the 1970s (especially through the writings of Maryam Jameela, Syed Abu A. Maudodi), films from Lollywood (Lahore, Pakistan) were not in much favor, at least in Kano. Thus by 1960s Hindi popular culture, at least what was depicted in Hindi films, was the predominant foreign entertainment culture among young urbanized Hausa viewers, and when the Hindi film moved to the small screen TV, housewives at last became recognized in the entertainment ethos.

The increasing exposure to entertainment media in various forms, from novels and tales written in Arabic, to subsequently radio and television programs with heavy dosage of foreign contents due to paucity of locally produced programs in the late 1950s and early 1960s provided more sources of *Imamanci* (Abubakar Imam's methodology of adaptation) for Hausa authors. The 1960s saw more media influx into the Hausa society and media in all forms - from the written word to visual formats - was used for political, social and educational purposes.

One of the earliest novels to incorporate these multimedia elements - combining prose fiction with visual media - and departing from the closeted simplicity of the earlier Hausa novels, was *Tauraruwa Mai Wutsiya* [The Comet] by Umar Dembo (1969). This

novel reflects the first noticeable influence of Hindi cinema on Hausa writers who had hitherto tended to rely on Arabic and other European literary sources for inspiration. Indeed, *Tauraruwa Mai Wutsiya* is a collage of various influences on the writer, most of which derived directly from the newsreels and television programming (Abdullahi, 1978). It was written at the time of media coverage of American Apollo lunar landings as constant news items, and *Star Trek* television series (first created by Gene Roddenberry in 1966) as constant entertainment fodder on RTV Kaduna. The novel chronicles the adventures of an extremely energetic and adventurous teen, Kilba, with a fixation on stars and star travel, wishing perhaps to go “boldly where no man has gone before” (the tagline from *Star Trek* TV series). He is befriended by a space traveling alien, Kolin Koliyo, who promises to take him to the stars, only if the boy passes a series of tests. One of them involves magically teleporting the boy to a meadow outside the village. In the next instance, a massive wave of water approaches the boy, bearing an exquisitely beautiful smiling maiden, Bintun Sarauta, who takes his hand and dives with him to an under-sea city, Birnin Malala, to a lavish palace with jacuzzi-style marbled bathrooms with equally beautiful serving maidens. After refreshing, he dresses in black jacket and white shirt (almost a dinner suit) and is taken to a large hall to meet a large gathering of musicians (playing *siriki* or flutes) and dancers.

When the music begins - an integrative music that included drums, flutes, and other wind-instruments, as well as hand-claps; all entertainment features uncharacteristic of Hausa musical styles of the period - a singing duo, Muhammadul Waƙa (actually Kolin Koliyo, the space alien, in disguise) and Bintun Waƙe serenade his arrival in high-octave (*zakin murya*) voices, echoing singing duets of Hindi film playback singers, Lata Mangeshkar and Muhammad Rafi - the Bintun Waƙe and Muhammadul Waƙa of *Tauraruwa Mai Wutsiya*.

This scene, unarguably the first translation of Hindi film motif into Hausa prose fiction, and which was to give birth to Hindinization of Hausa video films, displays the author’s penchant for Hindi films and describes Hindu temple rituals; in Hausa Muslim music structures, *limamai* (priests) do not attend dance-hall concerts or participate in the dancing. In Hindu culture, however, they do, since

the dances are part of Hindu rituals of worship. Other Hindi films that lend their creative inspiration in the novel's dancing scene included *Hatimtai* (dir. Homi Wadia, 1956) and *Hawa Mahal* (dir. B.J. Patel, 1962) with their elaborate fairytale-ish stories of mythology and adventure.

Starting in 1976, the local TV station, NTA Kano, began showing Hindi films at its "late night movies" slots on Fridays. These films were sponsored by local manufacturing companies, owned by resident Lebanese merchants, producing essentially domestic goods – detergents, cleaners, food items, bedding materials etc. – targeted at housewives. Thus a link between Hindi cinema on the small screen and the domestic space of the Muslim Hausa hold was established. Eventually, since Muslim women were banned from going to theaters, housewives partook in the same urban culture of Hindi cinema as their male counterparts through the small screen medium of television.

Within a year, and spurred by advertising returns, more companies had shown interest in sponsoring the screening of Hindi films as a platform to advertise their products. Thus from 1977 to 2003, Unifoam sponsored the showing of Hindi films on NTA Kano, while Dala Foods Ltd sponsored the Hindi film screenings from 1982 to 1985. Between the two of them, the firms made it possible for NTA Kano to broadcast 1 176 Hindi films through television from October 2nd 1977 when the first Hindi film was shown (*Aan Baan*), to 7th June 2003.

Hindi films gained greater prominence because they were shown not just for a longer period of time on television, but also on days and times guaranteed to gain maximum audience attention (Fridays and weekends). No films from other parts of Africa (e.g. Senegal with its vibrant film culture) were shown; and other Nigerian features were restricted to the drama series. Ironically enough there was even no attempt by the Lebanese firms (especially Dala Foods Ltd and Unifoam Ltd) who sponsored the airing of the Hindi films (and who also distribute them through other subsidiaries) to encourage showing of the cinema of the Middle East on local channels, especially from Pakistan or Egypt, the latter of which had a vibrant film culture with which the Hausa could identify, especially with the presence of the Egyptian Cultural Center in Kano. However, as

pointed earlier out the Lebanese film distributors in Kano were not mainly Muslim; and indeed the few Muslim Lebanese in Kano subscribed to Shi'ite brand of Islam - which further created a religious spasm between their community and the predominantly local Sunni community. Consequently, the Lebanese had no compelling reason to promote Islamic cinema in Muslim Hausa northern Nigeria.

To further facilitate this Hindinization of Hausa entertainment there were the repeated plays of songs from popular Hindi films on Hausa radio which were targeted at women. Listeners to the programs send greetings to each other and often request for specific songs to be played. The list of the songs played had heavy dosage of Hindi film and Sudanese music - along with Hausa music, giving legitimacy to the view that Hindi, Sudanese and Hausa music are all the same. No music from southern Nigeria is played in these shows.

Screen to Street - Hausa Adaptations of Popular Hindi Film Music

Hindi films became popular simply because of what urbanized young Hausa saw as cultural similarities between Hausa social behavior and mores and those depicted in Hindi films. Further, with heroes and heroines sharing almost the same dress code as Hausa (flowing saris, turbans, head covers, especially in the earlier historical Hindi films which were the ones predominantly shown in cinemas throughout northern Nigeria in the 1960s) young Hausa saw reflections of themselves and their lifestyles in Hindi films, far more than in American films. Added to this is the appeal of the soundtrack music, the song and dance routines which do not have ready equivalents in Hausa traditional entertainment ethos. Soon enough cinema-goers started to mimic the Hindi film songs they saw and hear during repeated radio plays.

Four of the most popular Hindi films in northern Nigeria in the 1960s and which provided the meter for adaptation of the tunes and lyrics to Hausa street and popular music were *Rani Rupmati*, *Chori Chori* (dir. Anant Thakur, 1956), *Amar Deep* and *Kabhie Kabhie* (dir. Yash Chopra, 1976).

The first of this entertainment cultural leap from screen to street was made by predominantly young boys who, incapable of understanding Hindi film language, but captivated by the songs in

the films they saw, started to use the meter of the playback songs, but substituting the “gibberish” Hindi words with Hausa prose. A fairly typical example of street adaptation was from *Rani Rupmati*, as transcribed in Table 1.

Table 1 – *Itihas Agar Likhna Chaho* Transcription

<i>Itihaas Agar... (Rani Rupmati)</i>	<i>English Translation</i>	<i>Hausa play-ground version</i>	<i>Translation</i>
Itihaas agar likhana chaho	If the chronicles	Ina su ci-bayyo ina sarki	Where are the warriors and the King
Itihaas agar likhana chaho	If the chronicles	Ina su waziri abin banza	Where is the Vizier the useless cad!
Azaadi ke mazmoon se	of the freedom of our land are to be recorded	Mun je yaƙi mun dawo	We have been to the battle and return
(Chor) <i>Itihaas agar likhana chaho</i>	(chor) If the chronicles	Mun samu sandan girma	We have come back with a trophy
<i>Azaadi ke majmoon se</i>	...of the freedom of our land are to be recorded	Ina su ci-bayyo ina sarki	Where are the warriors and the King
To seencho apni dharti ko	Then be ready to give your lives	Ina su wazirin abin banza	Where is the Vizier, the useless cad!
Veeroon tum upne khoon se	To your land		
<i>Har har har mahadev</i>	Let each of us sacrifice ourselves to Mahdeev	<i>Har har har Mahadi</i>	<i>Har har har Mahadi</i>
<i>Allahu Akubar</i>	Allah is the Greatest	<i>Allahu Akbar</i>	<i>Allahu Akbar</i>
<i>Har har</i>	Let each of us sac-	<i>Har har</i>	<i>Har har</i>

<i>har ma-hadev</i>	rifice ourselves to Mahdeev	<i>har Ma-hadi</i>	<i>har Ma-hadi</i>
<i>Allaho Akubar...</i>	Allah is the Greatest...	<i>Allahu Akbar...</i>	<i>Allahu Akbar...</i>

The Hausa translation - which is about returning successfully from a battle - actually captured the essence of the original song, if not the meaning which the Hausa could not understand, which was sung in the original film in preparations for a battle. The fact that the lead singer in the film and the song, a woman, was the leader of the troops made the film even more captivating to an audience used to seeing women in subservient roles, and definitely not in battles.

A further selling point for the song was the *Allahu Akbar* refrain, which is actually a translation, intended for Muslim audiences of the film, of *Har Har Mahadev*, a veneration of Lord Mahadev (Lord Shiva, the Indian god of knowledge). Thus even if the Hausa audience did not understand the dialogues, they did identify with what sounded for them like *Mahdi*, and *Allahu Akbar* (Allah is the Greatest pronounced in the song exactly as the Hausa pronounce it, as *Allahu Akbar*) refrain - further entrenching a moral lineage with the film, and subsequently “Indians”. This particular song, coming in a film that opened the minds of Hausa audience to Hindi films became an entrenched anthem of Hausa popular culture, and by extension, provided even the traditional folk singers with meters to borrow.

Thus the second leap from screen to street was mediated by popular folk musicians in late 1960s and early 1970s led by Abdu Yaron Goge, a resident *goge* (fiddle) player in Jos. Yaron Goge was a youth oriented musician and drafted by the leftist-leaning Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) based in Kano, to spice up their campaigns during the run-up to the party political campaigns in the late 1950s preparatory to Nigerian independence in 1960 (for more on Abdu Yaron Goge and other fiddlers, see DjeDje 2008).

A pure dance floor player with a troupe of 12, male (six) and female (six) dancers, Abdu Yaron Goge introduced many dance patterns and moves in his shows in bars, hotels and clubs in Kano, Katsina, Kaduna and Jos - further entrenching his music to the moral

“exclusion zone” of the typical Hausa social structure, and confirming low brow status on his music. The most famous set piece was the bar-dance, *Bansuwai*, with its suggestive moves - with derriere shaken vigorously - especially in a combo mode with a male and a female dancer.

However, his greatest contribution to Hausa popular culture was in picking up Hindi film playback songs and reproducing them with his *goge*, vocals and *kalangu* [drum] often made to sound like the Indian drum, *tabla*. A fairly typical example, again from *Rani Rupmati*, was his adaptation of the few lines of the song, *Raati Suhani*, from the film, as transcribed in Table 2.

Table 2 – *Raati Suhani* Transcription

(Raati Suhani)	Translation	Hausa adaptation (Abdu Yaron Goge)	Translation
<i>Music interlude, with tabla, flute, sitar</i>		Music interlude, with <i>tabla</i> simulation	
		Mu gode Allah, taro	People, let's be grateful to Allah
		Mu gode Allah, taro	People, let's be grateful to Allah
<i>Verse 1</i>			
Raati suhani,	In the beauty of the night	Duniya da dafi,	This world is a bliss
djoome javani,	My maidenhood gently sways	Lahira da dafi,	The Afterworld is also a bliss
Dil hai deevana hai,	My heart boils with love	In da gaskiyarka, Lahira da dafi	If you are truthful, the Afterworld will be a bliss
Tereliye...	Because of you	In babu gaskiyarka, Lahira da zafi	If you're not truthful the Afterworld will be hell

The Hausa lyrics was a sermon to his listeners, essentially telling them they reap what they sow when they die and go to heaven (to wit, “if you are good, heaven is paradise, if you are bad, it is hell”). It became his anthem, and repeated radio plays ensured its pervasive presence in Muslim secluded households, creating a hunger for the original film song.

In both the adaptations of the lyrics, the Hausa prose has, of course, nothing to do with the actual Hindi wordings. However the meter of the Hindi songs became instantly recognizable to Hausa audience, such that those who had not seen the film went to see it. Since women were prohibited since 1970s from entering cinemas in most northern Nigerian cities, radio stations took to playing the records from the popular Hindi songs. This had the powerful effect of bringing Hindi soundtrack music right into the bedrooms of Hausa Muslim housewives who, sans the visuals, were at least able to partake in this transnational flow of media.

Such popularity eventually found its way even into Hausa religious space, and Hindi film songs became easily adaptable to local song meters and patterns, especially by religious poets who were convinced that they can substitute the Hindi references to Hindu gods in Islamic-themed replacements praising Prophet Muhammad. In this way, the first to appropriate Hindi film songs were Islamiyya (modernized Qur’anic schools) school pupils, who started adapting Hindi film music. Some of the more notable adaptations are listed in Table 3:

Table 3 – Islamic Hindinization of Hindi film soundtrack songs

Song from Hindi Film	Hausa Adapted Islamic Song
Ilzaam (dir. Shibu Mitra, 1986)	Manzon Allah Mustapha [Messenger of Allah, Mustapha]
Rani Rupmati (1957)	Daha na Daha Rasulu [Muhammad the Pure]
Mother India (dir. Mehboob Khan 1957)	Mukhtaru Abin Za’fi [Muhammad the Chosen One]
Aradhana (dir. Shakti Saman-	Mai ya fi Ikhwana? [What is better

ta, 1969)	than Brotherhood?]
The Train (dir. Ravikant Nagaich 1970)	Lale da Azumi [Welcome, Ramadan]
Fakira (dir. N.N. Sippy, 1976)	Manzona Mai Girma [My Reverred Prophet]
Yeh Vaada Raha (dir. Kapil Kapoor 1982)	Ar-Rasulu Maceci na [The Prophet, my savior]
Commando (dir. Babbar Subhash, 1988)	Sayyadil Bashari [Leader of the People]
Qayamat Se Qayamat Tak (dir. Mansoor Khan. 1988)	Sayyadil Akrami [Reverred Leader]
Yaraana (dir. Rakesh Kumar, 1981)	Mu Yi Yabon sa Babu Kwafa [Let's Praise him purely]
Dil To Pagal Hai (dir. Yash Chopra, 1997)	Watan Rajab [The month of Rajab]

These adaptations, which were purely vocal, without any instrumental accompaniment, were most common in the 1980s and 1990s particularly during religious resurgence in northern Nigeria post-1979 Iranian Islamic revolution which provided a template for many Muslim clusters to re-orient their entire life towards Islam in Muslim northern Nigeria. Entertainment was thus adapted to the new Islamic ethos. Thus while not banning watching Hindi films – despite the fire and brimstone sermonizing of many noted Muslim scholars – Islamiyya school teachers developed all-girl choirs that adapt the Islamic messaging, particularly love for the Prophet Muhammad, to Hindi film soundtrack meters. The basic idea was to wean girls and boys away from repeating Hindi film lyrics which they did not know, and which could contain references to multiplicity of gods characteristic Hindu religion.

Having perfected the system that gets children to sing something considered more spiritually meaningful than the Hindi words in Hindi film soundtracks, structured music organizations started to appear from 1986, principally in Kano, devoted to singing the praises of the Prophet Muhammad. These groups – using the *bandiri* (frame drum) – are usually led by poets and singers, and they are collectively referred to as *Kungiyoyin Yabon Annabi* [Groups for

Singing the Praises of the Prophet Muhammad]. The more notable of these in the Kano area include Ushaqul Nabiyyi (established in 1986), Fitiyanul Ahbabu (1988), Ahawul Nabiyyi (1989), Ahababu Rasulillah (1989), Mahabbatu Rasul (1989), Ashiratu Nabiyyi (1990) and Zumratul Madahun Nabiyyi (1990). All of these are led by mainstream Islamic poets and rely on conventional methods of composition for their works, often performed in mosques or community plazas (Isma'ila 1994). Most are vocal groups, singing *a capella*, although a few have started to use the *bandiri* such as Rabi'u Usman Baba, and Yamaha piano-synthesizer, such as Kabiru Maulana, as instruments during their performances.

The most unique, however, is Kungiyar Ushaq'u Indiya [Society for the Lovers of India] (Larkin 2004). Although they are devotional, focusing attention on singing the praises of the Prophet Muhammad, they differ from the rest in that they use the metre of songs from traditional popular Hausa music and substitute the lyrics of these songs with words indicating their almost ecstatic love for the Prophet Muhammad. However, upon noticing that Islamiyya school pupils were making hits, as it were, out of Hindi film soundtrack adaptations, Kungiyar Ushaq'u Indiya quickly changed tack and re-invented itself as Ushaq'u Indiya, focusing its attention on adapting Hindi film music and substituting the Hindi lyrics with Hausa lyrics, praising the Prophet Muhammad.

Notably, the Ushaq'u Indiya singers rely significantly on onomatopoeia to appropriate equivalent elements from the Hindi film songs to adapt via Hausa poetics. For example, "Kuchie-Kuchie" from the film *Rakshak* became "***Kuci Muci***" in Hausa [you eat, we also eat]. Like the Hausa shamans who create new translations of the Qur'an by adapting it into Hausa vocal amulets, the Ushaq'u Indiya singers and poets also use vocal harmony to create equivalent renditions of Hindi film songs in Hausa. These renditions, of course, are not "direct" in the sense that there is no semantic relationship between the Hausa versions and the Hindi originals — in fact Ushaq'u Indiya were not trying to 'translate' the Hindi songs; rather, they exploit the metres and sounds of Hindi songs and lyrics to publicize their art among an audience already enamoured with Hindi film songs. Table 4 is a small sample from over 200 Hindi film song appropriations by the group, based on intertextual analysis of their archival

recordings obtained during fieldwork.

Table 4 – Hindi film appropriation by Ushaq’u Indiya (Lovers of Indiya)

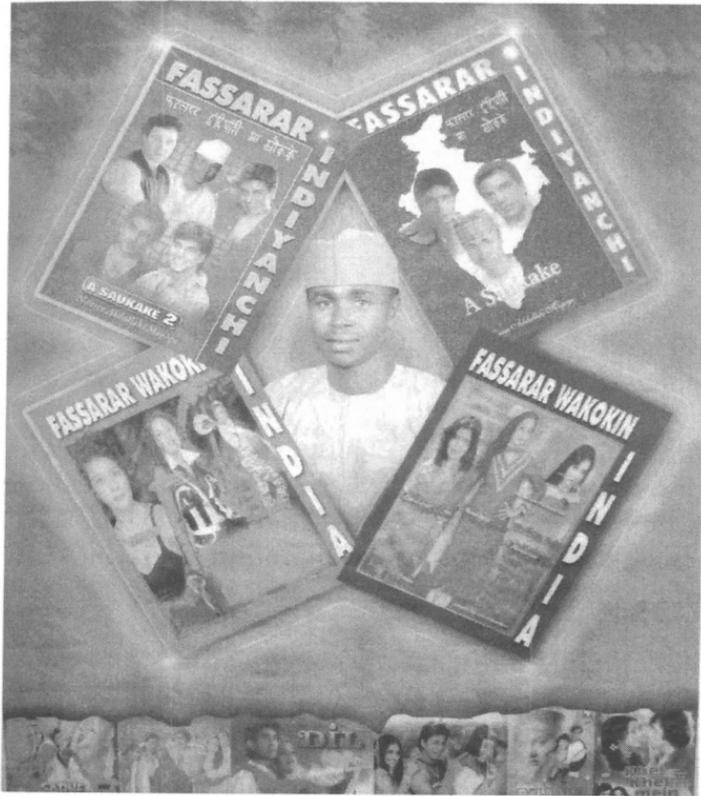
Hindi Film	Film Song	Ushaqu Indiya Hausa Appropriation
Rakshak (dir. Ashok Honda, 1996)	<i>Koochie – Koochie</i>	<i>Kuchi Muchi</i>
Rakshak (dir. Ashok Honda, 1996)	<i>Sundra – Sundra</i>	<i>Zahra-Zahra</i> gun ki na zo bara
Yash (dir. Sharad Saran, 1996)	<i>Subah-Subah</i> Jab kirki kole	<i>Zuma-Zuma</i> mai gardi
Lahu ke do Rang (dir. Mehul Kumar, 1997)	<i>Hasino</i> Ko Aate Hai	<i>Hassan</i> da Hussain Jikokin Nabiya
Dil (dir. Indira Kuma, 1990)	Humne Ghar Choda <i>Hai</i>	Manzon Allah <i>Dahe</i>
Anari (dir. Hrishikesh Mukherjee, 1959)	Diwana me <i>Diwana</i>	Rasulu Abin <i>Dubana</i>
Kala sona (dir. Ravikant Nagaich, 1975)	<i>Se Sun Sun</i> Kasam	<i>Sannu</i> Mai Yassarabu dan Kabilar Arabu
Coolie No 1 (dir. David Dhawan, 1995)	<i>Goriya</i> churana mera jiya	<i>Godiya</i> muke wa sarki daya
Ragluveer (dir. K. Pappu, 1995)	<i>O Jaanemann</i> Chehra Tera	<i>Na zo neman</i> tsari ceto
Johny I love you (dir. Rakesh Kumar, 1982)	<i>Kabhi-Kabhi</i> Be-zubaan Parvat Bolate	<i>Kabi – kabi</i> Annabi mu in ka fi shi za ka sha wuya
Boxer (dir. Raj N. Sippy, 1984)	<i>Janu Na jaane</i> kab se Tujhko pyar	<i>Yanu-na yanu</i> na ba wani tamkarka
Hum (dir. Mukul S. Anand, 1991)	<i>Jumma Chumma Dede</i>	<i>Zuma- zumar</i> bege mun sha
Abe Hayat (dir. Ram-anlal Desai, 1955)	<i>Main gareebon</i> ka dil hoon	<i>Na gari</i> muke yabo Shugaban Al’umma
Shaan (dir. Ramesh Sippy, 1980)	<i>Janu</i> meri jaan metere kurbaan	<i>Jani</i> – babuja ba tamkar Kur’an

Like all the other songs in their repertoire, the songs are not based on attempts to translate the original meanings of the titles of

the Hindi film songs; rather refrains, chorus, and main lines are identified and their Hausa substitutes used in rendering the original song. Thus the double meaning of “interpretation” (Newmark: 1991: 35), which is both the technical term for spoken translation but also hints at the act of transformation that occurs in the example I have given here, comes to the fore in the Ushaq’u Indiya singers’ translations of Hindi film songs.

The Hausa youth obsession with Hindi language and culture was further illustrated by the appearance, in 2003, of what was possibly the first Hausa-Hindi language primer in which a Hausa author, Nazeer Abdullahi Magoga published *Fassarar Indiyanchi a Saukake* — *Hindi Language Made Easy* as shown in Fig. 1.

Fig. 1 – Hausa-Hindi Phrase Books



The author is pictured wearing Hausa cap among Bollywood super stars on the covers of the books. Like most Hausa, the author equates “Hindi” with *Indian*, not acknowledging that India is a political expression comprising many ethnic and language groups. For instance, 14 languages are mentioned in the constitution of India. There is thus no singular “Indian” language as such, much as there is no singular “Nigerian” language.

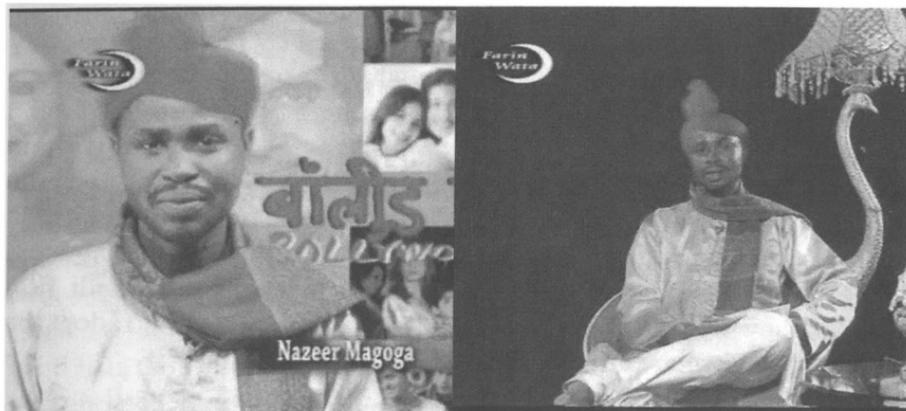
These books become all the more significant in that they are the first books in Hausa language that show the vivid effects of media parenting. It is thus through the books that we learn the meanings of some of the titles of 47 popular Hindi films such as *Sholay* (*gobara*, fire outbreak), *Kabhi-Kabhie* (*wani sa'in*, other times), *Agni Sakshi* (*zazzarfar shaida*, strong evidence), *Darr* (*tsoro*, fear), *Yaraana* (*abota*, friendship), *Dillagi* (*zabin zuciya*, heart’s choice), *Maine Pyar Kiya* (*na fada cikin soyayya*, fallen in love) and others. Volume 1 also contains the complete transliteration of Hindi lyrics translated into Romanized Hausa, of *Maine Pyar Kiya* and *Kabhi-Khabie*.

Magoga started working on the first volume, *Fassar Indiyanchi*, in 1996, and when the Hausa video film boom started in 2000 he published the book. He has three others planned; a second volume of the books which takes the language acquisition to the next level—focusing on culture and customs of India (or more precisely, Hindu). The other two books, still planned, are “song books”, *Fassarar Waƙoƙin Indiya* (Translations of Hindi Film Songs) in two volumes.

In an interview I held with Magoga on March 19, 2004 in Kano, northern Nigeria, the author narrated how he became deeply interested in learning the Hindi language from watching thousands of Hindi films, and subsequently conceived of the idea of writing a series of phrase books on Hindi language. In 2005 he was given a one-hour slot on Radio Kano FM during which he presents *Mu Kewayaya Indiya* [Let us visit India], a program in which he translates Hindi film songs into Hausa. His fluency in Hindi language was such that in 2007 it attracted BBC World Service, London, which held a live-on-air interview with him about his life with an Indian journalist, Indu Shekhar Sinha, in Hindi. This attracted so much attention in

India that the BBC Delhi office sent a crew to interview Magoga in Kano in July 2008. The crew was led by Rupa Jha who recorded the entire interview in Hindi language at the Tahir Guest Palace hotel in Kano and which was broadcast in India. Subsequently Magoga became a singer in Kano, holding concerts (“majalisi”) during which he sings the praises of venerated Sufi saints as well as local politicians in Hindi (often dressing in Indian clothes). He was also given a slot at Farin Wata, an independent Television Studio in Kano during which he presents a “request program” in which viewers request for historical details of a particular film and request a particular song. The screen shots in Fig. 2 shows how Magoga dresses for the part.

Fig 2. Nazeer Magoga Presenting “Bollywood Stan” in a Local TV Studio



By 2012 Magoga has been given a series of slots in various radio and TV stations across northern Nigeria where he translates Hindi lyrics into Hausa and holds continuous fluent conversation in Hindi with phone-in listeners. He also became a singer, releasing an album in September 2012 which contains various Islamic devotional and political songs in Hausa and Hindi.

Hausa Appropriations of Popular Hindi Film Music

Hindi films became popular simply because of what urbanized young Hausa saw as cultural similarities between Hausa social be-

havior and mores and those depicted in Hindi films. As Brian Larkin (2004: 100) noted,

Many Hausa, for instance, argue that Hausa and Hindi are descended from the same language - an argument also voiced to me by an Indian importer of films to account for their popularity. While wrong in terms of linguistic evolution, this argument acknowledges the substantial presence of Arabic and English loanwords in both languages, a key factor in creating this perceived sense of similarity and which helps many Hausa “speak Hindi”.

Bettina David (2008: 183) records similar observations about the cultural relationships between Hindi films and Indonesian public culture, where she notes that for many Indonesians, “Bollywood still seems to represent something similar to their own culture in being distinctively non-Western.”

Further, with heroes and heroines sharing almost the same dress code as Hausa (flowing saris, turbans, head covers, especially in the earlier historical Hindi films which were the ones predominantly shown in cinemas throughout northern Nigeria in the 1960s) young Hausa saw reflections of themselves and their lifestyles in Hindi films, far more than in American films. Added to this is the appeal of the soundtrack music, the song and dance routines which do not have ready equivalents in Hausa traditional entertainment ethos. Soon enough cinema-goers started to mimic the Hindi film songs they saw. The next nexus of Hausa popular culture to adopt the Hindi film format therefore was the Hausa video film.

Screen to Screen – the Hausa Video Film Soundtrack

Hausa video films as a major entertainment focus started with the production of the first Hausa film on cassette in March 1990. It was *Turmin Danya* (dir. Salisu Galadanci). The first Hausa video films from 1990 to 1994 relied on traditional music ensembles to compose the soundtracks, with *koroso* music predominating. The soundtracks were just incidental background music to accompany the film, and not integral to the story. There was often singing, but it is itself embedded in the songs, for instance during ceremonies that seem to feature in every drama film. However, the availability of the synthesizer keyboards such as the Casiotone MT-140 and Yamaha

PSR, as well as pirated music making software such as FruityLoops Reason 3.0, and editing software such as Cool Edit and Adobe Audition, the Hausa video film acquired a more transnational pop focus and outlook creating what I call Hausa Technopop music – a genre of music that departed considerably from its antecedent African acoustic roots, and embraced Hindi film melodies exclusively, if retaining Hausa language lyrics.

This follows a trajectory similar to the evolution of Indonesian popular music, *dangdut*, “a hybrid pop music extremely popular among the lower classes that incorporates musical elements from Western pop, Hindi film music, and indigenous Malay tunes” (Bettina David 2008: 179). In Indonesia Hindi films were shown after independence in 1945 as entertainment for Indian troops that were part of the English contingent. Subsequently, the films were shown massively on local television and thus they eventually served as a model for the development of Indonesian films – just as the Hausa video filmmakers adopt Hindi film templates in their films, in addition to appropriating many Hindi films directly into Hausa language versions.

While a lot of the songs in the Hausa video films were original to the films, yet quite a sizeable are direct appropriations of the Hindi film soundtracks – even if the Hausa main film is not based on a Hindi film. This in effect means that a Hausa video film can have two sources of Hindi film “creative inspiration” – a film for the storyline (and fight sequences), and songs from a different film. Table 5 lists the Hindi inspirations for few of the 128 Hausa video films appropriated from Hindi films. This was based on analysis of 615 Hausa home videos and discussions with producers, cast, crew and editors from 2000 to 2003 during fieldwork for a larger study.

Table 5 – Inspirations from the East: Hindi as Hausa Film Songs

Hausa Film	Playback Song	Hindi Film	Playback Song
Hisabi	Zo Mu Sha Giya	Gundaraj (dir. Guddu Dhanoa, 1995)	Mena Meri Mena Meri
Alaqa	Duk Abin Da Na Yi	Suhaag (dir. Balwant Bhatt, 1940)	Gore Gore Gore Gore

Hausa Film	Playback Song	Hindi Film	Playback Song
Alaqa	Sha Bege	Mann (dir. Indra Kumar, 1999)	Mera Mann
Darasi	Tunanin Raina	Mann (dir. Indra Kumar, 1999)	Tinak Tini Tana
Farmaki	Suriki Mai Ky- au	Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham... (dir. Karan Johar, 2001)	Surat Huwa Mat Dam
Hisabi	Don Allah Taho Rausaya	Angrakshak (dir. Ravi Raja Pinisetty, 1995)	Ham Tumse Na Hi
Shaida	Na Fi Ki Yi Haƙuri	Darr (dir. Yash Chopra, 1993)	Jadoo Tere Magal
Laila	<u>Laila</u> <u>Laila</u> <u>Laila</u>	Zameer (dir., Ravi Chopra, 1975)	<u>Lela Lela Lela</u>
Gudun Hijira	Ga Wani Abu Na Damun Shi	Josh (dir. A Karim, 1950)	Hari Hari Hari
Aniya	Ga Mu Muna Soyayya	Josh (dir. A Karim, 1950)	Hari HariHari
Gudun Hijira	Ina Kake Ya Masoyina	Mast (dir. Ram Gopal Varma, 1999)	Ruki Ruki
Gudun Hijira	Gudun Hijira	Dhadkan (dir. Dharmesh Darshan, 2000)	Dil Ne He Ka Ha He Dil Se
Ibro Dan Indiya	Sahiba Sahiba	Rakshak (dir. Ashok Honda, 1996)	Sundara San
Tasiri 2	Kar Ki Ji Komai	Wardaat (dir. Ravikant Nagaich, 1981)	Baban Jayi
Ummul Khairi	Ina Wahala	Mohabbat (dir. Reema Rakesh Nath, 1997)	Mohabbat Ti He
Kasaita	Ni Na San Ba Ki Da Haufi	Major Saab (dir. Tinnu Anand, 1998)	Ekta He Pal Pal Tumse
Darasi	Duk Girma Na Sai Kin Sa Na Yi	Hogi Pyaar Ki Jeet (dir. P. Vasu, 1999)	Ho Dee Bana
Taqidi	Ni A'a	Ayya Pyar	Jodi Pyar
Al'ajabi	Ayyaraye Lale	Ram Balram (1980)	Ka Ci Na Gari Mil Gay
Jazaman	Ai Na San Mai	Lahu Ke Do Rang	Awara Pagal

Hausa Film	Playback Song	Hindi Film	Playback Song
	So Na	(1997)	Dibana

There is a radical difference in the translation styles used between Ushaqu and Hausa video filmmakers. Whereas the Ushaqu singers attempt a poetic vocal harmony between the source sound and treating it as text, and target sound, Hausa video filmmakers use only the musical harmonies of the source sound, ignoring its textual properties. In fact in my repertoire of over 50 re-renderings I could locate only one track from the Hindi film, *Zameer* (dir. Ravi Chopra, 1975) which had onomatopoeic property with its corresponding Hausa version, as highlighted in Table 5. *Leila/Layla* are both common female names among Muslim Hausa. In a way, therefore, the Hindi film songs in Hausa video films are cover versions rendered locally. The originals do not simply disappear because a local one is available - for the purpose was not to displace the transnational originals; but to prove prowess in copying the transnational songs. The Hindi originals are increasingly becoming available on DVDs stuffed with often over 100 songs in MP3 format and sold for less than US\$ 1 if one bargains hard enough from street media vendors selling them in push carts and wheel barrows.

Thus besides providing templates for storylines, Hindi films provide Hausa home video makers with similar templates for the songs they use in their videos. The technique often involves picking up the thematic elements of the main Hindi film song, and then substituting with Hausa lyrics - creating translation equivalency. Consequently, anyone familiar with the Hindi film song element will easily discern the film from the Hausa home video equivalent. Although this process of adaptation is extremely successful because the video film producers make more from films with song and dances than without, there are often dissenting voices about the intrusion of the new media technology into the film process, as reflected in this letter from a correspondent:

I want to advise northern Nigerian Hausa film producers that using European music in Hausa films is contrary to portrayal of Hausa culture in films (videos). I am appealing to them (producers) to change their style. It is annoying to see a Hausa film with a Euro-

pean music soundtrack. Don't the Hausa have their own (music)? ...The Hausa have more musical instruments than any ethnic group in this country, so why can't films be produced using Hausa traditional music? Umar Faruk Asarani, Letters page, *Fim*, No 4, December 1999, p. 10. (My translation of original Hausa language source).

Interestingly, other musical sources are often used as templates. Thus a Hindi film template can often have songs borrowed from a totally different source. *Ibro Dan Indiya* (pr. Nasiru "Dararrafé" Salisu, 2002) for instance, with an adaptation of a song from *Mohabbat* (1997, dir. Reema Rakeshnath) contains an adaptation of a composition by Oumou Sangare, the Malian diva, *Ah Ndiya* (Oumou Sangare 2003). This was appropriated as "Malama Dumbaru" in the Hausa video film version, and remains the only African rendering that I am aware of.

Conclusion

In this paper I looked at three styles of vocal performances in the domestication of transnational source text into Hausa. The first was the onomatopoeic use of selected Qur'anic texts by Hausa shamans for their public culture clients who seek cure for one problem or other. In the second and third instances, this provided a ready template for the use of both onomatopoeia and equivalence as translation devices by purveyors of the Hausa popular culture industries in musical performances and video films in their appropriation of transcultural entertainment products, which they rework for their local clients. However, a transitory route was via official translation of selected Middle Eastern stories into Hausa language - thus conferring on Hausa popular culture a transcultural base.

In trying to determine what constitutes global culture, John Tomlinson (1999: 24) argues that

The globalised culture that is currently emerging is not a global culture in any utopian sense. It is not a culture that has arisen out of the mutual experiences and needs of all of humanity...It is, in short, simply the global extension of *Western* culture.

The problem with this view, as argued by J. Macgregor Wise (2008: 35), is that it assumes that

The process of globalization is a one way flow: from the West (read: America) to the rest. Especially in the 1970s, media scholarship supported this view, giving evidence of how the West dominated the global film and television industries as well as the international news services such as the Associated Press and Reuters ...It also assumes that this process is uniform and occurs in the same way everywhere. That is, it assumes that the world will become homogenized, that it will look the same wherever you go.

However, there are other mediascapes besides Western. In South America, the Brazilian telenovelas were spectacularly successful within not only South American continent, but also across the world. As Benavides (2008: 2) suggested

It is a testament to the telenovela's success that many of the plot lines are reused or that a telenovela will be rebroadcast in different countries after being adapted to their national language and cultural configuration. This transnational element is only heightened by the incredible export success of telenovelas throughout the Americas (including the United States) and all over the world. Latin American telenovelas have been exported, with extraordinary cultural implications, to Egypt, Russia, and China, as well as throughout Europe.

In a similar way, Hindi films have provided powerful alternatives of imagined realities to Western mediascape (e.g. Vasudevan 2000, Kripalani 2005, Mehta 2005, Larkin 2003). Thus, for many non-Western countries

Over the decades, Hindi films emerged as an accessible, visual and ideological alternative to prescriptive, evolutionary patterns of development advocated by some Hollywood films and other select First World countries. (Shresthova2008: 13).

In Indonesian popular culture,

Contemporary Indonesian public culture increasingly reorients itself, looking to other non-Western social, cultural, and religious forms as alternatives in the struggle to define a modern identity without becoming totally “Westernized.” (David 2008: 195).

In Africa, the Nigerian film industry, Nollywood, has emerged in recent years as a powerful pan-African film industry not only in the individual countries of Africa, but in Black diaspora (see for instance, Ebewo 2007, Haynes, 2000, Haynes and Okome 1998, McCall 2004, Offord 2009, Omoera 2009, *Postcolonial Text*, “Nollywood: West African Cinema,” Vol 3, No 2, 2007, and *Film International* 28, “Welcome to Nollywood: Africa Visualizes,” August 1, 2007).

Consequently, as Arjun Appadurai (1996) also argued, globalization is not a single process happening everywhere in the same way. Thus globalized culture does not always have to mean *Western* culture, especially as the influence does not have to be vertical (from North to South), but could also be horizontal (from South to South). In northern Nigeria, as indeed in other countries sharing similar post-colonial experiences, the transcultural flow is in a different direction. It is this multidirectional flow of transnational media influences that see the ready translation - using as many devices as possible - of transnational popular culture into Hausa urban public culture.

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Swahili lexicography in Poland: its history and immediate future

Abstract

The interest in Swahili lexicography at the University of Warsaw has a long tradition and was initiated by the first lecturer of Swahili – prof. Rajmund Ohly. He was not only an observer but his name has been indelibly written into the history of Swahili lexicography. His passion inspired the next generation and some projects aiming at creating Swahili dictionaries have been undertaken in the Department. That resulted in a state-financed grant on Swahili-Polish dictionary that is to be delivered at the end of 2012.

1. African studies in Poland

African studies in Poland date back to the beginning of the 20th century, when research and teaching on Africa began at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. At the same time, the Department of Oriental Studies and Sociology was opened at the Polish Academy of Sciences. The well-known Africanist Roman Stopa, author of many works on Bushman languages, lectured on African languages at the Jagiellonian University for many years. Today, research on African languages is carried out at the Department of Afro-Asiatic Linguistics (*Katedra Językoznawstwa Afroazjatyckiego*), at the Institute of Oriental Philology of the Philological Faculty.

Warszawa joined Kraków as another African research centre in the mid 50's. It was then that the Department of Semitic Studies was launched within the Institute of Oriental Studies, which had been established already in 1922. In 1969, the initial scope of its interest was expanded to Sub-Saharan Africa and the name was changed to the Department of African and Semitic Studies. The Department of African Languages and Cultures (*Katedra Języków i Kultur Afryki*)¹ has existed since 1977 as an individual unit of formerly the Institute, and currently the Faculty of Oriental Studies.

At the same time, the former interdisciplinary Institute of African Studies, which had existed at the Faculty of Geography since 1962, transformed into the Institute of Developing Countries and Regional Studies. The Institute, formerly under the name *Studium Afrykanistyczne*, focused on economical and geographically inclined matters; it also offered two-year courses in African languages intended for prospective workers in Africa.

The present Department of African Languages and Cultures of the Faculty of Oriental Studies is divided into three sections: Ethiopian, Hausa and Swahili studies. Since October 2005, it offers a three-year B.A. programme and a two-year M.A. (postgraduate) programme. Intensive language training in Hausa, Swahili or Amharic is compulsory within both programmes.

2. Professor Rajmund Ohly and Swahili lexicography

The research on Swahili lexicography in Poland was initiated by Rajmund Ohly, who began teaching in the Department of Semitic Studies in Warsaw in 1961 as the first teacher of Swahili. His interests focused mainly on languages and literatures of Africa and he quickly became an eminent expert in the field.

Earlier, during his M.A. studies in Oriental philology in Kraków, he had concentrated on Arabic studies, but got also acquainted with African Khoisan languages, and Ewe, Hausa and Swahili, as a student of Roman Stopa (cf. Piłaszewicz 2004). He soon turned his attention towards Swahili and in his Ph.D.

¹See: <http://www.orient.uw.edu.pl/web-kjika/eng/>. Until 2009, the Department was referred to in Polish as “Zakład” rather than “Katedra”.

dissertation defended at the University of Warsaw in 1967, he investigated the development of abstract nouns and then continued his research in the field of Swahili terminology, which led to his 1978 *Habilitationschrift* under the title “The development of common political terminology in Kiswahili (1885-1974), with special reference to modern Tanzania”, defended at the University of Marburg in Germany. Devoted to the teaching of Swahili, he published numerous language and literature textbooks, some of which are in use until today, not only in Poland, but even in Africa.

In 1972, Ohly left Warsaw for Africa and spent the following 20 years in Tanzania and Namibia. His lexicographic career began at the Institute of Kiswahili Research of the University of Dar es Salaam, where he initiated a project of compiling an English-Swahili dictionary that was successfully finished and published only in December 1996 (TUKI 1996). In 1975, he became a member of the editorial team working on the first monolingual Swahili language dictionary that was published in 1981 (TUKI 1981). After having finished that work, the team returned to the English-Swahili dictionary project, but in 1982, Ohly left Tanzania for Namibia. In the meantime, in 1976, he was appointed professor of the University of Dar es Salaam. He also avidly participated in the work of the governmental Commission on the Swahili Language. He compiled two specialized bilingual Swahili-English dictionaries: of slang (1987) and of technical terms (1987), the latter at the request of the *Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit* of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Professor Ohly always recognized the importance of lexicographic study in the process of language development and was an ardent supporter of promoting Swahili. In his research he kept track of the development of Swahili terminology and his passion for Swahili lexicography inspired other members of the Department to take interest in it.

In 1992, the Department of African Languages and Cultures at the University of Warsaw hosted the Catalysis summer school that was dedicated to computational linguistics and lexicography, with a focus on African languages. Research on lexicography and terminology was also conducted for M.A. theses by Polish and

foreign students, such as Bento Siteo from Mozambique and also in Ph.D. dissertations of Albina Chuwa from Tanzania, who under supervision of prof. Ohly explored phraseological units in relation to lexicography (Chuwa 1995), and Beata Wójtowicz, who investigated Swahili lexicography and framed the outline of a new Swahili-Polish dictionary (Wójtowicz 2004; see section 5).

3. Swahili-Polish dictionaries

Even though Rajmund Ohly was the author or editor of several Swahili dictionaries, he never compiled any for Polish. Possibly, part of the reason was that one – a small Swahili-Polish and Polish-Swahili dictionary by Stopa and Garlicki (1966) – had already existed. That first (and so far the only) published Swahili-Polish dictionary had 126 pages that contained around 3500 entries in each direction. As the authors themselves wrote in the introduction, the dictionary “[...] is meant to be usable by Poles for everyday contacts with African speakers of Swahili, for comprehension of simple texts, and for the study of [Swahili]. It should also be usable by African speakers of Swahili in similar circumstances” (translation ours). Even though the dictionary was compiled by a leading Polish Africanist, it was not a success (Ohly 1967). Criticized for the selection of headwords, erroneous translations, and outdated grammatical terminology, the dictionary was never reprinted or revised.

Until the late 90’s no attempt to produce a new Swahili-Polish dictionary was undertaken. Then Beata Wójtowicz, during her Ph.D. studies under the supervision of Janusz S. Bień, a computer scientist and a linguist, investigated various dictionary formats. During that time, she produced an electronic DjVu version of Stopa and Garlicki’s (1966) dictionary. Preserved for historical reasons, this electronic version is not distributed due to the copyright issues. Additionally, a small Swahili-Polish Student Dictionary with over 1300 entries was compiled and published as a PDF file on the Internet, under a free license (Wójtowicz 2003)². This dictionary has also been released to the FreeDict project (cf. section 6).

² The dictionary was originally a private glossary compiled by Anna Pytluk,

In October 2009, a new state-financed project was launched aiming at creating a new Swahili-Polish electronic dictionary; this project is described in more detail in section 5 below.

4. Dictionaries of Swahili among Polish students

Currently, Polish learners of Swahili are forced to use dictionaries in which Swahili is paired with a language other than Polish, most typically English or German. In order to gather some insight into the situation of an average student of Swahili at the University of Warsaw, in the year 2003 and then in 2009, two dictionary-usage surveys have been conducted, each of them on 30 students of the Department of African Languages and Cultures.

The surveys revealed that in 2009, only 25% of students owned and used printed versions of various Swahili-English and English-Swahili dictionaries, as opposed to 90% in 2003. Nowadays, all students use the Internet Living Swahili Dictionary (ILSD) by the Kamusi Project, which was true of only 70% of students in 2003 (50% of the latter used the downloaded offline version in the form of text files; nowadays, everyone uses the online HTML interface).

The main advantages of ILSD mentioned by the respondents are fast access to translations, vast coverage (over 60 thousand entries³) and free availability. The dictionary employed a morphological analyser, but interestingly, no one noticed that. The disadvantage that was understandably listed in the first place by Polish users was problems with understanding of some of the English translations. Other perceived disadvantages included unsorted senses (sometimes those that come up first are the least frequent), the lack of consistent grammatical information, the lack of explicitly shown

a student of the Oriental Institute who collected Swahili words and described them for the purpose of her own study. Beata Wójtowicz chose Anna's dictionary from among other private dictionaries she solicited from students for her project, edited it, introduced minor corrections and typeset it for electronic publication.

³ The dictionary is available at <http://www.kamusi.org/>. The number of entries does not correspond to the number of lemmas, which was computed by De Pauw and De Schryver (2009) to be 17 thousand. Nevertheless, this is the largest Swahili-English online dictionary, built by an online community under the supervision of Martin Benjamin.

derivational families, lack of information on the pronunciation and, in some cases, an insufficient number of examples of usage. Students also complained that spelling mistakes in ILSD search terms are announced as failures and no suggestions for similar words are offered. Despite the complaints, the dictionary is regarded as a very good, largely sufficient and reliable source of lexical information⁴.

In recent years, students have begun to also use the online version of the TshwaneDJe Swahili-English Dictionary (<http://africanlanguages.com/swahili/>). The dictionary contains less headwords but its interface and presentation of the equivalents is regarded as more user friendly.

5. New Swahili-Polish Dictionary⁵

For many years, an increase in the interest in learning Swahili has been observed among students of the University of Warsaw. Since 2002, the Department of African Languages and Cultures has offered open courses to all students from outside the Department (the membership is limited to around 30 per semester). All these students have to cope with the lack of Swahili dictionaries on the Polish market. Therefore, in order to meet the increasing demand for a lexical resource complementing the course, we have decided to launch a new project. The aim of this project is to create a new Internet-accessible Swahili-Polish dictionary designed primarily as a didactic tool for the students of Swahili, but at the same time suitable for Polish tourists, businessmen and the like.

The three-year project, financed by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education (N104 050437), was officially launched in October 2009. The dictionary is going to have over 5000 entries as the first deliverable, and it shall then be further expanded and eventually published. We consider the electronic version as more appropriate for the beginning, because it will be accessible for free, able to be easily searched, it may provide visualization of derivational hierarchies and inflected forms, and it is easy to

⁴ It is worth mentioning as a *signum temporis* that, as opposed to the 2003 survey, in 2009 no one pointed to the problem with Internet access and the costs that it incurs.

⁵ At the end of 2012 the dictionary will be available at <http://www.kamusi.pl>.

maintain and expand on the basis of active user feedback or passive monitoring of user queries (cf. De Schryver and Joffe, 2004). For the editors of dictionaries of languages considered non-commercial from the local perspective, it is very important to be able to fix all errors and add the most pressing enhancements before the first edition gets printed – publishers are hardly willing to publish revised versions of such dictionaries, as they are not profitable enough.

The new dictionary is going to be a translation/learner dictionary – a representative of the growing trend to furnish bilingual dictionaries with features that until recently have been primarily associated with monolingual learner dictionaries: extended grammatical information (meant to make the creation of real sentences easier, by providing hints for constructing the proper agreement patterns) and with visualisation of derivational hierarchies that will provide extra lexical information and make navigation across the dictionary easier (cf. Bański and Wójtowicz 2008).

The dictionary will be encoded in XML, that will make the resource easy to maintain and expand, allow output of almost any kind and various visualization strategies. The macrostructure of the new dictionary is based on a Swahili-English dictionary skeleton derived automatically from the Helsinki Corpus of Swahili (HCS 2004). Therefore, one of the phases of the building process was a switch from a Swahili-English to a Swahili-Polish dictionary. We performed concatenation (crossing) of the HCS-derived Swahili-English dictionary with an English-Polish dictionary, hoping that such a move might speed up dictionary creation and provide a useful test case for other lexicographic projects of this kind.

During the two years that we spent waiting for funding, we have already started working on the dictionary structure and the techniques for deriving it. With the concatenation step in mind, we decided to temporarily substitute a freely available Swahili-English dictionary for the one which, we expected, would be derived from the HCS. This is what turned our attention to a resource previously created by Beata Wójtowicz for the FreeDict project, which we look at in the next section.

6. Swahili dictionaries at FreeDict.org

The FreeDict project, founded by Horst Eyermann in the year 2000 and hosted by SourceForge.net, is home to numerous (over 70) bilingual dictionaries available on open-source licences (primarily the GNU General Public License, ver. 2.0 and later). It initially hosted bilingual dictionaries produced by concatenating (crossing) the contents of the dictionaries in the Ergane project (<http://download.travlang.com/Ergane/>), with Esperanto as the interlanguage. It was meant to complement the DICT project, responsible for making text resources available and searchable on the Net⁶ (Faith and Martin 1997).

At the very beginning, the data was kept as plain text suitable to be processed by DICT tools, but soon it was converted to the SGML format advocated by the Text Encoding Initiative, called TEI P3. Later on, the databases were transduced to the XML-ised version of TEI P3: TEI P4. The Swahili-English xFried/FreeDict Dictionary was the first FreeDict dictionary encoded according to the most recent TEI P5 XML standard.

6.1. Swahili-English xFried/FreeDict Dictionary

The first version (0.0.1) of the Swahili-English FreeDict Dictionary was published in 2000 by Horst Eyermann as a product of concatenation of Swahili-Esperanto and Esperanto-English Ergane dictionaries. It had 650 headwords and the database was encoded as TEI P3 SGML.

In 2004, the maintenance of the dictionary was taken over by Beata Wójtowicz and the first Swahili-English xFried/FreeDict Dictionary⁷ was published. It was based on the dictionary derived from *Swahili-Kiswahili to English Translation Program* by Morris D. Fried (available from <http://www.dict.org/links.html>), which has been supplemented by entries from version 0.0.1. The entries from 0.0.1 were then enriched with POS (part-of-speech) information.

⁶ The SourceForge.net addresses of the two projects are, respectively <http://sourceforge.net/projects/freedict> and <http://sourceforge.net/projects/dict>.

⁷ xFried in the name of the dictionary stands for *extended Fried* – M. D. Fried being the author of the source dictionary.

This new version of the dictionary, 0.0.2, contained 1542 headwords. It was created in text format and then transduced into TEI P4 XML with tools offered by FreeDict. The following is an example entry for *ndege* ‘bird, airplane’ from that version.

```
<entry>
<form><orth>ndege</orth></form>
<def>bird(s)</def>
<gramGrp><pos>n</pos></gramGrp>
</entry>
```

In December 2008, Beata Wójtowicz and Piotr Bański created version 0.3 of the dictionary, encoded in TEI P5 XML and verified lexicographically. The number of entries increased and their contents were extended with additional translation equivalents, definitions and usage hints.

The version current at the moment of submission of the present paper, 0.4.2, was published in April 2009: it contains ca. 2650 entries, all of them described grammatically with parts-of-speech and sub-categorization information, cf. the entries below, in the working view of the dictionary⁸, where *hayo* is a referential demonstrative pronoun that agrees with nouns of class 6, *hazina* is either a noun of class 9, where the singular form is identical to the plural, or an inflected possessive verb that displays agreement with class 10 and refers the user to *wa na* ‘be with = have’.

⁸The working view is generated by the web browser applying a CSS (Cascading Style Sheet) that accompanies the source of the dictionary. It presents the information as it appears in the XML file, with the CSS adding some text. This view is very browser-dependent and works best in the standards-compliant Firefox (other browsers, such as Opera or Internet Explorer, do not support all of the CSS directives). A better way to query the dictionary is either via a DICT client or a WWW gateway, e.g. at <http://dict.uni-leipzig.de/dictd>.

hayo *pron dem ref* (agrees with cl. 6)

- these, those, the ones referred to previously or close to the hearer

hazina¹ [sg=pl] *n*

- treasury

hazina² *v infl* (agrees with cl. 10)

- it does not have

See also: *wa na*

In this version, all nouns that occur in singular-plural pairings either contain a reference to the plural form (listed as separate entries and referring back to the singulars), or indicate the fact that the singular and the plural forms are identical (“[sg=pl]”). Irregular verbal inflections (e.g. irregular imperative forms, see further below for an example of *ja*), some classes of vocabulary have been added or expanded (e.g. names of countries and their inhabitants; the present-tense irregular paradigm of *wa* and *wa na*), an expanded system of references has been added, senses are better organized and usage notes are added where appropriate. At this moment, the entry for *ndege* is as follows.

```
<entry xml:id="ndege">
  <form type="N">
    <orth>ndege</orth>
  </form>
  <gramGrp>
    <pos>n</pos>
  </gramGrp>
  <sense xml:id="ndege.1" n="1">
    <def>bird</def>
  </sense>
  <sense xml:id="ndege.2" n="2">
```

```

<def>airplane, plane</def>
<xr
    type="syn">(synonym:
    target="#eropleni">eropleni</ref></xr>
</sense>
</entry>

```

The publication of version 0.4.2 was accompanied by changes in the FreeDict build system, now fully adjusted to TEI P5. This allowed for the TEI dictionary source to be converted to a format readable by DICT servers for the purpose of dissemination, which means that the dictionary can now be accessed via any DICT-aware client⁹. Clients typically render the XML example above as follows.

```

ndege <n> [sg=pl]
1. bird
2. airplane, plane
Synonym: eropleni

```

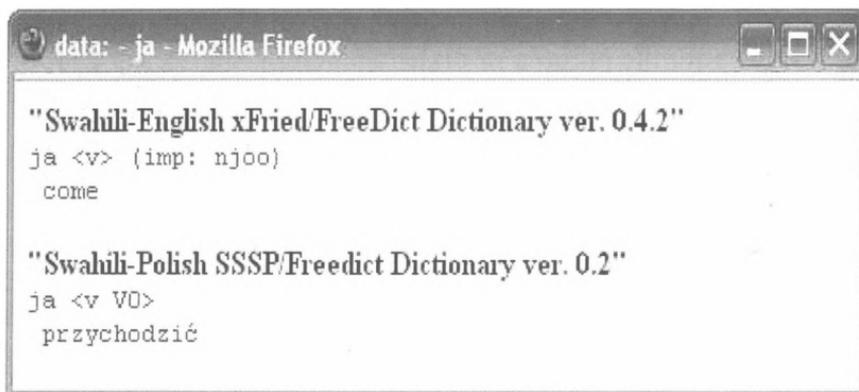
Although the dictionary is small, we were happy to note that it received a largely positive review from De Pauw et al. (2009), which we took as a signal that the dictionary can be used for the purpose of initial tests of concatenation with another resource that has been submitted to FreeDict, namely a pocket English-Polish translating dictionary by Tadeusz Piotrowski and Zygmunt Saloni.

6.2. Swahili-Polish SSSP/FreeDict Dictionary

In December 2009, a small Swahili-Polish SSSP/FreeDict Dictionary was added to the FreeDict repository. It has over 1300 entries accompanied by POS and other grammatical information, depending on the category of the headword. It mainly contains vocabulary covered during the first year of Swahili language course at the Department of African Languages and Cultures of the University of Warsaw. The dictionary was compiled in 2003 and then published in the form of a PDF file. In 2009, it was converted to

⁹A growing list of DICT clients is available at <http://www.dict.org/w/software/software>.

XML and re-edited, so that now it can be accessed via various DICT clients, e.g. a Firefox add-on, `dict`¹⁰, as shown in the screenshot below, on the example of *ja*. The DICT protocol makes it possible for the client to search in many databases simultaneously. In our example, the results are found in the Swahili-English and Swahili-Polish dictionaries and illustrate the way the former handles irregular verbal forms (in this case, the irregular imperative form of *ja*).



The addition of a little dictionary such as the Swahili-Polish SSSP/FreeDict Dictionary illustrates something that Bański and Wójtowicz (2009) have argued for: that the FreeDict project appears ideal as a repository for this kind of small resources that might otherwise get discarded as non-publishable or only get disseminated among a small group of people, e.g. course participants. FreeDict has resources to make them accessible and usable even in their original form, and by doing so, to encourage others to expand them or use them as basis for projects targeting other languages.

¹⁰This Firefox add-on is available from <http://dict.mozdev.org/>. After it is installed in Firefox, in the options window, the user has to choose “dict.uni-leipzig.de” from the list of servers in order to guarantee that the most recent FreeDict dictionaries are queried.

7. Conclusion

The present paper surveys the origins and development of Swahili lexicography in Poland, and sketches our vision of its immediate future.

While one of us is proud to have been a student of Rajmund Ohly, we note that his lexicographic legacy has not yet been fulfilled in his native country – practically, no Swahili-Polish-Swahili dictionary exists. We would like to make the next step on the way to creating a large modern lexicographic resource of that kind in the nearest future.

At the same time, we believe we have opened the path towards a small collectively-built Swahili-Polish dictionary in the FreeDict project (after the fashion of the ILSD, though understandably on a much smaller scale). It may be useful for organizing student work and also as an example for other resources of this kind, especially those concerning non-commercial languages with small speaker and research communities.

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Shaping the word structure by iambic foot in Migama

Abstract

The following paper analyzes the role of metrical structure in shaping the East Chadic B language, Migama. Specifically, it will be argued that, similarly to Hausa, while having no overt influence on the language's tone distribution, iambic foot serves as a crucial factor in determining its morphology. The study concentrates on the most characteristic traits of iambicity found in Migama verbs, sensitive to metrical structure in unequal way: it will be demonstrated that verbs in imperfective aspect surface on an iambically parsed template while perfective forms are subject to phonotactic requirements, which results in their opaque structure. Finally, vowel harmony will be shown to mark the boundaries of iambic foot in both categories of verbs.

1. Introduction: Metrical Structure and its Applications

Initially treated as a theory of stress (Liberman & Prince 1977; Hayes, 1985, 1995), metrical theory deeply reorganized the classical generative approach to morpho-phonology. Going beyond a linear arrangement of segments grouped into morphemes and words, the theory introduced a hierarchical order of constituents well grounded in extra-linguistic, rhythmic phenomena: within metrical structure, segments are organized into higher units, like syllables, feet, phonological words. In turn, these phonological domains may not only account for “stress” or “prominence”, but are also utilized by certain processes, like word formation (e.g. Selkirk 1980). According to McCarthy & Prince (1990, 1993a, 1996), various morphological categories are formed on the basis of prosodically specified templates. One of the basic constituents called on by Prosodic Morphology, is a metrical foot.

Likewise, boundaries of metrical units may be marked by vowel harmony. While this process of partial or total assimilation of vowels within certain domain was traditionally handled in terms of autosegmental theory, like “feature-spreading”, it is functionally grounded as a typical instance of gestural overlap. According to Anderson (1980), some “features” characterizing a segment may not be synchronized by the same temporal function. “Retimings of articulatory gestures may result in coarticulation” (Blevins 2004: 140). Vowel-to-vowel coarticulation is often temporally coordinated with rhythmic patterns, like feet.

Still dealing with word-prosody, Hayes (1995: 47) states that: “typically (though not universally), the kind of foot required by a language's morphological system is the same as that required by its stress system”. Languages deviating from traditional frames of prosodic typology (stress vs. tone) used to be termed “pitch accent” systems, yet the notion itself failed to survive close scrutiny, proving not to cover the variety of ways languages utilize metrical foot, and thus was explicitly rejected (Hyman 2001, 2006, 2009). Consequently, pointing to the flaws of such a typology, in which the so-called „pitch accent languages” do not constitute a coherent prosodic „type”, Hyman (2009) calls for a different approach, namely a „property-driven typology”, where, along the lines of Plank (2001), „the distributions of individual traits – units, categories, constructions, rules of all kinds, [and] not languages as such, are the primary objects of comparison” (Plank 2001:1399).

1.1 Iambicity in Chadic

Recent findings in Chadic have added to the evidence for the limitations of traditional prosodic typology, as, while languages comprising the group have been typically termed tonal, some do exhibit sensitivity towards metrical structure to a varying degree. For instance, in Kera, an East Chadic A language spoken by 45,000 people in Chad, iambic (i.e. right-headed) foot does not point to stress accent, and yet it shapes word structure, serves as a domain for vowel harmony and constrains tones in a subtle manner (Pearce 2006, 2007). All Kera words conform to iambic make-up and use universally attested strategies to avoid ill-formed feet, such as vowel deletion/lengthening, and form an acceptable iambic foot comprised ei-

ther of a heavy syllable ($\sigma_{\mu\mu}$) or a sequence of a light and heavy syllable ($\sigma_{\mu} \sigma_{\mu\mu}$). The choice of the strategy depends on the word's position in the phrase: final vowel gets deleted phrase-medially (as in *beg*, derived from *bege* 'animal'), while in the phrase-final position, lengthening occurs (cf. *be.gee*). The foot-tone interaction reveals its presence in Kera in words containing more than two syllables, where – with a few exceptions – each iamb is associated with only one of the three tones, cf.

(*gə.dàà*)(*mòò*) type of bird, (*sáá*)(*tā.rāw*) 'cat' (non-heads avoid H-tone assimilation – instead, middle tone occurs by default, e.g. (*kā.kám*)(*náá*).

On the other hand, in Hausa, a West Chadic A language used by more than 30 million native speakers, iambs do not overtly interact with the tonal system, but still impose direct size requirements on major nominal and verbal categories (for a detailed discussion see: Kurzyca 2009). For instance, productive noun plurals are formed on a condition to contain at least two iambic feet, and, if necessary, use universally attested strategies to augment in weight in order to meet the requirement, that is reduplication, gemination, or the insertion of a long vowel, e.g.:

(1)	Hausa	
Sg.		Pl.
<i>gá.ɓàà</i>	<i>joint</i>	→(<i>gá.ɓàà</i>)(<i>ɓúú</i>) (<i>gáɓ</i>) (<i>ɓú.nàà</i>), (<i>gáɓ</i>)(<i>ɓáí</i>)
<i>bá.kìì</i>	<i>mouth</i>	→ (<i>bá.kún</i>)(<i>kú.nàà</i>)
<i>bí.káá</i>	<i>baboon</i>	→ (<i>bí.kàà</i>)(<i>kéé</i>)

cf. no augmentation:

<i>jàákìì</i>	<i>donkey</i>	→ (<i>jàá</i>)(<i>kúnàà</i>), (<i>jàà</i>)(<i>káí</i>)
<i>gààtáíí</i>	<i>axe</i>	→ (<i>gáá</i>)(<i>túràà</i>)

Accounting for the multiplicity of ways in which Hausa forms plural nouns, Hellwig & McIntyre (2000) presented a thorough diachronic analysis of the category. In this view, one can observe that prosodic requirements emerged in plurals in the course of their

development, triggering the establishment of new formation principles (reduplication, gemination, long vowel insertion), and thus laying new foundations for the category in question. Those forms which did not meet the 'two iambs' requirement, ceased to function or have been reinterpreted as singulars and acquired another plural (Kurzyca 2009: 18):

(2) Hausa

Archaic Sg. Archaic Pl. = Modern Sg. → Modern Pl.

dúmèè	(dú.máá)	(dú.màà)(méé) <i>gourd</i>
gíjìì	(gí.dáá)	(gí.dàà)(jéé) <i>house</i>
kárèè	(ká.ráá)	(ká.ràà)(réé) <i>cornstalk</i>
kújèè	(kú.dáá)	(kú.dàà)(jéé) <i>fly</i>

Modern plural patterns such as *-aa.ee* above, utilize bi-iambic domains also to mark the boundaries of Prosodic Word. This can be illustrated by the alternations below.

(3) Hausa

a. two iambs in plural

Sg.	Pl.	
dá.móó	(dá.màà)(méé)	<i>land monitor</i>
gí.dáá	(gí.dàà)(jéé) < /gí.dàà.déé/	<i>house</i>

b. three iambs in plural

Sg.	Pl.	
súú.náá	(súú)(nàà)(yéé)	<i>name</i>
kíí.fíí	(kíí)(fàà)(yéé)	<i>fish</i>

In (3a) the consonant is copied from the root if the plural stands within the domain of two iambs, i.e. within the Prosodic Word designed for Hausa plurals. If the plural exceeds the edges of PrWd, the least-marked /y/ occurs as the *-aa.ee* hiatus-breaker (as in 3b).

While consonant-repetition generally occurred in the prosodic system in a restricted environment, later it has developed into a morphological plural formative, as in the most recent *-oo.ii* type:

- (4) Hausa
 a. two iambs in plural

Sg.	Pl.	
dí.láá	(dí.lóó)(líí)	<i>jackal</i>
gá.ḃáá	(gá.ḃóó)(ḃíí)	<i>joint</i>

- b. three iambs in plural

Sg.	Pl.	
móó.táá	(móó)(tóó)(číí) < /moo.too.tii/	<i>car</i>
gáá.šíí	(gáá)(sóó)(šíí)	<i>hair</i>

In sum, iambicity plays a defining role in Hausa plurals, while its emergence and interaction with other requirements found in the system has produced a range of allomorphy rules. Similar observations can be found in other categories in Hausa, such as denominal and plural verbs (Kurzyca 2009: 26).

As will be seen below, prosodic system of Migama resembles that of Kera and Hausa inasmuch as it employs iambically-defined size requirements to shape the language's morphology.

2. Migama

Spoken by around 20,000 users in Chad (Chesley 2000), Migama is an East Chadic B language of Dangla branch. Described by Jungraithmayr (1974, 1975), as a tonal language with two distinctive level tones, Migama also reveals a strong sensitivity to syllable weight (with CV vs. CVV/CVC distinction). As shown below, it is specifically an iambic foot which shapes the word structure in Migama, and furthermore its boundaries are marked by vowel harmony. Since nearly all the available data and its subsequent analyses refer to the verbal system of the language (perfective, imperfective and anterior past, cf. Jungraithmayr 1974, 1975, and Adams 1992, Wolff 1977, Seymour *et al.* 1983, Frajzyngier 2004), the following

study is mainly based on this category, while the data comes from the works mentioned.

2.1. Metrical Structure and Verb-Formation

Migama words are built of the following syllable shapes:

(5)	short σ_μ	
	CV	kà.mé <i>haunt mice</i>
	heavy $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$	
	CVV	sàà.làw.wá <i>whistle</i>
	CVC	gîr.lé <i>look at</i>

Jungraithmayr and Adams (1992) divides Migama verbs into Aspect 1 (perfective) and Aspect 2 (imperfective), further classifying them along morphological criteria. The author states that the occurrence of high vowels (i, u) generally characterizes verbs found in perfective group, while imperfective forms usually pair with middle/low vowels (o, e, a), and occur typically with the last consonant geminated. Jungraithmayr (1974) and subsequent analyses of Migama verbs treat absolute past and progressive tenses as archetypical for Aspect 1 and 2 verbs respectively.

Table I: Classification of Migama Verbs (Jungraithmayr and Adams 1992)

PERFECTIVE (Jungraithmayr's 'Aspect 1')	IMPERFECTIVE ('Aspect 2')
Absolute Past	Progressive
Subjunctive	
Relative Past	Anterior Past
Future / Conditional	Immediate Past
	Imperfective II

The following analysis acquires Jungraithmayr's approach, yet concentrates on explaining all the alternations in vowel distribution and syllable structure with reference to metrical structure exhibited by the language. Paraphrasing the author's remark on gemination often found in Aspect 2 group, I assume that imperfective verbs are highly sensitive to iambicity and surface typically on a template built on a canonical (light-heavy) iambic foot followed by a short syllable. As such, gemination is but one of many ways of optimizing the verb form to fit the desired template, e.g.:

(6) Migama
 ʔay *grind* kalp *climb* TENSE

ASPECT 2 (Imperfective): Iamb + CV

(ʔà.yàk)ká	(ká.làp)pá	(progressive)
(ʔà.yàk)ké	(ká.làp)	(immed.past)
(ʔa.yáɗ)ďě	(ká.làp)ďě	(ant.past)
(ʔa.yáɗ)ďō	(ká.làp)ďō	(imperf.II)

cf. ASPECT 1 (Perfective)

ʔá.yé	kâl.pé	(abs.past)
ʔá.yù	kâl.pú	(subjunctive)
ʔáy.ǰé	kâl.pì.ǰé	(rel.past)
ʔáy.ǰô	kâl.pí.ǰô	(future)

All the alternations exhibited by the verbs above will be analyzed in what follows. For now, suffices to say that the imperfective template is fully regular, while the last syllable marking the type of the verb in both Aspect 1 and 2 is always kept short.

The occurrence of light syllables in ultimate position might be considered opaque in iambic languages, in which the rightmost syllable in the foot is considered prominent and typically marked by longer duration. On the other hand, iambic systems often treat such syllables as extrametrical, i.e. not parsed by a higher prosodic structure: a foot. The notion of syllable extrametricality is well-established cross-linguistically and accounts usually for alternations in stress-placement, as in Latin: a trochaic (i.e. left-headed) language in which stress falls on the head of the last trochee, built either of a heavy syllable ($\sigma_{\mu\mu}$) or two light syllables ($\sigma_{\mu}\sigma_{\mu}$). In polysyllabic words, the ultima is not taken into account in stress-placement, i.e. not parsed by the foot, and therefore considered extrametrical. As a result, stress may fall on the penult, antepenult, or – in monosyllabic words – on the last syllable. Extrametrical syllables are marked by brackets <CV>, e.g.:

(7) Latin

Antepenult	'a.ni<mus>	<i>anger</i>
Penult	a.'cer<vus>	<i>heap</i>
Ultima	'lux	<i>light</i>

Returning to Migama, if we assume that the final syllable is not parsed by the metrical structure, than a substantial number of the verbs appear to be neatly parsed by iambic feet. In the imperfective, for instance, by far the most frequent word structure is CV.CVC.CV,

which – not counting the ultimate syllable – is based on a light-heavy, canonical iambic foot:

(8) Migama: iambic parsing in imperfective¹

(gà.sàk) <ká>	<i>find</i>	(kó.tóm) <má>	<i>wrap</i>
(ba.kam) <má>	<i>hold</i>	(cè.pèl) <lá>	<i>lift</i>

On the other hand, roughly one in ten perfective verbs comprises a sequence of three light syllables, which is hardly tolerated in iambic systems:

(9) Migama: CV.CV.CV in perfective

ʔá.pì.ré	<i>choose</i>	dá.ḃì.ré	<i>rest</i>
wà.tì.yé	<i>warm up</i>	gù.zì.lé	<i>inflate</i>

Observe however, that all of these idiosyncratic verbs occur in phonologically-restricted environment, penult being formed by an obstruent in the onset and a high vowel standing for the nucleus. Moreover, their counterparts in the imperfective avoid such a sequence by creating iambic feet followed by a stray syllable:

(10) Migama

	Perfective	Imperfective	
a.	ʔá.pì.ré	(ʔá.pár)rá	<i>choose</i>
b.	dá.ḃì.ré	(dá.ḃár)rá	<i>rest</i>
c.	wà.tì.yé	(wà.tày)yá	<i>warm up</i>
d.	gù.zì.lé	(gò.zòl)lá	<i>inflate</i>

Again, assuming that the last syllable is extrametrical, gemination in the imperfective aims at optimizing the iambic shape. Ob-

¹ If not stated otherwise, imperfective verbs are cited in progressive tense and describe the general pattern in Aspect 2 verbs. The same holds for the perfective aspect, which occurs typically in absolute past.

serve also, that the vowels share the same quality when within iambic foot, as exhibited by imperfective verbs above (and further lower in (10d): *gù.zì.lé* – (*gò.zòl*)*lá* 'inflate'). The last vowel, on the other hand, is provided by the suffix indicating the tense of the verb: perfective: *-Ce*, imperfective: *-Ga*, anterior past: *-de/-Vdde*, subjunctive: *-Cu*, etc.

Before I present a detailed analysis of vowel harmony, it is practical to scrutinize Migama metrical system in verbs.

3. Metrical Analysis of the Verbal System

3.1 Imperfective

Canonical imperfective verbs in Migama are formed on the basis of at least three syllables. The last consonant is geminated and serves as the onset for final short *-a*:

(11) Imperfective: <i>-Ga</i> , at least 3 σ	Perfective
$\check{\sigma}\check{\sigma}$ <i>gà.sàk.ká</i> <i>find</i>	<i>gàs.sé</i>
$\check{\sigma}\check{\sigma}$ <i>sàà.dāy.yá</i> <i>winnow</i>	<i>sáá.dî.yé</i>
$\check{\sigma}\check{\sigma}\check{\sigma}$ <i>gò.nyòl.gòw.wá</i> <i>become an idiot</i>	<i>gò.n^yòl.gù.wé</i>

$\check{\sigma}\check{\sigma}$ 7 verbs out of 1241 in the Seymour *et al.* (1983) corpus
 $\check{\sigma}\check{\sigma}\check{\sigma}$ represented by only two verbs

As observed by Frajzyngier, the choice of the geminated consonant “depends solely on the underlying form of the verb, and more specifically on its segmental structure. (...) Stems that have two consonants add the suffix *-kk-* to the root”:

(12)	Migama	
ka.ḃ-	ká.ḃák.ká	<i>pull in stomach</i>
be.s-	bé.sék.ká	<i>save</i>

If the stem consists of more than two consonants, the last one is geminated:

(13)	Migama		
	kal.p-	ká.láp.pá	<i>climb</i>
	hoo.kV.l-	hòò.kòl.lá	<i>scream</i>
	?a.sV.d-	?à.sàd.dá	<i>suck</i>
	dõp.pV.n ^y -	dõp.pòn.n ^y á	<i>stew</i>

Similar alternations characterize other forms in imperfective, including anterior past tense, in which the suffix *-de* is “added to triconsonantal verbs [and] the last consonant of the verb precedes the consonant of the suffix, thus satisfying the template”. For smaller stems, the geminated form *-Vdde* is attached:

(14)	Migama		
a.	dá.kV.l-	dǎ.kàl.dé	<i>have an erection</i>
	mi.gVs-	mí.gís.dé	<i>get used to</i>
b.	be.s-	bé.sèd.dé	<i>save</i>
		*bes.dé,	
		*be.se.dé	
	wa.l-	wá.láđ.dé	<i>pass the night</i>
		*wal.dé,	
		*wa.la.dé	

From the surface-oriented perspective, we may observe that in (14a), the added anterior past suffix *-de* forms a canonical iambic foot and a stray syllable. Verbs in (14b) surface on a basis of the same template, shunning the forms which are either disyllabic (**bes.dé*, **wal.dé*) or contain a sequence of three light syllables (**be.se.dé*, **wa.la.dé*).

To paraphrase these observations, indeed all the verbs in (11-14) surface on the condition to contain at least three syllables parsed iambically. For shorter stems, epenthetic /k/ is inserted by default to expand the prosodic word and fulfill the size requirement. Gemination of the last consonant is also conditioned metrically and adds

weight to the penult that heads the iambic foot. Ultimate short syllable is extrametrical and does not take part in the process:

(15) Migama

a. Progressive

ka.6-	(ká.ḡák)<ká>	<i>pull in</i>	*ka.ḡa, *(kaḡ)ḡa
		<i>stomach</i>	
be.s-	(bé.sék)<ká>	<i>save</i>	*be.sa, *(bes)sa
kal.p-	(ká.láp)<pá>	<i>climb</i>	*ka.la.pa
hoo.kV.l-	(hòò)(kòl)<lá>	<i>scream</i>	*(hoo)ko.la
d'op.pV.ny-	(dòp)(pòn)<nyá>	<i>stew</i>	*(dop)po.nya
da.ḡV.r-	(dá.ḡár)<rá>	<i>rest</i>	*da.ḡa.ra
d ^y al.kV.y-	(dyàl.kày)<yá>	<i>woo</i>	*(d ^y al)ka.ya

b. Anterior past

be.s-	(bé.sèd)<dé>	<i>save</i>	*bes.dé, *be.se.dé
wa.l-	(wá.lád)<dé>	<i>pass</i>	*wal.dé, *wa.la.dé
		<i>the night</i>	
ḡa.kV.l-	(ḡá.kàl)<dé>	<i>have an erection</i>	
kal.p-	(ká.làp)<dé>	<i>climb</i>	

Both /k/-insertion and prosodic size requirements are also found in Hausa morphology. As already mentioned, Hausa plurals surface on the condition to have at least two iambic feet. In the *-u.aa* plural type, the last consonant from the stem is inserted to brake the hiatus. If the singular stem is too small, as in *raa.fii* 'stream', epenthetic /k/ is inserted by default (*ráá.fú.kàà*), and, if necessary, part of the suffix is further reduplicated to meet the bi-iambic constraint: *ḡà.rii* 'city', pl. (*ḡá.ríú*)(*ru.kàà*). Close synchronic and diachronic analysis of this plural type can be found in Kurzyca (2009).

(16) Hausa

Singular Plural = 2 iambs

ḡàà.tá.ríí (ḡáá)(tú.ràà) *axe* *(ḡaa)ta(ru.kaa)

ràà.fíí	(ráá)(fú.kàà)	<i>stream</i>	*(ru.faa)
gà.ríí	(gá.rúú)(rú.kàà)	<i>city</i>	*(gu.raa), *ga(ru.kaa)

As for the trisyllabic size constraint in Migama, the same operates in the construction of Hausa denominal verbs. The so-called Hausa verbalizer surfaces with roughly two types of the suffix: *-taa* or *-a(a).taa*. The shorter variant corresponds to items comprising at least two syllables, while the longer one is designed for monosyllabic stems. Further *-a.taa/-aa.taa* choice is constrained by iambic parsing (Kurzyca 2009: 27):

(17)	Hausa	Stem	Verbalizer
a.	2σ: -taa	tii.las-	tíí.làs.táá <i>perforce</i>
b.	1σ, 2 moras: -a.taa	yaa.f-	yàà.fá.tàà <i>beckon</i>
c.	1σ, 1 mora: -aa.taa	ku.s-	kù.sáá.tàà <i>approach</i>

Prosodic requirements on size are well-established in the literature. Drawing on frequency-based analyses by Zipf (1935) and Mańczak (1965, 1969), Kraska-Szlenk (2009) points to strong functional grounding of such constraints, stating that

“(...) augmentation of lexical words to a more conspicuous size makes them more salient in the discourse, which complies with their greater functional value”
[Kraska-Szlenk 2009: 274].

To be precise, there is a handful of imperfective verbs in Migama corpus – all of them referring to basic notions – which contain only two syllables. Still, all such verbs are unique in yet another way: they contain minimally one iamb, and as such are the only ones that lengthen the last vowel, ignoring syllable extrametricality. Moreover, most of such verbs have an alternative form, augmented by epenthetic geminated *-ww-* to fit the template e.g.

(18) Migama

	Disyllabic imperf. verbs		Alternative
ʔar-	(ʔá.ráá)	<i>drink</i>	(ʔá.ráw)wá
ber-	(bè.ráá)	<i>descend</i>	(bè.rèw)wá
kil-	(kè.láá)	<i>hide</i>	
wan-	(wà.náá)	<i>dream</i>	(wà.nàw)wá
yok-	(yò.káá)	<i>return</i>	
zeg-	(zé.gáá)	<i>light</i>	

In other words, while the verbs above are apparently ignoring the requirement on the minimal number of [three] syllables, all of them are clearly sensitive to iambic parsing: final syllable, which elsewhere behaves as extrametrical, is now included in iambic foot and lengthened to serve as its head.

3.2 Perfective

As already mentioned in the introduction, there is a considerable number of “ill-formed” verbs found in perfective tense, containing a sequence of up to three light syllables:

(19) Migama

Perfective: *-e*

ōōō	d ^y ál.kì.yé	<i>woo</i>
ōōō	kú.dí.sé	<i>heat up</i>
	mí.gí.sé	<i>get used to</i>
	ʔà.bì.ré	<i>deter</i>
	wà.tì.yé	<i>warm up</i>
	gù.zì.lé	<i>inflate</i>

It was observed further above that such forms occur in a restricted environment: the penult always comprises a light syllable built of an obstruent and a high vowel. Given this, I assume that Migama generally disallows obstruents in coda position and there-

fore /i/ is epenthesized to repair the ill-formed syllable (*ʔab.re, *mig.se, *guz.le).

Consider also the following alternations:

(20) Migama

<i>n^yáá.wé</i>	(Perfective)	<i>n^yà.káw.dě</i>	(Anterior Past)	<i>rain</i>
<i>zòò.né</i>	(Perfective)	<i>zò.kón.ńá</i>	(Imperfective)	<i>be caught</i>

Anterior past *n^yà.káw.dě* corresponds to the perfective *n^yáá.wé* above. As noted by Frajzyngier (2004), this would suggest that AP is actually formed on the basis of a trisyllabic stem, //n^ya.kV.we// on analogy with the pair *kal.pe* – *ka.lap.dě* 'climb' (< //ka.IV.pe//). Imperfective *zò.kón.ńá* appears with a similar idiosyncrasy. Indeed, Jungraithmayr (1983) reconstructs this class of verbs as having historically an intervocalic velar consonant *zo.kV.ne*, *n^ya.kV.we*. Apparently, the nucleus was lost in the course of the development of the system, presumably because of the emergence of iambic constraint on the word structure of Migama, which strains from building sequences of light syllables. Consequently, obstruents were weakened and lost in the coda, resulting in a heavy syllable with a long vowel (*n^yak.we > n^yaa.we). According to Frajzyngier (2004), "The rule operates in a very specific environment, the third consonant is either *m*, *w* or *ŋ*". The archaic velar consonant has prevailed in other forms, where it occupies an onset (cf. imperfective and anterior past in (21)). Similar historical process operated in Hausa (cf. Klingenheben's Law, Newman 2004, Kurzyca 2009: 54).

The question remains, however, how Migama copes with those verbs that seem to overtly violate iambic structure and surface in a sequence of three light syllables (*wa.ti.ye* 'warm up', *gu.zi.le* 'inflate', etc.). Given that /i/ is epenthetic, I assume that Migama treats such vowels as invisible to metrical structure, i.e. that they are ignored by the iambic constraint. Such a phenomenon is widely attested in languages sensitive to metrical structure, cf. Mohawk (Michelson 1989), Arabic dialects found in Iraq (Erwin 1963), Palestine (Blanc 1953, Johnson 1979), Lebanon, Syria (Behnstedt 1994, Cowell 1964, Grotzfeld 1965), and certain parts of Egypt (Woidich 1980:

207, Behnstedt & Woidich 1985), among others. Drawing on examples similar to that found in Migama, Hall (2000) states that “syllables whose nuclei are epenthetic vowels frequently fail to count as syllables in patterns such as stress alignment, minimal word requirements, and conditioning of open syllable lengthening” (Hall 2000: 1586). The author gives an example of an interaction between stress-placement and epenthesis in Lebanese Arabic. Here, stress usually falls either on a super-heavy ultima, a heavy penult, or otherwise on an antepenult:

(21) Arabic (Lebanese)

- | | | | |
|----|------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| a. | naz.'zalt | /n a z z a l - t/ | <i>I brought down</i> |
| b. | fī.'him.na | /f i h i m - n a/ | <i>he understood us</i> |
| c. | 'fī.him.na | /f i h m - n a/ | <i>our understanding</i> |

In (21c), epenthetic /i/ breaks a consonant cluster and forms a closed, heavy penultimate syllable, yet the stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable rather than on the penult (cf. 21b). Thus, the epenthetic vowel seems invisible to metrical structure. Hall (2000) concludes that “although epenthetic vowels are usually added in order to syllabify stray consonants, the syllables they form do not necessarily count as syllables for other aspects of the phonology”.

While, as mentioned before, Migama is not a stress-accent language, it clearly treats epenthetic vowels as invisible to iambic pattern. For independent evidence, consider the formation of verbal noun. Nouns are derived from verbal stems by adding *-o* or *-aw* suffix to the perfective, e.g.

(22) Migama

	Perfective	VN	
	gàr.té	gàr.tò	<i>becoming sweet</i>
	rùù.mé	rúú.mó	<i>cooking in water</i>
cf.	ʔá.zé	ʔá.záw	<i>boasting</i>
	kà.mé	ká.máw	<i>haunting mice</i>

The choice of the suffix attached depends on the quantitative make-up of the word: *-o* pairs with stems already containing a heavy syllable (*gar-*, *ruu-*), while *-aw* forms an iamb with other stems, comprised of light syllable(s). As a result, all verbal nouns contain at least one heavy syllable, which serves as the head of an iambic foot: (*gàr*) <*tô*>, (*ká.máw*). In other words, the category of deverbal noun surfaces on the condition to contain at least one iamb.

Observe however, that nouns derived from verbs with an epenthetic vowel (underlined below), attach *-o* suffix rather than the predicted *-aw*:

(23) Migama

Perfective	VN	
ʔì. <u>bì</u> .né	ʔì.bì.nò	<i>knowing</i>
ʔá. <u>cì</u> .pé	ʔá.cì.pò	<i>engraving</i>
wà. <u>tì</u> .yé	wà.tì.yò	<i>warming up</i>
kú. <u>dí</u> .sé	kú.dí.só	<i>heating up</i>

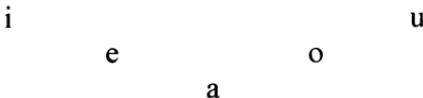
Vowel /i/ is epenthesized after obstruents to avoid marked coda (*ʔib.ne, *ʔac.pe). The reason for which idiosyncratic forms like /ʔì.bì.nò/, /wà.tì.yò/ pair with /gàr.tò/, /rúú.mól/ clearly points to the fact that epenthetic /i/ is invisible to iambic parsing and treated as if their structure was (*wat*)<*yo*>, (*ʔi.b*)<*no*>. Our assumption, that phonotactic requirements in Migama (coda condition) do not interfere with metrical structure, is borne out.

The last argument for iambicity in Migama comes from vowel harmony, analyzed in the following section along with a brief description of the language's vowel system.

3.3 Vowel Harmony

3.3.1 Background: Inventory and Distribution of Vowels

There are five basic vowels in Migama:



In verbs, full inventory of vowels is exhibited mainly in the first syllable of perfective tense. Furthermore, as claimed by Jungrathmayr (1992) and Frajzyngier (2004), initial vowels mark the verb's transitivity: “great majority of verbs with the vowel /a/ are intransitives, and verbs with /i/ or /u/ are overwhelmingly transitive. Moreover, whenever /a/ or /e/ in the first syllable is opposed to /i/, [they] indicate an intransitive verb while /i/ indicates a transitive verb” (all the examples below come from [Frajzyngier 2004:99]):

(24) Migama

tà.ti.ďé	<i>be lost</i>	tì.ti.ďé	<i>eliminate,lose</i>
wè.sì.nyé	<i>be spread</i>	wì.sì.nyé	<i>spread</i>
tàl.lì.yé	<i>said openly</i>	tìl.lì.yé	<i>say openly</i>
nân.gé	<i>spoil (intr.)</i>	nîn.gé	<i>spoil (tr.)</i>

As for the vowels vocalizing Migama verbs internally, I will argue that their quality is predictable due to metrical structure and/or morphophonology. The problem of vowel harmony marking the boundaries of iambic foot will be discussed in the following section.

3.3.2 Iambically-driven vowel harmony

Prior analyses (Jungrathmayr 1974, 1975, and Adams 1992, Wolff 1977, Seymour *et al.* 1983, Frajzyngier 2004) have suggested that whether or not Migama vowels harmonize depends strictly on the occurrence of geminates/consonant clusters in the word, e.g. *ḡácáppá* ‘engrave’, cf. *ḡácìpé*. On the other hand, it was shown above that gemination in Migama is driven by iambic requirement. Indeed, the following analysis argues that in all imperfective verbs, based on a prosodic template, it is the iambic foot that serves as a domain for vowel harmony. Consider the following examples:

(25) Migama

	Perfective	Imperfective	
a.	bé.sé	(bé.sék)ká	<i>save</i>
	bà.yé	(bà.yàk)ká	<i>fear</i>
	ʔá.ci.pé	(ʔá.cáp)pá	<i>engrave</i>
b.	kú.dí.sé	(kó.dós)sá	<i>heat up</i>
	gù.zì.lé	(gò.zòl)lá	<i>inflate</i>
	ʔì.bì.né	(ʔè.bèn)ná	<i>know</i>

Vowels standing within iambic foot in imperfective verbs in (25) share the same quality. In (25b), high vowels additionally lower to mid. Describing the category of imperfective, Wolff (1977: 171) divides the process into two rules, apophony & vowel-copy, and states that “apophony affects all high vowels in the first syllable of the base thus changing *i* > *e* and *u* > *o*. Vowel copy concerns the second syllable of all bisyllabic bases with the result that only three vocalization patterns may occur: *-a-a*, *-e-e*, *-o-o*.” The rules operate in the context of consonant reduplication which “affects the final radical of the base”. Frajzyngier (2004: 104) shares Wolff’s observation, stating that “if the epenthetic vowel is followed by a cluster of consonants, it is a copy of the preceding (first) vowel”. At the same time, the author generalizes that the rule has “no exceptions among perfective and verbal noun forms of [tri- and quadrisyllabic] verbs, where the second vowel is epenthetic and followed by the cluster of consonants”. In other words, vowel harmony is said to affect iam-bically parsed Aspect 1 and 2 verbs, plus the category of verbal nouns.

(26) Migama

a. Absolute Past (Aspect 1)	b. Progressive (Aspect 2)		
(bè.nêy)yé	<i>talk, say</i>	(cè.pèl)lá	<i>lift</i>
(ʔò.zòb)bé	<i>heat up</i>	(ʔà.sàd)dá	<i>suck</i>
(kò.tòp)pé	<i>thrust</i>	(gò.zòl)lá	<i>inflate</i>
(t ^y à.lâl)lé	<i>fail</i>	(wà.tày)yá	<i>warm up</i>

We need to bear in mind however, that Frajzyngier's corpus of 1,241 verbs published in Seymour *et al.* (1983), cites all Aspect 1 and 2 items only in absolute past and progressive tense respectively. All the observations based on these forms implicitly generalize that other tenses behave in the same way. However, perfective verbs in both relative past and future tense do not harmonize vowels in the said context (27a), and ignore the rule of leveling high vowels to mid (27b):

(27) Migama

	Perfective:	Relative Past	Future	
a.	ʔapil-	(ʔà.píl)dě	(ʔà.píl)dō	<i>wash</i>
	kadir-	(kà.dír)dě	(kà.dír)dō	<i>contourner</i>
b.	pigil-	(pì.gîl)dě	(pì.gîl)dō	<i>make sth fall over</i>
	misil-	(mì.sîl)dě	(mì.sîl)dō	<i>lose</i>

Interestingly, verbs in relative past and future tense do not only disregard vowel harmony in all its aspects, but also appear to be free of light-heavy, canonical iambic template that typically shapes imperfective forms with the same suffix, as in (28a) below. Moreover, vowel harmony serves as a contrastive factor between these forms – examples of minimal pairs are given in (28b).

(28) Migama

	ASPECT 1	ASPECT 2	
a.	Future	Imperfective II	
kalp-	(kál)pí.dō	(ká.làp)dō	<i>climb</i>
pilk-	(ʔáy)dō	(ʔày.ád)dō	<i>grind</i>
b.	Relative Past	Anterior Past	
pigil-	(pì.gîl)dě	(pè.gêl)dě	<i>make sth fall over</i>
ʔapil-	(ʔà.píl)dě	(ʔà.pâl)dě	<i>wash</i>

Future and imperfective II tense verbs (28a) share the same suffix, yet they differ from each other inasmuch as the former simply adds the suffix to the stem, while the shape of the latter is optimized to fit the light-heavy template. Similarly, in (28b) anterior and relative past verbs are parallel in shape, tonal melody and suffix, yet may be differentiated according to the distribution of vowels: anterior past verbs pair with other Aspect 1 forms in vowel harmony.

Moreover, if it is metrical theory that we apply to Frajzyngier's claim that vowel lowering – inherent element of the harmony – operates also in perfective/absolute past, we should also verify the rule with respect to monosyllabic iambs. Examples below prove that in Aspect 1, iambic feet built over one heavy syllable are free of the lowering (29a)². One exception here is a closed set of reduplicated verbs, where a heavy syllable, i.e. an iambic foot, stands for a duple (29b)³.

(29) Migama

a. Perfective (Absolute Past)

icc-	(ʔíc)cé	<i>take</i>
surd-	(sùr)dé	<i>shave</i>
diyy-	(dîy)yé	<i>look for sth</i>
pilk-	(pìl)ké	<i>pay</i>

² Partial reason for which monosyllabic iambs – occurring typically in word-initial position – do not lower high vowels may be that the first syllable in Migama verbs usually serves a grammatical function. According to Frajzyngier (2004: 99), "whenever /a/ or /e/ in the first syllable is opposed to /i/ (...) /a/ and /e/ indicate an intransitive verb while /i/ indicates a transitive verb". Frajzyngier adds that he has "no information regarding the productivity of the low vowel-high vowel contrast in Migama", pointing to verbs which ignore the general pattern, e.g. intransitive *mi.gi.se* 'get used'. Regular leveling of vowels in Aspect 2 surely further blurred the division.

³ For alternative, non-prosodic analysis of this category, see Frajzyngier (2004: 106). According to the author, there is no particular semantic/syntactic properties associated with reduplication.

b. RED $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$ - Perfective (Absolute Past)

kVs-	(kós)ki.sé	<i>court sb</i>
cVp-	(cep)ci.pé	<i>crush</i>
gVdVr-	(gè.dêr)di.ré	<i>vibrate</i>

On the other hand, Aspect 2 verbs are fully regular in surfacing on iambic template with the vowels harmonized, and their inventory restricted to /a/, /o/ and /e/. Basing on this observation, Jungraithmayr and Adams (1992) postulate that all verbs in imperfective aspect, apart from adding a particular suffix and a tone melody, vocalize internally with the so-called “archiphoneme A”, as in *ʔa.sì.dê* – (*à.sÀd*)*dá*. When the internal A combines with high vowel in the first syllable, they mutually assimilate with each other: “dans le cas ou la premiere voyelle est un -u-, la combinaison avec l'archiphonème A donne un -o- en position V1 et V2, et le -i- donne analogiquement un -e-” (Jungraithmayr and Adams 1992: 49).

Regular templates found in Aspect 2 verbs seem to confirm the authors' remark which, however, does not account for vowel harmony found in all relative past and subjunctive verbs or verbal nouns that share the template with the imperfective, i.e. comprise at least one canonical, light-heavy iamb and a stray syllable, or in reduplicated forms (cf. 26a, 29b, and below):

(30) Migama

Verbal Noun	Absolute Past	Subjunctive	
(tà.wâd)dô	(tà.wâd)dé	(tà.wâd)dû	<i>hunt</i>
(tè.pêl)pi.lò	(tè.pêl)pi.lé	(tè.pêl)pi.lú	<i>ride</i>
(pà.rây)yò	(pà.rây)yé	(pà.rây)yù	<i>be sick</i>
(dʻè.dêŋ)ki.lò	(dʻè.dêŋ)ki.lé	(dʻè.dên)ki.lú	<i>be unstable</i>

Internal vocalization may be traced in the category of verbal nouns. Traditionally, VN is claimed to be formed by adding one of the suffixes, *-aw/-o* depending on the quantitative make-up of the

stem. On the other hand, the category may be equally claimed to have just one underlying form, // -a-o //, which surfaces as a suffix -aw in words lacking an iambic foot, and otherwise – as internal A and -o attached at the end of the stem. Both strategies aim at building a word with at least one iamb:

(31)	a.	luw-	luw-a-o → lú.wáw	<i>sow</i>
		pan-	pan-a-o → pá.náw	<i>build</i>
	b.	parVyy-	par-a-yy-o → pà.rây.yò	<i>be sick</i>
		tawVdf-	taw-a-df-o → tà.wâf.dō	<i>hunt</i>

This hypothesis leaves us with a question of what happens with internal A when a verbal noun is formed on the basis of a stem with a heavy syllable, as in *zúb.bó* ‘wrap’, *kìì.lò* ‘hide’, or with an invisible epenthetic vowel, as in *ʔi.pì.rò*, ‘untie’, *ci.pì.lò* ‘lift’. Again, partial explanation comes from the fact that the nucleus of initial syllables traditionally played a grammatical role, marking (in)transitivity.

In any case, we are left with a strong generalization that vowel harmony occurs within iambic foot in all Aspect 2 verbs, which are always built on a basis of an iambic template and contain at least three syllables. Furthermore, all the rest of verbs (and verbal nouns), comprising at least three syllables with a canonical light-heavy iamb exhibit vowel harmony parallel to Aspect 2 forms. On the other hand, while vowel-lowering is displayed by initial heavy syllables of reduplicated verbs (29b), all the other, non-derived forms strain from leveling vowels in this position, presumably because of the grammatical functions they (used to) play. The only forms which do not comply with the above generalization – relative past and future tense verbs – preserve the original quality of vowels (and insensitivity to iambic parsing) as the only contrastive element in Migama verbal paradigm (cf. 28).

4. Conclusion

Through the analysis of two major verbal categories – perfective and imperfective – I provided evidence that Migama exhibits sensitivity towards iambic structure, utilizes universally attested strategies of maximizing rhythmic asymmetries and conditions the

size of a prosodic word by iambically defined constraints. Further arguments for iambicity in Migama are provided by vowel harmony operating within the foot boundaries. Furthermore, the alleged violations to iambic parsing (cf. vowel epenthesis creating a sequence of light syllables) were explained and proved not to harm iambic structure. As such, Migama serves as yet another evidence for iambicity established in Chadic, while contributing to the discussion on the multiplicity of ways metrical structure may be used cross-linguistically.

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The Genesis of the Contemporary Ethiopian Legal System

Resumé

Jusqu'au XVI^{ème} siècle la législation dans l'Empire éthiopien était principalement fondée sur les règles du droit canonique, les commandements bibliques, et des éléments du droit coutumier. Il a fallu attendre l'apparition du premier écrit code juridique pour voir l'intégration du droit romain et byzantin dans la législation éthiopienne.

La codification du droit en Ethiopie, qui a eu lieu dans les années 1924-1933 et 1950-1960, a exigé des codificateurs l'application des législations des pays du monde occidental. Pour la création du code criminel et du code civil, on a utilisé les codes des pays dont la législation s'appuyait sur le droit romano-germanique, aussi bien que ceux des pays dont la législation reposait sur le droit anglo-saxon.

Le texte ci-dessous tente de répondre à la question: à quelle famille juridique appartient la législation éthiopienne contemporaine?

Not much is known about the legal codes that existed in the Ethiopian Empire before the 16th century. It is assumed that Ethiopian civil and criminal law developed from a mixture of the customary laws of local ethnic groups, biblical commandments and religious norms that were found in the Old Testament. The regulations of canon law were among the most important sources of law of that time. Traces of this legal system can be found in Ethiopian texts from the 13th and 14th centuries¹. In minor litigations, documents were created by a local governor or prince, whereas in instances of serious offend-

¹ Aberra Jembere, 2007, "Law and judiciary" in: S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol.3, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, p. 507.

es that threatened the stability of the state (e.g. treason or conspiracy against the monarch), the emperor himself was the lawmaker².

The first attempts to codify Ethiopian law were made by Emperor Zera Yaikob (1434-1468). He seized power as a mature man with a precise idea of how to rule Ethiopia. The Emperor wished to centralize power to the highest degree and extend the borders of the empire³. Despite major resistance from Ethiopian aristocracy and part of the clergy, the Emperor was able to implement most of his concepts. One of these was the codification of law. Zera Yaikob wanted his empire to be governed by written criminal and civil law rather than by amorphous customary laws and oral traditions. Consequently, he ordered scholars of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church to prepare authoritative written code of laws. Since the Solomonic dynasty restoration the Ethiopian Orthodox Church held immense economic power and great influence on public administration and the clergy strongly supported the Emperor's conception of centralized power, because it legally confirmed the power of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church⁴. The draft was submitted around 1450. It had sixty-two articles, mainly on criminal matters, and was called *Mats'hafa Fewes Manfassāwī*, which can be translated as "The Book of Spiritual Remedy". Religious precepts taken from canon law of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church formed the basis of that code and hence, the rules were more of a spiritual than a secular nature⁵. Since the law was not very comprehensive, it was not able to resolve many legal problems that arose at that period. It seems that the code did not come into

² Aberra Jembere, 2007, "Traditional legal institutions" in: S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol.3, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, p. 513-515; A. Pankhurst, Getachew Assefa (eds.), *Grass-roots Justice in Ethiopia. The Contribution of Customary Dispute Resolution*, Addis Ababa: Centre Français d'Études Éthiopiennes.

³ A. Bartnicki, J. Mantel-Niećko, 1978, *Geschichte Äthiopiens. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart in 2 Teilen*, Berlin: Akademie, 57f.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 74.

⁵ It is believed that the sources of that code were: the Old Testament, the "Didascalia Apostolorum", the "Epistle of Peter to Clement", the "Synodos" and the "Canon of Hippolytus (Abulidus)". Aberra Jembere, 1998, *Legal History of Ethiopia, 1434-1974*, Rotterdam: Erasmus.

general use and was abandoned after the Emperor's death.

Zera Yaikob was unsatisfied with the *Mats'hafa Fewes Manfassāwī*, because it did not deal with the prevalent legal issues. He believed that another code was needed. According to Ethiopian oral tradition, a new code was introduced in the 15th century by an Egyptian named Petros Abda Sayd at the request of Zera Yaikob.

“[...] One day a certain Petros Abda Sayd, an Egyptian by origin, found the Emperor in a sad mood. When Petros asked the Emperor what the cause of his sadness was, the latter replied that he was displeased that the justice in his empire was still administered on the basis of the Old Testament although he and his people lived in the era of New Testament. Then Petros informed the Emperor that there was a book of laws which had been compiled by the 318 Fathers of the Council of Nicaea, and was then promulgated as law by the Emperor Constantine. The book [...] has been translated into Arabic and could be found in Alexandria; why not send somebody and fetch a copy of it? Zar'a Ya'qob responded: “You know the language of this country and that country. Go and bring me the book”, and gave Petros 30 weqets [= 28 grams] of gold. Petros brought the book and subsequently translated it into Ge'ez”⁶.

According to Ethiopian scholars, the Emperor indeed received a copy of this book and ordered it to be translated into the Giiz language.⁷ The new code of the Ethiopian Empire was called *Fetha Negest* –“The Law of the Kings”⁸. It is very doubtful that it was Zera Yaikob who enforced the code as law. There is no information about the use of *Fetha Negest* in his chronicle. Furthermore, philological analysis has proven that the code could not have been translated be-

⁶ P. L. Strauss (ed.), 1968, *The Fetha Nagast. The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa: Faculty of Law, Haile Sellassie I University, p. XVII.

⁷ Aberra Jembere, 1998, *op. cit.*, 184f.

⁸ The Amharic word *fythe* literally means “justice”. Two other words are used to denote “law” in Amharic: *hygg* and *syrat*. Both have Ge'ez origins and both can be translated into English as “law,” but are used differently. *Hygg* refers to law in its general sense, while *syrat* refers strictly to legal procedures and *fythe* relates more directly to matters of judgment.

fore the 16th century⁹. The earliest information about the implementation of this code can be traced in the chronicles of the following emperors: Serts'e Dingil (1563-1597), Susnīyos (1607-1632), Īyasu I (1682-1706), Īyasu II (1730-1755), Tēwodros (1855-1868), and Mīnīlik II (1889-1913).

While there are still some doubts about who exactly introduced the code to Ethiopia, it is certain that the code was compiled by a Coptic scholar named Abu l-Fada'il ibn al-Assal as-Saff,¹⁰ who was a legal adviser to Ciril III ibn Laqlaq (1235-1243), the seventy-fifth patriarch of Alexandria. At some point after it was brought to Ethiopia, the code was translated into Giiz and then into Amharic by an anonymous translator¹¹. The work left something to be desired – the language of the book was poor, and provisions did not fully align with Ethiopian culture – but it was the first successful attempt to introduce an official set of laws that was supposed to be mandatory for all inhabitants of the Ethiopian Empire. The code replaced customary laws only in the domains concerning criminal and civil issues, and it rather served as a transitional law. Nevertheless, the code contributed a number of civil and criminal law principles taken up in the modern codes of Ethiopia.

The modern period of Ethiopian legal development started in 1855 with public laws being enacted by not only the Emperor himself, but with the help of Ethiopian and (later) foreign scholars and jurists¹². The second period of Ethiopian legal history, in the field of legal enactments, is very different from the first period, in the sense that the legislative concept is much closer to what European legal historians are accustomed to.¹³ Articles written at that time were not

⁹ Paulos Tzadua (ed.), 2005, “Fətha nāgäst” in: S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, p. 534.

¹⁰ A number of legal and theological works in Egypt are attributed to him. See: P. H. Sand, 1980, “Roman Origins of Ethiopian ‘Law of the Kings/ Fetha Nagast’”, *Journal of Ethiopian Law*, vol. 11, p.74.

¹¹ P. L. Strauss (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. XVII.

¹² Aberra Jembere, 2007, *op. cit.*

¹³ J. Vanderlinden, 1966, “An Introduction to the Sources of Ethiopian Law from the 13th to the 20th Century”, *Journal of Ethiopian Law*, vol. III, 1, p. 232.

only derived from customary and canon law, but also incorporated several Western legal concepts (e.g. constitutional and international laws).

When Emperor Tēwodros II gained power in Ethiopia in 1855, the empire was a conflict-ridden and divided set of provinces ruled by chiefs “warring with each other for positions or booty or both”¹⁴. The Emperor’s major goal was to reunite and modernize the empire. His idea of centralization mainly meant stopping the fractional wars among the chiefs and bringing all provinces under his control. Although he was barely successful on that field (subjugation of one province led to an uprising in another that had been previously subjugated), the Emperor still managed to introduce some rudiments of centralization. He reorganized the administrative system, introduced a new manner of paying taxes, abolished the slave trade, introduced a territorial police force, outlawed polygamy and tried to deprive the landlords of judicial privileges by introducing several new laws and proclamations¹⁵.

The projects started by Tēwodros II were completed and continued first by Yohannis IV and then by Mīnīlik II. The latter was responsible for the introduction of postal and telegraph systems, dividing the country into logical provinces and the establishment of modern education. During his reign, Mīnīlik II introduced many laws and proclamations concerning the succession, the launching of a new currency, abolishing slavery and the slave trade, as well as passing a land tenure act. Additionally, major progress in the Ethiopian law-making process was made during his reign. It began in 1907 when

¹⁴ H. Scholler, 1976, “Ethiopian Constitutional Development”, in: *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Recht der Gegenwart*, vol. 25, p. 526.

¹⁵ A. Barnicki, J. Mantel-Niećko, *op. cit.*, 251f; R. Pankhurst (ed.), 1967, *The Ethiopian Royal Chronicles*, Addis Ababa: Oxford University Press, p. 144-158; H. Scholler, *op. cit.*, p. 526. See also: Gerima Terefe, 1962, *Abba Tatek Kassa, Yaqurraw Anbässa*, [Abba Tatek Kassa, the Lion of Quara], Addis Ababa: Berhanenna Selam; Taddese Beyene, R. Pankhurst, Shiferaw Bekele (eds.), 1990, *Kasa and Kasa. Papers on the Lives, Times and Images of Tēwodros II and Yohannes IV (1855-1889)*, Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University.

the Emperor appointed a Cabinet of Ministers¹⁶. Nine ministries were established: of the interior, commerce and foreign affairs, finance, agriculture and industry, public works, war, pen, palace, and justice. It is significant that in the regulations issued by the Emperor – which defined the powers and duties of the Minister of Justice – it was provided that *Fetha Negest* should be applied as law in every judgment¹⁷. Finally, it seems that some sort of subsidiary legislation had begun to appear in Ethiopia. Such subsidiary legislation was prepared by foreign experts in charge of various divisions of the newly appointed ministries, e.g. Mr. Guillet “who kept the population informed of the postal regulations”¹⁸.

The third period of Ethiopian legal history starts with the appointing of *ras* Teferī Mekwonnin as Regent of the Ethiopian Empire. It has been estimated that approximately one hundred proclamations were issued during the period beginning with his regency and ending with the Italian invasion¹⁹. The legislation became more and more abundant, especially from 1920 onwards, but the qualitative progress made in terms of legislation is the most significant aspect of this period. Nearly all aspects of Ethiopian daily life were included in the proclamations, as well as issues concerning commercial matters (on companies, bankruptcy, registering commerce, brokers, etc.)²⁰. Hayle Sillase’s idea to codify Ethiopian law would have remained incomplete, if he had not gone on to create a legal document of paramount importance for the legal development of the country – the first written constitution of the Ethiopian Empire²¹. Heinrich Scholler

¹⁶ This appointment was the first of Menelik’s moves towards organizing his empire in European way. See: S. Ege, 1988, “The first Ethiopian cabinet: background and significance of the 1907 reform” in: Taddese Beyene (ed.), *Proceedings of the Eight International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, vol. 1, Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Frankfurt am Main: Frobenius Institut, Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität, p. 351-360.

¹⁷ P.L. Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. XXVII.

¹⁸ J. Vanderlinden, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 235; H. Scholler, p. 505.

²⁰ J. Vanderlinden, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

²¹ Another legal document of major importance that was created in those times was the Penal Code of Ethiopia of 1931.

writes that: “there was no sign of any popular pressure for such a document, and by many of the more traditionally minded figures, especially in the nobility, it was opposed rather than supported”²². Yet the Emperor ordered his ministers to prepare a suitable draft. The constitution was largely prepared by *bejjirond* Tekle-Hawaryat, the foreign-educated Minister of Finance. The draft was then submitted to the major noblemen of the country and was promulgated only after they had approved it²³. The constitution was a transitional law that had to accommodate tradition while simultaneously implementing new political ideas. As Aberra Jembere put it: “this legal instrument marked the first step towards the use of formal law and legal science to develop the Ethiopian governmental structure and tions”²⁴. The Constitution of 1930 is particularly interesting, because it defines the differences between various enactments of legislative power. In the document, three categories of legislative enactments were created: statutes, decrees, and orders.

Over the next thirty years, Ethiopian lawyers with the help of their European colleagues managed to prepare and publish several civil and criminal codes²⁵. In 1952, a Codification Commission was formed to prepare modern codes for Ethiopia. The commission was organized into a general body and a working group, which were placed under the Chairmanship of the Minister of Justice. The commission was comprised of twenty nine members of different nationalities and occupations. There were twelve comparative legal experts, jurists and lawyers from France, Switzerland, Great Britain, the United States of America, Greece, Armenia, India, Russia, Israel and Poland²⁶. All foreign advisors were recruited by the Emperor in order

²² H. Scholler, *op. cit.*, p. 528.

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ S. Uhlig, *op. cit.*, p. 507.

²⁵ The Penal Code of 1957, the Civil Code of 1960, the Commercial Code and Maritime Code of 1960, the Criminal Procedure Code of 1961 and the Civil Procedure Code of 1965. Also between 1964 and 1976, a Consolidated Laws of Ethiopia in five volumes were published.

²⁶ Namely these were: René David, Jean Graven and his son Philippe, J. Escarra, A. Jauffret, Judge Roberts, Witold Grobowski, Mr. Vorghese, Olin

to create proper drafts of the codes for a modern country, in line with the vision the Emperor had concerning Ethiopia²⁷. Although these documents were strongly influenced by Western legal systems, there is no doubt that the authors did not fully abandon the original Ethiopian legal tradition. For example, there are over sixty articles in the Criminal Code that refer directly to *Fetha Negest*, while in the preface to the Civil Code of 1960 one can read:

“In preparing the Civil Code, the Codification Commission [...] has constantly bore in mind the special requirements of Our Empire and of Our beloved subjects and has been inspired in its labors by the genius of Ethiopian legal traditions and institutions as revealed by the ancient and venerable >Fythe Neguest<”²⁸.

Ethiopian law among the legal families of the world

The laws of the world can be divided into two legal families: Common law and Civil law (also known as Romano-Germanic or Romanist-German)²⁹. These two legal families are distinguished on the basis of two criteria. The first is ideology – states similar with respect to religion, philosophy, economy and social structure form one legal family. The second criterion is legal technique. This means that states having common or similar rules of normative acts by legislators also form a legal family³⁰.

Common law, in contrast to Romano-Germanic law, is derived itself from local customary law. Courts take part in creating law, which signifies that their role is not limited to simply adhering to the rules constructed by legislators. This means that a court giving its

B. Scott, Mr. Kvostoff, Mr. Babian, I. Menezes, Nathan Marein, Mr. Perdikiis. See: Aberra Jambere, 1998, *op. cit.*, 195f.

²⁷ For more about foreigners in Haile Sellassie’s government see: S. Clapham, 1970, *Haile-Selassie’s Government*, London: Longman, p. 103-107.

²⁸ “Civil Code of the Empire of Ethiopia”, *Negarit Gazeta*, 1960, Vff.

²⁹ There are also a loosely attached groups of laws generally called “other law systems” consisting of Jewish law, Hindu law, law of the Far East and the youngest group of African and Malagasy law. See: Aberra Jembere, 1998, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

³⁰ Aberra Jembere, *ibidem*. Also: H. P. Glenn, 2010, *Legal Traditions of the World. Sustainable Diversity in Law*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

opinion in a case creates a precedent to which other courts will refer while judging a similar case. Therefore, the main responsibility of a court is to deliver a verdict in a particular case, and not to create universally binding norms. The created law can only be changed by a court that had previously formed it or by a court of a higher level³¹.

Civil law is a continuation of traditional Roman law. It is based on rules and principles established by state parliaments or legislators. Codes, especially the codified criminal and civil codes, are considered the highest forms of legislation. In countries that are part of the Civil law legal family, courts play a much smaller social role than in countries that are part of the Common law legal family. Courts are appointed to apply law and not in order to create it; therefore, verdicts are not treated as the basis of a new law. Additionally, in the case of Civil law, there is a strictly defined hierarchy of legal acts, with the constitution treated as the fundamental legal act³².

Comparative law experts have also distinguished another group – the African legal family. It is disputable to talk about one specific “African law”. Rather, the African legal system consists of a collection of independent African laws that have one common source – custom. Despite various differences, one can try to find common denominators such as: the persistence of a law, which refers both to legal acts (e.g. no records concerning the sale of land, because in African cultures land is rather inherited than sold) and to institutions (prescription, usucapion), putting the well-being of the group above the well-being of an individual, the community (rural, ethnic, caste) treated as a basic legal unit, and the like³³.

Discussing the genesis of the contemporary Ethiopian legal

³¹ H. P. Glenn, *op. cit.*, p. 140, 157 and 238; H. P. Glenn, 2005, *On Common Laws*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

³² H. P. Glenn, 2010, *op. cit.*, p. 133-138; R. David, J.E.C. Brierley, 1978, *Major Legal Systems in the World Today. An introduction to the comparative study of law*, New York: The Free Press, 21f.

³³ René David in 1960s has also distinguished another group of laws – the Socialist family, where legislation was based on Marxist ideology. It seems that nowadays there is no reasonable cause to make such a distinction. See: Aberra Jembere, 1998, *op. cit.*, p. 9; K. Zweigert, H. Kötz, 1992, *An Introduction to Comparative Law*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 65.

system, it is necessary to pose the question concerning the place of Ethiopian law among the legal families of the world. It is very difficult to give a satisfactory response, as modern Ethiopian law has its own, specific features. On the one hand, the source of Ethiopian law comes from custom and so-called *casus*; however, on the other, a successful codification of laws was performed in the 16th century, while courts, similarly as in the case of the Civil law family, are restricted to the application of law and do not participate in its creation. It should also be mentioned that for centuries a major body of law in Ethiopia consisted of the customary laws of different ethnic groups³⁴. Due to the large ethnic diversity of Ethiopia, customary laws were different in form and substance within each ethnic group and the laws were applied only within a given area. Customary laws did not have uniform application all over the country, and they were created and accepted only at the community level. Their common character was rooted in the participation and consensus of the community and, therefore, they derived their legitimacy from these factors.

René David believed that the Romano-Germanic legal family included countries whose law was based on Roman law. Another feature of this family pointed out by R. David is that the first created codes were those that aimed at regulating affairs between individual citizens. Other branches of law developed later. Outside Europe, Romano-Germanic law has spread either as a by-product of colonisation or through voluntary adaptation. In the case of Ethiopia, the Western legal regime was incorporated. The process started around the 16th century with the introduction of the *Fetha Negest*, whose sources were mainly based on Roman-Byzantine and Syro-Roman law.

The influence of Civil law is also noticeable within Ethiopian criminal codes. Jean Graven, who took part in creating the Ethiopian Criminal Code in 1957, claimed that in 1930 a French lawyer residing in Djibouti, who had previously spent many years in Indochina, was asked for help with the codification of the criminal code in Ethi-

³⁴ Even after the introduction of *Fetha Negest*, as its content was not widely known to the public, customary norms were applied, especially in criminal matters, until the introduction of the Civil Code in 1960.

opia. It is very probable that the lawyer was inspired by the Code of (French) Indochina which itself was a version of the French Criminal Code. The same might have happened during the preparation of a new version of the Ethiopian code in 1957. In both cases, it is easy to see that many of the included articles have roots in the Roman and the later German legal systems. It is worth mentioning the fact that the Swiss Code was often used during the Ethiopian codification of criminal law, because the legislators believed that the diversity of cultures, languages and legal traditions somehow made Switzerland akin to Ethiopia³⁵.

The influence of the Western legal system is much smaller on the Civil Code of 1960. It can be observed within articles concerning obligations, special contracts and registers of immovable property, literary and artistic property. The rest of the provisions, especially those concerning family, filiation and inheritance, are derived from the customary laws of the Ethiopian peoples. The legislators of the Civil Code of 1960 decided that if certain social norms and customary practices that are deeply rooted in society work as a solution for different legal situations, these practices should be included in full within the code. The provisions that deal with the institution of marriage constitute an exception to this rule. Before the code was implemented, marriage was an alliance between two families rather than a union of two people. The Civil Code defined marriage as a union between a man and a woman, and led to religious, civil and customary marriages being considered equally important.

When analyzing Ethiopian legal codes from the 1960s, it can be easily traced that the legislators referred to the tradition of Roman and German law. Therefore, it can be concluded that, in this respect, Ethiopian law belongs to the Romano-Germanic family of legal systems. However, matters become more complicated when the Ethiopian constitutions of 1931 and 1955 are analyzed. While creating these legal acts, legislators relied on the doctrines of both Common and Romano-German laws. As afore-mentioned, the constitution of 1931 was largely drafted by *bejjirond* Tekle-Hawaryat, who “helped himself with copies of other constitutions provided by foreign legations

³⁵ Aberra Jembere, 1998, *op.cit.*, p. 10. It should also be mentioned that some articles in the code of 1957 have their roots in Common Law.

in Addis Abeba”³⁶. The Ethiopian constitution borrowed heavily from the Imperial Japanese Constitution of 1899 (also called the Meiji Constitution), due to the fact that among all countries then represented in Addis Abeba, Japan, as a modernizing empire, was the closest in its political position to Ethiopia. However, the Ethiopian constitution was much more concise than the Japanese one and far less liberal when it comes to the division of power³⁷. Furthermore, the Meiji Constitution was in its turn inspired by the Prussian Constitution of 1871. Prussian law belonged to the Civil law family, so it can be presumed that the constitution promulgated by Hayle Sillasē I in the first year of his reign would classify Ethiopian law as belonging to the Romano-Germanic legal family.

On the other hand, the Ethiopian Revised Constitution of 1955 was mainly based on the constitution of the United States of America, belonging to the Common law family. Another argument in favour of Ethiopian law being considered as part of the Common law family is the fact that legislators of the civil and family code, especially in provisions that dealt with marriage and inheritance, decided to leave articles derived from customary law unchanged.

Modern Ethiopian law as a separate legal family category

Problems with aligning modern Ethiopian law with one of the three main families of world legal regimes have led scholars to put forward a thesis that the legal system in question is one of the few independent legal groups among the legal systems of Sub-Saharan Africa that belongs to the Romano-Germanic legal family. Arguments in favor of such a thesis state that it is impossible to categorize Ethiopian law as part of the African law family, because the country’s modern law is not based exclusively on the customary laws of Ethiopian ethnic and religious groups. Furthermore, during the 1960s codification, Ethiopian legislators were inspired by the legal codes of European countries (Switzerland, Germany, France), whose laws belong to the Civil law family. Moreover, Romano-Germanic legal doctrine was implemented in Ethiopia with the introduction of *Fetha*

³⁶ H. Scholler, *op. cit.*, p. 528.

³⁷ More about differences between the Meiji Constitution and the Ethiopian constitution, see: H. Scholler, *op. cit.*, 529f.

Negest, which originates from Syro-Roman and Roman-Byzantine legal codes. The codification of law that took place in 1924-33 and 1950-60 bound Ethiopian law to the Romano-Germanic law system even more strongly.

The strongest argument which has convinced scholars that modern Ethiopian law forms a separate category is the fact that this law successfully combined the doctrine of Romano-Germanic family with the doctrine of African law. In Ethiopia, a country of over eighty ethnic groups, it would be impossible to create one comprehensive, national law while rejecting customary laws that these groups follow. Therefore, the legislators decided to keep the elements of the customary laws that had hitherto been successfully applied. This applied especially to provisions concerning civil and family law (marriage, law of filiation, inheritance, ownership, purchase and sale of immovable property, etc.)³⁸. The Civil Code of 1960, where this principle was applied for the first time, remained unchanged for forty years and served as a testament to the wisdom of the decision to adopt such a solution.

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³⁸ Article 625 of the Civil Code of 1960 can serve as an example of including customary laws into legal codes. The article states that every union between a man and a woman will be legally recognized if the marriage ceremony was conducted in accordance with the principles of the customary laws of both would-be spouses.

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Reviews

Roger Blench and Stuart McGill (eds.), *Advances in Minority Language Research in Nigeria*, vol. I, African Languages Monographs, Kay Williamson Educational Foundation, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2012, 372 pp.

The focus over the last few decades on minority languages and language endangerment has resulted in the description and cataloguing of many world languages and, consequently, has led to the development of a new branch – documentary linguistics. Linguistic surveys and reports, a perfect illustration of which would be the online UNESCO *Atlas of Endangered Languages*, are aimed at capturing local and global initiatives related to language documentation. The book under review contributes to these common tasks in two ways. It presents a particular region of great linguistic diversity, while also undertaking the evaluation of research achievements on its (demographically) “threatened languages” (p.1).

The volume is a collection of studies on the little-known minority languages spoken in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria. The publication gives evidence of research activities undertaken by the linguistic training centre for missionaries in Jos, and records its involvement in language documentation on Nigerian minority languages. The fifth publication in the series of *African Languages Monographs* is intended to be only the first volume devoted to the specific topic in question.

The twelve chapters are arranged into four parts dealing with the main topics of the volume. The introductory part written by Roger Blench consists of a single overview chapter which contains relevant data and comments, as well as a discussion of current linguistic research and language development in Nigeria in the context of language endangerment. According to the author’s findings, among four hundred and eighty-nine Nigerian languages (as listed in his *Atlas of Nigerian languages*, third edition) some twenty are severely

endangered or moribund, while as many as two hundred are threatened. The survey, which is based on his experiences and observations made over the years, contains a thorough critique of the current situation. According to this opinion, the involvement of Nigerian research and academic institutions in language development activities has not been satisfactory. Some attempts to document endangered languages by adopting fashionable linguistic theories are shown to be neo-colonial since they take “no interest in the languages for themselves” (p. 3). The author urges the linguists to undertake more wide-scale efforts towards a revitalization of languages in co-operation with the communities which treat language maintenance as a means of expressing their ethnic identity.

Part II, entitled *General issues*, deals with interdisciplinary themes or cross-languages issues. The initial article “Understanding Nigerian prehistory through its linguistic geography”, again by Roger Blench, focuses on reconstructing the ethnolinguistic history of Nigeria. It adopts highly controversial methodology of linguistic reconstruction, relying on vocabulary which elsewhere is classified as cultural and therefore irrelevant for creating genetic models. Here it is used as a linguistic evidence to support distinction among groups practising agriculture, pastoralism, and fisheries. Hence, cognates for ‘hippo’, ‘crocodile’, ‘cow, cattle’, ‘profit’ allow for constructing the routes of prehistoric migrations of language users. Present-day Nigeria with its ethnolinguistic complexity is presented as a successive homeland for speakers of Nilo-Saharan, Gur-Adamawa, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Chadic, Volta-Niger, Ijoid, and Jarawan Bantu. The postulated ‘Jalaaic’ group, the traces of which are preserved in the Jalaa language, is treated as a remnant from the pre-agricultural period, not related to any other group. The suggested migration routes are also supportive for some revised subclassifications of the language groups. The presented theory necessarily remains a proposal that needs to be verified in further works. In particular, the outlined history of population movements has to be confronted with archaeological and genetic findings.

The second article in Part II refers to sounds that are cross-linguistically uncommon elements. “Unusual sounds in Nigerian languages” by Matthew Harley concentrates on three classes of sounds: labiocoronals, interdental approximants, and one unique

sound described as the “explosive bilabial nasal”. Firstly, the author examines long-recognized sets of double-articulations (labiocoronals) in Biu-Mandara languages by analyzing their prosodic context and relation to their equivalents in cognate languages. With this examination, he constructs a hypothesis on processes responsible for present-day labialized consonants. It is a significant contribution to reconstructive work on Chadic, and in particular of the Biu-Mandara group. Secondly, the interdental approximants are described as extremely rare sounds in world languages. Their distinctive characteristics in languages of the Bauchi cluster are presented through pictures of speaker’s facial views and a spectrogram of the word [aḏa:t] ‘tongue’. Finally, a unique sound, which was found in Ninkyob (a Plateau language) and is not attested in any other human language, is analyzed in terms of its distinctive features and transcription.

The third article of Part II aims at combining historical-comparative linguistics with oral history. “Their tongues still speak loud: a linguistic evaluation of the oral traditions of origin of some peoples of Plateau State” by Selbut R. Longtau contains a comparative analysis of language data (mostly words) and their interpretation in the context of oral traditions of origins. Therefore, the cognate forms for ‘arm, hand’ in a given geographical area create the ground for a hypothesis on the migration of Eastern Kainji speakers, whereas the root for ‘iron’, common in Plateau languages, justifies the Plateau origin of the Yangkam group. This is not genuine historical linguistics but rather cultural or ethno-linguistics, which allows for postulating hypotheses concerning the group’s cultural background and its external contacts, but not referring to its roots. However, linguistic findings of this kind are supportive for negative evaluations of the claims of oral traditions for origins which trace back their roots to the big empires of the region.

The subsequent article “Arabic script in modern Nigeria” by Andy Warren-Rothlin provides an overview of the Hausa and Fulfulde Ajami orthographies. It contains a very detailed description of the rules for adopting Arabic script in West Africa and a wider context for multiple orthographies attested in Nigeria (including orthographies in Roman script). The significance of Arabic script for literacy in minority languages is also mentioned by drawing attention to

the presence of this script in public life, with its communicative but also iconic function.

Part III, *Morphosyntax in the Nigerian Middle Belt*, examines various aspects of grammar in individual minority languages. It begins with Daniel Gya's discussion of focus strategies in Rigwe (a Plateau language). The ways of realization of information structure in this language vary. On the one hand, there are different variants and allomorphs of pronouns for focusing noun constituents; while phonological, morphological, and syntactic strategies for marking focus on verbs and other constituents on the other. The presented structures provide a catalogue of syntactic and morphophonological devices for focus marking, including a special morpheme, known as the focus marker. In the next article, Sophie Salfner discusses strategies of coding tense, aspect and manner in Ikaan (spoken in south-western Nigeria). Although tense and aspect categories are presented as patterns of verbal morphology, the main focus is placed on structures in which these categories, alongside the manner, are realized beyond verbal inflection. The detailed semantic distinctions are marked with additional morphemes (mostly adverbs of time and manner) that are integrated into the verb. The rich set of exponents that are traced back to their lexical meanings make the system very complex and diversified. The article also includes a clear demonstration of some processes of grammaticalization that operate within the verbal system. The third contribution by Anne Storch deals with verbal nouns in Jukun (a group of languages spoken in north-eastern Nigeria). Among different strategies to derive verbal nouns from verbs (suffixes, vowel alternation), special attention is paid to the reduplicated forms. They are analyzed as compounds consisting of a verb and its cognate object, i.e. the verbal noun. The historical reduction of linear morphology in these structures remains the justification for marking the category of transitivity which has no other overt indicators in contemporary structures.

The data presented in the articles was collected by the authors in the field, mostly as parts of projects oriented at studying minority languages within academic programs on endangered languages and documentation.

Part IV, *Topics in Kainji linguistics*, is devoted to one group of languages which has gained the attention of linguists interested in

classification proposals, and is of special significance in the context of minority language research. Kainji languages (Plateau 1 in Greenberg's classification of the mid-seventies, later considered as a distinct subgroup within Benue-Congo) are poorly represented in linguistic documentation. The four papers of the last section contain the results of recent research on these languages, mostly linked to local literacy and Bible translation projects. The topics discussed represent different aspects of linguistic theory that have their specific manifestation in African languages. Stephen H. Dettweiler discusses the relevance of vowel length contrast in C'Lela (a language spoken in the Kebbi State of northwest Nigeria) for its systemic oppositions in spoken and written varieties, analyzing the implications for decisions on C'Lela orthography. Rebecca Smith Paterson focuses on the semantics of noun classes in ut-Ma'in (another language of the Nigerian Kebbi State). In this language, the semantic criteria for noun class divisions are so strong that even loanwords are assigned to derivational and agreement patterns according to their semantic properties. The rich exemplification of noun class pairings sheds more light on the class system in its 'classic' realization. In another article, Stuart McGill analyzes geminate consonants in Cicipu (a language of north-western Nigeria) from the historical perspective. Diachronic investigation is based on the comparative analysis of lexicon and morphophonological processes responsible for the development of a geminating noun class prefix or the geminate consonant being a part of the stem. It should be noted that the term GENDER is here used for the category identified elsewhere as 'noun class'. The final chapter refers to the information structure. David Crozier analyzes the derivational morphology of Tsishingini (a Central Kambari language of northwest Nigeria) with a focus on its verbal extensions. It is shown that the function of verbal affixes is not reduced to syntax and semantics, as some verbal extensions code discourse-pragmatics relations.

All papers are shortly recapitulated in abstracts at the end of the volume.

The book under review is a significant contribution to linguistic theory, both in its general perspective and in the African studies dimension. The authors concentrate on topics of current theoretical interest and give examples from original language sources. The data

provides evidence for a variety of systemic manifestations of regular grammatical categories and uncovers some unusual features. New language systems (or their parts) are presented with special attention paid to maintaining clarity and accuracy. The topics are only discussed following a brief introduction to the language and a description of its grammar, due to the fact that these languages were largely absent from the earlier linguistic works.

The book is very innovative within the field of historical linguistics and classification matters, especially in those aspects that refer to using linguistic data for tracing Nigerian prehistory and establishing mutual relationships between ethnic groups. Connecting ethnolinguistic history with linguistic reconstruction remains a proposal that needs to be verified by other sources. As for the classification matters, Robert Blench's contribution to the volume contains new ideas related to the classification of Niger-Congo languages, including a revised subclassification of Benue-Congo languages and subgrouping of some units (e.g. Plateau languages).

The most spectacular achievement of the volume involves the documentation of minority languages in Nigeria, including endangered languages that have thus far not been registered in the UNESCO world atlas. The publication promotes some newly established orthographic versions of language names (e.g. Tsishingini, Cicipu). Therefore, the earlier name Fyer is now replaced by Fier, Mapun is used as a variant of Mupun, Gurdung has replaced Gùrdùm/Gùrùntù). However, there are still some unclear solutions, especially related to the use of prefixes. The list of languages of the Plateau State (p. 103) includes the name Irigwe, whereas chapter 6 is devoted to Rigwe; a language identified as Fyem is listed as if it were spelled Pyem (which is suggested in the description, p. 97). However, in terms of questions related to language names, the book contributes to a better understanding of orthographic matters of minority languages. It also includes a discussion of some aspects of developing literacy among minorities in Nigeria.

Advances in Minority Language Research in Nigeria is a valuable publication that gives an account of the research activities of the Jos Linguistic Circle in which missionaries and academics have met in their concern for 'threatened' languages and manifested their

interest in both theoretical and practical aspects of language endangerment. However, the cover picture, which connects the idea of minority languages with non-civilized people, seems to be an unsuitable and possibly even controversial illustration of the presented ideas.

Nina Pawlak

Herrmann Jungrathmayr, *Studia Chadica. Ausgewählte Beiträge zur tschadischen Sprachwissenschaft. Selected by Julia Becker, Anna Haffner and Rainer Voßen, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2011, 247 pp.*

Professor Hermann Jungrathmayr, the leading German Africanist of an international reputation and fame, celebrated this year his eighties birthday. The book prepared by the Institute of African Linguistics, Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main, is an anthology comprising the reprints of eighteen his most important publications in the field of Chadic linguistics. They have been arranged in a chronological order, starting with the one published in 1961 and ending with that of 2009.

In an introduction (pp. ix-xxvi) Rudolf Leger has presented the scientific career of the scholar, with a special attention paid to his field research, editorial and organisational activities, both in Germany and on the international scene. In 1995 he was awarded the honourable title *Mai Yadak* – „Minister of Defence” for his promotion and protection of the Tangale language and culture. In the further part of the introduction readers are acquainted with the contents of the reprinted papers.

In „Beobachtungen zur tschadochamitischen Sprache der Jegu (und Jonkor) von Abu Telfan (République du Tschad)” (1961) H. Jungrathmayr provides the first description of that language which is classified in the East Chadic group. In a traditional way he describes phonemic inventory, and nominal and verbal systems. The article ends with a small Jegu-German and German Jegu glossary. The Jegu language is characterised by the richness of nominal plurals. Its independent and personal pronouns display a typical Afroasiatic distinction in the 2nd and 3rd persons of singular.

Angas was another Chadic language which very early attracted attention of Professor Jungraithmayr. It is spoken on the extreme west of the Chadic language territory (on the Southern Plateau of Northern Nigeria) by some 100.000 people. In an article titled „On the ambiguous position of Angas” (1963) the author compares Angas with the neighbouring language Sura (Mwaghavul) which seems to preserve some older language traits. Elements of Angas-Sura morphology as well as syntax are quite similar to those in Hausa. Many lexemes, especially names of the body parts, probably constitute a common heritage. All these makes Professor believe that Angas and Sura belong to the Chadic family.

Languages of the Ron group (Fyer, Bokkos-Ron, Daffo-Batura, Sha and Kulere) are characterised by a great amount of the internal plural forms of nomina and verba. In an article titled „Internal A in Ron plurals” (1965) the author accepts it as a distinctive feature of the Ron and Angas sub-groups, and considers this phenomenon as a common Chadic legacy.

In another article, „The Hamitosemitic present-habitative verb stem in Ron and Mubi” (1968) the scholar for the first time compares two languages which are spoken on the peripheries of the Chadic language area: Ron in Nigeria and Mubi in the Chad Republic. He comes to a conclusion that both languages comprise some comparable verb paradigmata: short forms for the ‘prefixal praeteritum’ and long forms for ‘present’.

The relationship between Chadic languages and the other members of the so-called Chado-Hamitic language family is discussed in „Ancient Hamito-Semitic remnants in the Central Sudan (1968). Few Chadic languages, for example Hausa, contain some innovations in their verbal system which are not found in other tongues of this family. The eldest features of development display Ron languages (Fyer, Bokkos, Daffo-Butura, Sha and Kulere) which are believed to be on the same level of development as Akkadian, Arabic and Old Egyptian.

During his field research in Northern Nigeria Professor Jungraithmayr concentrated on Tangale and the Ron-Angas languages. In „The Tangale vowel harmony system reconsidered” (1971) he distinguishes nine vowels instead of eight vocalic phonemes which he had noticed in the translation of New Testament and accepted this

number in his earlier publications. His own field notes made him believe that besides closed phoneme /o/ there is another vowel – open /ʊ/. All the vowels have been divided into *u*- and *ʊ*- groups, and the vowel harmony has been shown in Kaltungo and Shongom dialects.

The article titled „Perfektiv- (Kurz-) und Imperfektiv- (Lang-) Stamm in Aspektsystem osttschadochamitischer Sprachen” (1974) is a milestone in research on the aspect system of the East Chadic languages. The author distinguishes two main groups in the verbal conjugation and then divides them into four types: Hausa, Angas, Bolanci and Ron-Daffo type. The common feature of all these types is that the perfective aspect has a short stem and the imperfective one is characterised by a long stem.

In „Sprachhistorische Schichtstufen im Tschadraum” (1977) the scholar critically assesses the thesis that so-called Chado-Hamitic languages can be ascribed to a reconstructed proto-language. He supports this statement by referring to lexeme „blood” which in the Chadic languages has four independent roots. Three of them might have come from Semitic, Kushitic and Old Egyptian, whereas the fourth one could profit from the Nigrific substratum.

An analysis of the aspect stems construction has been proposed in an article titled „A tentative four stage model for the development of Chadic languages” (1978). Having taken into account linguistic data from the East, Central and West Chadic tongues the author comes to a conclusion that the verbal complex of Chadic is built on three most common bases which from the chronological point of view could be ascribed to four stages of imperfective stem development: strong apophony, weak apophony, suprasegmental tone replacement (apophony) and zero change.

The problem of the historical stages in the development of Chadic languages has been raised in article titled „On mono- and triradicality in early and present-day Chadic – how reliable are reconstructions?” (1983). The author supports the thesis of the original triradicality of verbs, mainly in East Chadic languages (Migama, Mudi, Dangaleat), and reconstructs the historical development of the lexemes „eat”, „drink” and „die” which in present-day languages have a monoradical shape. When presenting the method of recon-

struction he refers to some lexemes taken from the Indo-European language family, e.g. Latin *augustus* and French *août* [u].

The processes of word shortening in Chadic have been described in an article titled „Apocoptation and syncopation in Chadic – from the synchronic to the diachronic” (1987). Apocoptation consists in clipping of final vowels and sometimes also weak consonants whereas syncopation denotes a loss or weakening of internal vowels. The phenomenon has been presented on the basis of Tangale and some other Chadic languages which could have two, and sometimes even three forms of a lexeme: the one in final form, in non-final form, and in prefix-like form.

In „Centre and periphery: Chadic linguistic evidence and its possible historical significance” (1991) the author proposes some typological criteria which allow to discern an opposition between the central and peripheral Chadic languages. Having taken them into account he advances a hypothesis concerning the movement of the Chadic speaking peoples. The speakers of the ‘conservative’ languages settled to the east and west of the Lake Chad. Those speaking ‘innovative’ languages found their homeland to the south of Chad: their tongues underwent strong influence of the Benue-Congo languages.

In 1972 Professor Jungrathmayr was engaged in studying Migama (Djonkor), an East Chadic language spoken in Abu Telfan Mountains. The results of his research were presented earlier, and thirty years later supplemented in an article „Migama – die Sprache von Wilhelm Raabes ‘Abu Telfan’” (1992). Its title refers to the novel *Abu Telfan oder die Heimkehr vom Mondgebirge* (1867) written by Wilhelm Raabe.

In the majority of Afroasiatic languages the pronominal systems are of greatest importance for the linguistic reconstruction and for the understanding of the genus reducing processes in the pronominal store. Of special interest are the pronouns of the first person singular which are dealt with in an article titled „The 1st person singular pronouns in Chadic” (1999). Its author distinguishes twofold representation of them: one with a nasal element (Hausa, Ron-Daffo, Tangale and Sibine) and the other one with semivowel *y* (Migama,

Mokilko, Mubi, Mbara and others). They give rise to three types of the pronominal paradigmata.

The Grimm's Law was initially referring to the Germanic sound shift. Professor Jungraithmayr has applied it to the West Chadic in his article „Grimm's Law in Tangale?” (2003). He has noticed regular sound change as observed in the Kaltungo and Shongom dialects.

Both Tangale and Tuareg languages have got ventive verb constructions. In „Altrilocality in Tangale and Tuareg: a common heritage feature?” the author considers the possibility of a Chadic-Berber provenance of the 'distance' and 'altrilocality' morphemes.

The scholar joined the discussion circle dealing with the controversial problem of subjunctive in Chadic and in the other Hamito-Semitic languages. In an article titled „Le paradigme verbal en *-U* dans les langues chamito-sémitiques” (2005) he comes to a conclusion that besides some innovations in present-day Semitic and Chadic the vowel suffixes *-e/-a/-o* denote respectively perfect, imperfect and subjunctive.

The final article in the volume, „Historical metamorphoses in Chadic” (2009), proposes different levels of the Chadic languages development, since ca. 5000 years up to date. Two main traits of those transformations could be discerned. The first one consists in passage from a synthetic to analytic type of languages. The other one is marked by the change from apophony to apothony in function of the phonological means of the lexical and grammatical morphology.

At the end of the book the reader will find complete bibliography of Professor Jungraithmayr which comprises his publications in years 1953-2010. They testify to the enormous contribution of the scholar and his praiseworthy input into the African linguistics. Many students and researchers will certainly profit from this reprint of his most important case studies which are scattered in various journals and books.

Stanisław Piłaszewicz

Karl-Gottfried Prasse, *Tuareg Elementary Course (Tahaggart), "Berber Studies"*, 33, Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2010, 220 pp.

Karl-Gottfried Prasse is a well-known Danish linguist. He is recognized for his numerous researches and work on Semitic and Berber languages, as well as the Tuareg language. His achievements include the systemic description of the Tuareg grammar published as early as 30 years ago. The author has already worked on particular linguistic topics and retranscription of Charles de Foucauld's Tuareg texts in prose. The *Tuareg Elementary Course* is the first publication which aims at application of the linguistic knowledge of this language in practical use. The course appears as the 29th volume of Berber Studies series.

Tuareg language called Tamajagh or Tamachaq, depending on dialect, is used in 5 countries: Mali, Niger, Algeria, Burkina Faso and Libya. The author has already explored three major Tuareg dialects. In his dictionary, published in 2003, the author of the book has explored dialect spoken in Niger, in the four volume manuals of grammar of 1972-2009, dialect spoken in Algeria has been investigated, whereas in 1985 the author presented some morphological tables of dialect from Adrar in Mali. The course under review is devoted to the Tahaggart dialect of the Hoggar region in south Algeria and the adjacent regions of Azzar and Ahnat. This particular dialect is spoken by relatively few people comparing to the dialects used in Niger and Mali. However, it is also the best known dialect and the earliest one to have been examined. The first studies, by C. Motylinski *Grammaire, dialogues et dictionnaire touarges* and A. Hanoteau *Essai de grammaire de la langue tamachek* have been published on the verge of XIX and XX centuries. The most substantial work on the dialect of Hoggar named Tahaggart is the four-volume dictionary of C. de Foucauld already mentioned, published first in 1951 and re-issued in 2009. De Foucauld's work was published with original notes of the Tifinagh alphabet of Tuareg language. Prasse's work, on the other hand, is transcribed. Out of many ways of transcribing Tuareg, Prasse is using the official Malian transcription of Tuareg with small modifications.

The Tahaggart dialect is considered to be the key to learn other dialects. Prasse's publication is not intended to provide a comprehensive beginner's course in Tuareg. Aware of its content, the au-

thor encourages the reader to use other sources to complete the study of the language. Nevertheless for the English speakers this is a really important work on Tuareg studies, as most of other works done so far have been published in French.

The course is divided into 22 lessons, and is preceded by an introduction. The first lesson could be an introduction. It contains a presentation of sound system and some basic information about Tuaregs, their dialects and alphabet. All the other lessons are divided into three or four subjects. Almost all are dedicated to particular verb and preposition, together with examples. The book contains also dictionaries: Tuareg English and English-Tuareg.

The publication provides a rich set of grammatical patterns of Tahaggart. The biggest part of the course is devoted to verbal system. Prasse gives many illustrations of verbal paradigms and supports them with useful comments. The volume is rich in examples on use of this particular forms but the course lacks some exercises for students. Though there are some colloquial sentences for everyday use like: “See you later”, “Come to me”, “I am hungry” etc., the sentences serve as an illustration of systematic rules of grammar rather than communication needs. There is no sample texts, however, some short notices of particularities like kinship terms are given. The volume also contains a list of abbreviations and a short bibliography.

According to authors’ statement, the electronic version of the course has been available for few years and created the basis for the printed one.

Even though the course is not really enough to learn how to speak Tuareg, it is a good starting point for exploring the language. Especially it is considered to be essential for studying the works of Charles de Foucauld. The book can be used as a manual for learning conjugation of Tuareg and a means to understand basic rules of its grammar.

Marta Jackowska Uwadizu

Doris Löhr & Ari Awagana (eds.), *Topics in Chadic Linguistics VI, "Chadic Linguistics / Linguistique Tchadique / Tschadistik"* 7, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2011, 202 pp.

The volume contains thirteen papers from the 5th Biennial International Colloquium on the Chadic Languages, which took place at the University of Leipzig in June 10-14, 2009. Since the date of the conference and of the official retirement of Professor H. Ekkehard Wolff almost coincided, the proceedings are dedicated to this famous German Africanist, who was engaged in scientific research and teaching activities at the Universities of Hamburg, Maiduguri, Niamey and Leipzig.

The colloquium was attended by international scholars from Africa, America and Europe, who presented 32 papers. The book contains a selection of contributions, which reflect current linguistic research on two branches of Chadic: West and Central Chadic. They are concentrated on Chadic internal and external classification, lexicography, semantics, and oral literature.

The first article in the volume by Ari Awagana is titled „La lexicographie du buduma – une étude exoloratoire” (pp. 9-21) and deals with some ancient vocabularies of that language from the contextual point of view. The author provides the reader with short historical survey of publications and lexicographic works on Buduma and then presents some remarks and commentaries referring to the lexicographic works, which were compiled by S.W. Koelle, P.A. Benton, H. Barth, and captain Gaudiche.

Sergio Baldi & Rudolf Legere in their paper titled „Some diachronic observations on gender and number in Bole-Tangale languages, (pp. 23-31) describe the current system of nouns in that language group, which is spread in the wider Gongola-Benue basin of the North-Eastern Nigeria. They observe gender levelling process progressing from geographically northern languages (Bolanci, Kwami and Kupto) towards the southern languages (Tangale, Pero, Piya, Widala and Nyam), in which almost all nouns are of feminine gender.

In „Chadic ‘brother’ and ‘sister’” (pp. 35-50) Václav Blažek analyses two above mentioned kinship terms in the representative choice of the Chadic languages: first from the point of view of the internal etymology, and then also in perspective of the external ety-

mology. He proposes the most archaic shapes for those kinship terms, confirming his findings by some external cognates taken from Cushitic, Egyptian and Semitic.

Roger Blench in his paper titled „Mwaghavul pluractional verbs” (pp. 51-66) discusses a rich system of verbal plurals in Mwaghavul, a relatively large West Chadic language spoken in Central Nigeria. He reminds the reader that some formation strategies of pluriactional verbs reflect widespread Chadic morphological processes, but some others correspond „in general appearance and semantics to neighbouring Plateau languages” (p. 64), which could be better characterised as metatypy.

Richard Gravina’s contribution, „The internal classification of Chadic Biu-Mandara” (pp. 67-84) calls into question the hitherto existing classification of Biu-Mandara into three sub-branches. He tries to prove that there are only two sub-branches, which could be labelled North and South.

An effort of classifying Goemai verbs on the basis of their semantics has been undertaken by Birgid Hellwig in „Lexical aspect classes in Goemai (West Chadic)” (pp. 85-100). The author presents preliminary findings from the study of that language and tries to place them into a West Chadic perspective.

Attributes of the lexemes from the semantic field of kinship (*amarya*, *kishiya*, *uwargida*, *iyali* and *dangi*) as provided by L1 and L2 Hausa speakers in Nigeria are discussed by Dymitr Ibrishimow & Balarabe Zulyadaini in their case-study titled „Fighting friends with the scent of a bride: Wives, ‘family’ and ‘relatives’ in Hausa from a cognitive point of view” (pp. 101-107).

The causative derivation, traditionally known as ‘grade 5’ is dealt with by Marit Lobben in „Agreement and relative topicality in the *-aC* causative/caused-motion and benefactive constructions in Hausa” (pp. 109-129). The author is of opinion that *-aC* suffix in Hausa is related to a set of agreement markers.

Idiomatic linguistic structures are discussed by Doris Löhr in her article titled „Multiword expressions in Malgwa” (pp. 131-144). This is the first overview of the most frequent strategies for the construction of verbal multiword expressions in a Central Chadic language spoken in the north-eastern Nigeria by some 30.000 people.

Adam Mahamat in „Les différents types de contes dans la littérature orale des kotoko de Makari” (pp. 145-154) distinguishes two types of stories among the Kotoko people living in the northern part of Cameroon. His classification is based on the way in which a story is presented in front of the audience.

In „Means of transport. The concept of vehicle for L1 and L2 Hausa speakers” (pp. 155-168) Maria Schubert analyses the semantic field of „vehicle” in Hausa among L1 and L2 speakers on the bases of two notions: *abin hawa* and *abin sufuri*.

Gábor Takács has gathered new evidence to Chadic lexemes signifying arrow, bow, hunting, and killing. He took it into account in his study titled „The ‘Chadic Lexical Roots’ and their Afro-Asiatic background” (pp. 169-184).

The volume ends with an article by Henry Tourneux titled „La contribution de Heinrich Barth à la lexicographie du parler kotoko de Logone-Birni” (pp. 185-202). The author emphasises that Barth collected numerous terms which even now are of interest not only for the comparative linguistics but also for anthropologists, geographers and businessmen. This substantial corpus of the Kotoko words was noticed in merely two days!

Stanisław Pitaszewicz

Joseph McIntyre, Mechthild Reh (eds.), *From Oral Literature to Video. The Case of Hausa.* (Study Books of African Languages, vol. 21, edited by Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig and Bernd Heine), Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2011, 116 pp.

The book contains three articles and the introduction where the editors talk about the influence of modern technology and socio-political changes on Hausa cultural genres, present the contributors of the volume, and summarize their articles.

One of the contributors is Ado Ahmad Gidan Dabino – writer, publisher, journalist, film producer and director living in Kano, Nigeria. The other is Abdalla Uba Adamu – professor of Science Education and Curriculum Studies and a lecturer in Media and Cultural Communication at Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

The first article *Littattafan Soyayya: Samuwarsu da Bunkasarsu da kuma Tasirinsu ga Al’ummar Hausawa a Nijeriya*

(*Hausa Love Stories: Origins, Development and their Impact on the Hausa in Nigeria*), as the editors state is “a slightly modified version of a lecture given in Hausa by Ado Ahmad Gidan Dabino (Hamburg, November 2008), (p. vii)”. The article has been translated to English and the parallel versions — Hausa on the left-hand page, English on the right-hand page — have been included in the book. The Hausa version has been preserved in order to “pay tribute to the growing importance of Hausa language, its literature and its ever-increasing place in the internet” (p. vii).

Ado Ahmad Gidan Dabino's article concerns love novels, called *littatafan soyayya* (lit. ‘books of love’) in Hausa. First he writes about love customs of Hausa people that are a mixture of a local tradition, and foreign patterns, taken mainly from the Arabs and Europeans. Later he discusses the history of written love stories in Hausa tradition which dates back to XIX century when the first love songs written in Ajami were recorded. In XX century many love novels were published as a result of literature competitions organized since 1932, but the real boom for publishing love stories started in 1980s. Gidan Dabino gives several reasons for this fact such as availability of computers, assistance offered by the writers’ associations, government agencies and international organizations, as well as promoting books by reading them in radio stations or by publishing them as a series in newspapers and magazines. But perhaps the most persuasive reason is the fact that love novels are really popular among readers, especially young people, thus the publishers and booksellers are interested in printing and selling them as it brings good business profits. Gidan Dabino underlines that only those few writers who have made a name for themselves could afford writing something else than a love story and then find acceptance among the readers and booksellers (p. 25). For young writers the only chance to settle on the book market is creating a love story.

The impact of love stories on Hausa society is another component of Gidan Dabino’s paper. He suggests that apart from economic factors such as providing jobs for young people, love stories caused some sociological changes such as challenging forced marriage, opening debate about love issues and weakening “the trait

which was said to be typically Hausa, i.e. the lack of interest in reading, or the “non-reading culture” (p. 37).

Another article inserted in the volume is *Media Technologies and Literary Transformations in Hausa Oral Literature* written by Abdalla Uba Adamu. The paper discusses not only the impact of media technology on oral literature, but also the influence that modern media have on emerging of new oral genres. Adamu tries to “analyze the trajectory of the transformation from oral folk-tales to literature and finally to the film medium” and argues “that the media appeal of literature and film have successfully supplanted the traditional base of oral literature in a society that sees media technologies as the main path to contemporary development” (p. 45). An interesting concept presented by Adamu is summarized in the Figure 1 (p. 47) where a circle that starts from Hausa oral culture including *tatsuniya* ‘folktale’, *karin magana* ‘proverb’, *kacici-kacici* ‘riddles’ among others, and leads first through indigenous drama and drama groups then through TV drama series as well as Hindi and foreign film culture that influenced Hausa Video films to return to oral culture again. Thus, for Adamu traditional *tatsuniya* folktale “is a quintessential antecedent to contemporary Hausa popular culture” (p. 48). *Tatsuniya* is also an encyclopaedia of scripts for the children all across Hausaland. Children were not only listening to the folktales, but also picked up elements of the storylines and began to mimic them adding some musical forms. Such “shows” were presented at home and later in community centers giving rise to a street drama known as *tashe* which was performed from 10th day of Ramadan. Apart from *tashe* other forms of drama developed, e.g. *wasan gauta* (pantomime game at Emir’s palace) or *wasan ’yan kama* (comic entertainment). These forms of drama were later transformed into written plays creating a new genre known as *wasan kwaikwayo* ‘drama’ – more sophisticated form of *tatsuniya* addressed to urban, educated audience (p. 56). Dramas based on written scripts were often played on stage theater by educated young men, who treated the play as a form of education or political and social criticism rather than an entertainment. Some of these groups staged their plays on the radio or transited it to a television drama. However when the local TV was founded in Kano in 1981 its producers gave up the written scripts in

favor of storylines taken from *tatsuniya* folktales rooted in the cultural traditions of Muslim Hausa society. This template functioned till the beginning of XXI century, when Hausa Video Films heavily influenced by Hindi and Western movies took the stage.

In the second part of his article Abdalla Uba Adamu writes about Hausa music as oral literature. After having given an explanation about traditional poets and musicians, he focuses on influences that Hindi films have had on Hausa entertainment music. One example of such a hybrid musical product is the emergence of songs that use the meter of the playback songs taken from the Hindi films and Hausa lyrics. Incomprehensible Hindi words are substituted with Hausa prose in such a way that they mirror the original sounds. Another example of songs inspired by Hindi film music are praise songs created by the pupils of Islamic schools who adapt meters taken from Hindi soundtracks to praise the prophet Muhammad in Hausa language.

In his second contribution, *Eastward Ho! Cultural Proximity and Eastern Focus in Hausa Fiction and Videos* Adamu explains why Hausa popular culture, including literature, music and film takes inspiration from Eastern media flows, i.e. from Middle East and Asia, rather than from the West. When it comes to the modern Hausa literature, the interest in the East has been observed since its beginning, i.e. since 1930s when Hausa authors were encouraged by British officers to write books in their own language using newly created Roman alphabet. One of the books that won the first literary competition was *Ruwan Bagaja* by Abubakar Imam. The author admitted, in an interview, that “he was “inspired” to write *Ruwan Bagaja* after reading the Arabic stories in the *Maqamat* by Abu Muhammad al-Qasim Hariri (1054-1121) of Basra” (p. 84). According to Adamu this “inspiration” became “the first of the ‘rip-off’ phenomena of foreign media by the Hausa” and indicated “the direction of future Hausa literary adaptation” (p. 84). Although later novels published between 1950 and 1984 avoided the Eastern focus and reflected Hausa social and political mindset, the interest in the East came back due to the popularity of Bollywood films in Northern Nigeria. The boom for Indian cinema started in 1970s, when they were shown not only in cinemas, but also in state

television houses and became available on video-cassettes. However, their tremendous impact on creative fiction and Hausa video films started about 20 years later, when 4-6 year old children who had watched Indian films at home together with their mothers grew up and became film makers. “Their main creative mechanism was the appropriation of Hindi Masala films, revamped into Hausa copies, complete with story - lines, songs and choreography” (p.90) – the trend that Adamu has called in Hausa *Bollywoodanci* (‘bollywoodnization’). The obsession with Indian films went so far that Hausa film stars started using the names of their Bollywood “equivalents”, the first Hausa-Hindi language primer including transliteration of Hindi lyrics and their Hausa translation was published, and advertisements of local films imitating Hindi film posters started covering the cities of Hausaland. The fascination with the East left imprint on creative writers who either appropriated storylines from Indian films and turned them into popular books or translated Middle Eastern folkloric epics, especially Persian novels into Hausa. The translations of Persian stories presented “the macho image of the male” (p. 101), while film-based books focused on female characters and circled around the subject of love.

In his article Adamu tries to give an explanation, why Eastern cultural “products” are much more acceptable for the inhabitants of northern Nigeria, than Western ones. It is quite easy to explain the interest in Middle East due to a common religion, word-borrowings, social mores and cultural mindsets rooted in Islam (p. 85), but the fascination with India is not so obvious because of geographical, social and religious distance. Adamu believes that Hausa novelists and filmmakers appropriate Indian film templates because they include topics close to the Hausa’s hearts, such as love triangle or forced marriage. What attracts the Hausa audience is also “flowing saris of actresses, and the macho posturing of actors” (p. 92), emotional ambience, song and dance sequences, and finally surface similarities between Hausa and Indian everyday life including dress code, wedding celebrations or youths riding their motor scooters.

Although each of the three articles is very inspiring and sheds a new light on Hausa contemporary literature, films and popular culture, there is a question that has been on my mind after I read the book: what made the editors publish the book comprising three

articles that are loosely connected with one another, or even if they are connected, it is not the title that binds them together. Out of three keywords included in the title: “oral literature”, “video” and “Hausa” only the latter really characterizes the content of the book. Someone looking for an information about the oral literature would be disappointed, because only the first contribution of Adamu partially discusses the subject. Both papers of Adamu touch upon the Hausa video films, but in Gidan Dabino’s article the only fragment that refers to “video” is an information (followed by the list of books and films’ titles) that since Hausa film industry became popular many authors have decided to replace writing with film producing or directing and their books have been made into films (p. 35). One can ask where does an idea of a title come from? I believe the answer is to be found on the publisher page where it is stated that the volume evolved out of an International Workshop on “Transporting Oral Literatures between Media, Cultures and Languages” as a part of the European project “African Oral Literatures, New Media, and technologies: Challenges for Research and Communication”. Thus, the title perfectly fits in the name of the project, rather than characterizes the content of the book.

Another question that comes to my mind is connected with the purpose of the book – is it glottodidactic (as the title of the series suggests) or scholar. The reason for this is the discrepancy between the articles of two contributors. Gidan Dabino’s paper containing aligned texts in two different languages looks like a part of a text book for advanced Hausa students or a Hausa-English parallel corpus while Adamu’s contributions are regular academic papers. The editors explain that the book serves as a textbook for students of Hausa language and Hausa culture but can also be interesting to “students focusing on interrelationship of culture and technology as well as to students of cross-continental influences and of cultural change in general” (p. x). I am not convinced that joining text book to study a foreign language with an academic publication in one tiny volume serves a good purpose, but perhaps there are some enthusiasts of such a combination. Nevertheless the book is worth recommending to all interested in Hausa modern literature, films, music, and media, especially that it involves a “local insight” into

the issues due to the fact that both contributors are at the same time the representatives of the Hausa culture.

Izabela Will

Matthias Brenzinger, Anne-Maria Fehn (eds.), *Proceedings of the 6th World Congress of African Linguistics, Cologne, 17-21 August 2009*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2012, 658 pp.

The volume under review encompasses a selection of papers delivered at the 6th World Congress of African Linguistics (WOCAL6), which was held at the University of Cologne in August, 2009. It was given the motto „African Linguistics for Understanding and Progress” with the aim 1. to remind scholars of the necessity to relate their scientific work on African languages to the world outside academia, and 2. to stress the validity of the involvement of African languages in development and unity on the African continent.

The Congress was accompanied by several special events: Nubian Symposium, meeting of the Tima research group and a pioneer Workshop on African Sign Languages, which allowed the deaf and hearing scholars to come into close academic contact. Some 30 African researchers participated in a summer school on language documentation, which was organised in the frame of the WOCAL6 and secured the strong participation of African scholars: among 292 academics from over 60 countries, who delivered their papers, more than 100 learned men represented African universities. As far as the number of the participants is concerned, with more than 650 partakers it was by far the largest congress of the WOCAL series so far.

The volume contains 62 contributions, which – with the exception of the Congress keynote addresses and panel leading presentations – have been evaluated by at least two external reviewers. More than 40% of the submitted papers could not be included, mainly due to the severe space limitations of the publication. Those published in the *Proceedings*... have been arranged in six groups.

The first one, „Plenary papers” contains 10 essays, two of them directly referring to the Congress’ motto: the one by Neville Alexander, „African languages for Africa’s development”, and the other one by James G. Bennet, „Language and poverty in Africa: Do language policies help or hinder poverty reduction?” Two other articles deserve special mentioning due to their relative novelty in the field of African linguistics: Sam Lutalo-Kiingi dealt with „The im-

portance of Deaf involvement in African Sign Language research” and Margarida Maria Taddoni America described the importance and „liturgical” use of „African languages in Latin America”.

Under the heading „Historical, comparative and typological linguistics” merely 7 papers have been taken into account. They concern *inter alia* problems like serial verbs in Niger-Congo languages, origin of clicks in south-western Bantu languages and reassessment of the Ijoid language relationship.

In section „Phonetics and Phonology” one can find 14 contributions, a substantial number of which are dedicated to the tone systems in single languages. Only the article by Richard Gravina, „Vowels, consonants and prosody in two Central Chadic languages”, has comparative character.

The fourth part of the book titled „Morphology, syntax & semantics” is the strongest numerically, as it encompasses 21 case studies, which additionally are highly differentiated. It seems, however, that the locative constructions have been given special attention and discussed by the researchers.

10 articles have been placed under the heading „Sociolinguistics”. Two of them were dedicated to the major African languages, Hausa and Swahili, which so far had been almost absent in this volume: Maik Gibson wrote on „Language shift in Nairobi”, and Andrew Haruna discussed „Language shift in Northern Nigeria: The precarious situation of the minority languages”. Personally, my attention was attracted by Carole de Féral due to her presentation „Urban practices and new identities: Pidgin and Francanglais in Cameroon”.

The volume has been edited and graphically designed in an exemplary fashion, like the other volumes with proceedings of the World Congresses of African Linguistics. It is worth recollecting that the Rüdiger Köppe Verlag monopolised the editorial work of all the WOCAL congresses, with the exception of the Special 6th World Congress of African Linguistics in São Paulo (2008), which was dedicated to exploring the African Language connection in the Americas. The merit of the Köppe’s editorial house for African linguistics is of highest rank as it carefully and painstakingly documents the most important events in this field of scientific research.

Stanisław Piłaszewicz

**STUDIES
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AND CULTURES**